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"Josephism" Reconsidered:
The Monks of the Iosifo-Volokolamsk Monastery, 1479-1607

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Abstract

"Josephism" Reconsidered:
The Monks of the Iosifo-Volokolamsk Monastery, 1479-1607

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Historians have long recognized that Iosif of Volokolamsk and the monastery he founded in 1479 had a profound influence on the Russian church and state. "Josephites" are generally considered to have been predominantly a corps of socially elite men from the landowning class who transformed the Russian church into a ritualistic, intolerant, passive "handmaid of the state." They are said to have advocated "blind obedience" in a rigidly hierarchical political structure. And they are said to have not only emasculated the church vis-a-vis the state but created a whole new political philosophy that helped elevate the grand prince – later tsar – to hitherto undreamed of heights of absolutism.

This study presents evidence contradicting several of the commonly accepted tenets concerning the Josephites. It finds that they were not predominantly from the landowning class. Nor were they predominantly peasants: many of the Josephites appear to have been from an intermediate class of landless servitors. The dissertation also finds that the ideology governing social relationships was very much anti-hierarchical: high secular social class gave some advantage in monastic society but did not automatically confer leadership positions. Status in the monastery was determined as much or more by ascetic endeavor as by high birth. Finally, in place of "blind obedience," this study finds that Joseph very strongly advised his followers to judge whether establish authorities were acting correctly and to oppose them when they did not. Iosif's followers may actually have taken those exhortations farther than he intended, as the "council of elders" at Volokolamsk became in some ways more powerful than the abbot.

Table of Contents

List of Figures iii

Preface iv

Introduction 1

1. Historiographical Overview 31
   - Byzantium 31
   - The West 37
   - Russia: Non-Soviet Literature 43
   - Russia: Soviet Literature 49

2. Sources 63
   - Documentary Sources 63
   - Prescriptive Texts 67
   - Epistolary and Narrative Sources 70
   - Genealogical and Reference Resources 72

3. Methodology and Terminology 75
   - Identifying Individuals 76
   - Determining Monastic Rank 82
   - Determining Social Status 93
   - A Case Study 107

4. Social Provenance and Mobility 112
   - The Brotherhood as a Whole 112
   - Igumens and Council Members 121
   - The Rank and File 127
   - Disciples, Masters, and Hierarchs 130
   - Social Status versus Monastic Status 134

5. Some Aspects of Josephite Social Culture 140
   - Collective Identity 141
   - Non-possession and Humility: The Ideals 146
   - Non-possession and Humility: Reality 160
   - A Sense of Community 177

6. Some Aspects of Josephite Political Culture 186
   - The Igumen versus the Council of Elders 187
   - Misail Beznin 198
   - Institutional Charity 211

Conclusion 219

Bibliography 224

Appendix: The Monks of Volokolamsk in Name Order 275

List of Figures

Figure Number Page

1: The Brotherhood as a Whole 115
2: Monks Who Paid for Tonsure 116
3: Igumens 121
4: Stewards 123
5: Treasurers 124
6: Council Elders 125
7: Composition of the Council on Specified Dates 127
8: Administrative Elders 128
9: Non-elder Monks 129
10: Deathbed Tonsures 129
11: Masters 132
12: Disciples 132
13: Hierarchs 134
14: Igumens and Archimandrites 134
15: Formal Leadership Positions as a Function of Social Status 135

Preface

Any history of a foreign culture runs into problems choosing between translation and transliteration for words that by their nature have no direct equivalents in modern English. In general I try to translate into English where feasible, and transliterate only when there is no reasonable equivalent. In the latter case, words are italicized only when first presented, unless the intention is specifically to discuss their usage as Russian words. Transliteration follows the Library of Congress system and usually represents exactly what is found in the sources without use of "sic." Spelling was anything but consistent in the sixteenth century, and for that reason some words may appear to have been rendered incorrectly to one who knows the language. As discussed in the text (see chapter 3), I do standardize the spelling of names to avoid confusion.

I also do some standardization in the translation of dates. In the sixteenth century years were counted "from creation" and the new year began on September 1: so 8/31/7100 is 8/31/1592, while 9/1/7100 is 9/1/1591 (or conversely 9/1/1592 is 9/1/7101). This means that when a source provides only a year without a month and day one can't know for sure which of two years it corresponds to on our calendar. The year 7100 could be 1592 or 1591. To avoid constantly quoting most every year as a range I generally translate to the most likely year, in this case 1592. In the relatively infrequent instances where this might be misleading I cite the year as a range.

Citations are documented using the author-date system as detailed in the *Chicago Manual of Style*. In this system full citations are not found in footnotes. Author names and dates of publication, or abbreviations where appropriate, are cited and this citation form can be used as the key to finding the cited document in the Bibliography, which is sorted by author name and date.

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Dedication

To Dan Waugh

Introduction

Monasteries played a leading role in Russian[1] society from the eleventh through the seventeenth century. Until the sixteenth century they were the primary centers of literacy and produced not only strictly religious documents but also the chronicles, which to the present day are the main primary sources for the political history of the country in its formative years.[2] Because monastic literary output was read by, or to, all elements of Russian society over the course of centuries, monasteries have been credited with forming the Russian sense of "national self-consciousness" or even distinctively Russian elements of the national psyche.[3] They were storehouses and defenders of Russian Orthodox religious culture, and they were often at the forefront of efforts to colonize and Christianize new regions.[4] They produced most of the hierarchs who led the church and most of the saints held up as examples for all Christians to follow.[5] Abbots were as influential in the secular world as hierarchs and frequently acted as advisors to princes and tsars.[6] Always known as

[1]I am subsuming the history of Kievan Rus' and Muscovy under the heading of "Russia." This is not the place to go into a discussion of the question of historical continuity between Kiev and Moscow except to say that from the standpoint of monastic culture such continuity is unmistakable.

[2]For general histories of the chronicles see Priselkov 1940 and Likhachev 1947. More recent works that survey historiography about the chronicles are Lur'e 1968, 1975, and his preface to the 1996 reprint of Priselkov.

[3]Likhachev (1945, 1947) writes about the earliest monasteries' efforts to create nationalist propaganda, extolling the virtues of the Russian nation compared to others and calling for national unity. He argues that they facilitated the creation of all-Russian unity where it had not existed before (1947, 420-422). Sinitsyna (2002b) credits the "non-possession" aspect of monastic spirituality with developing a dislike for ill-gotten gains among Russians, which she contrasts to the West where avarice is accepted as a spur to productivity.

[4]There is a debate about whether monasteries truly spearheaded moves into new areas or merely sprouted up after the areas had already been settled by others. Budovnits (1966, 357) and Gonneau (1993, 309) argue the latter line, however the effect of building up and Christianizing new areas is the same.

[5]Eastern Orthodox bishops are unmarried and to the present day are all theoretically monastics although some may have spent little time in monasteries before their consecration. Bushkovitch (1992, 13) argues that monastic saints dominated until the sixteenth century during which they lost out to hierarch saints. However, virtually all bishops were in fact monks long before they were bishops, often long enough to retain some sense of attachment to their alma mater. Gonneau (1996a, 467-71) disputes Bushkovitch's findings and states that monks remained the premier model of sanctity throughout the sixteenth century.

[6]The most famous example of an abbot's involvement in political life is the story of Sergius of Radonezh encouraging Dmitrii Donskoi to stand against the Tatars at Kulikovo in 1380. A relatively recent and thorough account of Sergius' life and the monastery he founded is by Gonneau (1993). Elsewhere Gonneau (1996b) devotes an entire article to reviewing various forms of monastic influence on state politics. He discusses instances of monks directly lobbying for policy changes, interceding for others with ruling princes, and acting as confessors, as well as princes traveling frequently to monasteries, and taking tonsure in monasteries on their deathbed.

ideal places to be buried and have one's name liturgically commemorated, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries monasteries used this prestige to amass ever-increasing donations of land as well as cash. As they become some of the greatest landowners in all Russia they took part in another long-term historical process – the development of serfdom.[7]

Some monastic institutions had a greater impact on the course of Russian history than others, and one of those generally acknowledged to be among the most important is the one founded in 1479 by Iosif of Volokolamsk. Over the course of the sixteenth century it was one of the primary literary centers of Russia,[8] and produced many of the church's most prominent hierarchs. The monastic Rule composed for it became the standard for other Russian monasteries.[9] Iosif himself has been credited by a remarkable array of historians with setting in motion a movement that transformed the Russian church into a ritualistic, intolerant, passive "handmaid of the state," in which one of the greatest virtues was "blind obedience" in a rigidly hierarchical political structure.[10] He and his school are said to have

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[7]See more on this below.

[8]When the Russian Academy of Sciences decided to begin a series of books about "Literary Centers of Ancient Rus'," one of the first was about Volokolamsk (Likhachev 1991). It had one of the largest libraries in sixteenth century Russia with some 2,000 manuscripts by 1591 and produced a number of important chronicles as well as specifically religious literature (Dejevsky 1979; Kloss 1974a).

[9]An English translation of it is available in Goldfrank 2000.

[10]Florinsky (1953, 166) states that Iosif "was among the most outspoken champions of that rigid attachment to the letter of the dogma and to that external observance which is characteristic of Russian Christianity. Faith and blind obedience were declared to be the sole road to salvation ... any manifestation of independent thought was heresy and blasphemy." Florinsky asserts that Iosif and his followers did not merely reflect Orthodoxy, they changed it: "There was no room in the Russian Church for dissenters, especially when they had the temerity to challenge ancient prejudices, to oppose reason to blind faith, and to attack the sacrosanct institution of ecclesiastical estates. The triumph of the school of Joseph of Volokolam [sic] was complete, but this meant that the Church had renounced all attempts to assert its independence from secular power." Vernadsky (1969, 4:136) reports that "Josephism firmly established its sway over the church and state of Russia." Bushkovitch (1992, 15, 21) laments that "Josephism gave birth to a narrow Orthodoxy" although he also asserts that "there was no victory of pure Josephism." Josephism is often credited with causing the church's reduction to absolute dependence on the state and the concomitant triumph of absolutism (see Medlin 1952, 91; Martin 1995, 264; Pipes 1974, 230-234) as well as the triumph of unthinking ritualism (Karpovich 1944, 11; Acton 1995, 6). Walsh (1968, 4) states that "[t]he Josephites were traditionalists, literalists, ritualists, and formalists in religion." Goldfrank (1980, 146) expresses a common understanding when he writes that the victory of Josephism marked the defeat of "rationalist thought." Lur'e (1956, 138) saw Josephism as representing a rigidly hierarchical social order: "A monastery was not a free union of people equal among themselves who had "rejected the world" (*otrekshikhsia zhitiia*), but an organization shackled by iron discipline with a complicated hierarchy and unconditional subjection of the lower [class] to the upper [class]." On the supposed iron discipline and hierarchical character of Josephite monasticism see Budovnits 1966, 240. Billington speaks of Josephites as stressing "the physical authority of the igumen" against the Non-possessors' "spiritual authority of the elder." (1966, 63) He also equates Josephites to Dostoevsky's Grand Inquisitor (85) and speaks of "the increase in hierarchical discipline and dogmatic rigidity which the Josephites brought to Russia." (96) See also Fedotov 1931, 187-90; Likhachev 1973, 124-37. Note 19 below cites a few scholars who offer opposing views.

not only emasculated the church vis-a-vis the state[11] but created a whole new political philosophy that helped elevate the grand prince – later tsar – to hitherto undreamed of heights of absolutism.[12] This new direction in Russian religious and political culture is often called by the name "Josephism" and its partisans "Josephites" after the anglicized version of the Volokolamsk abbot's name.

One of the major victories attributed to Josephism is the defense and promotion of monastic landowning.[13] This is seen by some historians as a negative development that was motivated by greed, turned monks' attention from heavenly to earthly affairs,[14] and spurred the development of serfdom.[15] Others see the accumulation of monastic riches in a positive light, considering it to have been motivated by an altruistic desire to serve the poor.[16] Some

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[11]Naturally, the word "state" does not have the same meaning when applied to sixteenth century Russia as it does in reference to a modern nation-state. Except as noted otherwise, I use the word in a general sense to refer to the administrative structure ruled by the grand prince, later tsar, and his boiars.

[12]Pipes (1974, 232) reports that Iosif was "the first to introduce into Russia" the idea of "the divinity of tsars." Acton (1995, 19) matter-of-factly states, "It was the Josephite hierarchy who orchestrated the remarkable development of monarchic ideology which so impressed Herberstein." See also Gonneau 1993, 210; Martin 1995, 264. The sixteenth century was in fact the period when the head of the Russian state adopted the title tsar which formerly had been normally reserved for the Byzantine emperor or the Mongol khan.

[13]The most recent substantial work devoted to a study of this debate is Pliguzov 2002. See also Likhachev 1960; Ostrowski 1986.

[14]Smolitsch (1953, 530) in his history of Russian monasticism portrays the ascendancy of Iosif at a 1503 church council as a major turning point after which the spiritual life of the entire Russian church went downhill and did not begin to recover until Catherine the great secularized the remaining church lands in 1764.

[15]Landowning monasteries in general are often considered major forces in the move toward serfdom in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Pipes (1974, 226) observes that "[m]onasteries were among the first landlords to petition the crown for charters fixing peasants to the soil." Likewise Mirskii (1942, 145): "For everywhere except in the north the sixteenth century was a period of rapid enserfment. At first its principal form was growing indebtedness, mainly to the monasteries." The theme is especially prevalent in Soviet literature. Budovnits (1966) chronicles consistently cruel monastic exploitation and enserfment, and consequent peasant revolts, in a book titled *Monastyri na Rusi i bor'ba s nimi krest'ian v XIV-XVI vekakh* (*Monasteries in Rus' and the Peasants' Struggle with Them*). One incident of "forced lending" (*prinuditel'noe kreditovanie*) by Volokolamsk in particular is often cited as evidence of monastic contribution to enserfment in the late sixteenth century (Tikhomirov 1938, 160; Shchepetov 1946, 103-104; Koretskii 1970, 32, 274-285; Zimin 1977, 159, 165); others reach the same conclusion based on other historical records (Pobedimova 1967, 97; Petrov 1960, 171; Kashtanov 1959, 115). This incident will be discussed at length in chapter 6. See also Pobedimova 1967, 97; Petrov 1960, 171; Kashtanov 1959, 115.

[16]Florovsky (1979, 20) explains that Iosif "received 'villages' from the powerful and wealthy so that he might share and divide their proceeds among the lower classes and the poor," being motivated by "[c]harity, not merely fear or a sense of obligation." Sinitsyna (2002b, 143) says much the same thing: "For Iosif Volotskii 'non-possession' was a monk's personal virtue, one of his three fundamental 'promises' (vows); there was also the charitable function of the monastery ('alms', good-deeds, hospitality, building of hospitals, almshouses, etc.) ..." In accounting for the extent of monastic land possessions Kolycheva (2002, 102) observes that "the idea of service not only to God but to [one's] brethren was an important factor in monastic life," but she does not explicitly state how the riches might have been distributed, instead switching gears to discuss the need for appropriately grand material setting for monastic worship. Goldfrank (1975, 285) suggests Iosif's arguments justifying land ownership by the need for economic resources for charitable work "may be just a facade" since he does not mention charity as an institutional responsibility in his Rule.

tie several of these issues together by suggesting that the Josephite party supported political ideology exalting the absolute power of the grand prince expressly in order to curry his favor in the lands controversy.[17] Most scholars divide virtually the entire church in the sixteenth century into two fundamentally opposed camps: the Josephites, or Possessors (because they supported monastic landowning), on the one side, and arrayed against them on the opposing side the "Transvolgan Elders"[18] or "Non-possessors." In this scheme the Josephite Possessor party is invariably considered to have more or less completely defeated the Non-possessor party, thereby setting the tone for Russian Orthodoxy for centuries.[19] Although a few have suggested that this portrayal is overdrawn,[20] by and large it is accepted as a fundamental axiom that needs no defense.[21] Regardless of where one stands in these historiographical debates, the enduring significance of Iosif and his monastery is indisputable.[22]

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[17]"The close alliance that developed between monks and tsars in the first half of the sixteenth century can, of course, be analyzed as a venal, Machiavellian compact ..." (Billington 1966, 63). See also Wieczynski 1980, 140; Acton 1995, 19; Zimin 1977, 6.

[18]So called because their most prominent spokesmen came from north – on the other side, from the viewpoint of Moscow – of the Volga.

[19]This line of thought continues to the present day, as can be seen from a book by V. A. Bachinin and I. Iu. Nikitin published in 2003. The book's title is *The Origins of the Conflict between Byzantinism and Evangelism* (*Istoki konflikta mezhdu vizantizmom i evangelizmom*). "Byzantinism" is traced back to Iosif himself and represents "the state-centered model of socio-cultural life" which is opposed to the "Christ-centered model" advanced by Iosif's supposed opponent, Nil Sorskii (5). Iosif is said to have introduced the idea that "the end justifies the means" (49), and the struggle between him and Nil constitutes the "antithesis between the mechanism of social repression and the irrepressible needs of the human spirit in moral autonomy." (4) Byzantinism for Bachinin and Nikitin is "the eastern sickness," which is characterized by "symptoms of indifference to the truth, and scorn (*prezreniia*) for human dignity and for essential rights of the human person." (108)

[20]Freeze (1985), for example, argues against the idea that the church ever became a "handmaid of the state"; Szeftel indicates that Josephism did not offer unambiguous support of absolutism (Szeftel 1965), and Ostrowski (1986) doubts there were two opposing parties even in the monastic lands controversy. See also the collection of papers in Keenan and Ostrowski 1977. More recently scholars are beginning to see the Russian church as a much more complex and flexible cultural system than the typical image of Josephist ritualism (see Kivelson and Greene 2003).

[21]Yanov's (1984, 127) explanation for his term, "Soviet Protestantism" is a good example, since he builds his case based on the "evidence" of the possessor vs. non-possessor split which he assumes everyone will accept as an obvious given. In Russian history, he states categorically, "it has not been uncommon for major reforms to include not only basic institutional or economic changes but also a comprehensive split within a prevailing meta-ideology – a split related to practically all spheres of life, including fundamental beliefs and moral values. It is enough to mention the sixteenth-century split between the Josephites and the Non-Acquirers (the latter were the closest the Russian church ideologists came to Protestantism) or the nineteenth-century split between the Westernizers and the Slavophiles."

[22]Even Gonneau (1993, 212) in his book about the great monastery Trinity-Sergius, which was founded a hundred years earlier and always owned much more property than Volokolamsk, states that in the sixteenth century Trinity-Sergius was "largely eclipsed in the political arena" by Volokolamsk.

This study is an attempt to understand the "Josephites," meaning Iosif himself and the monks of his monastery.[23] It suggests new answers to old questions: which social strata did they came from, which individuals became leaders among them, what was the nature of that leadership, what motivated them as individuals and as a collective? It also offers some new perspectives on the standard portrayals of Josephites as religious ritualists and political absolutists, perspectives which reflect on Russian religion and monasticism in general, not just Volokolamsk. Indeed, the image of Iosif and his monastery reflecting rather than molding their environment will lead to the conclusion that the term "Josephism" itself is inherently misleading. That word implies a particular "movement" or "party" or ideological system of some sort, something the evidence does not support. Finally, this study asks a new question: to what extent are actions taken by "the monastery" the responsibility of individual leaders versus the monastery itself as an institution? The answer to this question can shed new light on the perennial debate about the degree to which the amassing of monastic riches was for the purpose of charity and social service versus an expression of ordinary greed.

Earlier studies of the monastic brotherhood of Iosifov concluded that the monks as a whole, or at least the leaders among them, were dominated by the landed nobility. Some scholars took the further step of asserting that the monks' social origins determined their beliefs and behaviors as monk-landowners.[24] Yet all of these arguments were based on very limited anecdotal evidence rather than on systematic attempts to identify as many monks as possible from the available sources. Actually, despite the importance of monasticism in general for medieval Russian history, and of understanding the monks themselves for understanding monasticism, no other community has yet been subjected to such a systematic analysis.[25] Volokolamsk is one of a few monasteries for which sources dating back as early

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[23]Due to the widespread understanding of "two camps encompassing the entire church," many scholars use "Josephite" in a broader sense, applying to anyone who appears to agree with whatever viewpoints the scholars themselves happen to consider as key attributes or indicators of "Josephism." I am endorsing neither the "two camps" understanding nor the resulting broader conception of who the "Josephites" were.

[24]This is the line taken in a series of Soviet works (Tikhomirov 1938, Shchepetov 1946, Zimin 1977), whose findings have then been taken up by others reliant on secondary sources (Bushkovitch 1992; Goldfrank 1975, 2000). More details on this argument are presented below in chapter 1.

[25]The closest one comes is Jennifer Spock's (1999) dissertation about Solovki, which is primarily based on one class of source documents, i.e., donation records. See more below, in chapter 1.

as the sixteenth century are sufficient to undertake such a project, and the results verify that this work is worth undertaking where feasible, for they point in a different direction from what has been argued on the basis of anecdotal evidence.

The present study finds that landed nobility were in the minority both among the leadership and among the rank and file. While the social origins of most monks cannot be determined with certainty, I argue that most were probably from a group the sources call *slugi* – landless servitors. On the other hand, my findings confirm one of the earlier studies' contentions – that the monastery's behavior in its relationships with workers, peasants, and neighboring landowners was indistinguishable from that of secular landowners. Contrary to the claims of Iosif himself and some modern investigators, social service was not what a "Josephite" monastery was all about. Charity was incidental to the institution's existence rather than a fundamental part of it, and significant charitable expenditures were a matter of individual initiative rather than an essential institutional function.

Most individual monks did need, accumulate, and spend money for their private use much like anyone else in contemporary society. Relatively few of them fit the image of the religious enthusiast devoted to the ascetic ideals of poverty and absolute "non-possession." The rest were simply ordinary men of their time trying to make a living and secure their future as best they could, both individually and as a collective. Since their non-monastic countrymen lived in essentially the same religious culture as they did, there is no cause for believing that monks by and large thought or acted fundamentally differently. My view of the Volokolamsk monks as constituting a well-integrated community socially, and pragmatic in their approach to daily life rather than ritualistic, is not completely new insofar as other recent investigators have reached similar conclusions for other communities[26] or pre-Petrine

[26] Gonneau (1993, 367-71, 456-62) does so for Trinity-Sergius; see also Dmitriev 1997, 148-50.

Russian Christianity in general.[27] But it is new for this community which has long been considered the veritable fount of Russian ritualism, literalism, and absolutism.[28]

And if this community has often been portrayed in some ways as the opposite of what it was, that raises new questions about just how different it was from those who are usually portrayed as its political and ecclesiastical opposites – the "Transvolgan Elders" or "Non-possessors." It was nearly 20 years ago that Donald Ostrowski (1986, 379) published an article arguing that the very idea of dividing churchmen into two opposing camps was an invention of later historians and consequently "the concept of Church parties in sixteenth century Muscovy is not useful for interpreting the source testimony, and can safely be dropped from the historiography." The concept was too well-entrenched to get dropped because of one article, but perhaps the additional evidence provided by this study will help move scholarly consensus in that direction.

As an examination of the way of life and aspirations of ordinary monks, this study does complement the newest literature being produced about the history of Russian religious culture, with its emphasis on "lived" rather than "prescriptive" religion and what Georg Michels (1999, 1) calls "the common man."[29] It differs, however, in that it does not depend on research in newly opened archives. Most of the key sources for the history of Volokolamsk have been published and have long been available in archives that were never closed off. These sources, however, despite their availability have been underutilized and

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[27]Most of the citations above attesting to scholars' judgments that "Josephism" is ritualistic apply to the entire Russian church since their argument is that Josephism took over the church at large. Bushkovitch (1992, 9) attributes a lack of interest in "moral" (as opposed to ritual) matters to the entire Russian church in the sixteenth century, based on his belief that sermons did not become a part of parish life until the seventeenth century. This picture of Russian Christianity either in general, or particularly in certain periods, as being fundamentally ritualistic has come under question in more recent scholarship; see the collection of articles in Kivelson and Greene 2003. Yet even in that volume Bushkovitch is cited as an authority on precisely this subject, along with his dating of the beginning of "a moralizing tendency" in the Russian church to the late seventeenth century (Rowland 2003, 52).

[28]Even Pierre Gonneau (1993, 462), who absolves Trinity-Sergius of being made up of ideologues, states that the monks of Volokolamsk were supporters of the Moscow dynasty and absolutism.

[29]The word "man" in Michels' phrase which might otherwise be considered a bit narrow in scope fits well the subject of a men's monastery. Besides Michels' book about religious dissent among seventeenth century monastics there is Thyret's (2001) about lived religion of royal women (though highly placed in one sense, they were not subjects of in-depth studies before), and Kivelson and Greene's (2003) symposium about "belief and practice under the tsars." Among recent Russian works is Romanenko's (2002) examination of daily life in medieval Russian monasteries. There are also several recent Russian works that attempt to look at secular "ordinary people," including Mikhailova's (2003) look at "serving people" of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries and Kargalov's (2002) examination of military commanders (*voevody*) of the sixteenth through seventeenth centuries. These are but a few of the books published since 2000; there are also countless articles published in journals and various symposia.

misinterpreted. And this is not necessarily a unique situation. If the sources for any given topic have been published and thoroughly studied, that does not always mean scholars should move on to greener pastures. In the introduction to their recent symposium on "belief and practice under the tsars," Valerie Kivelson and Robert Greene write:

> If Orthodoxy, or the variants that it assumed in Russia, explains any significant aspects of Russian history, then it is a task of some urgency to identify the specific ways in which Russian experience was inflected by Orthodoxy. With the opening of archives and the unprecedented access to primary source materials on the history of religion in Russia, it is now possible to pursue this project in depth, perhaps for the first time since the Revolution. (2003, 4)

I endorse the project, and some of this present study takes part in it insofar as it points out similarities and differences between Orthodox monasticism and its counterpart in the West. But I would also like to argue that there have been opportunities to "pursue this project in depth" long before the events of the late 1980s in Russia. There has been a lack, not of sources, but of scholars ready, willing, and able to understand Orthodoxy and Orthodox people on their own terms rather than imposing on them a theoretical framework foreign to them.[30] If my work changes perceptions of such a thoroughly studied phenomenon as "Josephism," then I hope it may also inspire others to undertake similar attempts at rewriting other accounts of the past that are in need of rewriting, rather than limiting their focus to uncharted territory.

Indeed, my own cannot be the "last word" on the subject; it is rather a "first word" since it is a pioneering effort in some areas – most notably in the methodology used to identify monks, their social origins, and their roles in the monastic community. As will be seen in the chapter about that methodology, even interpreting something as prosaic as people's names is all too often an exercise in (educated) guesswork. Small changes in methodology or interpretation of source data can have major impacts on overall conclusions, and since much of my methodology is completely new it will certainly see additional development in the future. Here I will cite a historian of medieval Western monasticism who has grappled with similar problems:

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[30]The clearest example of this is the Soviet tendency to assume all religious belief is a sham, a mere tool for economic exploitation. Naturally there are also those who go astray in the opposite direction of being overly credulous for one reason or another.

> It would be tedious if every identification or generalization in the ensuing chapters were to be followed by a question mark; but that is, in fact, what the reader is hereby invited to supply. (Rosenwein 1989)

The broad conclusions expounded herein I am convinced will stand the test of time, but many of the contributing data are as tentative in nature as Rosenwein's. When, for example, the reader sees statistics counting numbers of individuals in each social group, the numbers should be understood as fairly rough estimations even though the counts are exact. My goal is not to present the definitive treatment of this subject, but to show the way to a more accurate understanding of "Josephism," and "Josephites" than has been available before now.

The chronological boundaries for the study are 1479 and 1607. The first one is obvious enough: the date when the Iosifov-Volokolamsk monastery was founded. The second is determined by a combination of the fortunes of the monastery and the availability of sources. It was the sixteenth century that saw the ascendancy of Iosifov, when its religious and political influence was at its height. During the Time of Troubles, however (the period of anarchy and foreign invasions lasting from 1598-1613), it was in the wrong place at the wrong place. The main monastery buildings and courtyard were devastated by Polish occupation, from which it spent the rest of the seventeenth century recovering as merely one among many large monasteries. The last records available from its period of glory before the Polish occupation is a set of estate management books dating to 1607, right after it weathered a local Russian rebellion, and so I have adopted that year as my end-point.

The prehistory of the abbey can be traced to the monastic tradition of Eastern Orthodox Christianity which began in the Middle East, developed further in Byzantium, and made its way to Russia when Grand Prince Vladimir adopted Eastern Christianity in 988.[31] For several centuries Russian monasteries were mainly created and supported through the financial largesse of secular princes and tended to be idiorrhythmic rather than cenobitic in organization. "Idiorrhythmic" communities were originally loose associations of hermitages where the hermits acknowledged little or no centralized authority and came together for little

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[31]Two good general introductions to the Eastern Orthodox church in general are Meyendorff 1981and Ware 1991; the best coverage of the Eastern Orthodox system of beliefs and practices is Meyendorff 1983. For introductions to the origins of monasticism see Dunn 2003 and Lawrence 2001. Byzantine monasticism is covered by Charanis 1971; Morris 1984, 1985, 1995; Thomas 1987; and Byer 1979.

more than church services. Eventually the hermitages developed into more or less organized building ensembles, sometimes even enclosed by a wall, but the principle that each monk lived independently as the master of his own life remained. At what is usually considered to be the opposite pole of monastic organization were "cenobitic" communities where all members lived together and owned everything in common, and whose lives were tightly regulated under the authority of an abbot, or in Greek and Russian, *igumen.*[32] (Another word for the same function is "archimandrite"; it applies to heads of monasteries that were considered a higher class in the Russian church hierarchy for such institutions.) In between the two poles was a wide variety of hybrid forms.[33] Medieval Western European monasteries organized according to the Rule of St. Benedict were cenobitic institutions – much like Russian cenobitic institutions in some ways, different in others. Differences between the Eastern and Western monastic traditions will be discussed below.

The fourteenth century saw the beginning of fundamental changes in Russian monasticism. What came to be called the Trinity-Sergius monastery and would eventually become the country's largest and richest was founded by Saint Sergius of Radonezh in 1345. Sergius was himself neither a prince nor wealthy but enlisted the financial aid of wealthy donors. His monastery functioned as an idiorrhythmic institution for the first eleven years, until 1356. At that time, over much opposition from the monks but encouragement from the church hierarchy, he converted it into a cenobium. Thenceforth similar conversions of other monasteries followed, while new ones were typically founded right at the start as cenobia.[34]

Some sources suggest Sergius' monastery was chosen as the first for such a conversion because it was relatively new and malleable, while the effort might have failed at the nearby monastery of the Epiphany headed by Sergius' brother because there the monks "were often of high origin" (Gonneau 1993, 118). Even so, some of the Trinity-Sergius monks left rather than stay under the new rules. Resistance on the part of social elites is

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[32]It is popular in Western scholarly works to transliterate this word as "hegumen." This is anachronistic transliteration at best – it is based on patterns of pronunciation that changed many centuries before the historical period that the historians who transliterate it this way write about. In both modern Greek and Russian the pronunciation is likewise "igumen" and so I have chosen this as the most appropriate way to render the word.

[33]For a discussion of the idiorrthymic, cenobitic, hybrid and still other forms, and their relative incidence in Byzantium, see Morris 1995; 1-5, 149-151, 293.

[34]See the discussion in Gonneau 1993, 118-119.

understandable because it would be difficult to maintain their independence and wealthy life-style in a cenobitic community. Not only would they live, eat, and work at the same tasks with all the other monks, but they would be subject to the igumen's authority in all aspects of life. Even such simple actions as eating or drinking in one's own "cell" (living quarters, a small room or hut) or going out of the monastery could not be done without express permission of the igumen.

The tightly organized character of the new cenobitic monasteries made it possible for them to act independently once established, becoming in effect "juridical persons." They acquired and managed property in their own name. Through various means of acquisition – primarily donations – they achieved financial independence by developing an income from agriculture based on corporate ownership of large land-holdings, or by engaging in other business ventures (such as salt production in the far north).

A century after Trinity-Sergius got its start, another new cenobium began its existence in 1479 as the monastery of the Dormition. It was located near the present village of Teriaevo, about 10 miles north-east of the city of Volokolamsk and 60 miles north-west of Moscow, in central Russia. Although there is another monastery (Vozmitskii) right next to the city of Volokolamsk while this one is not even in the town's outskirts, this one became much more famous and so eventually came to be called by the name Volokolamsk. It and its namesake city are also known as Volok Lamskii, Volok, or Volotsk. That is also why its founder, Iosif Sanin, is often called Iosif Volotskii in historical literature.

Ivan Sanin was born in 1439 into a landowning family in the region around Volokolamsk.[35] At the age of 21 he entered a monastery in Borovsk[36] headed by a prominent abbot named Pafnutii and took the monastic name Iosif. By the time Pafnutii died in 1477, Iosif had become Pafnutii's right-hand man, and he succeeded him as igumen. His accession provoked discord among the monks. According to Iosif's Lives, he was dissatisfied with the

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[35]For an account of Iosif's life that is generally more detailed than what follows, see Goldfrank 2000, 23-46. Golfrank provides ample citations to both primary and secondary sources in his account, so I do so here only where there is a need to supplement what he has. Regarding the year of Iosif's birth, some historians list it as 1439/1440 reflecting the actual uncertainty over whether it was in one or the other year. In such cases where there is uncertainty but the difference is of little significance I generally indicate only the first year as a matter of convenience. See the preface for an explanation of this practice.

[36]Located about 100 kilometers south of Volokolamsk and southeast of Moscow.

Borovsk monastery's lax observance of cenobitic conventions and intended to institute a strict Rule. Some key features of such a Rule would be absolute non-possession – that is, individual monks could have no private possessions at all – and obedience to the igumen in all aspects of life. Unable to transform his own community into an ideal one, he is said to have gone on a trip surveying other monasteries to try to find one with strict enough life to suit him. The Kirillo-Belozersk monastery (often considered headquarters of the "Transvolgan Elders") came close, but in the end he returned to Borovsk, gathered together seven other like-minded monks, and set off to establish his own monastery. They traveled to the region around Volokolamsk, which is where Iosif grew up and his family owned land. And there, as hagiographical tradition has it, God miraculously revealed to him the precise location where his new community should be built.

There is more to the story of leaving Borovsk and coming to Volokolamsk than the Lives reveal. The Borovsk monastery was under the direct authority of Grand Prince Ivan III, and there are hints of tensions between Iosif and Ivan. Moreover, tensions were building between Ivan III and his own brothers, one of whom was Prince Boris Vasil'evich of Volokolamsk. Ivan's brothers had their own subsidiary realms as appanage princes but were chafing under Ivan's increasingly imperious rule. In the winter of 1479-1480 things came to a head between Ivan and two of his brothers. While Ivan was busy attacking Novgorod, his brothers Boris and Andrei packed up with their armies and took off in the direction of Lithuania, apparently with some thought of forming an alliance against Ivan. At around the same time news reached Ivan of an impending attack from the east by a large Mongol force. Suddenly the grand prince found himself facing possible defeat if he had to face the Mongol khan Akhmat without the added forces of his brothers. In these dire straights the only action the chronicles portray Ivan himself engaging in is retreating, while the day was saved by his mother and the metropolitan.[37] They interceded with Ivan's brothers and convinced them to return and join forces with Ivan. In the end there was no battle; 1480 is usually cited as the end of Mongol dominion over Russia, but the event is called the "Stand on the Ugra"

[37]Some chronicles clearly intend to portray cowardice on Ivan's part in contrast to the bravery of his mother and church hierarchs; see especially PSRL 6:231.

because the two armies merely looked across the river at each other for a time before each peaceably went on its way.

It may not be a coincidence all this was going on at about the time Iosif was leaving the grand prince's realm and moving into that of his brother Boris. Moreover, Boris did not merely accept Iosif but rather invested enormous amounts of money in building a monastery from scratch for him.[38] At a time when Ivan was constantly looking for ways to undercut the power of his brothers, there may have been political reasons for Boris to support the creation of what could become a prestigious monastic institution. Iosif was already well-known by then, a known quantity who could be expected to be able to establish such a community. Thus, there may have been political motives for Iosif's departure from Borovsk and his choice of Volokolamsk as a destination -- as well as for his move back to the Grand Prince's jurisdiction in 1507, just two years after Ivan III died (about which more will be said below).

The new monastery grew quickly in terms of buildings, landed property, and monks. Donations of cash and real estate came in not only from Prince Boris but from other neighboring landowners. And despite Iosif's strict cenobitic rule there was no shortage of recruits, some from the highest social strata. All of the surviving hagiographic literature – Lives of Iosif, Lives of other monks of Volokolamsk, the Paterikon – indicates that he was genuinely strict about applying his rule: grandees expecting an easy life were in for a rude awakening, and those who could not adapt went elsewhere. One of his Lives summarizes the state of affairs this way:

> ... the first in honor turned out to be last in humility, while those who were last in honor became first in love. For those who came with property and riches did not receive from him rest and relaxation, nor were those tonsured from poverty and slavery weighted down with work and servitude, nor were grandeees granted any preference or served any more than the lesser and more humble ones. Rather, all were equal in the name of brother, all were chastised by themselves according to the law of love, all were subject to the same yoke of obedience and tied to the same yoke of submissiveness, and all labored under the same burden of humility and love for hard work. (Belokurov 1903, 24)

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[38]Actually, one of Iosif's Lives states that Boris was actively lobbying for Iosif to come to his realm: "he was very much pressured (*mnogo prinuzhdaem*) [to come] by Boris Vasil'evich; and heeding him, [Iosif] came in the year 1479. And the pious prince ordered him to find a place appropriate for building a monastery ..." (Nevostruev 1865c, 169)

By all accounts, Iosif himself lived by the same Rule as one of the brothers – wearing the same clothing, eating the same food, living in the same kind of cell.

Starting in the late 1480s, and extending virtually up until the day of his death in 1515, Iosif became involved in a series of debates about heretics and what to do with them. Little is known about what exactly the heretics actually believed, for practically the only writings about them are condemnations of them by Iosif and Archbishop of Novgorod Genadii. Some of them came to be called "Judaizers," though the accuracy of that label has been called into question by many scholars.[39] Iosif vigorously urged the grand prince to deal harshly with the heretics, argued the same line at key church councils in 1490 and 1504, and produced volumes of polemical literature directed against them. One of his most famous works is a polemical compendium of patristic texts intended to unmask the heresies by explaining at length the truths of the faith all in one treatise, titled the "Enlightener."[40] Against some of his contemporaries who argued that heretics should be treated mercifully, he argued for life in prison or burning at the stake; and he even counseled against accepting any recantations, deeming them probably not sincere.

Concurrent with the ongoing debate about heretics, though probably starting some years later, was the debate for which Iosif is most often remembered: that of the "possessors" versus the "non-possessors." Ironically Iosif is remembered as the champion of "possession" despite the fact that among his contemporaries he was one of the severest proponents of "non-possession" with respect to individual monks. What he supported against attacks from others inside and outside the monastic world, was the right and necessity for monasteries as institutions to own landed property. The Transvolgan Elders argued that institutional ownership was as much contrary to the principles of monastic spirituality as individual ownership. In their view the monk's job was to pray and live by the work of his hands, not live a comfortable life exploiting the labor of, and acting as administrator and judge over, laymen (such as peasants and the various lay administrators that monasteries had to employ to manage their villages).

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[39]Here again, as throughout this historical background section, Goldfrank (2000, 32-37) provides an overview with references to additional literature on the subject.

[40]Published in Iosif 1896; Iosif 1993.

Divestiture of monastic land would have dovetailed well with the interests of Ivan III at the time, for he needed land to support his army: rather than paying military men a salary he settled them on tracts of land and then expected them to make enough of a living from the land to serve in his army gratis. The store of land available to give out was ever decreasing, while monasteries were taking ever increasing amounts out of that store. A church decision in favor of the Transvolgan Elders' position could then benefit him or make it easier for him to tap some of the vast monastic lands to expand his armed forces.

Iosif and others on his side advanced a series of arguments in favor of institutional ownership of land by monasteries: there was a centuries-long precedent for monastic land ownership; canon law permitted it; it was needed to provide support for the basic functions of a monastery; and it was needed to enable monasteries to perform charitable work such as feeding the hungry. Iosif pointed out that even in normal times his refectory fed 600 people every day, which required substantial economic resources.[41] One source argues that an important function of monasteries was to train nobles for service as hierarchs; in order to provide them with an appropriate standard of living as well as plenty of free time to study the divine writings, monasteries had to have a substantial income.[42] In the end Iosif's side won out in this debate too, setting the stage for further spectacular growth of monastic landowning through most of the sixteenth century. By 1600 Volokolamsk owned at least 100,000 acres of land, while Trinity-Sergius had almost three times that much.[43]

In the midst of these national controversies Iosif had to face a crisis within his own monastery, and he resolved it in a way that raised his abbey to an even greater degree of national prominence. Boris Vasil'evich, the appanage prince who financed the original construction of Iosif's monastery, died in 1494. His son Fedor initially left well enough alone, but some time before 1507 began to harass the monastery. The rift seems to have

[41]Zimin and Lur'e 1959, 179. The other great monasteries did the same. Nikol'skii (1897-1910, 2:260) mentions the figure of 600 also for Kirill-Belozersk, Pafnut'ev-Borovsk fed up to 1,000 (BE 19:727).

[42]Older histories attributed this argument to Iosif himself; see Blum 1961, 195; Florinsky 1953, 172. There are debates about its authenticity in Zimin 1953 and Lur'e 1956. Goldfrank (2000, 39) calls it "a source friendly to Iosif."

[43]Gonneau 1993, 305. Shchepetov (1946, 93) speaks of 70,000 acres in 1591. Kolycheva (1987, 73) gives a figure of 23,000 *chetverti* (31,000) acres "in one field" by the end of the sixteenth century, which would translate to 93,000 total; and for the same period she counts 143,000 *chetverti* for Trinity-Sergius. The greater size of Trinity-Sergius' holdings can be attributed primarily to the fact that it was founded more than a century earlier.

begun when Iosif helped Fedor's brother make out a will that left the brother's appanage of Ruza to the grand prince instead of to Fedor.[44] At any rate, Fedor is said to have begun extorting money, forcibly taking away icons and books, and threatening to "beat with a whip" (Zimin and Lur'e 1959, 210) any monks who might dare to oppose him. To understand his actions one must understand the traditional view in this period of founders' rights: the wealthy patron who paid for the construction of a monastery considered it an integral part of his own estate. Fedor inherited his father's estate which included Iosifov, and in his own view, he was only taking what was his. He could even remove Iosif himself should he choose: the founder's rights extended not only to a monastery's material possessions but also included installation and removal of igumens. (This remained true in spite of various Byzantine and Russian monastic Rules specifying that igumens should be elected; and in the case of the largest, most important monasteries it could be preempted by the grand prince's right of appointing the igumen regardless of his status as founder or not.)[45]

Evgeniia Kolycheva (2002, 86-87) relates an incident in the history of the great Kirillo-Belozersk monastery to illustrate how strong was this principle, and it is a story worth relating here because a similar incident would become extremely important in the history of Volokolamsk. Kirill himself in his 1427 will called the local prince Andrei Dmitrievich *gospodar* and *gospodin* (words for "lord"), asked him to continue his good will toward the monastery which was shown in various donation deeds during Kirill's lifetime, and asked him to back up the authority of whoever would succeed Kirill as igumen. Specifically, that meant the prince was supposed to expel any disobedient monks. Some time later Mikhail Andreevich, Andrei's son, inherited his father's realm, and between then and 1479 two successive archbishops of Rostov – in whose territory Belozersk lay – attempted and failed to assert their authority over the monastery. The first installed his own brother as igumen in the monastery without consulting Prince Mikhail. Mikhail responded

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[44]See the discussions of this in Cherepnin 1948-51 1:218-9; Szeftel 1965, 24; Zimin 1977, 75ff.; Ivina 1979, 125; Kolycheva 2002, 88.

[45]The Rule of St. Basil stipulates that monastery heads are to be chosen by heads of other monasteries, but this was rarely observed in Russia. Iosif's Rule states that the council of elders should elect the igumen. One does find in hagiography mention of councils of monks meeting to decide on the next monastery head (Spock 1999; 321, 329). In the case of Iosif's immediate successor, he himself submitted a list of nominees to the grand prince before his death, but after his death Vasilii III chose someone not on the list anyway. Spock mentions similar examples in Solovki's history (1999, 370).

by ordering that igumen to be "captured and put in fetters, and the monastery be taken away from him." The prince then installed his own candidate who was said to have been requested by the entire brotherhood. Some years later the next archbishop of Rostov made another attempt to take control, this time the intention being to force the monastery to pay taxes to him and to assert his right to "judge" the igumen and brothers. A judicial proceeding followed, in which the prince's representative (*d'iak*) asserted "from of old the earlier archbishops of Rostov did not meddle in the Kirillov monastery of my lord." The prince all along had judged the igumen, and the igumen judged the brothers, he claimed, "except for spiritual matters." The archbishop's main argument was that the monastery was on his territory so it belonged to him. He lost the suit.

Clearly, then, Iosif and his brotherhood were in a very difficult position in 1506-07 when its "owner" Fedor Borisovich decided virtually to dismantle his own monastery. When Iosif himself complained to Fedor's henchmen they are said to have responded, "A lord is free to do as he pleases in his own monasteries, whether he wishes to give or to pillage (*grabit*)" (Zimin and Lur'e 1959, 220). In the end what happened was something for which there apparently is no precedent in Russian history: Iosif sent two emissaries to Grand Prince Vasilii to petition him to take over ownership of – or in the language of the time, take under his protection – the Iosifov monastery.[46] He agreed. This in turn incensed Archbishop Serapion of Novgorod (in whose territory Volokolamsk lay), who proceeded to excommunicate Iosif for doing such a thing without asking permission. That affair ended up being deliberated at a national church council, as a result of which Serapion himself was deposed.

These events had far-reaching significance for both the well-being of Iosif's community and the political life of Russia, for it initiated a particularly close relationship between the monastery and the grand prince that extended over most of the century. With the exception of a few times of tension, both Grand Prince Vasilii (1505-33) and his son Tsar Ivan IV (1547-84) maintained frequent and cordial relations with the Volokolamsk monastery and its igumens. Not only did the grand prince and the tsar repeatedly visit the

[46]There was precedent for him taking a monastery under his protection, but apparently no monastery had requested that move before; see Zimin and Lur'e (1959, 201) for two prior examples, Trinity-Sergius and Kamenskii monasteries.

monastery but also the igumens visited them in Moscow. Inveterate politician and polemicist that he was, Iosif took full advantage of his opportunities to influence political leaders in matters he was interested in, and to a somewhat lesser degree his successors followed suit.

One of the results of this relationship that historians often emphasize, but may have been of relatively little impact at the time and possibly thereafter as well, is in the attitude toward princely political authority displayed in Iosif's writings.[47] In earlier writings when Iosif disliked and distrusted the grand prince (Ivan III), he tended to stress the Orthodox believer's responsibility to obey God rather than the prince if the prince said or did anything contrary to the faith:

> If there is a tsar who rules over people, but over himself rule passions and sins, avarice and anger, deceit and falsehood, pride and anger – or worst of all, disbelief and blasphemy – such a tsar is not a servant of God but a devil, and not a tsar, but a tormenter. (Kazakova and Lur'e 1955, 346)

Iosif's emphasis shifted during the reign of Vasilii, whom he considered to be good and pious – and whose authority Iosif relied upon to nullify Serapion's excommunication of him. So texts by Iosif, such as the following extract from a letter addressed to Vasilii III, can also be found:

> For, O Lord (*gosudar'*), the heavenly king (*tsar'*) has given you the scepter of the earthly kingdom (*tsarstvia*) in the image of the heavenly authority (*vlasti*), so that you will teach people to uphold truth, and keep the devil's desires away from us. (Zimin and Lur'e 1959, 183)

There is in fact no fundamental disagreement between the two kinds of statements. In each case where Iosif exalts the tsar as God's chosen one, he does so in order to impress on the tsar his responsibility to uphold the Orthodox faith, to be merciful to his subjects and judge them justly, and so forth. Thus, he implicitly subjects the tsar to God's judgment even as he talks about him as God's chosen one. If the God-chosen tsar were to do something that could be deemed blasphemous, Iosif or anyone like him would readily slip back to the "such a tsar is not the servant of God" language.

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[47]Scholars' claims regarding "Josephite" political ideology, such as Pipes' (1974, 232) assertion that Iosif "introduced into Russia" the idea of "divinity of tsars" were quoted above. Szeftel (1965) offers a more balanced picture of what Iosif intended and points out in his conclusion that the long-term effect of the relatively few remarks made by Iosif that started the debate has yet to be established.

Much more influential in his own day and beyond than Iosif's letters and his "Enlightener" (in which many of the political statements are found), was his Rule since it was eventually adopted by many other Russian monasteries. This is the single most important document for establishing just what principles "Josephism" believed in and propagated. It not only specified standards of behavior but also set up a system of monastery government including a ruling council of twelve "elders" (*startsy*; singular *starets*) whose function was to be the igumen's eyes and ears among the rank and file monks, to act as representatives of the rank and file to the igumen, and to correct the igumen himself in case he strayed from the dictates of the Rule.

There was more to Iosif's own spirituality than harshness towards heretics and strict enforcement of cenobitic monastic traditions. He acted as spiritual advisor to prominent laymen, instilling in them a sense of responsibility for the care of those under their authority. He taught landlords to be fair and merciful to their peasants and set an example for them by treating his own (the monastery's) peasants that way. He fed the hungry, forgave debts of bankrupt peasants, built an orphanage for abandoned children, established a nearby dependent monastery that also functioned as an infirmary,[48] and in general created an environment which made his monastery and its properties an attractive place for both monks and peasants to live compared to the contemporary alternatives.

After Iosif died, Vasilii exercised his right to choose the next igumen and installed a man named Daniil Riazanets who may not even have been a monk of Iosifov before then. Nevertheless, he energetically enforced Iosif's cenobitic traditions for seven years until Vasilii appointed him metropolitan in 1522.[49] Daniil was neither the first nor the last Iosifov monk to become a hierarch. Over the course of the century at least 19 of the monastery's monks became hierarchs, in a church that had only eight episcopal sees at the start of the century and ten at the end. This is often seen as one of the key ways in which "Josephism" influenced the Russian church, for many of the most powerful churchmen of sixteenth

[48]Great monasteries in Russia did not form networks of dependent monasteries such as Cluny or Citeaux, but Volokolamsk did build one in the nearby village of Spirovo which it retained some control over. It appears in the sources as the "Bogoradnyi" monastery. It had its own igumen and apparently a very small monastic brotherhood.

[49]On Daniil's life and writings see Zhmakin 1881b; on his involvement in chronicle writing see Kloss 1980.

century Russia spent the formative years of their ecclesiastical careers in the Iosifov monastery.[50]

During the remainder of the century the monastery weathered the same vicissitudes the rest of the country did, and always emerged with its wealth and prestige intact. Neither Ivan's *oprichnina* (a strange division of his kingdom into separate realms in the 1560s and 1570s, which led to lawlessness and plunder in one of them), nor his Livonian war (the taxes to support which laid waste much of north-west Russia from the 1560s into the 1580s) devastated Volokolamsk. It enjoyed Ivan's good favor, continued to acquire lands, and even when plague hit in the 1570s it apparently never had trouble repopulating itself.

Already toward the end of Ivan's reign Iosifov's earlier close relations with the tsar began to cool. Ivan's government[51] orchestrated two church councils in 1581 and 1584 that effectively put an end to many tax benefits enjoyed by monastic lands and stopped further acquisition of land by monasteries. In particular after Ivan's death in 1584, Iosifov was no longer one of the government's favorites, and its influence in government circles waned.

In the 1590s the monastery tried some new tactics for getting more income out of its properties, under the leadership of a military leader tonsured for political reasons, one Misail Beznin. One of Beznin's ideas was to lend money to peasants at a high interest rate, forcing the loans upon any who might be reluctant. This episode is often cited as an example of the process of enserfment and the monasteries' role in that process, but the attempt backfired within a few years and Beznin soon turned up at Trinity-Sergius monastery, his welcome at Iosifov apparently worn out.

More trouble for the monastery came in 1607 when a local peasant and cossack uprising called the Bolotnikov Rebellion threatened it for a time, but that too passed without

[50]As many or more monks of Iosifov also became the heads of other great monasteries. Zimin (1977, 308-9) discusses the number of other monastery abbacies and episcopal sees occupied by Iosifov monks and names many of the individuals installed in them. This matter is also taken up below in chapter 4. As was mentioned above, many scholars, including Zimin (1977, 309), also include as "Josephite" hierarchs those who never were tonsured at Iosifov but agreed with whatever principles the scholar in question defines as Josephite.

[51]As noted earlier with regard to the word "state," the word "government" cannot have the same meaning applied to Muscovy as it does to a modern nation state. Except as otherwise noted, I use it as a synonym for state – the tsar's government means the entire administrative apparatus that he commands. Many "governmental" functions were also handled by appanage princes and even ecclesiastical authorities, and when using the word in that broader sense I ensure that my context makes such usage clear.

lasting effect.[52] What finally reduced Iosif's community to virtual insignificance in the monastic world of medieval Russia was occupation by the Poles in 1610-11. Nevertheless, Iosif's writings, and especially his Rule, set the standard for Russian monasticism already in the sixteenth century and continued to do so in the seventeenth century.

The administrative structure of the monastery, described only partially in the Rule, was also common among large Russian monasteries of both centuries. Besides the igumen, the leadership was composed of a steward (*kelar'*, often translated cellarer),[53] a treasurer (*kaznachei*), and a council of elders (*sobornye startsy*; sometimes called the *sviatyi sobor* or holy council) in which the steward and treasurer were ex officio members. The normal size of the council was stipulated in Iosif's rule as the apostolic number of twelve including the steward and treasurer.[54] Besides his other duties the steward was a kind of vice-igumen and acted in the igumen's place in his absence. In later years both steward and treasurer had helpers, called under-steward (*podkelarnik*), and lesser treasurer (*menshii kaznachei*). The total number of monks varied substantially but generally hovered somewhere around 100.[55] The Rule stipulates that in the event of a vacancy on the council, the remaining members with or without the igumen's assistance would choose the replacement. There is no direct evidence substantiating that this is actually how things worked, though.

The Rule portrays an idealized picture of the igumen and elders acting as a team, but the team is led by the igumen.[56] The igumen is expected to listen to the council of the elders, while the elders are advised to obey the igumen but speak up if he does anything wrong. The council of elders with the igumen was a deliberative body that could be influenced by a

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[52]On these events see Bibikov 1936, Zimin 1947; Kopanev and Man'kov 1959; and numerous entries in the bibliography of Ivan Smirnov's works in Nosov 1967.

[53]In Byzantium, and possibly for a short time in the earliest period of Russian monasticism, what later came to be called the *kelar'* was two offices, *kelar'* and *ikonom*. In works dealing with sources that mention both offices, the former is translated "cellarer"; the latter, "steward." In the explanation of one historian, the steward "had charge of the properties," while the cellarer "looked after the provisions." (Casey 1953, 414). Very quickly the Russian sources fall silent regarding the *ikonom*, while the *kelar'* performs all the functions of both positions. See the study by Vladimir Vodoff, "La Fonction d' 'économe' a-t-elle existé dans les monasteres russes du Moyen-âge?" (1982).

[54]Lists of names apparently intended to represent all council members range in size from 6 to 14 monks; however, it is not always clear whether the smaller lists include all on the council or just all present at some meeting. See AFZKh, 37; Pokrovskii 1971, 121 (both with 14 names); GIM 418, 20; AFZKh 72 and 391 (all three with 11 names); Pokrovskii 1971, 124 (8 names); AFZKh 77 (7 names); Man'kov 1987, 1:9 (6 names).

[55]Per Zimin (1977, 154), it was 130 in 1578, 97 in 1598, 140 in 1601, 110 in 1603.

[56]See VMCh 573-574. The same picture is portrayed by his successor Daniil; see Zhmakin 1881b, 674-75.

variety of means ranging from positional prestige and authority, to personal prestige, to logical argument and behind-the-scenes negotiations.[57] The steward was a close second in command, in some ways more directly in control even than the igumen. While the igumen was the spiritual leader of the community, the steward ran the day-to-day economic and practical affairs of the monastery. The treasurer was a somewhat distant third in overall authority behind the steward, yet in Iosif's writings he too is generally accorded greater responsibility than the other elders.[58]

The treasurer's primary function was to track and control the monastery cash, valuables, and archive of land deeds. Over the years an elaborate system for ensuring honesty on the part of the treasurer developed, its key features being a yearly audit and an unwritten rule that no treasurer would serve more than one year at a time. The other officials had no limits on their terms. Some igumens remained in office for decades, others for just a couple of months. Because records are so fragmentary it is very difficult to determine how long most stewards stayed in their office, but an average of five years would be a very rough estimate. Council elders seem to have generally kept their posts for life.

The rank and file did much more than just pray, attend services, and sleep. Many carried out administrative functions for the monastery's far-flung economic enterprises – actually in the latter half of the century it appears most of them may have been doing this. They traveled around collecting rents, paying wages, judging disputes, buying provisions, selling goods, and so forth. They too had opportunities to influence important decisions affecting the entire institution, through talking to the council elders and to the igumen

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[57]In this dissertation I will not be using words such as "power,""authority," or "influence" in any of the narrowly technical meanings ascribed to them by some social science theorists. These words simply refer to how decisions get made and implemented, to what degree one person or group is likely to be heeded and obeyed by others.

[58]The special authority of the steward and treasurer is evident in a written directive Iosif wrote to the monastic brotherhood to try to control a drinking problem: "If anyone brings mead or hot wine or beer or kvas ... to somone's cell – which none of you are supposed to have or drink – you are to tell me that someone brought something to you, or tell the steward, or the treasurer. And if anyone goes to a village or the woods to drink, or they bring something to someone and he takes it and drinks, and does not tell me, or the steward or the treasurer – he shall be exiled from the monastery with dishonor. ... and if anyone comes to the monastery courtyard (*na dvorets*) with mead or wine or beer, let the starets in charge of the courtyard take care of it ... and the starets shall lock it up until the person is ready to go and then he will return it to him .. And the council brothers (*bratiia sobornye*) to whom the monastery is entrusted shall pay attention to this matter while I am here and after my death. for God's sake and the Virgin Mary's and their own salvation ... (DAI, 360) See also Steindorff 1998, 114-116; this is a document written nearly a century later, which stipulates that two council elders are to keep order in the refectory when kvas is served and ensure that nobody takes any of it back to their cells.

himself. Indeed, among them would always be the future council elders, and people on track toward leadership positions would generally be developing a standing within the community before taking office. Also among them were individuals revered for their sanctity or age and who commanded great respect and influence for such reasons, yet who for one reason or another did not hold an "official" office.[59] In any case, the Rule itself advises igumens to "take counsel with the brethren in all things" (VMCh 491). Naturally, admonitions like that are not always followed in practice, but there are also scattered anecdotes suggesting that at crucial times the monastery leadership found it difficult to do things that would alienate the common monks.[60]

The leadership would also not want to do anything that would alienate its princely benefactors or its bishop. The potential consequences of the former are evident in the affair with Fedor Borisovich in 1507, while the potential for harm from a provoked bishop can be seen in the Serapion affair. Nevertheless, in general it does not appear that either princes or bishops meddled very often in monastery internal affairs, the exception being that the grand prince or tsar chose the new igumen when a replacement was needed (despite Iosif's own directive that igumens should be chosen from the brotherhood and by the brotherhood).[61] In practice, many igumens were indeed chosen from the brotherhood or at least were apparently career churchmen in some way appropriate for the position. There appear to be no instances at Volokolamsk of royal nepotism as happened (at least temporarily) at Belozersk.

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[59]Traditions of "spiritual fatherhood" run through Orthodox monasticism from its very beginnings. Any monk could be a spiritual father to other monks without occupying any official position in monastery administration, yet that relationship could give him almost unlimited authority over his spiritual children. A monk with many long years under his belt could gather a large following over which he would have igumen-like influence. Even without being acknowledged as a "spiritual father," a venerable monk could have great influence over others without occupying a formal position of authority. The authority of those not on the council is explicitly recognized in Iosif's Rule in the chapter where he directs monastery authorities to stay faithful to his Rule after his death. This chapter is directed to the attention of "the council and senior (*stareishim*) brothers" to whom is entrusted the monastery administration (VMCh 1:572). The word *stareishim* literally means "eldest" and suggests that advanced age alone could grant an individual a higher than normal degree of influence among the other monks.

[60]There are stories in one of Iosif's lives about the monks opposing Iosif when he gave thought to leave the monastery because of Fedor Borisovich's harassment (VMCh 476) and when he was bankrupting the monastery by feeding the hungry during a famine (482). These are discussed in greater detail in chapter 6.

[61]"... it is not fitting for an igumen to install whatever igumen he chooses in his place, but rather whomever the brothers choose, especially those to whom the direction of the monastery has been entrusted." (VMCh, 580)

The other major aspect of monastery administration had to do with its lands. Within a few decades of its foundation the institution had been transformed into a major regional landlord, with thousands of acres of land and thousands of peasant souls under its direction. It was not like a modern business enterprise in the sense of being focused on one "core competence" and relying on other people and institutions to supply peripheral needs. This vast empire had to be self-sufficient in almost every area, virtually a mini-state within the Russian state. It needed a vast cadre of administrators and workers of every sort, besides peasants who were tied to some of the lands to cultivate them. Both monks and paid employees served as administrators and workers. To give some idea of the range of monastery economic activities one need only list some of the kinds of workers listed in the payroll records: carpenters, coopers, fishermen, blacksmiths, cooks, brewers, scribes, guides, guards, tailors, saddlers, horse tenders, gunsmiths, millers, shepherds, cupbearers, stocking-makers, coat-makers, wagoners, stokers, bricklayers, spoon-makers, candle-makers, boiler-makers, turners, and tanners. The typical wage rate for relatively unskilled labor over most of the sixteenth century was around one ruble a year; skilled workers and artisans could earn several times that amount.

The vast majority of the people who worked for the monastery were peasants (*krest'iane*), both those tied to the land who paid rent to the monastery (in kind or in cash) and those who had no land of their own and were paid as agricultural workers to work monastery-owned land that had no peasants attached to it (*detenyshi*, *bobyli*, *deti*). Surviving records are not sufficient to count actual numbers of peasants, but a total of 10,000 can be estimated based on known numbers of agricultural plots and average household size per plot.[62] To direct the activities of such a work force a large number of administrators were needed. Some such positions were filled by monks, but their number was too small to fill all the needed positions. So alongside them worked secular monastery employees called *slugi*. These individuals were relatively well-paid and were given as much as authority vis-a-vis the work force as their monk counterparts. Many of them eventually became monks

[62]Based on Shchepetov's (1946, 93) count of 1,580 *vyti* (peasant household plots) in 1591 and Kolycheva's (2002, 104) estimate of 4 to 8 peasants per vyt' in 1600. At the same time the Trinity-Sergius monastery was much larger with as much as five to six times as much land (Zimin 1977, 186) or three times as much (Gonneau 1993, 305) depending on whose figures one accepts. Gonneau (1993, 2) states that Trinity-Sergius had 106,500 serfs in 1764 on the eve of secularization. The Aleksandr Nevskii Lavra in St. Petersburg was a distant second at 25,000.

themselves. For them, as for many if not most other laymen who became monks, tonsure was not an expression of some special religious "calling" but a form of retirement.[63]

The monastery's landholdings were so extensive by the latter part of the sixteenth century that they were divided up into five or six districts (*prikazy*) with a monk-administrator called a district elder (*prikazchik starets*) or village elder (*posel'nyi starets*) assigned to reside in a central location for each district. Each district was composed of multiple villages (*sela*), each of which had attached to it for administrative purposes multiple hamlets (*derevni*). Assigned to each village was a *kliuchnik*, a *prikazchik*, or both. One or the other of these titles is sometimes translated "bailiff," but it is difficult to come up with a translation scheme that adequately represents the difference between the two. The *kliuchniki* generally had fewer responsibilities and were paid less, so one might speak of them as "junior bailiffs" and the *prikazchiki* as "senior bailiffs."[64] Each village elder was responsible for overseeing multiple junior and senior bailiffs, so they spent much time outside the monastery and traveling to and from the monastery. It was not only the village elders who had administrative responsibilities taking them outside the abbey walls. In the late sixteenth century period for which the surviving sources are the most complete, when one puts together the various scattered references to individual monks carrying out some form of oversight or administrative function, it turns out that of a total brotherhood that generally hovered around 100, frequently 40 to 50 were involved in administrative functions.[65]

The bailiffs and village elders performed all the functions of local government besides collecting cash and in-kind rents on behalf of the monastery. They collected customs fees whenever peasants bought or sold livestock; collected marriage taxes; acted as judges and collected a percentage of every lawsuit settlement; assessed fines for minor crimes (robbery and murder were the exceptions generally handled by princely rather than monastery authorities); loaned money, issued deeds securing the loans, and collected

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[63]See more on this in chapter 4.

[64]They are also sometimes translated "steward," but I am avoiding that due because it would tend to confuse these individuals with the monastery steward (*kelar'*).

[65]The actual number may be higher because this figure reflects primarily those whose activity was reflected in the cash income and expense books, and many aspects of monastic economy were not cash-based.

payments on the loans; and paid wage laborers, to name but a few of their functions. For their own sustenance, they – and this includes all three classes of servitors, including the monk-administrators – kept for themselves some of what they collected for the monastery. In addition, they received a special kind of tax just for themselves from every household in their jurisdiction. This was called *kormlenie* (usually translated "feeding"), and generally involved payments to them of either food or cash in place of the food three times a year on the major holidays of Christmas, Easter, and St. Peter's day (June 29).

Many of the customs fees and judicial functions would normally be collected and performed by princely authority, but one of the ways princes supported monasteries was to not only give them land but also give them special judicial rights over their land, rights that non-princely secular landowners generally did not have. These special rights are generally called "immunities,"[66] and since the granting of immunities diverted substantial sums of money from princely, grand princely, or tsarist coffers, over time the secular authorities who were the source of the immunities began to think better of the practice. Starting in the second half of the sixteenth century, especially under Ivan IV when the need for more and more money to support the Livonian war became acute, there were concerted efforts to curtail immunities. Another alternative to increase state income was to make monasteries pay for continuation of immunities. It was the custom that each time a new prince came to power all immunities granted by his predecessor had to be reconfirmed by the new prince. Ivan IV staged a temporary accession to power of a tsar by the name of Simeon Bekbulatovich which invalidated all the tsarist immunity charters, yet he did not grant Simeon the right to issue new ones. He then is said to have required payment of thousands of rubles from the monasteries before he would himself re-issue their immunity charters.[67]

Besides developing an income from agriculture and tax immunities on the monastery's land, Iosif pioneered an especially lucrative monastic enterprise: charging for liturgical commemoration of the dead.[68] Already during Iosif's lifetime commemoration

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[66]See Kashtanov (1959) for the most thorough introduction both to the subject of immunities and the range of fees collected by monastery administrators. See also Dewey 1964, 1971, and 1956.

[67]Koretskii (1970, 87-88) discusses this and other methods of Ivan's for getting more money out of the monasteries.

[68]The standard works on this topic are by Steindorff (1995, 1995a, 1995b, 1999, 2000a, 2000b).

practices were systematized into a standard set of services with standard prices for each level of service. A person wishing to carry out his or her duties toward, or ensure a better after-life for, a dead relative could pay for one year, multiple years, or permanent commemoration in the monastery's daily services. A particularly wealthy person could pay for a feast in the relative's honor or endow a permanent yearly or twice-yearly feast. A great deal of effort was expended in the monastery keeping track of people to be commemorated and moneys collected for the purpose, making sure that no one stayed in the books longer than they had been paid for, and maintaining lists of names to be recited and schedules indicating when commemorative feasts were due. The detailed price scale for various commemorative services was a Iosifov innovation that spread in the sixteenth century and died out in the seventeenth.[69] Its propriety was not universally accepted even in Iosif's day, however, as one Mariia Golenina complained to the Volokolamsk abbot that it was "robbery" to charge 20 rubles for seven years of commemoration and warned that "if you remove my prince and my children from the yearly commemoration, then God will be your judge." Iosif stood firm, and his long response included a matter-of-fact explanation of costs:

> But no one would call it robbery, for it is known to all that no priest serves even a single liturgy[70] or *panikhida* (requiem service) for nothing. And besides, the priests and the *kryloshane* (singers) and the whole brotherhood have to provide for the communion bread bakers, and for the wine, and for the incense, and for the candles, and for the *kut'ia* (funeral cakes) and the *kanun* [requiem service table] ... And besides that there are *panikhidas* and litanies for the dead that also need honey and wax and *prosfora* (offering bread) and incense, and if you count it all up it costs us four dengi for each priest for each church, and on ordinary days two dengi. (Zimin and Lur'e 1959, 179-183)

Most of the time Iosif's abbey was doing much better than just breaking even, however. All its income from agricultural operations and sale of services and donations[71] swelled the monastery treasury into one of the greatest in the region, and that money then earned still more when it was lent out at interest. Borrowers were everyone from peasants

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[69]Steindorff (1995a, 437) believes the system collapsed in 1610, the same year that Iosifov was overrun by the Poles.

[70]The same as "Mass" in the ecclesiastical language of the West.

[71]For a discussion of the many reasons why people donated to monasteries, see Spock 1999, 22. Rosenwein (1989, 77, 138) finds that in the case of eleventh century Cluny, "the social meaning of gift giving" inspired many donations: "Thus, donations to Cluny brought with them many intangible advantages: prayers, to be sure, but also links with neighbor sand with Cluny; the prestige of giving gifts to St. Peter; and the benefits (especially for the hereafter) of his proximity." This observation is valid for sixteenth century Russia as well.

to princes.[72] The 1551 Stoglav church council attempted to put an end to the charging of interest by monasteries while permitting the loans themselves to continue, but it is not clear that the prohibition was ever enforced.[73] Iosifov did initiate a new lending program in the 1590s intended to earn an annual return of about 33%.

The large sums of money in the monastery's vaults, as well as other monastery assets, could be and were co-opted for state needs from time to time. The Iosifov monastery's financial records for the early seventeenth century record several times when the tsar decreed that thousands of monastery rubles should be sent to Moscow or paid to his functionaries in other cities, and monastery monks or servitors dutifully delivered the funds.[74] The monastery also served the tsar by acting as a political prison. A reigning prince's enemies could be taken out of political life by having them sent to a monastery and forcibly tonsured there. Such "prisoners" usually did not sit out of commission in a jail cell; they could end up taking a leading role in the life of the monastery. This was at times a practice with fateful consequences for the monastery, as the affair of Misail Beznin (discussed in chapter 6) demonstrates.[75] Tsar, boiars, and princes also relied on abbots or ordinary monks as their spiritual fathers. These were then men who had the ear of the prince and could exert substantial influence over their spiritual children.[76] By the same token, the monastery itself was a retreat center – a sixteenth century Camp David where the upper echelons of government could go not only for spiritual guidance but also for rest and relaxation. One of the reasons Vasilii III was so close to successive igumens at Volokolamsk was because he traveled to the area often for recreational hunting and stayed at the monastery.

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[72]Iosif lent at least 100 rubles to Fedor Borisovich (Zimin 1977, 75) and in his will 37% of the large 847-ruble indebtedness was to monasteries. The monastery itself did borrow occasionally, usually for the purpose of purchasing land; see Shchepetov 1946, 95. One of Iosif's Lives mentions an incident where the monastery borrowed in order to provide food during a famine (VMCh 482-83).

[73]The Stoglav text is in Emchenko 2000, 379. See also Koretskii 1970, 37; Nikol'skii 1897-1910, 2:240 (lending at Kirillo-Belozersk);

[74]For the earlier loan see AFZKh, 416 and 417; for the later one see Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 351. Koretskii (1970, 87) mentions that Boris Godunov, False Dmitrii I, and Vasilii Shuiskii did this, and not only to Iosifov.

[75]As Georg Michels (1999, 144) points out, it could have other fateful consequences. Solovki was a favored place for sending exiles for so long that they became a powerful contingent among the monastic brotherhood and were a factor in causing the monastery to revolt against the government in the late seventeenth century.

[76]On political influence of monks and monasticism see Gonneau 1996b.

The state also had literary needs from time to time, and here too the monastery was a resource that could be tapped. In the sixteenth century the press was not yet widely used in Russia, and monks as well as scribes employed by monasteries continued to be the primary source for countless numbers of hand-copied liturgical books, scriptural books, patristic texts, saints' lives, and so on. Iosifov was one of the biggest producers and preservers of books, and so it was one of the places princes or tsars turned to when they were interested in creating a chronicle presenting their own perspective on secular history.[77] The monks also provided various secretarial services for the surrounding region, especially when land deeds involving the monastery needed to be written up.

The word "Josephism" does not usually call to mind scribes writing up deeds, administrators supervising bailiffs, treasurers writing out receipts, stewards ordering grain for the kitchen, or cooks preparing meals. It calls to mind ideologues writing polemical literature. But nearly all of the Iosifov monks did the former, and extremely few did the latter. In the community's ecclesiastical affairs as in its economic affairs they were in fact pragmatists rather than ritualists. In the community's political affairs decisions were made by group deliberations, not by abbatial fiat commanding blind obedience. Kivelson and Greene (2003, 5) in their recent book present "Orthodoxy as a lived, adaptive, and flexible cultural system, rather than as a static set of rigidly applied rules and dictates," and the present study confirms that picture even in the case of the monastery most historians see as the primary promoter of religious ritualism and political absolutism.

The portrayal of the Volokolamsk community in this dissertation parallels in most respects Pièrre Gonneau's (1993) portrayal of Trinity-Sergius. In this respect some of the conclusions are not entirely new, but the mere fact of confirming his findings in terms of the pragmatic character of monastic communities is significant. One may not take any given monastery as representative of all of them. For historians to be able to make generalizations about Russian monasticism, specific evidence pertaining to multiple monastic communities will be necessary; a detailed investigation of just one or two will not suffice no matter how thorough and accurate they might be. In addition, as noted above, even Gonneau who

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[77]The *Russkii Khronograf* (a late form of chronicle) was produced there around 1488-94, another *Khronograf* in 1512, probably the Nikon chronicle (the largest ever produced in Russia),and the Simeon chronicle. See Dejevsky 1979, 227-8; Kloss 1971, 1974a, 1980.

considers Trinity-Sergius monks to be pragmatists accepts the view of Iosifov as a bastion of ideologues. It is that common conception that I will be questioning in this study.

1. Historiographical Overview

The literature on monasticism is vast, and it is possible here only to examine a few highlights relevant to a study of the Volokolamsk brotherhood. A survey of works about Byzantine, Western, and Russian monasticism will help place Russian monasticism in general, and Volokolamsk in particular, in a broader context. In addition, the discussion of what has already been written about the Volokolamsk community will make clear the need for a new treatment of the subject.

Byzantium

The Russian church was an outgrowth of the Byzantine church and faithfully adopted nearly every aspect of the latter's faith and practice, so it is to Byzantium that one must look for the historical background to Russian monasticism. The first lesson to be learned there – and it holds true for Russia – is to be wary of broad generalizations. Unlike the Western church, which for centuries saw widespread uniformity in monastic practice under the Benedictine Rule enforced by a limited number of monastic "orders," the single most prominent characteristic of Byzantine monasticism was its diversity. The East had its so-called "Rule" of St. Basil's, but that was actually a limited set of general precepts rather than a comprehensive monastic Rule. As Rosemary Morris (1995) points out, each Byzantine monastery independently followed customs established by its founder. There were communities at both extremes of idiorrhythmic and cenobitic organization as well as limitless hybrid forms. She finds no trend toward one or the other pole over the three centuries she covers (843-1118).

In a study that takes up where Morris leaves off and extends to the end of the empire in the mid-fifteenth century, Anthony Bryer (1979) also finds no overarching progression toward one form or the other, except that poor economic conditions generally led to more idiorrthymism, a process that accelerated under the Ottomans. As Bryer explains, "It is easy to be a poor monk in a rich house, but what happens when the house is poor?" (239) What can happen is that the house becomes idiorrthymic in part so that its monks can go off on

their own and support themselves – and maybe get something for their monastery – usually by begging. This contrasts with what was going on in Russia, where a strong movement toward cenobiticism began in the mid-fourteenth century. Economic conditions for monasteries in Russia were much better than in late Byzantium or after 1453 in Greek-speaking areas under the Turks.

A key characteristic of Byzantine monasticism was the treatment of not only monastic institutions but also local churches as the private property of the wealthy individuals who financed their construction. Many such institutions remained completely independent of the civil and ecclesiastical administration. John Thomas (1987) has examined the phenomenon of Byzantine "private foundations" in some detail. He finds that since the fourth century lay patrons could sell, bequeath, and donate monastic institutions; manage the institutions' property; and appoint igumens or clergy.[78] Some communities had written into their monastic Rules the requirement that the igumen should always come from the founder's family. "Shares" in some communities could be bought and sold.[79] Thomas observes that such practices were not uniquely Byzantine but lasted longer there than in the West, where the eleventh century Gregorian Reform put an end to them.

Following the typical pattern in the East, reform came from below before it came from above. Starting in the eleventh century, Byzantine monastery founders themselves began to establish institutions that were by design less subject to the founders' own whims. Thomas explains why:

> The most astute benefactors realized that only a radical break with the traditions of private philanthropy would solve the old dilemma of assuring protection for their foundations from outside predators while simultaneously insuring against subsequent financial exploitation by their own descendants. The solution was to set up monasteries that were intended from the start (and not just in the event of the decease of the family line) to be independent (*autodespota*) and self-governing (*autexousia*) institutions. (214)

It was not until the fourteenth century that ecclesiastical legislation put an end to absolute outright ownership (*ktetoreia*) of monasteries by their founders, replacing it with something

[78]According to Thomas (1987, 27), even such a prominent churchman as John Chrysostom defended the right of the person who paid for the construction of a church to appoint its clergy.

[79]Thomas (1987, 176) gives the example of one Athonite monastery that was divided into half-shares that could be independently sold or bequeathed.

more limited called "founder's right" (*ktetorikon dikaion*).[80] Precisely what was included in the latter remained a subject for debate right up to the empire's demise in 1453. As is evident from the history of Volokolamsk, this phenomenon carried over into Russia, where the concept of ownership as well as founder's right survived into the sixteenth century.

Although Byzantine monastery founders were generally wealthy, the monks who lived in their monasteries came from a broad range of social backgrounds. Peter Charanis (1971, 73) estimates that in the year 1000 there were 7,000 monasteries and 150,000 monks, the latter figure representing roughly one percent of the population.[81] More accurate statistics from later periods attest to a ratio of two percent monks in places, so the one percent estimate may be quite low. Given numbers like that it can hardly be surprising if "Nothing was more democratic than the recruitment of monasteries. Coarse peasants rubbed shoulders with the greatest lords."[82] Charanis also notes that many of the monks who eventually were recognized as saints were of peasant stock (76). Such shoulder-rubbing did not happen everywhere, however, and Morris (1984, 129) reports that in any given monastery one might find predominantly peasants or exclusively aristocrats or a mix of the two. In some cases nobles were even known to bring their servants with them into the monastery.

There was a much broader variety of reasons for entering monastic life than the uniquely "religious calling" one typically thinks of today. For peasants monasticism could mean a better life because monks and clergy were exempted from some imperial taxes and corvée. For some it was simply an alternative to married life. For some it was a form of retirement. Of course, there were also religious reasons. What Morris writes to explain why the wealthy donated so much of their wealth to monasteries applies to the lower social estates as well:

> Like all his compatriots, the aristocrat was concerned to prepare himself as well as possible for death. It is impossible to over-emphasize the seriousness with which Byzantines contemplated this prospect. ... the association of an individual with a

[80]See the discussion in Thomas (1987, 253-54). Morris (1995, 132) notes that even in monasteries subject to ecclesiastical authorities founders could retain a degree of control over the monastery administration.

[81]There are no accurate census data for the earlier periods, but he can cite firm data indicating the proportion was actually two percent as late as 1632 in Crete (1971, 73).

[82]Quoting Louis Brehier, in Charanis 1971, 76.

> monastic house that would concern itself with the health of his soul was an important incentive to patronage. (1984, 117)

Some individuals were forced to accept tonsure for political reasons, but these were highly placed aristocrats, small in number.

How the monks of a Byzantine monastery managed their affairs depended principally on the form of monastic organization (idiorrhythmic or cenobitic) and the particular customs established by the founder. It is difficult to find in the extant literature detailed descriptions of how the actual exercise of authority worked, either in general or in particular monasteries. One is left only with the general impression that igumens of cenobitic institutions were to a greater or lesser degree monarchs within their realms. Morris (1995, 155) describes a number of methods for selecting or appointing them, including designation by predecessor, election by all the brethren or by officeholders among them, or appointment by some higher authority. The higher authority might be the local bishop, the metropolitan, the patriarch, the emperor, or the monastery's founders or their heirs.[83]

Struggles for control or freedom from control of such higher authorities were rampant. The hagiography about monasteries' founders often portray enmity between them and their bishops not unlike the story recounted above in the Introduction about Kirillo-Belozersk. One result of the struggle for monastic independence was the phenomenon of "stavropegial" monasteries: a monastery's head would renounce allegiance to his local bishop and proclaim himself subject only to the patriarch directly. This was a symbiotic relationship for the monastery and the patriarch because the patriarch got additional income from an institution directly subject to him, while the monastery got nearly complete independence because the patriarch was too far away to meddle effectively in the igumen's affairs.[84] There are parallels in Russia,[85] and Iosif of Volokolamsk did quarrel with his bishop, but he remained in the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Novgorod even after transferring the "founder's right" of his institution to the grand prince.

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[83]There were also laymen placed by the government in control of monasteries and allowed to profit from them, called *kharistikarioi*. This was a Byzantine phenomenon that never seems to have taken root in Russia. A series of church councils in the eleventh and twelfth centuries attempted to end this practice, and it declined in the course of the twelfth century; see Charanis 1948, 72-80; Morris 1984, 127; Thomas 1987, 212-14.

[84]For more on this phenomenon see Morris 1995, 153; Thomas 1987, 238-43.

[85]Per Gonneau (1993, 126), the Simonov monastery became stavropegial as early as 1382.

Another Byzantine precedent that held true in sixteenth century Russia has to do with the social or charitable functions of monasteries, a subject that has been treated in depth by Demetrios Constantelos (1968). Monks provided food and housing for the poor, ran orphanages and hospitals, made loans to peasants and nobles alike, provided medical services, and acted as intercessors for rural communities before representatives of the state.[86] They provided religious services by acting as clergy for churches, burying laymen within their abbeys, and functioning as spiritual guides. They provided fortified places of refuge for the surrounding population when it was threatened by enemy attack. As Morris summarizes:

> It was, in fact, to monks that Byzantines of all ranks turned in times of crisis, when self-help or existing communal and kinship structures were of no avail and when the officials of the state seemed powerless to intervene or were, themselves, the cause of the problem. (1995, 110)

Even officials of the state made use of monasteries, enlisting them to pray for the emperor's health and victory, to serve as prisons, and to act as military boarding houses when needed.

But monasteries could also be seen as villains by both lay society and the government, mainly on account of their actions as landowners. According to Peter Charanis (1948, 1971), by the end of the seventh century, as much as a third of usable land was in the hand of monasteries. The state saw its own resources diminishing and fought back by confiscating much of the monastic properties, but by the tenth century the monasteries had recouped their losses and were growing in power again. The Byzantine emperors from the tenth century on made more concerted efforts to get back some of the land lost to monastic institutions or at least to restrain their insatiable appetites for more. Again and again the monks were too powerful and succeeded in annulling imperial decrees directed against them. After the Fourth Crusade's sack of the imperial city in 1204 the monasteries even managed to turn back attempts of the new Latin rulers in Constantinople to take away some of their land. It was only when the Turks won an important battle against the Byzantines in 1371 that the government and enough of Byzantine society realized that the empire's very survival depended on secularization of church properties and elimination of tax immunities. The task

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[86]Morris (1995, 109, 112) reports that in time of famine the poor would come to Constantinople in droves for monastic food doles. On monastic housing for the poor, see Charanis 1971, 82. Constantelos (171, 179) mentions one monastery that was a major twelfth century medical center, with doctors as paid employees and even a medical school.

began to move forward successfully, but it was too late to rebuild the ailing embattled empire. Turkish aggression persisted in reducing the empire's size until finally the capital city itself fell in 1453. Charanis certainly oversimplifies here in his analysis of why the empire finally disintegrated, but monastic landowning was a factor in that process, if not as central as he considers it to be.

Charanis attributes the empire's demise partly to the fact that the monasteries in effect swallowed up the entire free peasant class that had functioned as the bulwark of the state. He describes their typical behavior as ruthless employment of any means at their disposal not only to amass ever more land but also to enserf the peasants attached to it. To get what they wanted they used subterfuge with the nobility and naked force against peasants:

> The charms and favors used by the monks to get more land were reserved for the rich. For the poor they had other and more direct means: threats and violence. They were especially anxious to absorb the lands which were continuous to those of the monastery and the poor peasants who happened to own these lands were never let alone until they gave up their property to, and became dependents of, the monastery. (1948, 86)

His explanation for the state's inability over seven centuries to restrain the monastic appetite for land even when its own survival was at stake is a fundamental difference in interests between the imperial administration on the one hand and the bulk of Byzantine society on the other. The latter remained firmly on the side of the monks:

> It was because Byzantine society was far from being purely materialistic. Monasticism was an institution to which all the Byzantines, great and small, were fervently attached. Besides its spiritual attractions, monasticism offered certain other benefits which were of primary importance in the society of Byzantium. Monasteries were peaceful asylums as well as institutions of confinement. In case of trouble there were two alternatives for every emperor: the gallows or the monastery. Many are the Byzantine emperors who ended their lives peacefully behind the walls of a monastery. The same is true of many officials. One went to a monastery because he had lost everything in the world; another went there as a token of thankfulness to God because he had prospered. For many the question of burial was of fundamental importance, and as a ground for burial a monastery was much more preferable than any other place. Every Byzantine cherished the hope of finding his own monastery where he could retire in case of trouble or in old age, and where he could be buried when he died. ... That is the reason why so many monastic houses with many lands and other property came into existence in Byzantium. To

> check by legislation an institution as deeply rooted in society as monasticism was in Byzantium was impossible. (1948, 118)

In Charanis' view, it was not only the monasteries that the central state authorities were struggling against but the aristocracy as well. For all practical purposes the monasteries and the provincial aristocracy were both enemies of the imperial authorities and both fought to defend their interests in exactly the same manner:

> This struggle was really one between the imperial authority and the powerful aristocracy, between the central government, which tried hard to preserve the small holdings of the free peasants and soldiers because it considered them an essential element in the health of the state, and the aristocracy which tried to absorb these holdings by any means, fair or foul. Included in this aristocracy were ecclesiastic and monastic dignitaries who administered church and monastic properties. (1948, 55)

The Russian secular "aristocracy" was perhaps not as independent from the central government as its Byzantine counterpart was, but otherwise these descriptions fit sixteenth century Russia almost as well as tenth century Byzantium. In either case one finds a curious two-sided image of monasticism as being involved in social service on the one hand, and acting like greedy secular grandees on the other, enserfing their peasants and willing to go to any length – "fair or foul" – to preserve their property and acquire more.[87]

The West

The political and ecclesiastical environment was different in the West, but there too monasteries became great landowners. In a study of the social impact of monasticism in the West over a millennium of its history from 500 to 1500, Ludo Milis (1992) offers a unique perspective on the role of landownership:

> Phenomena such as land-ownership or political influence are too often considered to be proofs of monastic social relevance. This, according to my definition, is mistaken. To use a metaphor, these phenomena are like ticks. Even if they live in symbiosis with their host, yet they remain separate and distinguishable entities. Nobody questions that monasteries were very great landowners indeed, but this has, according to our definition, hardly anything to do with monasticism. We are looking for the *specific* impact of what we have called the *specific spiritual ideal and aim of perfection implemented as a life-style*, whereas the way in which estates were run was apparently the same as for other lords, both lay and ecclesiastical.

[87]The contrast can be ascribed to some historians' interest in evaluating religious institutions negatively versus others' desire to see them positively; for more on this see chapter 6.

> Therefore, land-ownership by abbeys should be seen more as pertaining to feudalism or to the seignorial system, than to monasticism. (IX-X; emphasis original)

Milis also finds that charitable activities were not essential to monasticism but another kind of "tick" separate and distinguishable from its host. His analysis of the Rule of St. Benedict, which dominated in the West for centuries,[88] concludes that:

> The tiny place these people [i.e., the poor] occupied in this Rule, together with the ritualized form in which monastic ideals were traditionally cast, made 'works of mercy' in the sense of social commitment highly marginal. (54)

In his view any significant charitable undertaking was not attributable to monastic spirituality per se but rather "arose from an individual's effort towards spiritual fulfilment and human compassion." (56) Hospitals were mainly for the monks themselves, hospitality was mainly for rich donors. Consequently, with respect to their behavior as landlords toward dependent peasants, monks behaved like any other landlords:

> Monks belonged to the class of landed proprietors, with analogous interests and analogous mental attitudes. ... Above all, monks regarded unfree people as possessions of the abbey and thus of the legacy which they, as monks, had received from their predecessors and were expected to hand down, enriched and not impoverished to future generations. (47)

Thus, monks would have even more incentive to protect and secure their assets than a secular landowner. It would be seen as their God-given duty. Also, the monks would not shy away from practices that would make life difficult for their dependents because they "regarded life on earth as a passage-way to eternal life, and consequently the more unfortunate and difficult one's time in the world, the greater the chance of gaining heaven." (47)

In his search for monasticism's unique contribution to society as a whole, Milis also rules out locating that in a uniquely monastic value system. Monks had the same spiritual goals as the laity but some different means for attaining them. As role models for sanctity they could actually have a negative rather than positive influence on lay society since people would idealize aspects of monastic life that really were not applicable outside the abbey:

> But, again, is the monastic value system specific or non-specific? If it is non-specific, it is general for the whole of the Christian society. As we saw already,

[88] Although the Rule lost its absolute dominance in the twelfth century, it continued to be influential in the West down to the present day. See Johnson 1981, 173; Harvey 1993, 1.

> the answer is obvious: the monastic system is non-specific. ... monasticism did not really have a specific, distinguishable value system, other than what any society in search of a good relationship with its Lord and its neighbor, could formulate, but it stressed certain of the ways to fulfill this relationship. The fact that these ways – geared as they were towards an unnatural, uni-sexual and permanent common life – were, ideally, also imposed on the lay society ... was much more striking than the identity of the values themselves. ... The world would only function righteously when it succeeded in living according to the value system it shared with monasticism, and moreover only if it did so in the same way. This explains why sexual denial among spouses, inherently a contradiction in terms, could be held up as an ideal. (77-78)

But even as ideals of spirituality Milis does not find that monks touched the lives of very many laymen. Ultimately, he concludes that monasticism really did not have very much impact on society at all, until the mendicants began to appear toward the end of the historical period in question (1500)

> The late medieval success of the mendicant orders can be attributed precisely to the fact that *they* were interested in people. ... They went out on the street instead of staying in their 'shrine.' When society became more mobile as a result of increased urban and commercial life, monasticism continued to aim for seclusion, faithful to its spirituality. Socially speaking, it had always been elitist, and therefore marginal. (87)
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> ...isolation and a reluctance to participate in society, rather than social involvement were the most characteristic, and in fact essential features of medieval monasticism." (151)

This skeptical view is not accepted by all. There are also those who say monasteries gave a lot but did so indiscriminately and the money never got to the people who actually needed it, while still others say they gave a lot and were careful about it. Some say the amount and character of giving varied from century to century.[89] Penelope Johnson (1981, 178) points out that monks did run hospitals and orphanages and poor houses, provide loans, and so forth, as did their counterparts in the East. She offers a concise but comprehensive account of the social functions of but one Western monastery that she describes as "the central institution of its society":

> If we imagine the Vendomois in 1100 divested of the abbey, we see a greatly depleted society. Gone would be the economic focus: the major employer, technical training center, agricultural exploiter, and resource from which people could secure a loan or mortgage. Gone would be the monastic social services: the

[89]There is an extended discussion of this debate in Harvey 1993, 7-33.

> travelers' accommodations, hospitals, reception of monks ad succurrendum, and cemeteries. There would be no monastery gates at which the poor could gather assured of a daily ration, or where a desperate mother could leave a starving baby. The bells of La Trinite's tower would no longer regulate the day's activities for the abbey or its neighbors. Gone would be the artistic presence of the abbey. No pope would visit Vendome; a meeting of barons could not take place in the abbey's hospice. 27 other communities would also have lost the focus and enrichment of housing a cell of la Trinite. (1981, 179)

This is all directly relevant to a study of "Josephism," because the one positive thing generally said about it is that it defended landownership in order to finance social service activities. Johnson's view does not contrast as much with that of Milis as one might at first think (few of the things she mentions involve substantial charitable expenditures without expectation of return), and a look at the Volokolamsk record will likewise suggest that praise for "Josephism" on this score is probably misplaced.

Milis' charge of elitism refers partly to the social origins of monks. The consensus among historians of Western monasticism is that by and large monks in Western monasteries came from the lay social elite. There seems to be a dividing point in the twelfth century after which more lesser nobility and wealthy urban merchants got involved, but even in the later period "Benedictine abbeys remained select places, where entry was difficult for those who did to belong to the right social or kin-linked group." (Milis 1992, 65) Constance Bouchard (1987, 247) in her study of eleventh and twelfth century Burgundy observes that abbots as well as all other church leaders were almost exclusively from the nobility: "In the eleventh and twelfth century, leaders of the church and leaders of society were socially and biologically one." She also states that as a rule in Cistercian houses even the ordinary monks came primarily from "knights and members of the lower nobility." (120-21) This situation was in part facilitated by a widespread practice that apparently has no corollary in Russia: noble families who had "extra" or handicapped children could place them in a monastery as small children.[90] The famous historian of the English church, the Venerable Bede, was one himself, having been placed in a monastery at the age of seven.

Although most investigators are comfortable with sweeping statements about monks' social origins, the state of medieval sources rarely permits them to be backed up with

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[90]See the discussion in Cubitt 2000 and Milis 1992, 146; Lawrence 1989, 37; Knowles 1963, 687.

statistical data. In a study of Westminster Abbey, Barbara Harvey (1993, 5) laments that out of all the monks who lived there for three and a half centuries from 1100 to 1540, the social origin of only a handful of individuals can be identified. She cautiously states that "many ... had been born and bred in an urban environment of one kind or another and belonged to the broadly based middle class of late medieval England."[91] She can with greater confidence describe social differentiation among the monks. There were two classes of monks: cloister-monks who did everything in common, and the rest who were not so "burdened" for one reason or another. These included the office-holders, otherwise distinguished monks, and the aged or infirm. Some of the privileged monks could even be away for extended periods studying at Oxford. The privileged group got private apartments and could eat food of their own choosing in them. Some were free to skip services. It was not a small group, making up two thirds of the total number of 48. The office-holders even had their own private latrines separated from those designated for the rest of the brethren.[92]

It appears that all enjoyed a material standard of living comparable to that of their upper-class contemporaries among laymen – the abbot like a noble and the monks like gentry. Harvey calculates that on average each monk had one servant in the twelfth century and this had increased to two by the fifteenth (148ff., 177). They even allocated to themselves individual "wages" out of the monastery's net income. All together their private earnings totaled no less than twenty percent of the institution's income from its vast holdings. Particularly well-off monks even competed with one another for chambers in the infirmary to use as private apartments, paying or bribing the abbot for the privilege of getting them. (One advantage of the infirmary was its unrestricted diet; when the rest of the

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[91]Harvey 1993, 77. Emma Mason (1996, 87) addresses the limitations of surviving sources by avoiding generalizations about the entire brotherhood, speaking instead about the "visible" monks of Westminster for the period 1050-1216. This is the small minority who "left their mark in the archives, chiefly because of the part they played in instigating, or in responding to, property transactions." The source situation is not quite so limited for sixteenth century Volokolamsk: the "visible" monks are mainly those who were involved in estate management jobs but also those who donated land or money.

[92]Harvey 1993, 77-78. Knowles (1969, 109) also talks about increasing social differentiation among monks in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries.

monks were restricted from eating meat, in the infirmary they could eat whatever they wanted.)[93]

Sharply differentiated monastic brotherhoods were not unusual in the West. In Cistercian houses it took an extreme form in which monk-overlords treated semi-monastic "brethren" called "conversi" as servants. The relationship was justified by a Western conception of the greater spiritual importance of voluntary poverty over circumstantial poverty: "... those who were humble by force of circumstance (the brethren) were ruled by those who were humble voluntarily (the monks)."[94] The conversi were not well treated and staged dozens of violent revolts against their masters.

Neither differentiation of monks into upper and lower social classes, nor semi-monastic classes of individuals, are to be found at Volokolamsk. Nor does one find any defense of a wealthy material standard of living for monks. In the West the latter was deemed justified because the "poverty" called for by the Rule of St. Benedict was equated with powerlessness. A person taking a vow of obedience would become "poor" merely by giving up his self-will since he no longer would have "power over his own body." Therefore, for many, "Refinement in garments or even in food was not felt to be opposed to the letter of the Rule."[95] This contrasts with Iosif's insistence on actual material poverty and absolute equality in material standard of living among all monks, including the abbot himself.

Such equality extending even to the abbot was a rare thing in the West. The Benedictine Rule advises the abbot to consult with elders in major decisions, but it also talks about the necessity for all monks to obey humbly regardless of what the igumen decides. As Giles Constable (1982b, 198) puts it, "An abbot was ... expected, like any medieval ruler, to seek the advice of those over whom he ruled, even though he was not required to follow it." He also notes, however, that "[t]hese precepts were not taken very seriously in the early Middle Ages, when abbots were expected to rule autocratically." Knowles (1948, 270) also

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[93]Later the rest of the monks found a way to get themselves served meat without technically abandoning observance of the Benedictine Rule: they had it served not in the refectory but in a special room called the misericord. Harvey 1993; 36-42, 87-92.

[94]Milis 1992, 33. See also Bouchard 1987, 119; Knowles 1969, 73.

[95]1992, 18. The abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable, "preached entrance into the way of poverty, particularly of that spiritual poverty which consists rather in the practice of humility than in the renunciation of earthly goods. The monks' belief in the superiority of spirituality elevated this humility to social pride." (p.63)

reports that abbots were "autocrat rather than father," in office for life, in control of large revenues and a numerous household, against whom no effective opposition could be raised. Sharon Farmer states that in the twelfth century "the abbots of Marmoutier and Cluny built separate sleeping quarters for themselves and showed an ever-growing propensity for ceremonialism and display. As a result, the gap between them and their monks widened." (1991, 134)

Given such power, a bad abbot could lead a monastery to ruin. Thirteenth century popes tried to deal with the problem by requiring abbots to consult with the senior monks more often, but autocratic abbots found ways around that, such as by winning over elders separately in one-on-one meetings before any group consultations could be staged. As Knowles explains:

> No reforming legislation, however, was able to stem the tide of the times, and all attempts to give a constitutional character to the abbot's office were bound to founder upon the rock which since St. Benedict's day had formed the basis of the monastic life: the doctrine, that is, that a monk had no will or rights of his own, but had yielded himself up entirely to the abbot. (1948, 270-71)

According to Constable, the tide of the times did turn in the following centuries:

> Monks in the later Middle Ages were expected not only to take part in the practical affairs of their own communities but also to examine the implications of their actions for the salvation of their souls. Their superiors, however great their theoretical powers and however splendid their visible presence, were increasingly expected, like many secular rulers, to govern as constitutional rather than as absolute monarchs. (1982b, 204)

The danger of a powerful abbot misusing his position is one that occupied Iosif's attention toward the end of his days. He addressed it in a manner typical of the Eastern Church – that is, not from above like the thirteenth-century popes, nor in the direction of "constitutionality" in the sense of established political procedures. As will be seen below in chapter 6, he undercut the igumen's authority by advising the monks *not* to obey him should he rule improperly.

Russia: Non-Soviet Literature

The immediate context of Iosif's community is of course Russian monasticism. Here it will be useful to consider the Soviet historiography separately from the rest, since its tendency to interpret historical phenomena in the light of Marxist ideology gives it many

unifying characteristics that are not found elsewhere. The "non-Soviet" group includes works produced before 1917, works produced in the West, and works produced in Russia from the late 1980s to the present.

Only one scholarly in-depth study of a monastic community was written in Tsarist Russia,[96] a thorough two-volume study of Kirillo-Belozersk monastery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by Nikolai Nikol'skii (1897-1910). Nikol'skii covers every aspect of the monastery including its political, social, economic, and even architectural history. He finds that although the monastery is known as the headquarters for the "non-possessors," it always owned villages and continued to acquire more, the pace of acquisition varying depending on the igumen's preferences. The monastic brotherhood was composed of a mix of people from varied social groups. Until the 1530s, cells (individual sleeping quarters) were often built by the monks themselves, made of wood, barely big enough for a person to fit in, and looked like a small hut (*izba*). After that time, monks of higher social status began to be tonsured, and they got more elaborate cells in accordance with their position. He does not specify just how much more elaborate or just how many individuals got them. Nor does he identify the individuals. But it seems that by the turn of the seventeenth century some cells for monks of high social status had multiple rooms including rooms for servants. Nevertheless, all monks' cells even then were made of wood while some for lay servitors (*sluzhebniki*) were of stone (1:37-40, 218-20). The impression that over time the proportion of people from upper social classes among the monks increased is also conveyed by Nikol'skii's discussion of the requirement for a "donation" (*vklad*) at time of tonsure. He is not certain if such requirements existed before the end of the sixteenth century but suspects they were not. At that time and thereafter, though, it is clear that they were required, and it took an order from the tsar to tonsure someone who could not afford to pay the entrance fee (2:143-44). Nikol'skii does not specify the required donation amount at any given time. The actual amount given varied from 20-30 *altyn* (.6-.9 ruble) to thousands of rubles.

[96]Though not worth surveying at length here, a number of other useful books from this period do exist, including the various "historical descriptions"and "tour guides" of all Russian monasteries (Ratshin 1852; Zverinskii 1890-97; Pavlovskii 1907; Denisov 1908; Soikin 1910).

Among Western scholars major social histories of monasteries such as Nikol'skii's have only begun to appear in the last decade.[97] The first was a study by Pierre Gonneau (1993) of the Trinity-Sergius monastery, covering the period from its foundation in 1345 to 1533. The political influence of the monastery during this period grew rapidly, peaked, and by the end of the fifteenth century was beginning to be eclipsed by Volokolamsk. The monks there had a part in the blinding of Grand Prince Vasilii II in 1446, something Gonneau suggests they paid a price for later when he returned to power: for the next thirty years the grand princes appointed only outsiders as igumen at Trinity-Sergius. Nevertheless the igumens were never puppets of the Grand Prince but rather acted independently once installed. As an example Gonneau recounts one instance where the abbot Martinian had brokered a deal by which a traitorous boiar had given himself up in return for a pardon and Grand Prince Vasilii went back on his word and threw the man in prison: Martinian remonstrated with the sovereign and he relented and set the boiar free. Acting as advocates for political prisoners was a function frequently performed by prominent members of monastic institutions, including Volokolamsk.

Gonneau finds that by and large the igumens were of modest social origins, though in most cases he cannot identify them more specifically except to say one had been a priest. Not a single boiar or other person near that level is to be found among them. Although the grand princes appointed almost all of them, Gonneau believes that men were chosen for their reputation of "austerity of life and uncompromising morals." (344) He suggests the grand princes avoided high-born individuals out of fear they would become too powerful. Nevertheless, they did become powerful, and Gonneau observes that again and again the monastery heads play the role of mediator in secular political struggles because only they and the bishops can openly oppose princes with any chance of prevailing.

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[97]There is a large volume of literature other than social histories which I will not be surveying here. A very important scholar working in the field is a German, Ludwig Steindorff. He is certainly the foremost authority on commemoration practices of Russian monasteries and has produced a book on the subject (1994), a magnificent facsimile edition of an important manuscript (1998), and numerous articles. Commemoration practices are important to understanding Russian monasticism, but Steindorff does not discuss what would be peripheral issues for him, the social origins of the monks and the internal politics of the monastery. There is a large survey history of Russian monasticism by Igor Smolitsch dating from 1953 in German, of which a recent 1997 translation in Russian has appeared. It is highly tendentious (laments throughout that Iosif led Russia down a path of false spirituality), and does not treat any particular community in great detail.

Within the monastery the igumen was no monarch: the fact that he could not do very much against the wishes of influential monks is demonstrated by the ousting of Paisios, one of the outsiders appointed igumen by Ivan III. The chronicles report that Paisios met with determined resistance from the monks, led by many that had been boiars and princes before. As a result he only lasted four years before he was forced to leave. In the chronicles' view the resistance was caused by Paisios' attempt to restore "strict observance" of cenobitic order. This sounds like the same sort of situation Sergius met with in 1356 and Iosif did at Borovsk in 1479, but Gonneau offers a slightly different interpretation. He suggests the real opposition was to Paisios' indifference toward defending the monastery properties:

> ... on this point, they [i.e., the supposed boiars and princes] were certainly supported by the great majority of the brothers, whatever their social origin; the management of the properties offered in effect to brothers of modest [social origin] a unique opportunity for social promotion." (189)

Gonneau believes that social elites were present and played a leading, but not a commanding, role (they were influential but not exclusively so). He finds no evidence that high social station outside the monastery guaranteed high position within the monastery, for many high-born individuals remain simple monks their whole lives. On the other hand, many of those promoted to council elder were of modest origins, suggesting some sort of merit-based promotion:

> ... one can conclude that the brothers of high origin, a minority at Saint-Sergius, exercised a strong influence over the community, but the government of the abbey is far from being monopolized by a social elite. (355)

Gonneau does not explain just what exactly it was that put a monk in informal or formal leadership positions; it is only from the fact that social elites were not the only ones who somehow got "promoted" that he draws the conclusion that "merit" must have had something to do with it. Obviously one must ascribe a broad array of meanings here to "merit" – it could mean anything from a reputation for sanctity to political acumen. The present study will confirm that the situation at Volokolamsk was comparable.

The power of the influential monks among the brotherhood was increased, in Gonneau's view, by the creation of the formal "council of elders" at Trinity-Sergius in the 1480s. Before then there were leaders among the brotherhood called elders (which did not

necessarily indicate advanced age), but not being organized formally they were less effective as a political force. He believes that "councils of elders" appeared in nearly all Russian monasteries at about the same time, probably forced upon them from above. The only direct evidence of the involvement of central church authorities, however, is a 1526 decree directed to one specific monastery which stipulates the form of monastic administration, naming the roles of treasurer and steward, and stating that these plus three or four other monks are to make up the council of elders (351). In any case, Gonneau concludes that already in the fifteenth century a requirement of compromise between abbot and influential monks developed. That in turn guaranteed the cohesion of the brotherhood over time as different abbots came and went, and was one of the causes of the monastery's prosperity (374).

Among the rank and file Gonneau sees no significant social divisions. Some of the wealthy who came to the monastery not only became elders but retained ownership and control of their property including in some cases landed property. One of the abbots owned villages, the income of which he kept for his own personal use. But the number of these seems very small, as Gonneau can only cite four examples. He concludes that one should not imagine a big difference between rich and poor monks. The vast majority were devoted to the common task which was exploitation of the monastic lands. The rich got to do what they already did, and the poor got to elevate themselves socially.

Another major abbey given a thorough study recently by a Western scholar is Solovki (or the Solovetskii monastery), located in the Russian far north. Jennifer Spock's (1999) main purpose is to examine gift giving and the cult of the saints from 1460 to 1645, but she also devotes some space to describing what is known about the monastic brotherhood from the donation records.

Out of 424 monks of Solovki who appear in the donation books over a period of 145 years, Spock reports being able to identify only three men as being from the lay "elite".[98] She does not define "elite," but the ranks of the individuals she names indicates that her

[98] 1999, 181. P.179 gives a total of 448 but indicates 24 of them were not actually monks of Solovki, leaving 424. The following page speaks of eight lay elite out of the 424, but then only two of them "are known to have been monks on Solovki island." (It is not clear, then, how many of the other 424 were or were not on the island.) Then for four of the eight "there is no evidence that they were monks at Solovki." P.181 speaks of 3 elite out of 448 monks; this is reduced to 390 in the text after deducting 27 "who were visitors and transfers from other monasteries," and the figure 395 appears in a footnote. The amount of variation in the numbers is relatively insignificant and may reflect complications in interpreting the sources and classifying individuals similar to what I detail below in chapter 3.

definition is quite restricted – it is limited to people at least at or above the *syn boiarskii* (junior boiar) level.[99] Yet all of the rest are said to be of "humble backgrounds" – which seems to imply that the class of lesser landholders portrayed by Soviet scholars as having complete control of Volokolamsk actually had no representatives at all at Solovki. Some of the "non-elite" monks had occupations listed for them in the donation books, such as: cobbler, blacksmith, tailor, silversmith, leatherworker, boatmaster, kvass maker, fruit grower, salt boiler, trader, *sluga* (which Spock translates as "servant") and *trudnik* (laborer or worker).

Spock reports that many monks gave large sums of money to their monastery, but she does not believe that can be used as an indicator of elite social status since they could have accumulated the money after tonsure.[100] Instead she assumes they were most likely wealthy peasants:

> The officers who came from among the monks were quite possibly free peasants whose families amassed fortunes in trade or salt-production; their obvious wealth does not necessarily mean that they were from socially elite groups (178).
>
> Twenty-two percent of the gifts ranged from 20 to 151 rubles, substantial sums from men who were not listed among the socially elite. It was clear that a significant proportion of the monks were well-to-do peasants or townsmen. (182)
>
> Solovki strongly reflected northern peasant society and included a significant population of urban people and artisans among both its donors and those who chose to live within its walls. (185)

Such statements suggest that the word "peasant" here has a broad meaning (not only agricultural) just as "elite" has a very narrow one.[101] There is no discussion of a lower level of "elite" that might occupy the social spectrum between peasant or townsman and junior boiar.

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[99]Specifically, she found *dumnyi dvoriane* (duma nobles) a *dvorianin* (noble) and a *syn boiarskii* (junior boiar). These terms and the various social "classes" one can distinguish in medieval Russia are discussed and defined below in chapter 3.

[100]She also suggests that as ecclesiastical leaders they could have been merely passing on large donations from lay donors. This does not hold true at Volokolamsk, since donations are usually recorded along with the purpose stipulated for them by the donor. If a bishop donates for the commemoration of himself and his parents or other relatives, it is not likely he is merely passing on donations from somewhere else. When the latter is the case it is clearly noted in the books.

[101]One might expect that true agricultural "peasants" in the relatively unproductive far north would be even less likely to be wealthy than their counterparts farther south. Pobedimova (1967, 97) concludes from an analysis of Volokolamsk records that there was very little economic differentiation among peasants in the central Russian region; however the presence of some wealthy "peasants" even at Volokolamsk is attested by the monastery donation records in which some very large gifts come from individuals explicitly identified as *krest'ianin* (peasant).

Based on these donation records Spock argues that these peasants and townsmen entered the monastery primarily out of a personal sense of piety:

> Commemoration outranked all other reasons for donating, which indicates that a monk's overriding concern, as well as one of his most important duties, was to pray for the dead. Entering a monastery was an important step on a path that prepared the soul for salvation, so the preeminence of commemorative prayer in the pattern of monastic donations is not surprising. (186)

She concludes that the main motive for entering the monastery was a person's "spiritual comfort and salvation" (206).[102]

The formal leadership hierarchy at Solovki was typical – igumen and council of elders including treasurer and steward. Spock reports that "unquestioning obedience," especially to the igumen, was cultivated as a virtue, while on the other hand the igumen "was expected to respect the corporate leading of the brotherhood and bow to the experience of a spiritual father or the archbishops" (333-34). She finds no evidence that a monk's wealth influenced his ability to become a member of the council of elders, and no indication that elite or wealthy families outside the monastery had special influence over its affairs: "... it is impossible to assert that personal ties to the lay aristocracy carried more weight than spiritual or other service to the community when the monks selected their leaders." (247)

Russia: Soviet Literature

The last decade and a half has also seen a flurry of scholarly activity on the theme of monasticism by scholars of post-Soviet Russia,[103] but by far the greatest volume of literature relevant to a study of Volokolamsk is still what was written in the Soviet period. Much of the research on which this Soviet historiography was based is of the highest scholarly quality. But to a lesser or greater degree depending in part on political situation at various times, all of it has been forced to shoe-horn the sources into supporting

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[102]See also p.157 n.3: "*Starets* was not a title reserved for a spiritual father or elder who lived separately from the Monastery as a hermit. The income books of Solovki are filled with references to *startsy* who were pupils of other monks, and the basis for giving a monk this title appears to have been his motivation for donning the habit, namely, that he was drawn to the spiritual life of monasticism and not simply accepting tonsure before his death." Bushkovitch (1992, 38) expresses a similar view.

[103]Marina Cherkasova (1996) produced a book that extended Gonneau's coverage of Trinity-Sergius landholding into the next century. Z. V. Dmitrieva (2003) published some documents of the Kirillo-Belozersk monastery along with articles analyzing their content. Elena Romanenko (2002) published a description of medieval Russian monks' daily life that can be useful and a study of Nil Sorskii (2003) and his impact on Russian monastic traditions.

predetermined conclusions demanded by official ideology. In the typical Marxist view, religion is a tool employed by the ruling class for enslaving the lower classes.[104] So a monastery directly owning land and serfs would be an ideal entity to wield such a tool as ruthlessly as possible. But then the "ruling class" must somehow be in control of the monastic establishments. This could pose a problem for the Marxist interpretation since in most cases it can be shown that monasteries act largely on their own, not under direction from outside secular elites. One could suggest that people who come to power in monasteries ipso facto became members of the ruling class, but that creates other problems. At least for the version of Marxism that held sway in the Soviet Union over most of the twentieth century, a person's socio-economic class is virtually built into his genes: one is born into a particular class and a change of circumstances does not change that inherited identity. That being the case, the only way a monastery can be shown to be a tool of the ruling class is if it is actually run by members of the ruling class.[105] In other words, members of the secular aristocracy would have to join the monastery, have control of its administration, and yet continue to think and act in unison with the other members of their class outside the cloister walls.

In some cases the ideological strait-jacket is relatively superficial, but often it is not. A representative example of the latter is Izrael Budovnits' (1966) historical survey of monastery foundations: *Monasteries in Russia and the Peasants' Struggle With Them in the 14th-16th Centuries.*[106] The basic idea is that monasteries from the beginning were created in order to exploit peasants, they did so cruelly at every opportunity, and the peasants universally recognized them as oppressors and fought back when they could. Budovnits argues that the conflicts began with the first cenobitic monasteries in the fourteenth century since they are the ones that began to support themselves by landownership. The result was class struggle within and without: conflict between the monastery and its peasant tenants,

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[104]To Marx, religion is a narcotic that keeps people from realizing they are enslaved: "It is the *opium* of the people. The abolition of religion as the *illusory* happiness of men, is the demand for their *real* happiness." (qtd. in Tucker 1978, 54; emphasis original).

[105]There could, of course, be some flexibility in determining who is a member of the "ruling," or rather "exploiting," class. In the Soviet period "kulaks" or wealthy peasants were also considered to be exploiters. There were certainly some wealthy peasants in sixteenth century Muscovy, but the Soviet historiography does not identify them as exploiters, choosing instead to focus on *votchinniki*, or landowners.

[106]*Monastyri na Rusi i bor'ba s nimi krest'ian v XIV-XVI vekakh (po "zhitiiam sviatykh").*

and divisions within the monastic brotherhoods reflecting the class struggle in surrounding society. Rich monks were given special privileges while poor monks (along with the peasants which the monasteries moved quickly to enserf) were the exploited workers who enriched the igumen and the council elders. Actually the common monks were merely poor people who had been taken advantage of: desperate for a piece of bread, they would be offered tonsure in return for work, and that's how the rank and file in the monastery was formed. They were cheap labor, fed poorly, given worn-out clothing, and subjected to a cruel regimen.

The igumen is portrayed as an absolute and not very beneficent monarch in this stratified society, his main function being to curry favor for the monastery from the secular leadership figures in surrounding areas. He appoints his own successor without even consulting the brotherhood. Although Budovnits cannot avoid admitting that most igumens were of "undistinguished provenance" (*neznatnogo proiskhozhdeniia*; 260), and he reports little evidence indicating who the council elders were, nevertheless he concludes confidently that monastic leaders by and large came from high social ranks of the secular world:

> Over time the abbots of monastery-landowners (*monastyrei-votchinnikov*) and their close co-workers – the council elders, chosen usually from the ranks of rich donors – were transformed into a special layer of the feudal class (*osobuiu prosloiku feodal'nogo klassa*), playing a visible role in the economic, social, ideological, and political life of the country. (359)

He considers that the igumens and their "closest collaborators" wielded more political power than many appanage princes (252). This may not be far from the truth, but the statements about the provenance of monks in either the lower or upper monastic ranks are not supported by documentary statistical evidence. The entire work is based on a selective and often tendentious reading of hagiography about monastery founders.

Soviet works devoted to specific monasteries generally to one degree or another follow a similar interpretive line. There are two about Solovki. Each focuses on different aspects of the abbey's history compared to Spock, but each also touches on questions of social history. Aleksandr Savich (1927) asserts that the late fifteenth century saw "aristocratization" of the monastic brotherhood and "aristocratic dictatorship" of the council

of elders, claims which Spock directly contradicts.[107] Savich's claim does have some anecdotal evidence behind it, however. He finds that some elders had large sums of their own money and even lent it out to other monks at interest (one left behind 300 rubles, receipts documenting sums owed to him, valuable icons, and other property). He notes that council elders almost invariably (*splosh' da riadom*) had servants (*slugi*), and gained influence by accumulating disciples (*ucheniki*; 211). He also cites a 1636 edict from the tsar that begins with an observation that a few elders are trying to run the monastery without regard to the other elders or even the other brethren. This edict goes on to stipulate that the steward and treasurer must be elected by the entire brotherhood, while no individual elder is to have more than three disciples.

Savich's reporting of the evidence in these cases is no doubt accurate, but his interpretations are questionable. Was it really a substantial number of the council elders who were wealthy, or a few exceptions? We only hear from him about a few. How many out of hundreds of monks had a net worth upwards of 300 rubles? Did such wealth serve as a prerequisite for high position, or result from taking advantage of high position, or was it coincidental? Does the fact that some monks consider themselves "disciples" of certain startsy mean they are subordinated to them as a servant to a lord, and that the relationship was typically initiated by the lord for the purpose of gaining political power? Does one documented instance when a few powerful monks managed to run roughshod over everyone else indicate that such was the norm? Spock's study goes farther toward providing a fuller picture that would help answer questions of this kind, and that fuller picture generally does not support Savich's interpretive conclusions.

Savich's study is nevertheless of some value because he devotes a great deal of space to reporting what he finds in the sources, and relatively little offering ideologically skewed analyses of them.[108] He covers some topics in greater detail than Spock, one of which is the

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[107]Spock's (1999, 246-47) arguments seem stronger since Savich's claim is not based on statistical evidence. He cites, for example, a grand princely edict warning the monks not to disobey their Rule in a way that would lead to laziness (*bezdel'e*; 1927, 207). He believes *bezdel'e* would be a characteristic of aristocratic monks and suggests that this must have been a serious problem if an edict was needed to address it, so there must have been many aristocrats among the monks.

[108]Having been published in 1927, it was written early in the Soviet period, before the most stringent ideological requirements on historiography were imposed and enforced.

process by which men were appointed to high office in the monastery. Savich reports a number of struggles over appointments to the igumenate, in which the monastic brotherhood was pitted against the grand princely authority. Often the latter won out, but not always.[109] As for the steward, while other historians indicate that this second-in-command generally served at the pleasure of the igumen, Savich says that with just one known exception, throughout Solovki history he was selected by the brotherhood. The treasurer was likewise elected. The term of office for these two positions varied from person to person but was generally one to five years. Treasurers had shorter terms, usually two years, and each change of treasurer entailed a thorough audit process ensuring that all monastery funds were accounted for.[110]

The other major study of Solovki is by A. M. Borisov (1966) and comes as close as Budovnits does to earning the sobriquet "hatchet job." He actually devotes a long section of his introduction to blasting Savich for not making it clear that Solovki was nothing more than an exploiter of the peasantry, a tool of the grand prince. His book is mainly an extended tale of "monastery authorities" viciously bleeding the peasants dry, but he does give some account of the makeup of those monastery authorities as well as the common monks. Unfortunately the time period he examines for this is very narrow since his purpose is to describe internal conflicts during the uprising against church authorities in the 1660s and 1670s.

His analysis of the internal political hierarchy differs somewhat from both Spock's and Savich's. He describes an aristocratic elite composed of the igumen, steward, treasurer, and 12-14 council elders (this last figure is the largest number attributed to that body as a norm that I have seen). He adds to this list of influential individuals the monks assigned to manage outlying operations, making altogether a total of 60 people. He claims that literally "all" of these came from secular landowners (*feodaly*) or well-to-do townsmen (*posadskie liudi*), and as a group they were transformed into an exploiting class that mercilessly victimized peasants and workers (217). The interests of this intra-monastery ruling class did

[109]For details on some of these see Savich 1927, 207-209. See also Spock 1999, 370.

[110]Many details of how terms of office worked are not known. For example, was there a norm of five years for the steward such that if one man left after two years the next would automatically serve three years? This is not clear from the Volokolamsk records, either.

not even coincide with those of the other monks. The ordinary brothers came from the working class (that is, peasants and poor townspeople). Some of these lower classes did join the ranks of managers of outlying operations, but when they did they were transformed into exploiters even though they were from exploited classes (in this assertion he departs from many other Soviet writers who consider class to be virtually a biological trait). As with the other Soviet historians, Borisov reaches conclusions that would require statistical analysis and specific evidence but are based on limited and tendentiously interpreted anecdotal evidence.

The study by Liudmila Ivina (1979) on the Simonov monastery located near Moscow does little more than log when and where the monastery acquired and lost lands and privilege charters. She does digress briefly to discuss the monastery brotherhood, but like her predecessors she draws broad conclusions based on minimal data. She can find only one Simonov monk who had landed property before entering the monastery, and he was not even tonsured there but was brought in as an archimandrite. Then from a list of a half dozen monks whose origins she was able to determine she draws the conclusion that the monastery was a refuge for poverty-stricken landholding nobles.

Finally we come to Volokolamsk. The first two socio-economic histories of this monastery were articles rather than books, but they are substantial articles by competent historians. The first, by Mikhail Tikhomirov, appeared in 1938 under the simple title "A Monastery-Landowner of the Sixteenth Century" (*Monastyr'-votchinnik XVI v.*). Tikhomirov argues that the monastery was full of men from the lesser landowning service class (*melkim sluzhilym liudom byla zapolnena*; 135). He goes a step further to say that they were people who were "ruined and embittered by the great feudal lords" (*razorennye i obizhennye krupnymi feodalami*; 135). This explains why the monastery strove so hard to become a great "feudal lord" itself. Remarkably, in this evaluation he is not limiting his field of view to council elders; he actually attributes the "ruined landowner" background to the vast majority of the brotherhood. He does not so much as hint that some monks might have been more influential or occupied higher office in the monastic hierarchy than others. Nor does he mention any abbots beyond Iosif. He does name a few individuals – ten in all – and provides brief biographical sketches for them, but he gives no indication that his

generalizations are based on identification of large numbers of monks. Only for one of the few he does identify can he cite a source stating the person was formerly wealthy but impoverished before tonsure, and that is for a person who is identified only by first name in a single, short, cryptic sentence in a hagiographical source.[111]

Most of Tikhomirov's article is devoted to a description of the monastery's agricultural operations. The author's interpretation of the purpose behind all of the institution's actions is typically Soviet Marxist:

> The exploitation of peasant labor lay at the foundation of the monastery's economic practice. ... Only an insignificant part of the monks were occupied by church services; the remaining ones were completely engaged in economic matters."[112]

Such conclusions result in part from a lack of first-hand knowledge of daily life in a monastic setting. Anyone who has spent any time in an Eastern Orthodox monastery is well aware that it is both possible and normal for monks to perform regular duties outside the church and still take part in the full cycle of services. Tikhomirov was not far wrong in saying most monks were engaged in monastery business, but that does not mean they ignored religious functions. Even full participation in a full monastic cycle of services does not preclude serving also in other capacities.

Immediately after the war K. N. Shchepetov (1946) published a study of the monastery's agricultural activity (*sel'skoe khoziaistvo*), focusing specifically on the period near the end of the sixteenth century. For the most part the article is a detailed account of how Iosifov managed its money, its hired labor, and its peasants. It does not discuss at all how the monastery was governed or the monks' origins, but it does a better job than Tikhomirov of justifying the view that the institution was a demanding landlord. This is largely because for several years in the 1590s the monastery practiced "forced lending" (*prinuditel'noe kreditovanie*). This episode in Volokolamsk history will be examined in detail in chapter 6, but it is not necessarily typical since one does not hear of the forced lending practice before or after this period of a few years' duration.

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[111] About Il'ia: "*Byl on rodom 'ne zelo ot slavnykh, no imiashe malu ves', chelovetsi zh zlii otniasha eia u nego, i sego radi zhiviashe nishchete.* '" (135)

[112] "*Eksploatatsiia krest'ianskogo truda lezhala v osnove monastyrskoi khoziaistvennoi praktiki. ... Tol'ko nichtozhnaia chast' monakhov byla zaniata tserkovnymi sluzhbami, ostal'nye tselikom byli pogruzheny v khoziastvennye zaboty.*" (148)

Compared to Tikhomirov, Shchepetov, and other Soviet studies of monastic communities, Aleksandr Zimin's (1977) book about Volokolamsk stands apart for the sheer volume of sources taken into account, though it stands firmly within its predecessors' interpretive tradition.[113] Zimin's thesis is that the ruling elite within the monastery were dominated by men from the land-owning class of the region.[114] They took with them to the monastery their habits of exploiting peasant labor to support their own rich standard of living and proceeded to oppress the rank and file monks as well. The donors to the monastery were also mainly landowners, and so the landowning class was in complete control of the monastery.

In Zimin's view this group's class interests determined not only the practice of ruthless exploitation in land management but also the religious ideology of "Josephism" and the politics of church leaders, all of which was oriented toward perpetuating that exploitation.[115] When it became clear that only the grand prince's support could allow Iosif to hold on to his property against calls for secularization, Iosif and his followers found a way to ensure that support. They created and publicized a new religious-political philosophy emphasizing the need for absolute obedience to the grand prince, in return for the grand prince's support against any attempts to take away monastic lands. Even the anti-heretic agitation that Iosif is so well known for is then interpreted as simply an opportunistic way to curry favor with the grand prince by emphasizing the "divine" nature of the grand prince's will (since he is called upon to be the punisher of heretics). In the final analysis, the greed of Iosif and his party – which was the same thing as the greed of the exploiting class of secular society – led to a new political philosophy that developed and spread throughout Russia and created the base for a new and more virulent form of autocracy.

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[113]The book began as a doctoral dissertation completed in 1947, a time when ideological constraints were particularly severe. Zimin published some source documents shortly thereafter, but it was 30 years before his dissertation could be published in book form. One must suppose that during that time he will have learned that in order to publish in the Soviet environment only certain kinds of interpretations would be acceptable, so it is difficult to say how much of what he wrote truly represented his own analysis versus being slanted to avoid causing problems with censors. For an account of Soviet censorship in the late 1940s, see Afferica 1980, 662-68. Zimin has produced a great deal of literature dealing with monasticism in general and Volokolamsk in particular; for an overview of his work and a bibliography of his works see Waugh 1985.

[114]This is the same as what Budovnits (1966, 238) said about Volokolamsk.

[115]For brief summaries of all these points, see pp.6, 281, 318.

The present study cannot address in detail all of the issues Zimin raises, but a few comments on Zimin's treatment of the subject of donation patterns are in order. In the sixteenth century, men and women from all social levels, from the immediately surrounding area and beyond, donated cash and goods to the Volokolamsk monastery. Frequently they expected to be commemorated in monastic church services in return. Zimin has little difficulty establishing that the bulk of the donations, considered in terms of rubles, were from the landowning class, and he can provide an extensive list of examples as evidence. However, he never backs up with actual evidence his assumption that large donations translated to influence over monastery policy. There were very few donations of a size that would have been a significant part of the institution's yearly income or would have towered over the rest: the vast bulk of the large donations that Zimin focuses on were in the 100-150 ruble range for an institution that took in many thousands of rubles in a year. Of these there were hundreds over the course of the sixteenth century. Moreover, these donations were almost without exception given by individuals near the end of life to commemorate themselves, or by relatives after a person's death to commemorate the decedent. Such donors had a vested interest in the economic health of the monastery so it could indeed commemorate them "forever," but they would not be in a position to dictate policy to monastery leadership.

In addition, the landowning class would be far outnumbered among the donors if one also counts relatively small donations. Peasants and tradesmen were freely donating what they could just as landlords were donating what they could. In other words, all levels of secular society were entering into the very same relationship with the monastery and for the same purpose, the only difference being that a peasant might be able to buy only a couple of years' commemoration while his lord might be able to get in the books "forever."

Zimin is of course on firmer ground in ascribing influence to the council of elders, but here too there are distortions. He at first asserts that one need examine the backgrounds only of the council members rather than all monks since the latter would all be submissively obedient peasants.[116] He implies, though never explicitly states, that the igumens would be

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[116]He asserts that one must "sharply distinguish" (*razlichat' chetko*) the council elders from the rest of the brotherhood, as leaders from obedient followers (112). He even corrects other scholars who in his view failed to do this (154, 162). Yet he is inconsistent himself. In some contexts in place of *sobornye startsy* (council elders) he uses

puppets of the powerful council, so their backgrounds also need not be examined. But then when he does identify individual monks he presents a roster organized in descending order by social class of origin in which all those in the higher ranks (princes, boiars, landowners) are assumed to have entered into the leadership ranks regardless of any actual evidence to that effect. When his list reaches those below landowner class he admits in a footnote that some became elders but asserts they are irrelevant even there because they would obey higher-class council members:

> Representatives of the remaining classes (*soslovii*)[117] did not occupy leadership posts in the monastery. They fulfilled the will of the council elders and the abbots. Only in rare instances were abbots and council elders offspring of peasants, tradesmen, etc. (163)

These – peasants, tradesmen, and slaves – are considered to be "the fundamental core of the monastery's rank-and-file." (118) The monastery sought them because they were already trained to be blindly obedient, and they flocked to the monastery anyway to escape poverty.[118]

Zimin does identify more individual monks than any other historian, but he still formulates generalizations based on knowledge of a relatively small part of the whole. He names 28 council members whom he can identify as from landowning families, and presents this as evidence of a clique that would have dominated the council by sheer force of numbers throughout the monastery's history. However, he never suggests what the total number of elders might have been, and as will be seen below, that number is well above 120 at the very least over the same period of history,[119] a number hardly likely to have been dominated by a group of 28 even if the 28 always banded together as a clique.

Moreover, there is no evidence supporting the idea that former landowners within the abbey walls and secular landowners acted as a kind of unified "class." Indeed, there is no evidence such men had any kind of "class consciousness" or cohesiveness even outside the abbey walls. As William Reddy (1992) has pointed out in a study of historiography

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preimushchie startsy (preeminent elders) or *startsy bol'shie* (great elders) or even simply *startsy*.

[117] In modern Russian *soslovie* normally means juridical estate rather than social class, but this context is clearly talking about classes, not estates.

[118] No actual evidence is offered to back up these assertions except for remarks in Iosif's Lives that some monks came out of poverty. See p.119, notes 92, 93.

[119] This reflects the number of individuals I have actually found in the sources; see chapter 4.

about social classes, all individuals are members of more than one class, understood in terms of relationships to other individuals; their identity is never subsumed entirely under one heading. Moreover, they cannot act in concert without some mechanism to do so:

> Individuals who have in common a similar relationship to some other group of individuals (but who cannot be defined by this relationship, as we noted above) will not act collectively to defend interests which they share as such, unless they in turn build a set of new relationships that somehow link them together. This building process, the historical record shows, is a potent transformative force, as likely to create new groups, even new ruling classes when it goes far enough, as is any other development of a new type of relationship. (22)

Even for secular landowners that basic community-building process cannot be shown to have happened in sixteenth century Russia. On the other hand, Zimin glosses over the evidence that some igumens after Iosif (few of whom were landowners) as well as other monks of low social station were highly influential,[120] while many of elite backgrounds never reached the leadership ranks.[121]

In many cases evidence is not merely glossed over but tendentiously interpreted to mean the opposite of what it was intended to mean.[122] A prime example is in the

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[120]In his introduction to the council and summary of its makeup Zimin mentions not a single instance where council members actually did come from the lower ranks of the social hierarchy. While going through his roster by social class he does mention in passing a few council elders who do not fit Zimin's other categories: three boiar servants, six monastery servants, and one merchant (163-64). Aside from that one would never know any other classes ever got into the council. But one finds a different story in the footnotes. One of them names a few whose social origin is unknown (119 n.90). Later there is a very long footnote to the remark about peasant origin of common monks, and the reader who gets past the first half devoted to identifying some common monks who were peasants, finally comes upon a paragraph that mentions in passing that some elders who also came from peasant or *posadskie liudi* (townspeople) stock (164 n.352). It gives the names of no less than 15 of them -- more than half as many as the 28 landowners who became council members and were so carefully identified in the main text earlier! The main text never acknowledges their existence; presumably the remark quoted above concerning the lower classes' obedience to the upper classes is evidence of a viewpoint that will have rendered any further investigation into such people irrelevant, since they could not possibly be influential anyway regardless of position.

[121]Zimin actually lists a total of 41 landowners – fully 13 of the ones he names never make it to the council. He attempts to explain this anomaly only in the case of the earliest ones, by suggesting that in the first few decades any incoming monk's high social status could simply be overridden by Iosif's autocratic authority as founder and igumen (112-13). Actually, he suggests, Iosif found princely monks a nuisance because they were not as obedient as those drawn from lower social ranks and were not as willing to accept an ascetic life-style. One difficulty with this interpretation is that it depends entirely on the personality of Iosif (whose power Zimin contrasts sharply with the puppet igumens who came afterward), but the phenomenon continued after Iosif was gone. Also some of the grandees who do not become startsy are known to have been close to Iosif so there would have been no reason for him to exclude them from the council.

[122]Besides the following example, see also p.115, where Zimin quotes a section from one of Iosif's Lives that states "those who came with property and riches did not receive from him [Iosif] rest and relaxation, nor were those tonsured from poverty and slavery weighted down with work and servitude." The text speaks equally of both ends of the social spectrum, in order to argue that all were treated equally, but by selective quoting and adding his own explanatory additions, Zimin makes it say something quite different: "After all, grandees (*vel'mozhi*) often were tonsured 'having come with property and riches (for the sake of -- A. Z.) rest and relaxation.'" Thus he has changed a

interpretation of Iosif's monastic Rule. Soviet scholars since B. A. Rybakov (1934, 28-29)[123] have called attention to the fact that Iosif's Rule divides all monastic brethren into three levels or ranks. Zimin refers to this fact repeatedly as clear evidence that Iosif had been forced to allow members of the higher social classes coming into the monastery to continue to manifest their former status and to be treated accordingly by other monks. "The different 'levels' (*ustroeniia*) of monastic life," he asserts, "are an indisputable witness to the influence of monastic recruits (*postrizhenikov*) of different social provenances." (Zimin 1977, 97) But in fact, the three levels are esteemed differently based on accomplishment in ascetic endeavors, not social status – in other words the most highly honored monk is the one who wears the poorest clothing and fasts most severely.[124]

The reader of Zimin's book is never told about the intended purpose of the three levels, only a cynical interpretation of it. Nor is enough of the text quoted so that the reader might be able to understand it independently. No monk is allowed to appear as an ordinary human being with honest religious beliefs, and so of course none would have sought tonsure out of religious motives. This leads Zimin to repeat Tikhomirov's assertion that men came out of ruination even while his own study recounts their generous donations:

> Many from the ranks of the landowners of average (*srednego*) means from the Volotsk and Ruza regions were not only the most generous donors to the monastery, but also composed the leadership (*sostavliali rukovodiashchuiu gruppu*) of the monastic brethren. M. N. Tikhomirov correctly wrote, "The starets Iosif himself came from the lesser or middle service class (*roda*) ... The majority of elders of the Volotsk monastery (we would specify -- council elders -- A. Z.) were of the same provenance. These were lesser service people, ruined and embittered by the great feudal lords (*feodalami*) ..." (162).[125]

If it was mainly ruination and embitterment that could entice a landowner to don a cassock, why was he such a "generous donor" before the ruination happened? If we solve the incongruence by assuming these references are actually to different groups of people, what kind of unity of interests would have remained between the ruined and embittered

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text that says grandees *did not get* rest and relaxation into one that says *they came for* rest and relaxation (and by implication that they got it), by quoting only part of a sentence or phrase and supplying an additional word (*radi* -- "for the sake of") not in the original.

[123]See also Lur'e 1960, 250ff.

[124]Extracts from the Rule that make this clear are quoted at length below in chapter 5.

[125]See also p. 118 where he speaks of ruination as a motivation for tonsure but backs it up with only one anecdote.

landowners ensconced within the monastery's walls and their rich compatriots sending in money from outside?

The ascription of harsh necessity or base motives for ostensibly religious actions is a leitmotif in Zimin's book. This attitude guarantees a lack of understanding. Without a fundamental respect for the people one studies as a historian, in the sense of a sympathetic determination to see the world as they did and think as they did -- one has no chance to understand them. And so despite a truly impressive knowledge of the sources, Zimin fundamentally misunderstood those sources and the people who wrote them. And accordingly he presented all monastic history as class conflict based in true Marxist fashion on economics:

> The monastery leadership, formed primarily from representatives of the ruling class, lived by means of cruel exploitation both of the peasantry and the rank-and-file monastic brotherhood. (164-65)

Despite the obvious bias of Zimin's book it has been until now the last word on the Volokolamsk brotherhood and continues to be quoted in more recent historiography as the authority on this subject.[126]

The remaining literature produced in the Soviet period has little to say about monks and internal monastery administration, but there are many valuable works describing monastic landholding practices, notably those by Sergei Kashtanov, Boris Grekov, and Stepan Veselovskii. Likewise there are many works on the so-called possessor versus non-possessor controversy (the debate over whether monasteries should own estates as a matter of principle), but these tend to be even more tainted by ideological bias than the more general studies of monasticism and focus on a topic that is only of peripheral interest here.[127]

The tendentious character of Soviet literature is perhaps the main reason why a new look at such a thoroughly studied subject as the Volokolamsk monastery is called for. But

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[126]Paul Bushkovitch (1992, 36), for example, devotes an entire page to repeating Zimin's conclusions uncritically, concluding that "the monastery itself remained essentially a local center, with both monks and donors coming from the lesser landholders of the immediate area." This conclusion actually represents Tikhomirov's findings rather than Zimin's, since the latter argued that only the ruling class of monks were lesser landholders, while the rank and file were peasants.

[127]Some of the more important books in this class are Budovnits 1947, Kazakova 1960 (which also contains some primary sources), Lur'e 1960, and Pliguzov 2002. I have made no attempt to include in the bibliography lesser representatives of the voluminous literature on this subject, but see Ostrowski (1986) for an argument that the whole debate is a case of twentieth century historians making a mountain out of what was a molehill in the sixteenth century.

issues of Marxist interpretation aside, the only generalizations that have been made about the character of the Volokolamsk brotherhood are based on anecdotal evidence that could and should have been backed up with much more complete statistical data. Even more important, crucial terminological and methodological issues have not been discussed at all. What do words like *starets* (elder) or *uchenik* (disciple) really mean in various contexts? How does one determine what social class an individual came from?[128] How does one determine whether a person was or was not a member of the council of elders? There are many such gaps in the extant literature, and this study will fill some of them.

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[128]I speak of "social class" not in a Marxist sense with its near-exclusive emphasis on economic relationships. For details on the nature of social class and how one can ascertain boundaries between them, see below chapter 4.

2. Sources

For sixteenth century Volokolamsk there are no rosters of the brotherhood – not even just names, let alone names with biographical data. There are no regular lists of new recruits, nor of deaths. There are no records of election to the council of elders, or appointment to it, or resignation from it. There are no records of any discussions that went into deciding who would become treasurer, steward, or igumen; nor anything remotely resembling the transcript of a council deliberation. With few exceptions, whenever monks wrote anything – and many spent countless hours writing – they merely copied what others had written rather than composing something themselves which could act as evidence of what they themselves were thinking. Virtually everything one can know about the Volokolamsk brotherhood must be culled out of sources that only in incidental and indirect ways provide that information.

Documentary Sources

Among the most valuable sources for a socio-economic history are the documents their modern editors lump together as "estate management books" (*votchinnye khoziaistvennye knigi*), an umbrella term encompassing numerous kinds of financial and agricultural records. With one major exception that dates to the 1530s, the surviving ones come almost exclusively from the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the first decade of the seventeenth. Among them are income and expense books;[129] receipts of various kinds;[130] payroll records;[131] loan account books;[132] agricultural records showing how much

[129] *prikhodnye i raskhodnye knigi.* Most years from 1573-1608 are covered, in Man'kov 1978, 1980, 1987; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966. A few that survived have until now remained unpublished, for 1601-02, 1605-06 (extracts for these years appear in Zimin 1947), 1607-08.

[130] *pamiati.* Often these are copied in whole into the income and expense books, but a few survive as separate documents. Almost all are from the 1590s, in Man'kov 1976, 1978, 1987.

[131] *zhalovannye knigi.* Numerous years from 1547 to 1608 survive, but only those for 1547-61 have been published, in Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948 as *kniga kliuchei i denezhnykh obrokov.*

[132] *dolgovye knigi.* Books for 1532 and 1606-07 survive, both published, in Zimin 1948 and Tikhomirov and Floria 1966. Related books titled *kabal'nye knigi* have not been published.

grain was sown, reaped, milled, etc.;[133] records of rent collections from peasants;[134] and various others like them.[135] Because they contain detailed information about the monastery's day-to-day business and the individuals who conduct it, they are treasure troves of names and other information about those individuals. Below are two sample entries from the income and expense books:

> On the same day [6/16/1573] the under-treasurer Sava, who had gone to Mozhaisk to buy cloth and mead for the monastery's use took 100 rubles cash. He brought back 50 poods of mead.
> In the same month on the 17th day starets Anfilofei Tyrkov took 3 rubles cash, to pay wages to peasants in various villages (*davati emu po selam obroki detem*). (Man'kov 1980, 30)

The other major "business enterprise" the monastery engaged in was the sale of commemoration services. In order to conduct this business it was necessary to keep track of donors' names, donations, dates of donations, terms of commemoration, and so forth, as well as the names to be commemorated. Many of the donors were – or became later – monks of the monastery, so some of these books contain much material of interest. As with the estate management books, the surviving copies of these documents come almost exclusively from the latter half of the sixteenth century.

The largest number of surviving documents associated with commemoration, but generally the least useful, are the *sinodiki* (also called *senaniki*, singular *sinodik* and *senanik*). These are the actual lists from which names would be read during liturgical services, so they generally have little in them other than the names themselves. They rarely indicate whether an individual was a member of the Volokolamsk brotherhood, and frequently one finds long lists of first names only, without family names.[136]

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[133] *knigi uzhina i umolota*; *knigi vyseva khleba*; *knigi ukosa sena*; *knigi raskhoda sena*; *knigi sbora i vyplat*. Various years from 1573 to 1595, in Man'kov 1976, 1976; 1604-5 remain unpublished.

[134] *obrochnye knigi*. Available for numerous years between 1574 and 1608, none published.

[135] Some others, none of which have been published: *dannye den'gi knigi* (1582-84), *dannye i polonianichnye den'gi knigi* (1583-84, 89-90), *okhotnichnye den'gi knigi* (1588-89), *iamskie den'gi knigi* (1592, 1602, 1606-07), *barannye, maslennye, borovye den'gi knigi* (1592-1604).

[136] Other variants were the *pomiannik*, and *povsednevnyi spisok*. Perhaps because their content is so limited in scope, few are published. One exception is an extract from a *sinodik* in Kazakova 1960. An unpublished one continued some information of interest is GIM 411.

Large donations were recorded in the *vkladnaia kniga* (endowment donation book). This large volume (152 folios) generally recorded donations large enough to endow "eternal" commemoration, or rather "for as long as the monastery remains standing."[137] The vkladnaia contains records of donations going back to the founding of the monastery, but the copy extant is apparently a compilation based on earlier records, since it was written all at once at some time not earlier than 1567.[138] It contains 348 "chapters" (*glavy*), each one identifying a person who has already died and is on the commemoration lists, and listing his or her donations. The vkladnaia gives a very complete picture of who the wealthiest donors to the monastery were over most of the latter half of the sixteenth picture, with less reliable information going back to the fifteenth century.

Complementing that picture is the *zapisnaia kniga* (literally: note book) which reports the smaller donations of people who could only afford to pay for a couple of years' commemoration, or who paid in installments until they could get on the "eternal" list.[139] This fairly large manuscript (73 folios) was begun around 1550 and remained a work in progress for 57 years, being updated over that period by many different hands. Each new donation would get a new paragraph identifying the donor and the donation; when a donor died, his paragraph would get crossed out and often a marginal notation would be added to indicate that the person had been entered into the sinodik. Sometimes a donor would make new donations years after the original one, in which case the keeper of the zapisnaia kniga would go back and add comments to the original entry. Most but not all entries are dated. The book is full of very interesting details, as not-so-wealthy people often donated in kind. When no other clues to a person's social standing are available, it is frequently telling to see that one can only scrape together a modest amount of grain, a horse, or a bee hive to give the

[137]GIM 419; published in Titov 1906a.

[138]The date of the last datable entry, per Kazakova (1972, 264).

[139]GIM 418, published in Titov 1906b. The two books published by Andrei Titov are among the most important for my purposes but have been edited very poorly, with many errors and omissions. Fortunately I was able to consult a microfilm of the original manuscripts in the Hilandar library at Ohio State University, and my citations from these books are according to the manuscript itself rather than according to the Titov editions. The official title for the zapisnaia kniga is *GIM (Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii muzei), Eparkhial'noe sobranie, no.418(686)*, while for the vkladnaia it is *GIM, Eparkhial'noe sobranie, no.419(687)*. They are listed in the bibliography under GIM 418 and GIM 419.

monastery in order to get a beloved relative into the sinodik for a few years. Below is a representative entry that gives a feel for the contents of this unique document:

> In the year 7083 (1575) Miron, nicknamed Posnik, Pavel Nepluev's son, gave to the house of the Most Pure Theotokos, to Osifov monastery, 60 *chetverti* of rye, the value of which was 8 rubles, and 2 rubles cash, so Posnik's whole donation was 10 rubles. And if Posnik decides to be tonsured, we will tonsure him for that donation. And if he does not get tonsured, and God sends for his soul, we will write him in the senanik according to the monastery custom. [Remainder is added later:] And when Posnik came to be tonsured in the year 7084 (1576), under igumen Evfimii, under treasurer German, he gave a light brown mare worth 4 rubles and goods worth 6 rubles, so Posnik's total donation was 20 rubles. And after that he gave 5 rubles. (GIM 418, 43v.)

Perhaps the most numerous group of written records, many of which reach back to the earliest period of the monastery's existence, are *gramoty* (singular *gramota*) — official documents recording various kinds of transactions and decrees. They include land deeds recording donations, purchases, sales, and trades; last testaments and wills; decrees conferring tax immunities; judicial records; ecclesiastical decrees, and many others.[140] In important business transactions someone has to sign for the monastery, and so one often finds the name of the igumen, council elders, or both in that capacity, usually listed along with their titles. The extract from a purchase deed below is typical:

> Behold I, steward Selivan, and I, treasurer Gelasei, and I, Gerasim Lenkov, and I, Selifon, have purchased from Ofonasii son of Ivan Marinin, for the house of the Virgin, Iosifov monastery, for igumen Daniil with the brotherhood his [Ofonasii's] land, the village Zubovo, the hamlet Timonino ... And this purchase deed was written by Senko, Iurii Pestin's son, in the year 7026 (1518) ... To this purchase deed I, Ugrim, Ivan Bibikov's son, am a witness and I have signed by my own hand. To this purchase deed I, Pirog, am a witness and have signed by my own hand. ... (AFZKh, #2:81)

As can be seen, one does not always get full names or titles.

Another form of gramota is the official record of a church council. These are often very long documents that record not only debates and outcomes but the names of representatives from monasteries, and one is extant with a list of all the Iosifov council

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[140]The entire volume two of AFZKh is devoted to *gramoty* pertaining to Volokolamsk monastery. Smaller numbers of documents can be found in the general published collections (AAE; AI; AIu; AIuB; Platonov and Kudriumov 1915 and 1917; Cherepnin 1948-1951; DAI; DDG; DRV; Lebedev 1881; Likhachev 1895; Mukhanov 1866; RIB; and Sadikov 1941. A special form of official document is the petition (*chelobitnoe*), and the surviving collection of petitions made to the monastery by its peasants would be of particular interest. Unfortunately, it has not been published (see Prosvirnin 1995, 30).

elders.[141] In general, since official documents are almost always dated, they can provide solid evidence regarding who occupied key positions in the monastery on those dates.

A particularly valuable kind of official document is the *opis'*, or inventory, of the monastery library; for the sixteenth century we have three, dated 1545, 1573, and 1591.[142] These remarkably detailed documents tell us not only what books the monastery had but who wrote them, who copied them, and who owned them. Since many if not most of the books in the Volokolamsk library were copied there and owned by brothers there, the *opisi* tell us much about who the monks were. A sample:

> Gospel book, by the hand of starets Simeon Pustynnik; illustrations in colors on gold background; fastenings and covers silver; green brocade; [owned by] Il'ia Sherstnev. ... Gospel book, by the hand of Nil Polev; illustrations in colors and words written in gold; fastenings and covers in bronze; old black brocade ... Gospel book, blue brocade, fastenings and covers bronze, and in it four illustrations in colors and with big words, gift of starets Dionisii Gorbatyi. (Likhachev 1991, 46-48)

A disadvantage of this source is the general lack of dates pertaining to times of book ownership or writing or donation: virtually the only date is the one attesting to when the inventory was taken. Thus, a person listed as a book owner in the 1545 opis' might have died at a ripe old age in 1482 or just acquired his first book as a teenage recruit in 1544. However, some of the inventories do have addenda recording receipts of books for various dates extending years beyond the original compilation.

Prescriptive Texts

Another class of writings consists of those intended to guide the liturgical and spiritual life of the monastery. First and foremost in this class is Iosif's "Will and Testament" (*dukhovnaia gramota*), also called his monastic Rule (*ustav*) though he himself did not call it that.[143] It fits the generally understood description of a monastic Rule insofar as it codifies the basic principles that regulate the life of a cenobitic monastery, combining more or less specific rules with homiletic material explaining why they are necessary. It is

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[141] Pokrovskii 1971 publishes the proceedings against Maksim Grek.

[142] These are published in Likhachev 1991, pp.16-99, and commented on in the remainder of that volume.

[143] The Rule is translated into English in Goldfrank 2000. The Russian version is in VMCh, 499-576 and Iosif 1868. When quoting from Goldfrank, in order to maintain terminology consistent with the rest of this dissertation, I replace his "cellarer" (from *kelar'*) and *economus* (from *ikonom*) with "steward," and his "hegumen" (from *igumen*) with "igumen."

almost exclusively oriented toward encouraging behavior that according to the Eastern Orthodox monastic tradition will help lead monks to eternal salvation. It exhorts everyone to attend church services regularly and on time and to pay careful attention during them; to enter the refectory in good order, eat their meals quietly, and not to leave the table until excused; to wear clothing that is simple, inexpensive, and minimal; to strive not only in clothing but in all things to own no private property at all, "from which are born humility and compunction" (Goldfrank 2000, 192); not to take anything without permission; not to gather and gossip in common areas or in cells; not to go outside the monastery without permission; to devote oneself diligently to whatever work is assigned; to cultivate the virtue of obedience to one's spiritual father; to avoid drunkenness; to avoid at all costs women and children and fornication; and to read scripture.

In literary form the Rule is less a legal text than a homiletic text, as it exhorts rather than decrees, and goes to great lengths to explain the reasons behind its exhortations.[144] It is a faithful reflection of Iosif's understanding of what would be most effective at promoting his monks' spiritual welfare and avoiding spiritual harm. Moreover, it became the normative text governing the spiritual life of the monastery, one which many if not most of the monastery's monks would be bound to read and assimilate. It gained wide distribution not only in Iosifov but in numerous other Russian monasteries over the course of the century, so it is one of the most important artifacts of "Josephism" and its legacy. Like any prescriptive writing, its directives were not necessarily all followed to the letter, but it is extremely important as a witness to the commonly agreed upon norms and ideals of monastic life at Volokolamsk.

An earlier version of the Rule is extant, generally called the "Brief Rule" versus the later, "Extended Rule."[145] The Brief Rule was not frequently copied and apparently not widely read; it appears to have been a kind of working draft, useful now mainly as a window into Iosif's thoughts and the process that led finally to the Extended Rule.

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[144] As Goldfrank (2000, 31) points out, "Iosif seems continuously to have been composing sermons and regulations for his monks."

[145] The Brief Rule too is translated in Goldfrank 2000. The original is published in Zimin and Lur'e 1959, 296-319. See also Lur'e 1956. On the dating and texts of Iosif's written Rules, see Goldfrank 2000, 51ff. The Brief Rule cannot be dated precisely but is variously considered to be some time earlier than 1504 or earlier than 1508. See more on the Rule below in chapters 5, and 6.

Before Iosif, it was not customary for Russian monasteries to have written Rules – even the great monastery Trinity-Sergius never had one. Russian monasticism relied generally on the so-called Rule of St. Basil (which was also more a compendium of general principles than a legal document) and the entire vast body of Orthodox devotional literature. The first attempt at a comprehensive Rule was made not long before the Iosifov founding by Evfrosin (d. 1479) of the Elizarov monastery in the Pskov region. Nil Sorskii (d. 1508) produced another around the same time Iosif was working on his. The basic presentation of Orthodox monastic spirituality in all three documents is fundamentally similar. Iosif's stands apart by being much longer and more comprehensive and including a lengthy "historical digression" which will be discussed below in chapter 6. The other two were ultimately not as influential, for it was Iosif's that came to be widely adopted by other monasteries throughout the sixteenth century.

The Rule was supplemented in the 1580s by a new document called the *obikhodnik stolovyi* (table customary) which provided detailed instructions for such varied matters as how to celebrate certain special church services, how and when to distribute candles, protocol for visits by the tsar, how to keep track of names to be commemorated, and what food to serve during feasts and fasts. The last of its six chapters, called the *kormovaia kniga* (book of feasts),[146] is especially valuable for the social history of the abbey because it is mostly about commemorative feasts. One popular way to commemorate a deceased person was to pay for a feast for the whole brotherhood in the decedent's honor. This required a substantial donation even to fund just one, while a wealthy donor would generally endow at least one permanent yearly feast (*korm*). The kormovaia kniga lists all these yearly feasts along with the names of the persons commemorated. It often includes additional information about the decedents, as in the following extract:

> On the same date [October 26], for prince Dmitri, as a monk Dionisii, son of Obolenskii Nemovo, and for his princess Mariia. The donation for him was from the sovereign, because God and the sovereign forced him into monasticism and so the sovereign gave for his whole family the village Loknosh, also known as Shestakovo, with the church of the Nativity of the Virgin and with hamlets and 70

[146]Steindorff 1998 is a facsimile edition of the kormovaia complete with apparatus showing variant readings from related manuscripts. Only small extracts from copies of the remainder of the obikhodnik have been published (Golubinskii 1900-1917, 2:2:577-582; Gorskii and Nevostruev 1855-1917, 3:392-402; Leonid 1863; Leonid 1880).

> rubles cash. Also the gifts of him and his father Ivan, and for his brothers, 200 rubles. In all there are eight feasts (*kormov*) for them. And their family is [buried] here in the new section opposite the doors of the church. (Steindorff 1998, 47-48)

The other main class of texts intended to guide monastic spiritual life is homiletic literature. The most well-known sermons are those of Daniil, Iosif's immediate successor (1515-22) and later metropolitan (1522-43). Many of them come from the later period, but some date back to when he was igumen.[147] Sermons by other Volokolamsk monks are also extant.[148]

Similar to prescriptive literature in some respects are the polemical tracts and treatises. These come primarily from two main controversies: one regarding heresy and one regarding monastic landownership. For the former the most important is Iosif's *Prosvetitel'* (Enlightener), a very long and well-known theological treatise that is one of the defining monuments of Josephism.[149] The *Prosvetitel'* is mainly a compilation of other Eastern Orthodox theological and devotional sources rather than an original composition of Iosif's. For the lands controversy, there are some short tracts on Iosif's side and numerous writings by his opponents.[150]

Epistolary and Narrative Sources

A large portion of the polemical literature occurs not in treatises intended for a general audience but in the form of personal letters. Iosif himself was a prolific letter-writer, and many of his epistles have been preserved,[151] as well as those written by contemporaries

[147] Zhmakin 1881 is a biography of Daniil that also includes a description of his writings and some of the writings themselves. See also Kloss 1980, a book about the Nikon Chronicle and Daniil's part in its creation.

[148] Soviet scholars were generally not interested in sermons, so few have been published. Aside from Daniil's, I know only of a sermon of one of the early elders titled *Pouchenie startsa Fotiia* (Fotii 1862).

[149] Published in Iosif 1896 and 1993. There are also smaller works written with similar aims in mind: *Otveshchanie liubozazornykh* (in Iosif 1862), *Greshnago inoka Iosifa skazanie o novoiavivsheisia eresi Novogorodskikh eretikov* (in DRV v.14). See also the *Poslanie ikonopistsu* in Iosif 1994.

[150] Many of the materials have been published in the major historical studies of these issues, especially Kazakova and Lur'e 1959; Kazakova 1960. See also Begunov 1964. A tract attributed to Iosif is published in Malinin 1901.

[151] A few early editions of the letters are in DAI, DRV, and Smirnov 1912. These have been superseded by Zimin and Lur'e 1959, an entire book devoted to publishing them. A few that were discovered after the book appeared are in Kobrin 1966 and Kloss 1974b. For a recent and thorough analysis of the chronology of all the letters plus re-evaluation of the authenticity of some of them, see Pliguzov 1992.

who opposed his causes.[152] There are relatively few scattered remnants of letters written by other Volokolamsk monks over the years.[153]

Some of the most important witnesses to life at Volokolamsk are hagiographic writings. Three Lives of Iosif himself were written. The one that is probably the earliest bears the title *Nadgrobnoe slovo* (eulogy at the grave) and is generally attributed to Iosif's cousin Dosifei Toporkov.[154] Whether it was actually composed in 1515 to function as a funeral oration is doubtful, but Dosifei was a contemporary who knew Iosif personally. He is also considered the author of the Volokolamsk *paterik*, a kind of conglomeration of short saints' lives for a number of prominent monks from the monastery's early history.[155] The next two Lives were written around the middle of the century. One is anonymous,[156] and one is by Sava Chernyi, an elder of Volokolamsk dating back to Iosif's time who later became bishop of Krutitsa (1544-54).[157] This hagiographic literature is valuable not only for the historical and biographical data pertaining to the early years of Iosifov; it also attests to the ideals and values commonly held among "Josephites" at the time when it was written.

Another work that has this dual value is the Life of Paphnutii of Borovsk,[158] the man who was Iosif's mentor for the first twenty years of his monastic life. This account was written by Iosif's own brother, Vasian Sanin. Vasian was a close associate of Iosif's for years at the Borovsk monastery, collaborated with him later as archbishop of Rostov, and was on Iosif's list of preferred choices to succeed him as igumen at Volokolamsk. Of narrower interest mainly for the historical data they contain are the Life of Serapion (the

[152]The main collection of the letters of Iosif's nemesis in the land ownership dispute, Vasian Patrikeev, is Kazakova 1960; others can be found in Pavlov 1863; Kazakova 1956, 1958.

[153]A few exceptions can be found in AI, DAI, RIB, and Zimin 1963b. The latter presents a very interesting correspondence between the tsar and several startsy of Volokolamsk and is discussed in some detail in chapter 5. Zhmakin (1881b) has some letters of Iosif's successor Daniil.

[154]Published in Nevostruev 1865c, Kurganovskii 1903.

[155]In Pitirim 1973 and Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999. The latter volume also contains separate saints' lives for two other individuals from this period, Fotii Volotskii and Kasian Bosoi.

[156]Published in Nevostruev 1865b; Belokurov 1903. It has been ascribed by some scholars to Lev Filolog, a hagiographer active in the early sixteenth century, but more recently doubts have been expressed about that attribution (SKKDR 2:2:5). There is also a very short piece called *letopischik Iosifa Sanin* (mini-chronicle of Iosif Sanin) in Pliguzov 1984b.

[157]Published in Nevostruev 1865a; Sava 1868.

[158]Published in Kadlubovskii 1899.

bishop who quarrelled with Iosif),[159] and the occasional references to Volokolamsk in the chronicles.[160]

Genealogical and Reference Resources

One thing all the Volokolamsk-related sources have in common is a relative lack of interest in monks' social provenance. Explicit identifications are rare, and the clues one can use to deduce family status are often ambiguous. So it is generally necessary to try to find references to names identified as Volokolamsk monks in sources that do indicate family status. Several classes of documents can serve this purpose, all of them useful almost exclusively for identifying individuals from the upper classes. The genealogical books (*rodoslovnye knigi*),[161] military service records (*razriadnye knigi*),[162] and land cadastres (*pistsovye knigi*)[163] identify many individuals from wealthy and politically influential families.

Published sources that stand on the borderline between primary and secondary sources are the scholarly descriptions of source documents whose texts have not been published.[164] These can function much like the library inventories conducted by the Volokolamsk monks themselves since they often record the notes written on front or back covers or inside in the margins of various books, which indicate who owned them or who wrote them. The inscriptions book owners wrote in the margins or in the covers of their

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[159]In Moiseeva 1965.

[160]The main published chronicle collections are PSRL and RL. See also the short Beznin chronicle (Koretskii 1977; Waugh 1979).

[161]Numerous variants have been published, starting in the eighteenth century: Rodoslovnaia 1787; Rodoslovnaia 1851; Dolgorukov 1854; Bychkova 1975; Lobanov-Rostovskii 1985.

[162]In Buganov 1966; Buganov 1975ff; Buganov 1978-1994; Buganov and Kuzmin 1974a; Buganov and Kuzmin 1974b; Buganov and Tikhomirov 1966. Buganov also published an introduction to and overview of the various *razriadnye knigi* (1962). In a similar class is the *Tysiachnaia kniga* and *dvorovaia tetrad'* published in Zimin 1950. This does not contain actual service records but lists highly placed servitors of the Muscovite court for whom plans were being made to settle them on land around Moscow.

[163]Few survive for the sixteenth century and the regions around Volokolamsk, but for other regions *pistsovye* are published in PKMG; Sakharov 1997.

[164]The largest and most valuable is Iosif 1881. About 700 manuscripts that were in the Volokolamsk monastery in 1817 were described in detail by Pavel Stroev (1891), and an article by Aleksandr Zimin (1977b) cross-references Stroev's *opis'* to the manuscript's current archival locations. The 435 of these manuscripts that ended up in GIM (State Historical Museum) are described in even greater detail by T. V. Dianova, L. M. Kostiukhina, and I. V. Pozdeeva in Likhachev 1991. None of these sources list any of the estate management books since those were kept in the monastery archive rather than the library. These sources do describe *vkladnye*, *sinodiki*, *kormovye*, and *sborniki* containing material such as saints' lives. Smaller *opisi* can be found in Kudriavtsev 1961 and Malyshev 1965.

books can range from simple indications of ownership to longer notes such as prayers or diary-like notations about current events.

Finally, no study of this kind can get far without using name indexes compiled by other scholars. One of these that is particularly noteworthy is Pavel Stroev's *Lists of Hierarchs and Monastery Abbots of the Russian Church* (*Spiski ierarkhov i nastoiatel'ei monastrei Rossiiskoi tserkvi*; 1990). This book is extremely useful despite its occasional errors and two drawbacks: it contains no notes citing the sources where Stroev found the names he lists, and it contains no name index. Nevertheless, the sixteenth century church is so small that it is practical to review all of its leadership listed by Stroev looking for familiar names from the Volokolamsk records. And once an individual is located as the igumen of some monastery or the bishop of some see, one knows where to go to look for additional sources that might have information about him.

Another useful name index is the *Dictionary of Old Russian Personal Names* by N. M. Tupikov (*Slovar' drevne-Russkikh lichnykh sobstvennykh imen*; 1903). This is a massive compilation of "non-Christian" personal names into an index format with brief identifications and citations to the sources. One rarely finds the exact individual one is looking for, but it does testify to whether a given family name was borne by a peasant or a prince, and most of its data come from the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries. A similar but much smaller list and lacking in references to the sources is Stepan Veselovskii's *Onomastikon* (1974).[165]

Another secondary source that identifies many Iosifov monks is not a name index but a study of "landowning structures" in the region surrounding Volokolamsk, by Sergei Chernov (1998). The author describes each landowning family in each administrative unit (variously called *stany* or *uezdy*) near the city. The book is extremely thorough, but the region it focuses on is centered around the city of Volokolamsk rather than the monastery.

[165]The same author's book *Issledovaniia po istorii klassa sluzhilykh zemlevladel'tsev*.(1969) also has a useful index. A valuable resource for understanding Russian names is Boris Unbegaun, *Russian Surnames* (1972). It is not an index but an exhaustive analysis of various names' provenance that can be helpful in forming an educated guess as to someone's background. The same is true of Vasilii Chichagov, *Iz istorii russkikh imen, otechestv, i familii; voprosy russkoi istoricheskoi onomastiki XV-XVII vv.* (1959), which offers more specific information since it is aimed at the period covered in this dissertation.

The monastery is actually near the outside edge of the territory covered, so many important landowning families connected with it are not mentioned.[166]

Chernov's book is the latest resource connected with the socio-economic history of the Volokolamsk monastery to be published. Thanks to him, Aleksandr Zimin, Arkadii Man'kov, Mikhail Tikhomirov, Iakov Lur'e, Dmitrii Likhachev, Rufina Dmitrieva, Ludwig Steindorff, Pavel Stroev, and many other scholars working before, during, and after the Soviet period, there are now sufficient published primary sources to allow a scholar located outside Russia to undertake an investigation that can readily be more comprehensive even than Aleksandr Zimin's landmark study of the Volokolamsk monastery.

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[166]Such as the Lenkov and Sadykov families..

3. Methodology and Terminology

The lack of sources devoted specifically to identifying monks, providing biographical data about them, and tracking their rise through the ranks means that any attempt to reconstruct a social profile of the brotherhood is akin to seeking out needles in haystacks. The "needles" are scattered short references to individuals buried in volumes of text written for some purpose other than prosopography. Finding these references is a task in itself, but it is only the beginning. One must then interpret them, and in medieval Russian sources ambiguity rather than clarity is the rule. It is often difficult even to determine whether two references are to the same individual or not. Many provide only a first name, or only a first name and patronymic; and each monk had at least two and sometimes three or four different first names, with innumerable spelling variations for each. Many sources are not dated, making it difficult to determine if two references to the same name are one year or one hundred years apart. Similar problems attend efforts to determine what position a person held within the monastic hierarchy, and his family background. Titles such as "boiar" or "council elder" are often not found attached to names, and when they are, they tend to be ambiguous (such as "elder" by itself which may or may not mean "council elder").

To date the relatively few historical works that do attempt sociological analysis of medieval Russian monastic brotherhoods have devoted virtually no space to a discussion of the methods behind their conclusions.[167] Yet even simple methodological choices can have profound impacts on the conclusions one reaches, and in many cases the best choice is anything but self-evident. What follows is a preliminary attempt at establishing some basic

[167]For example, Aleksandr Zimin (1977, 164) lists as peasants a number of monks and council elders, but the only basis he has for considering them peasants is the fact that their last names are adjectival form of village names. He mentions the fact that he is using the name as an indicator in this way but does not defend the practice or discuss the degree to which it may be deemed reliable. Jennifer Spock's (1999) dissertation does present some statistics about monks' social origins, but her interest is primarily in piety and patronage rather than social analysis. Since the latter is relatively peripheral, the methodology behind it remains largely unstated. A few definitions of words such as *starets* (elder) and *inok* (monk) appear in footnotes (157), as do statements about source analysis such as the following: "My assumption has been that donations from Solovki brothers was the rule, and that visitors were an exception which was noted accordingly." (181) But she does not identify the precise boundaries of the social groups she calls "elite" or ascribes to "humble origins," or discuss the complex issues behind determining who was or was not on the council of elders, determining who was a deathbed tonsure versus someone who lived a significant period as a monk, and so forth.

ground rules that will maximize the amount of accurate information that can be gleaned out of woefully incomplete, inconsistent, and obscure sources.[168]

Identifying Individuals

Starting with first names, virtually all monks had at least two because they would take on a new one upon tonsure. Many had more than one before tonsure. Virtually all Russians would have what is called a "calendar name" in genealogical literature because it was chosen based on the saint commemorated on their day of birth. Some would also have one or more nicknames, often called "non-calendar names" to avoid some of the technical issues surrounding the definition of "nickname" (*prozvishche*).[169] So a man could be christened as "Ivan," grow up known to his friends as "Deviatyi" (literally, "Ninth"; ordinals were popular names), then get tonsured with the name "Iosif." This individual could appear three times in the sources, each time under a different appellation, and there might be no "key" anywhere to tell the modern investigator that these three names all point to the same person. One might expect that at least after tonsure the monastic name would "stick" but even that is not a universally reliable rule; sometimes the original name predominates or one finds that the sources go back and forth between the two.

Below is an example where the monk Iosif records his own donation to the abbey, and since the donation was originally made before tonsure he attributes it to himself under his former name:

> Ivan Korovin donated to the House of the Holy Mother of God, to Iosifov monastery, the village Nasonovo worth 80 rubles ... so that the igumen and brothers would deign to write in the eternal list our father Andrei, our mother the nun Aleksandra, and me Iosif. Let us not be erased from the senanik for as long as the monastery of the Virgin shall stand ... (GIM 419, 131v.)

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[168]My intention in this chapter is to address those methodological practices that cannot practically be discussed along with their actual application. It is not practical, for instance, to discuss all the background to the data in a series of pie charts showing different groups' social origins while presenting each chart. Other methodological issues, such as those connected with analyzing social and political structures of the community, are best presented along with their actual application.

[169]Kobrin (1977, 83) discusses these issues at length. Basically, normal personal names are the ones given at birth and by which a person is known in society. Nicknames are theoretically names given at various times during a person's life according to personal characteristics and by which he or she is known in relatively restricted circles of society. Some of the difficulties with this definition are that many nicknames have nothing to do with personal characteristics and many wind up getting used formally, i.e., not in restricted circles of society.

A reference like this makes possible tying together mentions of "Ivan Korovin" and those that identify him only as "Iosif Korovin." But such keys do not exist for everyone.

One datum that can help tie pre- and post-tonsure names together in the absence of explicit evidence is the fact that with few exceptions a man would take a new name starting with the same first letter as his old name. Take, for example, the case of the layman Grigorii Cheglokov mentioned in deeds dated 1562, 1564, and 1567, and the monk German Cheglokov who begins to appear as a council elder in the estate management books in 1574, and is seen frequently thereafter through 1591. It is possible these are two different men, but it is much more likely Grigorii was tonsured as German, especially considering that the family name is very rare and no other Cheglokovs at all turn up in sources connected with the monastery. Based on these facts – rare last name, same first letter of first name, and a series of references in appropriate date order – it is reasonable to suppose that this is one person.

An example of a non-calendar name was given in the previous chapter's sample zapisnaia kniga entry for "Miron, nicknamed Posnik, Pavel Nepliuev's son." Turning to the income books, we find the following entry for 3/18/1576, a year later:

> In the same month on the 18th day Posnik Nepleev was tonsured. He gave to the house of the Holy Mother of God, to the Iosifov monastery a light brown mare worth four rubles, a net (*nevod*) worth two rubles, four table-cloths worth all together 2 rubles ... And Posnik also gave for his black clothing three rubles cash. (Man'kov 1980, 98)

If the zapisnaia kniga entry had not survived, one might have references to a Posnik Nepliuev and a Miron Nepliuev with no explicit link between them. As it turns out, after this time Miron and Posnik both disappear and starets Moisei Nepliuev appears. As in the case of German Cheglokov, one can assume that Moisei comes from Miron, and we have direct evidence for tying Posnik to Miron.

Any first name, calendar or non-calendar, can also have diminutive versions. Fortunately, one can usually tell which diminutives go with which names, but this is not always a simple matter. The editors who compiled the inventory of the Volokolamsk library speculate that the scribe calling himself "Gashka" may be using a diminutive for "Agafon"

(Dianova et al 1991, 104), but chances are no one will ever know with any degree of certainty.

There are no hard and fast rules for when one may or may not tie together multiple references using different names without a explicit key. Each instance is unique, and one must build up as solid a case of circumstantial evidence as possible. For example, a strong case can be made when there is a series of dated references from the same time period, they all have a last name and no one else has the same last name, the first names start with the same letter, the references all ascribe the same title to the person, and the person is found doing similar activities.

It is generally easier to deal with spelling variations. Although monks keeping records had to be literate to some degree, one must not imagine that they were all the equivalent of college graduates. To write down simple financial records one could do quite well with the equivalent of a grade school education. In any case there was no enforcement of universal spelling rules, and of course no computerized spell-checkers. All of which means that many words, including names, could get spelled in an incredible variety of ways. So, for example, Fegnast, Feognast, Fegnost, and Feognost are all one name. Sometimes similar but different names' misspellings would overlap because of the names' similarity. Ioasaf could be rendered by Iosif or any number of variants (Asaf, Ioasif, Iosip, Osip, Osif, etc.); Simeon could be rendered by Semen and any number of variants (Simon, Siman, Simeon, Semon, Semeon, Semen [with the second "e" stressed and pronounced "yo"], etc.). For individuals identified infrequently it is not always possible to tell if a person's "real" name is Iosif or Ioasaf, or Simon or Simeon or Semen.

To avoid confusion, I generally use a standardized form for each name except in some direct quotations, where the purpose is to illustrate the variation found in the sources. The preferred standard form is the most common spelling found in the sources, but when that is indeterminable, the modern Russian standard is chosen.[170] It is often simply impossible to determine whether a given individual's "real" name is Simon or Simeon or Semen, and there is no guarantee that the one chosen on the basis of a few references will turn out to be

[170]My primary reference for modern Russian names is Morton Benson, *Dictionary of Russian Personal Names* (1992).

correct should additional citations be found. The problems of spelling variants and my practice of standardization apply to the patronymic and family name as well as the first name.

Out of roughly 700 people identifiable as monks of Volokolamsk,[171] for more than 160 of them all we have is their first name. These are not all obscure monks who turn up only in a single chance remark in a source. One of them was an abbot who served in that role for 18 years (Arsenii, 1605-1623). The record-keepers simply did not always consider it necessary to write down anything beyond a person's first name. And when they did record additional information, it was not always both patronymic and family name as one might expect from reading the artificially standardized fare of historiography.

Actually when a name does follow the first name it is often impossible to tell for sure whether it represents the father's name or a last name. The modern Russian patronymic with the -ovich ending that makes its function clear was reserved for only the top echelons of society in the sixteenth century.[172] For everyone else, in its place was an adjectival version of the father's first name followed by the word for "son." A normal "full" name for any man below the level of prince or boiar would be: *Ivan Gavriilov syn Davydova*. What this means is "Ivan, son of Gavriil Davydov" or "Ivan, son of Gavriil, son of Davyd" – that is, Gavriil is Ivan's father and Davydov is the family name or the grandfather's name.[173] When the full form is present everything is clear enough, but sixteenth century scribes tended to abbreviate whenever they could, and sometimes all we get is *Ivan Gavriilov syn* or even *Ivan Gavriilov*.[174] The meaning of the former is still clear ("Ivan, Gavriil's son"), but the latter

[171]Including deathbed tonsures and those whose monastic status is probable but not certain. The core of identifiable monks numbers around 450, while around 100 are deathbed tonsures and 150 can be classed as "probably" monks. See more on these categories below.

[172]This exclusive use extended into the seventeenth century. After that the form became acceptable to use for the lower classes; see Chichagov 1959, 47. This phenomenon is discussed in more detail below.

[173]Kobrin (1977, 93) states the general rule that "[i]t is possible to speak of a *familiia* (family name) only when it is used as such by descendants to the third generation." This creates a very long period of ambiguity in the process of *familiia*-creation. In some cases a name could well be functioning consistently as a *familiia* in references to persons in the first or second generation of this process, while in other cases the third generation could reveal that what appeared to be a *familiia* in the first and second generation were really only the patronymic or grandfather's name.

[174]For an example of both forms in one document, see AFZKh #181. At the end of the document itself where it identifies the witnesses to the land deed, it lists "Ivan Fomin syn Bernova," then below that where each witness signs, Ivan himself signs as simply "Ivan Fomin."

may mean either "Ivan Gavriilov" or "Ivan, Gavriilov's [son]," leaving the scholar to guess at whether Ivan is a member of a Gavriilov clan or a nameless peasant.

In general when faced with the latter construction (Ivan Gavriilov), one must make a provisional choice of one interpretation or the other, a choice that may always be proven wrong should additional data be found. The "default" interpretation I give such constructions (and which is in fact common to other historians of Muscovy who interpret names of not-well-known people, though they do not discuss the issues explicitly) is to take Gavriilov as a family name.[175] Except in the cases of very well-known individuals, this will always be a tentative assumption, pending evidence that could prove otherwise. An excellent example is the elder who appears in dozens of monastery records as "Leonid Markelov" but happened to sign two books as "Leontii Markelov syn Rudnev." Without those chance inscriptions one would list him a member of a "Markelov" clan.

Frequently one finds a descriptive or locative adjective used as if it were the last name. This sort of thing turns up even in modern historiography, an example being "Iosif Volotskii" which is sometimes presented as the monastery founder's name. Iosif's real family name was Sanin; Volotskii (meaning "of Volotsk," another name for Volokolamsk) only identifies the place with which he was associated most of his life. Examples of adjectival names from contemporary sources include Kasian Bosoi (barefoot), Vavila D'iakon (the deacon), Gerasim Ostashkovets (from Ostashkovo), Semen Pustynnik (the hermit), Tikhon Rybolov (the fisherman), Martemian Staryi (the old one), Isaia Boroda (the beard), Afanasii Vysokii (the tall one), and Efrem Malyi (the little one). In later centuries many of these adjectives became surnames passed on from generation to generation, but in the sixteenth century an adjective was often applied to someone because it fit that individual in some way, after which it "stuck" as a name. It is not always clear whether a given adjective is simply descriptive (Gerasim from Ostashkovo, Tikhon the fisherman) or has become for all practical purposes a name (Gerasim Ostashkovets, Tikhon Rybolov). Once again, in such cases the historian must make assumptions that stand until and unless additional data prove them incorrect. In this case the general assumption is that an adjective

[175]This can be readily seen, for instance, by reviewing the name index of a work publishing primary sources such as AFZKh.

that consistently appears in the last name position (in the absence of a "real" family name) is to be treated as if it were intended to function as a name.[176]

On the other hand, sometimes the historian is presented with an embarrassment of riches in the number of names attributed to one individual. The vkladnaia kniga identifies one donor as *Feodor Sadyr' Ivanov syn Gavrilova vo inotsekh Filofei* ("Feodor Sadyr', Ivan Gavrilov's son, as a monk Filofei"; GIM 419, 53), while other sources have him as council elder or treasurer under the name *Filofei Polev* (GIM 418, 9, 18v.; AFZKh, 236). Like this person, many of those with multiple last names tend to be from the upper classes; they wish their family connection to more than one illustrious clan be recognized. It is obviously not practical to list all names when discussing such people, and so my practice is to use the version most commonly employed during the person's life in the cloister. Thus, "Filofei Polev" is the preferred name for this person, and that is how he is listed in the appendix with the other names given as additional information about him.

So much for an overview – by no means exhaustive – of some of the complexities behind the simple task of identifying individuals named in the sources. It should be clear by this point that in assembling a list of Iosifov monks there is going to be a fair amount of guesswork and no doubt a few errors. There is no methodology that can resolve questionable situations with complete certainty. For this study every effort has been made to be "conservative" in the sense of avoiding an overestimation of the number of monks identified: in other words, multiple references to very similar names close to one another in time are generally considered as references to one individual unless there is cause for believing they may attest to separate persons.[177]

Fortunately there are relatively few of these questionable situations for individuals among the monastery administration (meaning not only the igumen and council elders, but the other elders who carry out management functions as well). More uncertainty exists in

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[176] Zimin follows the same practice; see Simon Blagoveshchenskii (Annunciation, the name of a church), Loggin Tveritin (from Tver'), Sergii Ostashkovets (from Ostashkovo), et al (1977, 163-164).

[177] A similar problem occurs when it is possible to positively identify two men, and some of the references in the sources clearly apply to one of the two but it isn't clear which one. Thus we may have 10 references to Fedor Lenkov, and 10 to Fedor Stupishin, and 10 for the same period to Fedor (no last name). It may not be clear which ones of this last group refer to Lenkov and which to Stupishin, and some of them may have crucial information that helps identify the person's family background. Once again, there are no general rules one can use to resolve the difficulty, so when such situations occur they are described along with the bases for whatever resolution is found to the problem.

the ranks of monks who were not in such positions of authority, and especially for the period before extensive estate management books survived (that is, before around 1550). These uncertainties must be taken into account when making and evaluating generalizations about the monastic brotherhood as a whole.[178]

Determining Monastic Rank

The task of identifying holders of the top three offices in the monastic hierarchy is relatively straightforward by comparison: the title "igumen" or "steward" or "treasurer" is either found attached to the name or it is not. But for the council elders the matter is not so simple. Over 130 years of history there are less than two dozen places where the sources identify individuals using the actual word "*sobornyi*" (singular) or "*sobornye*" (plural). Most of these are official records of conciliar decrees, listing by name the council members participating in and agreeing to the decision. Others are land deeds where the elders are signatories representing the monastery. Most of these are partial lists. As with any such body, one hundred percent attendance at a given meeting is rare, and many functions would require only a few of them. The only year for which such a list seems to be complete is 1525.[179] Partial rosters exist for 1562, 1566, 1575, 1579, 1581, 1588, 1591, 1605, and 1607.[180] Thus there are several gigantic gaps of complete silence – the first 46 years of the monastery's existence[181] and 38 years from 1525 to 1562 – and even for the period best represented by surviving sources witnesses are infrequent.

The fact that the council elders are not identified as such for long periods of time is not wholly a result of happenstance of source survival. Actually, the main problem is elsewhere: those who kept the books, wrote hagiography, and so forth normally did not

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[178]This is not, of course, an issue only for monastic communities; it is common to any attempt at identifying individuals in sixteenth century Russia. Kobrin (1977, 80) notes as an example the fact that different historians give significantly different total numbers of people settled by Ivan III on *pomest'ia* (plots of land) in Novgorod.

[179]Pokrovskii 1971, 121.

[180]AFZKh, 295; GIM 418, 20; Man'kov 1980, 85, 132, 182; Man'kov 1987, 9; AFZKh, 391; AFZKh, 436; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 161; AFZKh, 417; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 350). There are also a few instances where individuals are singled out as council elders (Man'kov 1978, 185, 186; AFZKh, 384).

[181]There is no way to know when the first formally organized council was first created at Volokolamsk. The institution per se is not mentioned in any official source before Iosif's monastic Rule, which was most likely written during the last few years before his death in 1515. However, Gonneau (1993, 351) points out that the council was instituted in the 1480s at Trinity-Sergius and he argues that at the instigation of the metropolitan it was extended to all major monasteries at around the same time.

consider it necessary to include the adjective *sobornyi* when speaking of an individual on the council. Normally they would identify the individual solely by the word *starets* (elder). Only in the relatively rare instance when special emphasis needed to be placed on the official character of a decision – to ensure against its being questioned later – did the record-keepers use the formula "the igumen and all the council elders," listing them by name. That the sources do at times identify council elders without the adjective *sobornyi* can be verified by looking at other contemporary references to individuals who are explicitly identified in an official list as council elders: elsewhere they are invariably called simply "starets."

Naturally this raises the question of whether *starets* by itself implies *sobornyi starets*. The answer is that it does so only in certain contexts. The word is used to mean just "monk" in general so frequently in sixteenth century monastic sources that some scholars have concluded its usage is fairly clear-cut:

> The burial records distinguish quite clearly between "career monks," called *startsy* ... and the noblemen who took the tonsure at the end of their lives, called *inok* so-and-so, followed by their name in the world with title. The deathbed tonsure seems to have been the most common form of monasticism for the elite, and although it shows a certain respect for the monastic vocation, it was a rather distant admiration indeed. (Bushkovitch 1992, 38)

Things in fact are not so simple. In the first place, there is no evidence in the literature of this period for a conscious differentiation between monasticism as merely a deathbed title versus as a "vocation." Such dichotomies come from our own age; in the sixteenth century the monastic vocation was one and the same reality whether one came to it voluntarily at age 25, as a political exile at age 45, or in one's last hours at age 65.

The real difference between these two words is to be found elsewhere. *Inok*, like its less-frequently used synonym *chernets* and the rare *monakh* or *mnikh*, basically means "monk" as opposed to "non-monk," whether layperson or secular clergy. It is in fact the closest Russian equivalent to the English "monk" insofar as it derives from the Russian *inokii* meaning "one" or "alone" just as the Greek *monakh* and English "monk" come from the Greek adjective *monos* that bears the same meaning. Hence, it is often the word of choice when the intent is simply to differentiate "monk" from "non-monk." The introduction to the zapisnaia kniga explains that the book includes donations from both monks and laity by using the phrases "*inotsi i miriania*" (monks and laypeople) and "*inok*

ili mirianin" (monk or layperson; GIM 418, 1).[182] One never finds *starets* in constructions of this sort. The formula "*inok* so-and-so" is similar in nature: it introduces any person's monastic name as opposed to his lay name, regardless of age of tonsure, social status, or monastic rank. The full formula has both versions of the name, either of which may come first, as in: "*Ioann Golovnin, vo inotsekh Iosif*" ("Ioann Golovnin, as a monk Iosif"; Steindorff 1998, 240) or "*inok Pamva, a v miru byl Pavel Vlas'ev, sluga monastyrskii* ("the monk Pamva, in the world was Pavel Vlas'ev, monastery sluga"; GIM 419, 122).

The title *inok* differs from other words that mean "monk" by emphasizing the humility of the monastic vocation. Thus we find everyone in the monastic hierarchy from Iosif on down calling themselves "*inok*" in contexts where the intention is to highlight the humble status of a monk. It appears frequently in requests for prayer, as in this book inscription written by council elder Nil Polev:

> This book was given by the monk (*inokom*) Nil Polev on behalf of three souls ... We implore you, our lords and fathers who read through this book both during our life and after our death, remember your final love to us and pray for our souls in your holy prayers ... (Iosif 1881, 134)

It also appears frequently in inscriptions added by scribes at the end of books they have written, asking the readers not to get angry about any errors. Fotii Staryi was a long-time council elder whose level of responsibility in the monastic hierarchy is reflected in the fact that it was he with one other person who was sent in 1507 to the Grand Prince to petition him to accept the monastery under his protection. Yet when he wrote a colophon some 12 years later, it is the word *inok*, not *starets*, he used to beg for forbearance:

> ... I pray you and supplicate you ... for the sake of the Lord do not cast aspersions on the soul of the sinful and last among monks (*vo inotsekh*) Fotei, who copied out this booklet and labored over it. (Iosif 1881, 193)

These are but a few examples demonstrating that the choice of *inok* versus *starets* is not related to whether someone has chosen "monasticism as vocation." What matters is rather the context and the kind of image the writer wants to present to the reader's mind. Indeed, on occasion there might be a conflict between what a given context would normally require

[182]Note that all of the donations in this book are from what Bushkovitch would call "career monks." Another example is: "... it is harmful for monks and laymen (*inokom s miriany*) to mingle ..." (Iosif 1881, 178).

and a writer's personal preference. That could be solved by using both *inok* and *starets* together, as council elder Nikifor Morin did in the prologue to his will:

> Behold I, the slave of God *inok starets* Nikifor Marin, write this will being of sound mine and reason, [about] whom to give and from whom to collect. (AFZKh, 393)

This will was written at the end of more than 20 years of service as council elder, and so Nikifor was accustomed to calling himself *starets*, yet in a will it was normal to use *inok*, so he included both. The inclusion of *starets* in a document of this sort is the exception, however. In wills and especially in records of donations to the monastery, the word *inok* almost always stands alone, without the addition of *starets*. A good example of the rigidity of these conventions is the land deed by which the brothers of Makarii Rzhevskii donated a village to the monastery: when they mention that they want their relatives written into the senanik, they use the word *inok* to identify both their father Ivan (who by all appearances may well have been a case of death-bed tonsure) and their brother (who was a council elder) with the word *inok* (AFZKh, 2:305).[183]

The word *chernets* is similar to *inok* but somewhat more flexible. Based on the adjective *chernyi* which means "black," it in effect means "one who wears black." From the lowliest monk to the most exalted igumen, that description fits every member of the brotherhood, and this word appears in the widest possible array of contexts where the intention is simply to point out a person's status as a monk. An example of a situation where it fit better than any of the alternatives is the colophon written by igumen Evfimii Turkov:

> I the unworthy and much-sinful monk (*chernets*) Evfimii, former disciple of the great starets Feodosii ... have written down faithfully and made known in detail the small and minor matters of monastery life ... I was entrusted with the pastorship of Christ's rational sheep gathered by God; I did not want it, but impelled by the autocrat I obeyed the will of the all-merciful God and was unable to resist his command ..." (Steindorff 1998, 318)

Here Evfimii is talking about taking on the heavy responsibility of monastery head, which made *inok* not the best choice. But he nevertheless wants to emphasize his humility rather than his seniority, so a title like "starets" or "igumen" would not have fit. Thus, of all the

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[183]Some other startsy who are called *inok* when the context demands it: Ignatii Zaitsev (Iosif 1881, 28; Dianova et al 1991, 313), Tikhon Zvorykin (GIM 419, 6), Iosif Golovnin (GIM 419, 64v.), Arsenii Pleshcheev (GIM 419, 95), Gerontii Rakitin (Steindorff 1998, 34), Vasian Klushin (Steindorff 1998, 80), Vasian Gobislov (Stroev 1891, 61), Tit Glukhov (Dmitrieva 1991c, 37), Seliverst Vozmishchskii (GIM 418, 42v.), Pafnutii Rykov (Stroev 1891, 149).

words that mean "monk," *chernets* is the most neutral in terms of having the least additional connotations.

In a class by its own among titles meaning "monk" is the word *postrizhennik*, which literally means "tonsured one." It is found in a much narrower range of settings. In general it either refers to someone who has recently been tonsured, or it identifies someone as originating from a particular monastery in the sense of the place where he was tonsured and to which he may owe some kind of loyalty. Thus one might introduce the Bishop of Kazan' as a "*postrizhennik* of Iosifov-Volokolamsk monastery." Words like *inok* or *chernets* would not fit here because they would imply that he still is a monk of the monastery.

Returning finally to the title *starets*, we find here no etymological connection to monasticism whatsoever. Its basic meaning is simply "elderly man," though in sixteenth century sources connected with monasticism it is difficult to find examples of it used that way. In practice the word does imply "monk" as opposed to "layperson," but with very different connotations compared to the terms discussed above. It usually implies some form of responsibility or venerableness, be it spiritual or in the management of the monastery's business affairs. When the estate management books name a series of servitors attending to monastery business, they differentiate the monks from the laypeople doing the same kind of work by calling the former *startsy* – in that context one almost never finds *inok* or *chernets*.[184] By the same token, when Iosif in a letter directs some monks to watch out for others bringing in contraband alcohol he calls the guardians *startsy* in the same letter where he speaks of the council elders as "council brothers" (*sobornye brat'ia*; Zimin and Lur'e 1959, 238). Another example is the passage in the kormovaia kniga that gives directions on the distribution of alms to young and old on the occasion of the monastery's patronal feast day. Here *starets* applies to the monks distributing the alms, the adjective *staryi* designates elderly supplicants who are not monks, and a variant of *chernets* applies to monks and nuns on the receiving end of the distribution:

> The treasurer and the under-treasurer shall go out of the monastery and at the bulwark by the ponds they shall direct everyone, however many there may be, to sit between the ponds up to the mill and by the bridge along both sides. And they shall

[184]For examples where they carefully distinguish between *startsy* or *prikazchiki startsy* versus the lay servitors who regardless of age are simply *prikazchiki*, see Man'kov 1976, 3:33; 1980, 185.

> distribute alms: a half *den'ga* each to the small and the great, the old (*starym*) and the young, women and children. And to the needy and the blind and the lame, a *den'ga* each. But the elders shall distribute a *chet'* of bread to all the same. To the monks and the nuns (*chernoriztsem i chernorizitsam*) two *den'gi* each. And they shall do the same in the monastery ... (Steindorff 1998, 280)

It is the exercise of responsibility or authority that typically goes with the title *starets* that explains the impression left on some readers that the word merely indicates a person's choice of monasticism as "vocation." When seen playing any active role in the community a monk is a *starets*, while a man tonsured on his deathbed never gets called that simply because he does not live in the community long enough to actually do anything.

In some contexts the responsibility implied by *starets* may be that of the council. The introduction to the zapisnaia kniga explains that the "igumen and elders" will decide how long each person will be commemorated based on the records in the book (GIM 418, 1). This clearly means "igumen and council elders," for decisions of that nature are the province of the council. One such decision is recorded later on in the same document (and this is a typical example of what the surviving records explicitly naming elders as council members typically look like):

> The year 7074 [1568], February on the 24th day. Igumen Lavrentii of the Most-pure Virgin–Iosifov monastery decreed with the council elders that starets Veniamin should be written, when God sends for his soul, into the daily list and into the senanik. As long as the monastery of the Most-pure shall stand, he shall not be erased from the daily list on account of his many works and sincere zeal and asceticism (*mnogie trudy i priamoe tshchanie i podvigi*). And the council elders at that time who took part in that decree (*startsy togda byli sobornye v tom prigovore*): Arsenii and Makarii Rzhevskii, steward Kornilii Kosiakov, Timofei Chemel'ev, treasurer Dorofei Kartsov, Izmail Snazin, Iosif Korovin, Makarii Zaitsev, Iosif Molvianinov, and Varsunofii Levashev. And the elder gave for himself 50 rubles for a feast (*korm*) and for commemoration. (GIM 418, 20)

Elsewhere in this same document, outside of the introductory comments, *starets* by itself is definitely not a technical term referring to council members. On the very next folio following the above-quoted passage, two monks not in the list are called *starets*; and a little farther we run across the phrase "*starets* Dionisii, igumen of the Ugreshskii monastery" (35). The word's function as an honorary title can be seen also in a letter from Grand Prince Vasilii III to his spiritual father Kasian Bosoi asking the latter to pray for him to "igumen Paphnutii and *starets* Iosif" (Zimin 1963b, 133). This was written 15 years after Iosif's

death. Thus, the term *starets* is fundamentally an honorary title that may be accorded to any monk in some position of responsibility or who is venerated for some reason, regardless of actual office held.

Despite this generally loose usage, there is one context where *starets* can be taken to imply *sobornyi starets*. The various forms of legal documents that record the transfer of land title are always signed by each party to the transfer, which means someone must represent the monastery. Frequently several individuals do so. Generally the igumen is mentioned, but he rarely seems to be involved in the actual drafting or signing of the document. That work belongs mainly to other representatives, identified variously as the steward, the treasurer, and, frequently, *startsy*. These elders, it is safe to say, are council elders. The task of representing the monastery in real estate transactions would have been an appropriate function only for those in the highest positions of authority in the monastery. The steward and treasurer are themselves council elders, and it is their peers who are listed with them on deeds. Sometimes the person listed as "elder" is actually at that time a treasurer or steward, since "*starets Gurii*" is merely a shortened form of the title "*starets kelar' Gurii*" (elder steward Gurii) or "*starets kaznachei Gurii*" (elder treasurer Gurii).[185]

Thus, the word *starets* on a land deed served primarily to identify the individual as a monastery representative who was also a monk without necessarily specifying his official position in the monastery administration. It was by far the most common title used in such contexts because of its connotations of venerableness and consequently authority. However, more neutral words meaning "monk" could be substituted occasionally, and one sometimes finds instead *chernets* or *brat'ia* (brothers).[186] The word *inok* with its emphasis on monastic humility never appears on deeds in reference to a representative of the monastery.

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[185]The documents in AFZKh for Gurii Staryi, who was steward from at least 1507 to 1515, offer an example of this. He is called steward in a list of elders in a deed dated May of 1507 (36), elder for another deed from November of the same year (37), *starets kelar'* (elder steward) again in September of 1509 (44), elder in July of 1511 (49), and back to steward (without elder) in 1514 (60, 61).

[186]Gerasim Lenkov , who was igumen in 1522 and after that served as council elder and occasionally as treasurer for 20 years, signed land purchase deeds as elder in 1520, treasurer in 1532, *chernets* in the 1540s, and elder again in 1550. (AFZKh, 83, 158, 167, 216). Iosif's Rule frequently employs the term *sobornye brat'ia* (council brothers) rather than *sobornye startsy*; for an example of this from one of his letters see Zimin and Lur'e 1959, 238.

Regardless of the titles listed on a land deed, the individuals' status as representative of the monastery indicates that they are in fact council elders.[187]

Next in line in the monastic hierarchy stand everyone else the sources identify as "elders." Among these are, no doubt, some who actually were on the council at some time but left no clear record of that fact. Not every council elder will have been involved in real estate transactions, and some records of such transactions may not have survived. In any case, many of those who never did join the council will have exercised some kind of informal leadership role among the monks. Thus, although it is certainly necessary to differentiate the council elders from the non-council elders, and to assume that the former in general had greater responsibility for directing the monastery's affairs, one should not make too much of this division. The non-council elders are constantly found taking on many other tasks involving some form of responsibility. They act as plenipotentiary representatives of the monastery administration in the villages, they carry hundreds or even thousands of rubles on buying trips, they collect rent and pay wages – in short, they are men who would have been actively involved to one degree or another in monastery internal political affairs. The word *starets* attached to their name indicates that they bear some kind of responsibility or exercise some form of leadership.

There are yet hundreds of others who appear in the sources: monks of Volokolamsk who are never titled *startsy*. It is extremely rare to find any direct evidence that one of these men was powerful in some way, but of course that does not mean they were the mindless automatons spoken of in Soviet literature. For purposes of attempting to analyze the social makeup of Iosifov monks, it is necessary to break this group down further into three sub-groups: deathbed tonsures, monks, and what I will call "possible monks" – those for whom there is reasonable doubt as to their monastic status.

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[187]While Zimin never discusses the bases for his identifications either in terms of general rules or for specific individuals, one can discern his methodology from its results, and it is clear that he follows the same rule. See, for example, Ioasaf Stupishin, whose name appears only in two deeds yet is identified as a council elder (Zimin 1977, 161 n.336; AFZKh, 196, 205). Zimin also considers Iosif's list of candidates to succeed him as ipso facto council members though the word "council" never appears there either. The editors of the recent edition of the Paterik also attribute council membership to deed signatories, as can be seen in the case of Feodosii Pleshcheev (Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 456; AFZKh, 340). Sergei Chernov (1998) also follows this rule: see p.317 where he attributes council elder status to Pavel Esipov-Tiutchev and Nil Polev on the basis of their being among the signatories to a land deed dated 1507 (AFZKh, 37).

Many laymen accepted tonsure on their deathbed in hopes that the title "monk" would earn them a more comfortable afterlife. We have a rare description of such a tonsure in an inscription in a book from the Volokolamsk library:

> In the year 1533, the month December, on the 4th, the pious grand prince Vasilii Ivanovich of all Russia and the God-preserved city of Moscow died, in the monastic rank Varlam. He remained a monk (*v postrizhene*) for ½ hour, and in the schema for 11½ hours. And he was buried by Metropolitan Daniil ..." (Dianova et al 1991, 212)

The sources never explicitly identify anyone as a "deathbed tonsure" – not even here, where the text speaks of Vasilii III's monastic orders in language no different from that of any other monk. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to spot men whose monastic career was like Vasilii's. They were typically from the top echelons of society, they paid well over the minimum for tonsure (generally enough to get "eternal" commemoration), and they left no record of any involvement in monastic life. Usually the sole record of their existence is an entry in a commemoration book (the vkladnaia or kormovaia) recording the fact that they or some relative made a donation for their commemoration. They are almost always princes or near that social level. An example from the vkladnaia:

> Commemorate prince Dmitrii Bel'skii, as a monk (*vo inotsekh*) Zosima, in the daily list. As long as the monastery of the Virgin shall stand, he is not to be erased from the daily list. For that the princess Maria, prince Ivan Dorogobuzhkaia's wife, gave 30 rubles, and this money went for the monastery walls. (GIM 419, 66v.)

Dmitrii/Zosima Belskii appears nowhere else in surviving records as a monk of Iosifov, and as a rule it is safe to consider that when the only surviving record for a person is one like this, the likelihood the person was ever an active member of the Volokolamsk brotherhood is extremely low.[188]

The remainder of the monastic community was comprised of individuals who did live out a significant portion of their lives in the monastic community but never attained, or left record of attaining, formal leadership positions. Most of them did not leave abundant record of their existence, let alone biographical data, in the written record. Some will have had

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[188]Relatively infrequently one does find similar records for people of low social status. Consider the following zapisnaia entry: "Ivan Zhavoronok donated to the monastery of the Virgin two mares for his soul, the price for them being 30 altyn [.9 ruble]. Also, the same Zhavoronok, as a monk (*vo inotsekh*) Asaf, gave 2 rubles. (GIM 418, 5v.) This person also appears nowhere else in any source, so what is one to make of the evidence? A lower-class deathbed tonsure? There is too little information to say anything with certainty, except to point out that it is impossible to say for sure that only the elite were tonsured in their final hours.

menial jobs that would have gotten little or no mention in the surviving estate management books (such as kitchen cooks, janitors, and gardeners). Some may actually have spent most of their waking hours in private and communal prayer. But the one thing all had in common was books, for all life in an Orthodox monastery revolves around books. Books contained the monastic Rule guiding life in the monastery; rubrics governing how services were to be conducted; the hymns, prayers, and snippets of scripture to be chanted during services; edifying stories to be read during common meals; and a variety of material intended for private use in one's cell, including private prayers, biblical books, commentaries on scripture and other works by church fathers, and the like. Many if not most monks either owned some books or at least kept some in their cell, and they often signed their names to the books they possessed. When they died, those books ended up in the library.

When the library took inventory, as it did three times in the sixteenth century, for many of the books it kept track of who the scribe was, who the owner was, and who the donor was. Much of the Volokolamsk library survived the centuries, and the modern scholars who likewise took inventory of these books have done an even more thorough job of recording the inscriptions written in them by their scribes, owners, and donors. In general, it is very likely that most of these names belong to members of the Iosifov brotherhood. The vast majority of the books in the monastery library were written by monks, owned by monks, and bequeathed by monks to the library upon their death. There were exceptions, of course. Not all scribes were members of the brotherhood: some of them were lay employees of the monastery. And on occasion an outsider might donate a book to the monastery, in which case the book's scribe and original donor might also have been from somewhere else.

It is advisable, then, to exercise some caution in harvesting names and personal information from book inscriptions. To avoid ascribing complete reliability to questionable data, one must differentiate between people who can be identified with great certainty as monks of Iosifov, and those who most probably were such but some cause for doubt exists.

Starting with the first group, the most reliable indication is the presence of one of the words indicating monastic status: primarily *inok*, *chernets*, and *starets*,[189] but also the titles "deacon" or "priest" prefixed by "black" (*chernyi d'iakon*, *chernyi sviashchennnik/pop/protopop*). Another common word that clearly indicates a monastic milieu is *uchenik* (disciple). It was common for monks to attach themselves to other monks as their spiritual guides and call themselves disciples. Given one of these titles it is safe to class a person as member of the monastic brotherhood.

The next group consists of those who may well have been monks but the evidence is somewhat ambiguous. Numerous individuals are identified as hierarchs or secular clergy, with or without a qualification such as "former" (*byvshii*), and chances are very high that their books ended up at Volokolamsk because their monastic career either originated or ended there. A man tonsured at Iosifov would typically consider it his "home" and would send gifts to it even after being consecrated a bishop and assigned to a faraway see. And it was common for elderly clergy, especially relatively high-ranking individuals such as bishops or abbots, to retire to a monastery and live out their days there. Occasionally one finds explicit mention of such a transfer, such as the following inscription in an *Apostol* (collection of New Testament epistles):

> In the year 7033 [1525], the month of May, the former igumen of the Koliazin [monastery] Ioasaf [gave] this Apostol book for his tonsure into the Osifov monastery under igumen Nifont. (Iosif 1881, 8)

Whether given for tonsure or bequeathed after death, many books owned by such men ended up in the Iosifov library. But the donation record only rarely specified the fact of tonsure or their new monastic title. To err on the side of caution, it is safer to class these men as "possible" monks of Volokolamsk when no witness calls them *inok* or *chernets* or *starets*, though realistically speaking the likelihood that they actually were such is high.

There are many others who fall into this group of people who were probably monks but some uncertainty remains about them. Even without a monastic title, most names written in books that ended up in the Iosifov library will have belonged to monks. The lack of a title

[189]Zimin clearly adopts the same criterion, except that he is only interested in identifying elders. He considers Silvestr Stupishin, who is attested only as a book owner (Dmitrieva 1991d, 54), to be a starets (Zimin 1977, 161 n.336). See also Fegnost Lenkov (162 n.339) and Vasian Kutuzov (162 n.340) for whom the only evidence cited is from book inscriptions.

in itself means little when a given name only turns up a few times; such matters were not handled with perfect consistency in any of the surviving sources. In any case, the scribes who wrote books intended for private use of individuals in their cells will have been monks themselves, not employees writing under contract. The owners of monastic books were generally monks or secular clergy, and in the latter case if the clergyman's book ended up in the monastery it may be because he did himself. Book donors were usually the books' owners, and monastic texts were not a common form of personal property for laymen in sixteenth century Russia.[190] Thus, while one must split into separate groups those explicitly attested as monks and those implicitly attested, both are likely to be representative of the rank and file among the monastic brotherhood.

Determining Social Status

Determining family origins is much more problematic than ascertaining monastic rank. For one thing, there are no studies of sixteenth century Russian secular society that provide clear and detailed descriptions of the various social classes and their characteristics. Princes and boiars are obviously near the top of the social spectrum and peasants at the bottom, but there is a great deal of obscurity between those two poles. In addition, the various sources produced in, or preserved by, the Volokolamsk monastery generally show an interest only in people's current relationship to the monastery, not in their past. One does find titles such as *kniaz'* (prince) and *krest'ianin* (peasant) explicitly attributed to people, but relatively infrequently. And only a tiny minority of monks' names show up with clues to their social class in extra-monastic sources such as genealogy books, military service records, and chronicles. There are, then, two main issues to be dealt with in order to present a picture of monks' social origins: clarify the social structure outside the walls, and establish a method for fitting the available data about monks into that context.

As has been seen, a neat division of medieval Russian society into essentially two camps, the elites and the commoners, is fairly typical among not only Soviet but also

[190]The named person is most likely a monk when his name appears as both the scribe and the owner or donor of a book, because this is even firmer evidence that the book was not written by a lay employee. Professional scribes did not generally write monastic books for their own use until and unless they themselves became monks.

Western scholars.[191] But reality is a good deal more complicated than that. Social classes are defined by relationships between people, and those relationships are always exceedingly complex and fluid in any society, as William Reddy has observed with respect to medieval Western European culture:

> The concept of class has never been used with great precision by historians, and for good reason: most historians have recognized that it is impossible to be precise about class boundaries or class membership without violating the complexities and subtleties of social relationships. (1992, 13)

As he points out, "no individual can be assigned definitively to a single class" (18). In addition, as relationships constantly change, so do class boundaries. Finally, it is not always clear which relationships contribute to defining a "class" and which do not; as an example of this problem, Reddy notes that some scholars consider gender to be a component of class and some do not (19).

Given all these complications, it is understandable that a historian of sixteenth century Russia would prefer for safety's sake when identifying social classes to speak only of clearly-defined extremes. Hence the reference to the pinnacle of the social hierarchy as the elite and the equally clearly defined broad base as the commoners. But a clear understanding of the society requires recognition of the great number of people who stood between these poles, as well as certain key differentiating factors among the mass of commoners. For the purpose of statistical analysis of the Volokolamsk brotherhood, I have allocated all of Russian society into six broad "classes." They are arrayed in a hierarchical order from high to low based on the factors Boris Mironov (2000, 1:265) has identified as key to the understanding of class in pre-Petrine Russia: wealth, type of property (that is, land being the most important), and occupation.[192] Two of my six categories make up the "elite," one category I prefer to consider as a kind of middle class, two make up the "commoners," and one stands apart from the others – the clergy. The groups can be ranked

[191] See chapter 1; the terminology in the case of Soviet authors would tend to be "exploiting" versus "exploited" classes, but the same dualism is evident. Actually this kind of reductionist approach is not unique to Russian historians. Reddy (1992, 14) criticizes a tendency of some historians to see all change in Western European history as the result of conflict between the landed class and the business class.

[192] Elsewhere he expands on this, stating that classes can be arranged hierarchically on basis of social significance determined by three factors: 1. self identification (understanding of one's own relative position vis-à-vis others) 2. interactive identification (understanding of people about each other and of groups about each other) and 3. socioeconomic status determined by prestige of social function and profession and by education and income. (1:197)

by the degree of their power or influence in society; that is, by their social, political, and economic relationships to the other classes.[193]

It would certainly be possible to further divide some of these, but given the nature of the Volokolamsk data, such division would not be helpful. It is not my intention here to write a social history of sixteenth Russia, only to give a general impression of where monks fit into that social environment. I believe the traditional elite versus commoner, or exploiter versus exploited, dichotomy masks real differences between groups, but defining too many groups would mask commonalities. For that reason I am consciously and deliberately joining that great class of historians who according to Reddy do not attempt to apply "great precision" to the definition of classes.[194]

The pinnacle of the secular hierarchy was composed of the grand prince (later called the tsar), his immediate servitors bearing the title *boiar* or *okol'nichii*, and the appanage princes.[195] These were generally independently wealthy men who owned substantial landed estates and whose titles and political roles set them apart as the social superiors of the people around them. Many commanded their own military retinues. Roughly near their level were various high-ranking civil and military servitors who generally did, but might not, own estates of their own, the *dvoriane* (court nobles; singular *dvorianin*), *d'iaki* (high-ranking "secretaries"; singular *d'iak*), and the much larger group of *deti boiarskie* (junior boiars, literally: boiar children; singular *syn boiarskii*)[196] who acted as military commanders and civil administrators. Not all people identified with these titles owned land, but for the few who did not, their position in the civil and military hierarchy outweighed that lack. The word I will use to describe this group is "nobility."[197]

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[193]This follows Mironov's (2000, 1:197) definition of class which he opposes to that of the juridical concept of "estate."

[194]For discussions of issues of "class" and "estate" in medieval Russia, see Mironov 2000 (focuses mainly on Petrine era but looks back at the start to earlier periods); Kliuchevskii 1918; Szeftel 1975b; Dmytryshyn 1977; Freeze 1986. For a description of any particular title, see Pushkarev 1970.

[195]Entry into these ranks was determined by heredity to a large degree, but see Kollmann 1987 for information about both the rule and exceptions to it.

[196]For a discussion of the origin and usage of this term that goes beyond what Pushkarev has, see Alef 1970, 44-46.

[197]Pushkarev (1970, 11) calls the junior boiars "lesser gentry." It makes sense to include them with the formally higher-ranking aristocracy because of the relatively small numbers of any of these groups that appear among the Volokolamsk brotherhood.

Generally below this group are what one might call the "untitled landowners" and which I identify in the charts in chapter 3 simply as "landowners."[198] The word "untitled" here simply means that the sources never identify these persons as having one of the titles mentioned above.[199] There is no direct evidence that these men acted as military commanders or were highly placed or influential politically, which generally locates them below the "nobility" group. On the other hand, their ownership of land gives them a degree of political and economic independence and influence that sets them apart from everyone who does not own land. In particular they are in a socially superior position relative to the peasants who work that land, and to their own servitors who administer their domains for them. These people show up constantly in all kinds of monastery records, as donors, monks, trading partners, real-estate sellers and purchasers, and the like. When a title is attached to their name, it merely indicates a temporary role they are playing for a specific purpose, such as *prikazchik* when they act as executor of a friend's or relative's will, or *poslukh* when acting as a witness to a document. This is a diverse group with individual fortunes ranging in size from peasant-level up to grand princely level. Some of them had political influence comparable to those in the "nobility" group. As is true of all social classes, one must not consider that the boundaries between the class "above" and the one "below" are clearly defined. But so long as one keeps in mind the basic principles of the classification scheme, and recognizes that no scheme will precisely render all social realities, it is useful to recognize these people as a distinct group in the social hierarchy.

Moving downward on the social spectrum, the next major group is one that is overlooked by many if not most descriptions of sixteenth century Russian social classes –

[198]Since I am only interested in land ownership social relationships, I am not distinguishing between land as *pomest'ie* (generally considered to be an estate owned on condition of rendering service to the grand prince) and *votchina* (without that condition). Theoretically the former would suggest greater subjugation of the owner to the grand prince, but as a practical matter the difference is not significant enough to warrant breaking this group down into two subgroups. There is in fact no explicit evidence indicating that any of the landowners who became monks at Volokolamsk were *pomeshchiki*. For a discussion of the institution of *pomest'e* see Alef 1973.

[199]It is also not my intention to enter into a technical discussion of what is and is not a "title," or to use the word as a technical term. The goal here is merely to identify the kinds of social relationships that have a bearing on social class. I am using "title" in its standard dictionary definition as a word or phrase that identifies a person's status or occupation, with the added proviso that I am interested in titles that appear in the primary sources rather than secondary sources. For my purposes words like *krest'ianin* (peasant) and *ikonnik* (icon painter) are as much titles as *kniaz'* (prince). The word *votchinnik* (landowner or estate owner) which appears as a title frequently in the secondary literature does not qualify by my definition because it never appears in the primary sources.

the landless servitors (*slugi*; singular *sluga*).[200] These are people who own no land and do not fall in the "nobility" category outlined above, but are placed in positions of authority over others, either militarily or administratively. For estates of any size a landowner could not personally supervise all of his peasants, collect rent from them, buy needed supplies for estate operations, and so forth. For that an administrative class was required. Likewise, nobles who were rich and powerful enough to have their own military retinues could pay landless men to serve them as military officers. The sources ascribe a variety of titles beside the generic *sluga* to these individuals, such as: *chelovek* (literally simply "person"), *kliuchnik* (junior bailiff; literally, key-holder), *prikazchik* (senior bailiff; literally, executor), *sluzhebnik* (servant), *d'iak* (clerk),[201] and others. Socially these men were in a somewhat ambiguous position when one considers Mironov's three main determinants of social class (wealth, type of property, and occupation). Functionally they were clearly above peasants and non-agricultural workers over whom they were assigned to act as judges or officers, and under those who assigned them to their posts. In wealth they often were in the same class as landowners, but in type of property – lack of landed wealth – they were below them. For some the occupational factor could trump everything else: a servitor of the grand prince could wield a great deal of political power regardless of his lack of land or wealth or one of the specific titles mentioned in the discussion of "nobility."

The lines between this class and those above and below it were even more fluid than was true of the two upper classes, for a servitor's status was almost entirely a matter of an employer-employee relationship. Such relationships could readily change, and so people

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[200]Basil Dmytryshyn (1977, 215-18) has what is in my judgment the best discussion of social classes in Muscovy to be found in English. Yet he, too, in going down the social scale jumps from small landowners to townsmen and peasants. Mirsky (1942, 143) goes so far as to assert that "[t]he serving class were primarily landowners." It is actually impossible to count landless versus landed servitors, but this certainly underestimates the importance of the former. Bushkovitch (1992, 3) very clearly assumes the secular upper classes (even "broadly conceived"!) are only landowners: "In saying all this I am naturally restricting the focus to the upper classes broadly conceived: the court (both ruler and boiars), the landholding class in its various ranks, and the educated ranks of the clergy – monks and bishops – who produced and read most of our sources. The existing known sources do not permit an analogous account of popular religion, though they do give us some hints and some idea of how the upper classes perceived popular religion and integrated it into their own experiences." Despite the book's title, *Religion and Society in Russia: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Bushkovitch states that it "attempts only to trace the character of the changes in religious life of the landholding elite of Russian society. It does not try to present in any systematic fashion the experience of other sectors of society ..." (7). See also Acton 1995, 20; Chirovsky 1973, 266.

[201]This is the same title mentioned earlier in the context of the grand prince's court; a grand princely *d'iak* was a very highly placed individual, while one attached to a landowner or a monastery was not.

could easily drop out of this class or move into it from above or below. A landowner could alienate his estate by gift or sale, or might be deprived of it for political reasons. A father might not leave pieces of his estate to all his sons. The former landowner could then be forced to earn his living by working for some other landowner. On the other hand, a capable peasant could move into the servitor class by being promoted by his landlord to an administrative position. And by the same token a man in the servitor class could move up to the landowner class by purchasing land.[202]

At the bottom of the secular social scale were peasants and a myriad of non-agricultural workers which can be grouped together under the name "tradesmen." In general these were all lower in status than the others insofar as they were all under the authority of people in the upper classes, both immediately and indirectly. The medieval Russian economy was based on agriculture, so peasants were by far the larger group. Peasants who were attached to a plot of land and thus subject to a landlord were called *krest'iane* (singular *krest'ianin*), while there were several words for landless peasants who worked as hired agricultural or other unskilled laborers: *detenyshi*, *bobyli*, or simply *deti* (literally: children). Peasants were not only functionally subject to the upper classes but also as a rule the least wealthy people in Muscovy.

Tradesmen were relatively skilled laborers and artisans – blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, bakers, brewers, millers, traders, and so forth.[203] They often lived in towns, so another phrase that is sometimes used to refer to some of them as a group is *posadskie liudi* (townsmen).[204] The wealth of some peasants and tradesmen could exceed that of some of

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[202]It is difficult to judge how frequently this happened. I am aware of but one mention of a monastery servitor (*sluga monastyrskii*), Misail Sofran, who donated a village (GIM 419, 91v.). It is conceivable that this person was a landowner before becoming a servitor, but it is also possible that he purchased the village with his earned income. Monastery records show little interest in how a person acquired land that was donated, sold, or traded to the monastery – except in the case of inherited land that had to be protected from the right of redemption by relatives. The account of Sofran's land shows no indication that it was inherited land.

[203]There is one group with a couple representatives at Volokolamsk that could be categorized either in the servitor or tradesmen group: the *streltsy* (soldiers, literally: shooters). Per Mirsky (1942, 143) "They formed a distinct class, socially inferior, but not always worse off than the lesser *pomeshchiki*." I include them in the tradesmen group because their economic means seem significantly less than the typical servitor.

[204]For a discussion of the townsmen and how, over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they were put in a bondage similar to that of serfdom, see Hellie 1978. There were among the townsmen also *gosti*, very highly ranked traders. Wealth and social relationships give these people a higher status, comparable to nobility or landowners in my scheme; however they are completely absent from the Volokolamsk materials, so they represent an exception I do not need to deal with explicitly.

the servitors and landowners, but those were exceptional cases. By and large these two groups were below the others in wealth as well as in social status.[205] Of the two, it is probably safe to say that if one applies Mironov's criteria of "prestige of social function and profession" and amount of "education and income" (1:197), tradesmen rank higher in the social hierarchy than peasants. Although peasants and tradesmen are socially quite distinct, they are combined into one group in some of the statistics presented in chapter 4 because there were so few of them and they all occupy the lower end of the social hierarchy below the servitors.

Entirely outside of the secular social scale were the ranks of clergy. Here there is a similar degree of stratification as in secular society and even more fluidity, for all the top ranks (called the "black clergy") were constantly open to new entrants since the bishops and heads of monasteries were unmarried. The parish, or "white" clergy was at the bottom of the ecclesiastical social scale, the relationship between them and the upper ranks of the black clergy often being not unlike that of a peasant vis-a-vis his lord. Bishops were in many respects the equivalents of princes and had their own boiars and junior boiars. Assigning any clear vertical relationship between ecclesiastical classes and secular classes is virtually impossible. Each level of clergy was under secular authority in some ways and exercised spiritual authority in other ways. Although this group is so varied within itself, relatively few monks came from clerical families, so as a category for representing monks' social origins it is not practical to divide it up further.

All together I have identified six broad categories which can serve to identify at a fairly basic level the Volokolamsk monks' social backgrounds: nobility, landowners, servitors, tradesmen, peasants, and clergy. Only a minority of the monks can be ascribed with some confidence to a particular category based on explicit evidence in the sources. For the rest one must make do with indirect and circumstantial evidence. Since that is often insufficient to establish a reasonable degree of certainty, it is necessary also to count many individuals as "unknown." However, certain kinds of indirect evidence can be highly

[205]As one example, when Volokolamsk monastery authorities had to put down a peasant rebellion aided by some of its servitors (*slugi*), it levied extremely severe fines against all those deemed the troublemakers. The fines for servitors versus the fines for peasants reflected the relative ability of the two classes to pay: 50 rubles for the former, 5 rubles for the latter (Man'kov 1987, 163-66).

suggestive of social class below the landowner or nobility rank, so I divide the unknowns into two subgroups: unknown and unknown-lower-class.

That division does not mean that the first of these groups is likely to include substantial numbers of unrecognized upper-class men. The fact that landholding and politically powerful families left far more permanent records of their existence than did lower classes means that the "unknowns" should generally be recognized as including substantially more people below the landowner level than at or above it. Most of them are likely to be from the ranks of servitors. This is because the status of landowners and nobility is generally identified explicitly somewhere, so they are not listed as "unknown"; while people who are probably peasants and tradesmen can often be placed in the"unknown-lower-class" group on the basis of indirect evidence.

One indirect indicator of class that can be used to differentiate the two "unknown" groups is wealth. The monastery was very efficient at recording donations, and since the majority of monks made donations to their monastery sooner or later, we can in most cases get some idea of their personal fortune. Within certain ranges it is not a reliable indicator, since there were wealthy peasants and poor landowners. In an economy where a common laborer would earn one ruble a year, even people on the bottom rungs of the social ladder could find ways to amass sufficient capital to contribute the normal 10 ruble fee for tonsure, and many of them donated additional amounts up to 50 rubles. The majority of people attested as landowners also donated 50 rubles or less, and most of them were in the 10 to 30 range or below. The 100 ruble level seems to be a fairly reliable cut-off point that could be used as an indicator of landowner-or-higher status: no known peasants donated at that level, and only one member of the white clergy (archpriest of a Moscow church) and two servitors did.[206] Unfortunately, in practice this 100-ruble threshold as a stand-alone indicator of social status is so high that it is not very helpful. Relatively few people could give that much, and those who did were generally well-known members of wealthy families anyway.

In-kind donations are potentially more revealing. Peasants often donated in kind rather than cash – everything from grain to farm animals to the clothes on their back. Men

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[206]Archpriest Dionisii gave 100 rubles (Steindorff 1998, 302); Gavriil Molvianinov, servitor (*chelovek*) of prince Fedor Prozorovskii, gave 110 rubles (Steindorff 1998, 260); monastery servitor (*chelovek*) Grigorii Gridenin gave 100 rubles (Steindorff 1998, 52).

from higher on the social scale tended to give land, cash, or precious goods such as elaborate books, but sometimes they made peasant-like donations also. One cannot classify a person as a peasant because he gave a cow and his clothes, but gifts of that nature may help to confirm a classification arrived at by other means.

Whether looking at cash or in-kind donations, it is very important to differentiate pre-tonsure donations from those given after a man has been a monk for a period of time. It is the earlier gifts that may be indicative of a person's social status. For all the official talk about the importance of "non-possession," as a practical matter a surprising number of men found ways to earn substantial amounts of money while wearing black, regardless of what they had upon entry.

The most valuable indirect evidence of family origin, present for everyone and potentially indicative of lower as well as upper class status, comes from a person's name. The single most reliable piece of class-specific evidence inherent in the name itself applies only to the upper reaches of secular society: the patronymic ending in -ovich, -evich, or -ich. This form in the sixteenth century was extremely tightly restricted to the upper classes, and not just untitled landowners but strictly people within the class I am calling nobility.[207]

Awareness of this phenomenon does not help identify very many active members of the Volokolamsk brotherhood, though, for people from these levels of society generally practiced deathbed tonsure if at all. The phenomenon itself is of interest for more than its utility in determining social status, however. Few things are more personally significant to people and fundamentally a part of their sense of self-identity than their names. In effect we have in the -ovich patronymic ending clear evidence of social stratification. In other words, while the patronymic form clearly sets apart the nobility group, it at the same time ties together everyone else below that level. Everyone from untitled landowner, to servitor, to peasant, to townsman all share the same naming system. Naturally, that does not mean they necessarily conceived of each other as equals, but it facilitated the fluidity of lines between

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[207]See the discussion in Chichagov 47-48. It is worth observing that one can apply this rule only to names in the primary sources, for Russian scholars routinely convert the normal sixteenth century patronymics to their modern -ovich equivalents. Thus Zimin speaks of "Makarii (Mikhail Tarasovich) Mechev" but the sole source he cites for the person actually has "... *Mokarei da ... Grigorei Tarasovy deti Mechova*" (Makarii and Grigorii, children of Tarasov Mechev; Zimin 1977, 162 n.340; AFZKh, 2:366). This is one form of name standardization that can be very misleading but is common in Russian historiography.

those classes, and it made an untitled landowner in some ways socially closer to a peasant than to a prince or a boiar. This in turn helps explain why men from such a variety of classes (below nobility) were all so easily re-shuffled into different relationships in the monastic environment.

After the patronymic, the next resource is the family name, and that can indeed point in any direction on the social scale, up or down. Linking a person to a landowner, servitor, or peasant clan solely on the basis of last name must be done with great caution, however, since many names were shared by people of very different social backgrounds.[208] In general, it is safe to classify someone based on his last name when the name is fairly uncommon and turns up in sources connected with Volokolamsk in the sixteenth century exclusively or predominantly for individuals of one social class.[209]

Some of the issues surrounding the use of family names for social classification are best illustrated by examples showing where it works well, and where it does not due to ambiguous or insufficient data. A certain starets Ipatii Grigor'ev signed a psalter as its owner some time in the second half of the sixteenth century. Nothing more is known about him. If one turns to the largest published collection of land deeds connected with Volokolamsk, one finds in it no fewer than 33 Grigor'evy – 26 peasants, 1 servant (*chelovek*), 5 servitors, and 1 of unknown provenance (AFZKh, 511-12). Other monastery records mention Grigor'evs who worked as common laborers (*detenysh nedorosl'* and *istopnik*; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 370, 373). The likelihood is strong that Ipatii Grigor'ev was of peasant stock, and it is certainly appropriate to place him in the "unknown-low-class" category. On the other hand, the case of elder Ignatii Golovin is different: the deeds attest to just one peasant with that last name, and the 1606 expense books record wages paid to a laborer -- but the deeds also mention two servitors (*pod'iachie*) named Golovin, and three landowners named Golovin-Romeikov (AFZKh, 511; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 359, 369). Thus, without explicit evidence tying Ignatii to any of these people, he must remain firmly in the "unknown" column. Another situation that calls for an

[208]For example, the vkladnaia kniga lists a prince Ioann Kasha (GIM 419, 50) while Zimin attests to a townsman Ivan Kasha(Zimin 1977, 164).

[209]Zimin takes this approach, an example being his inclusion of Silvestr Stupishin as a landowner despite the fact that the only information about him is an inscription identifying him as a book owner (1977, 161 n.336).

admission of uncertainty is when the data appear to be unambiguous but simply are insufficient. A certain elder Dionisii Gushcha shows up paying wages to workers and collecting rent from peasants in 1573 and 1574. A search through other sources connected with Volokolamsk turns up but one man: the archpriest landowner Dmitrii Gushcha whose peasants bought and sold an *izba* (hut) in 1603 (AFZKh, 414). The two may be related, but the evidence is too thin to draw any firm conclusions.[210]

There is yet another way evidence of social status can be derived from a person's name, a method not dependent on the existence of external evidence and yet highly reliable. Just as the patronymic ending in -ovich separated the princely clans from the entire social world below them, the use or omission of family names separated the landowners and above to some degree from servitors and to a much greater degree from peasants and tradesmen. Without exception individuals who are attested as land owners in purchase, sale, or donation deeds are always identified with complete names including family names, while the sources frequently omit the last name entirely for servitors, peasants, and tradesmen.[211] The following entries in the zapisnaia kniga are typical:

> Gavriil, prince Andrei Zventsov's servitor (*chelovek*), gave 12 rubles ... (GIM 418, 6v.)
> Fedor, a peasant from the Troitskii village, from Petrovskoe [hamlet] gave 20 *kadi* of rye and 10 *kadi* of oats. (GIM 418, 7)
>
> Sen'ka, a peasant from Bunakovo, gave 15 kadi of rye. (GIM 418, 7v.)
>
> The peasant (*bobyl'*) Rodion, Iosif's son, from the Borino hamlet, a peasant (*krest'ianin*) of Vasilii Korovai, gave 6.25 rubles ... (GIM 418, 20v.)

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[210]In cases where the Volokolamsk-specific sources yield insufficient evidence one may of course supplement them with other sources from central Russia in the same time period. In practice this usually just leads to more ambiguity. For Gushcha we get from Tupikov two more examples but also two more social classes: he reports a land-owner Gushchin in 1500, and a *voevoda* (military commander) Gushchin in 1610 (528). (These are the adjectival form of Gushcha and thus essentially the same name) The picture is similar for Golovin: a *voevoda* in 1591, a townsman in 1605, and a *stol'nik* (high ranking servitor of the tsar) in 1609. A large number of family names spanned incredibly wide social ranks, which is to some degree reflective of the fact that the lines between those ranks were anything but impervious: individuals did move in and out of various ranks.

[211]Of 55 monks of Volokolamsk who can be positively identified as landowners, for only one is there no explicit record of his family name (the Kasian who was formerly archimandrite of Simonov and is identified as a nephew of Iosif Sanin; Dianova et al 1991, 301). The group of men called *sluga* varies in social rank very widely from important servitors of important princes to slaves of lesser landholders. Accordingly, some *slugi* have no recorded family names just as is true of peasants. Of 34 Volokolamsk monks positively identified as *slugi*, about a third have names that fit these criteria: a first name only is recorded for 3 (Akakii, Feodorit, Ilinarkh); 5 have names that are adjectives or nouns (Fedor Sokolovskii, Fotii Staryi, Gerasim Ostashkovets, Kasian Bosoi, Mark Levkeinskii), and 3 more have the patronymic forms of common first names (Feodosii Anufreev, Pamva Vlas'ev, Shevriga Vasil'ev).

Notice especially the last of these, which reads in Russian "*Vasilii Iosifov syn.*" In many instants where it appears peasants have a family name it is only a case of someone neglecting to write "*syn*" (son).[212] Thus this person might end up in effect as "Vasilii Iosifov" rather than "Vasilii, Iosif's son." This is why the Grigor'evy are all peasants, and one finds the same is true of the Ivanovs, the Mikhailovs, and so forth: most "family names" which are merely adjectival forms of common first names were formed from patronymics that became names because "*syn*" wasn't written after them. Consequently, most such "family names" are indicative of social status below that of landowner.

That was but one way of creating a family name where none existed. As can be seen from the examples above, when people wanted to refer to a peasant, another key piece of information besides name and patronymic would be the person's home village. This datum could be provided by an adjective (for example *Bunakovskii* meaning "from Bunakovo"), or by a noun (for example *Novgorodets* meaning "Novgorodian"). With or without a patronymic, this adjective or noun could function as the person's *familia* (family name). In Russian the words "*Sen'ka Bunakovskii*" can be interpreted either as "Sen'ka the Bunakovite" or "Sen'ka Bunakovskii."

Yet another practice that began as a utilitarian way of differentiating people from others having the same first name but no family name, was the use of descriptive adjectives such as *staryi* (old) or *vysokii* (tall), or nouns that accomplished the same purpose such as *kuznets* (smith) and *shapochnik* (cap maker). These too, in the absence of a "real" family name could become the family name. There are many of them among the Volokolamsk monks, names such as Fegnost Borodatyi (bearded), Neofit Grek (the Greek), Efrem Malyi (small), Semen Pustynnik (the hermit), Gurii Staryi (old).

In the absence of any explicit information about a given monk's family background, the presence of a "real" family name does not indicate high social status, because some peasants and landless servitors could and did have them. But the absence of such a name, or its replacement by a locative or descriptive adjective or noun, is strong evidence of low social status, with two important provisos. In cases where the *familiia* is completely

[212]This phenomenon was mentioned briefly above in the discussion of complexities of tying different references with different name forms to the same individual.

missing, it is not safe to draw any firm conclusions if only a few references are extant, since the omission of the last name might be happenstance. Also, it was customary for hierarchs to be referred to by their first name only, so it means little if the first-name-only references are to a person identified as a bishop. It is when there are many first-name-only references to a person who is not a church hierarch that this phenomenon can be taken as an indicator of below-landowner social status.

In one key instance where it is possible to test this methodology, it proves accurate. Despite the long 18-year term of the igumen Arsenii (1605-1623) and innumerable mentions of his name in many sources, one never finds for him either patronymic or family name. However, buried deep in an expense book's long list of workmen receiving wages one finds the following: "Wages paid to the igumen's nephew Ivanko Dolbalo, 30 *altyn*; igumen Arsenii is surety for him."[213] While Ivanko's precise job is not mentioned, he is listed along with various workmen such as stokers, guards, and millers (*istobniki, storozhi, mel'nitsy*) who also are being paid wages and whose reliability is deemed low enough that someone must act as surety for them. As the uncle of someone in that position, Arsenii is certainly himself from either a peasant or tradesman family.

Another igumen provides verification of the significance of a locative adjective in last name position. In Stroev's list of monastery heads one finds for Volokolamsk the name "Varlam Belkovskii" (1990, 182), the last name being an adjective meaning "from Belkovo." A review of all the places where the man is named in the sources turns up two that explain the name more fully: *Varlam pop Belkovskii*, and *sviashchennik Belkovskoi Vasilii, vo inotsekh Varlam*, that is, he was a priest from Belkovo (GIM 418, 38v.; Man'kov 1980, 197). As a parish priest, he would have been from a clerical family.[214]

One could attempt to draw a little more information out of a place name functioning as last name, by taking into account the nature of the place to which a person's name ties him in some way. This is indeed what Aleksandr Zimin does, concluding that a person from a village or a hamlet (*selo, derevnia*) must be a peasant while a person from a town or city

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[213] *Dano obroku igumenskomu plemianniku Ivanku Dolbalu 30 altyn, a poruka po nem igumen Ar'senei* (Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 374).

[214] This supposition applies only to the white (parish) clergy, not to the black clergy. Black clergy were monks like any other monks and they could have come from any kind of social background.

(*gorod*) must have been a townsman.[215] The case of igumen Varlam points out just one difficulty with this interpretation – any of these kinds of places may have had a church and thus clergy. In addition, while it may be a safe bet that a peasant would not call a big city like Riazan' his hometown, most of the actual monks' names are of villages or hamlets which could be the home of tradesmen and servitors as well as peasants. Nor is it certain that people always got named after the place where they grew up rather than where they became active later in life, even after becoming a monk.

The same caution is appropriate when interpreting other adjectives or nouns found in the last name position. One might think it safe to say that the igumen Vavila D'iakon (the deacon) was from clerical stock,[216] but he could have been a peasant or servitor who become a black (monastic) deacon before being appointed igumen. Likewise, Nifont Ogorodnik (gardener) may have been a peasant but he could also have been a townsman or servitor who became monastery gardener after tonsure.

Thus it is safest to take adjectives and nouns functioning as last names to be suggestive of a "lower-class" individual in a very general sense, a confirmation that the absence of landholding records for him does indicate he is somewhere below the level of landowner. It is worth observing that this analysis of how names were used applies specifically to the sixteenth century which functions as a kind of transitional period in the history of Russian names. For the landholding classes it was in fact just in the previous century that family names began to take hold and persist over generations. This came about in part from these people's need to reliably identify themselves as individuals and clans in order to defend their positions in the state's administrative and military apparatus. Peasants, by comparison, moved in a vary narrowly defined world restricted to the society of their own local village, where first name, with or without patronymic, was adequate identification. Until the late sixteenth century there was little practical need for peasants to develop family

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[215]See 1977, 164 n.352. Zimin is somewhat inconsistent in his methodology here, for he assumes locative adjectives indicate peasant or townsman status, but he draws no conclusion at all from those who lack names or have descriptive adjectives, concluding only that "nothing is known about them" (see his remarks about Gurii Staryi and the steward Timofei; 1977, 119 n.90). This may be due in part to an unwillingness to generalize; with a locative adjective he can claim to have cause to attribute a very specific status like "peasant" or "townsman" to a person. Yet, as is discussed below, similar complications in reality apply to locative adjectives as apply to lack of a name. Another Soviet scholar who attributes peasant status to people on the basis of locative last names is Petrov (1960, 163).

[216]Zimin makes this assumption (1977, 163).

names. It was only as serfdom gradually became an established "institution" between the late sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries, that accurate identification of peasants outside of their local village became critical (for the purpose of establishing ownership of them and to help in identifying and retrieving runaways). When that happened, family names began to persist over generations for them also.[217]

A Case Study

The case of the Pleshcheevs versus the Lukovnikovskiis offers an excellent illustration of the complexities involved in identifying individuals and determining their origins, as well as the means for coming to tentative conclusions. From the 1520s to the 1550s there were several individuals connected with the monastery going by the names Arsenii and Feodosii. We have numerous references to these individuals that provide only the first name, many that provide the last name Pleshcheev, and many that provide the last name Lukovnikovskii (often shortened to Lukovnikov). The latter is a locative adjective indicating the village Lukovnikovo as place of origin. The editors of the Volokolamsk *Paterik* reached the conclusion that Lukovnikovskii was simply a monastic name taken by the Pleshcheev brothers:

> Feodosii Pleshcheev (died 1569) was one of the council elders of the Iosif-Volokolamsk monastery (1568-69). Like his older brother Arsenii, he bore the monastic nickname (*prozvishche*) Lukovnikov, which, possibly, points to his service managing the distant monastic estate in the Staritskii *uezd*, in which was the village Lukovnikovo ... Arsenii Grigor'evich Pleshcheev (in the world – Andrei) descended from an ancient boiar clan of the Ruza uezd. Pleshcheevs were among the richest donors and monks of the Iosif-Volokolamsk monastery. Arsenii became a monk in 1545, for his name is mentioned in the monastery inventory (*Opis'*) dated that year. In 1549-53 he occupied the position of treasurer and was a council elder of Iosifov monastery. He died in 1556-57. (Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 456)

Although the replacement of Pleshcheev with Lukovnikov is stated as fact rather than supposition, things are not quite so clear. In the first place, the editors do not cite any references for that statement. Secondly, the remark about Lukovnikov being a "monastic nickname" makes it sound like such renaming was a common practice, but it is not. First names were changed upon tonsure, but last names were not. Anything is theoretically

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[217] See the discussion of this phenomenon in Kobrin 1977, 93ff. Kobrin speaks of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as the "time of the birth of family names" (*vremia zarozhdeniia familii*).

possible, but one would search in vain for evidence of this sort of thing as a regularized custom. The evidence that does exist of new last names being assigned to monks is not related to the act of tonsure, not related to assignments in the villages, and is generally for people who did not already have a family name. Also, the comment about Arsenii or Feodosii managing monastic estates in Lukovnikovo or the Staritskii uezd is apparently pure speculation, for there is no evidence for such a connection aside from the name itself.

If one looks at the references to Arseniis and Feodosiis at Iosifov in the middle of the sixteenth century, one finds things that do not accord with the editors' statement. If Lukovnikov was a "monastic nickname" one must wonder why the Pleshcheev brothers are still called Pleshcheev even while functioning as council elders (AFZKh; 215, 340; GIM 419, 78). Likewise, it is incongruous that the vkladnaia kniga entry for Arsenii has both the title *inok* and the name Pleshcheev together (GIM 418 26v.). On the other hand, numerous books in the monastery library and owned by Arsenii as a monk have the name Pleshcheev in them (Dmitrieva 1991d, 50, 52, 67, 69, 75, 76, 77, 79, 84, 90, 91, 92), one alongside the title *chernets* (Iosif 1881, 29) and one with *starets* (Dmitrieva 1991d, 75). Now, it happens that there are also a number of books that have Arsenii Lukovnikov's name in them (Dianova et al 1991, 367, 372; Dmitrieva 1991d, 82, 85, 87, 109), plus one notation in an inventory document concerning Arsenii Lukovnikovskii's donation of books (Dmitrieva 1991c, 38) – and none of these attribute any monastic title to him such as *inok* or *starets*. This is especially interesting in the note about his donation because the bookkeeper carefully recorded the title *starets* for other donors listed both before and after Arsenii. All of this is hardly what one would expect if Lukovnikov were a "monastic nickname."

There is less evidence in the case of Feodosii, but it does not fit the "monastic nickname" thesis any better. Feodosii Pleshcheev is listed as the scribe for at least one book (Kloss 1974c, 162), which certainly is something he would have done as a monk. On the other hand, Feodosii Lukovnikov is different from Arsenii in that he does get called *starets* in some inscriptions (Dianova et al 1991, 230; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 109; Dmitrieva 1991d, 77, 85).[218]

[218] Also, in one place Arsenii and Feodosii Lukovnikovskii are associated with Fotii Staryi (three books listed together owned by them; Dmitrieva 1991d, 87), and in another place Feodosii is explicitly identified as a disciple (*uchenik*) of Fotii. Fotii's life mentions that a Feodosii who had a brother named Arsenii was tending to him, without

Date of death is another biographical datum that can help establish identity. It is rare to find a source that tells a monk's date of death, but it happens we do have one for Feodosii Lukovnikov, and it is 1570/71 (7079; Dianova et al 1991, 230) – close but not quite the same as the 1569 given by Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov for Feodosii Pleshcheev.

All things considered, it seems much more likely that Arsenii and Feodosii Lukovnikov, and Arsenii and Feodosii Pleshcheev, are four individuals rather than two. The presence of two individuals with the same first names as the Pleshcheev brothers and a locative last name at around the same period is hardly implausible. Actually there were many Feodosiis in the abbey around the same period – there was also Feodosii, the former archbishop of Novgorod for whom we are never given any last name at all (1550-63); there was Feodosii Pushkin (from at least 1566 to at least 1569; unknown date of death); and Feodosii Zinov'ev (tonsured 1558, unknown date of death). Arsenii was likewise a common name, borne by at least two other individuals in this period: Arsenii Rzhevskii (attested for at least 1555-75), and an Arseniii known only as the "miller *(mel'nichnii)* elder" (attested for at least 1573-81). In fact, it is precisely this problem of too many similarly named people that prompted the monks to associate descriptive or locative adjectives with some of them. People without well-known family names often went by first-name-only when the first name was unique, but if there were others with the same name in the monastery it was necessary to distinguish them. This is often the best explanation for why some men got adjectives like *staryi*, or *bolshoi*, or *vysokii* (i.e., the old one, or the big one, or the tall one), and locative names could serve the same purpose.

The conclusion one reaches regarding Arsenii and Feodosii has a bearing also on another individual, an igumen named Ioasaf Lukovnikovskii. He turns up much later, near the turn of the century, and one otherwise would not necessarily expect any relationship between him and two others from the same village, but there is a very interesting addendum to the 1591 Inventory: among a long list of books donated to the monastery by Ioasaf Lukovnikovskii was one that had been owned by Feodosii Lukovnikovskii (Dmitrieva 1991d, 99). Ioasaf's ownership of a book that had been owned by Feodosii could be

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mentioning their last names (Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 226). There is no indication anywhere of a relationship between either of the Pleshcheevs and Fotii.

coincidence, but more likely there was some kind of family connection. One never, however, runs across the name Ioasaf Pleshcheev, so it seems appropriate to take this as more evidence that Feodosii Lukovnikov was not Feodosii Pleshcheev – and conversely, that both he and igumen Ioasaf were more likely of humble rather than exalted social origin.

It will be worthwhile at this point to expand the scope of the case study slightly. Whether one is dealing with primary or secondary sources, it is often useful to try to establish a source's relative reliability. In this case there is another example highly indicative of what one can expect from the *Paterik's* editors. The *Paterik* is about the early days of the monastery. It contains the story of one Il'ia who was high-born but lost his wealth and became a beggar. When he eventually became very ill, his brother, who was already a monk of Volokolamsk, had him tonsured and served him until he died. In their commentary the editors suggest, "It is possible, the discussion is about the 'boiar servant'[219] Il'ia, monastic name Irinarkh (Ilinarkh), who was the former servant of boiar Ivan Petrovich Shuiskii." (Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 435). Now, it is true that the name Ilinarkh ties these two together, but nearly everything else known about them differs. It happens that the Ilinarkh who served Ivan Petrovich was tonsured in 1588, that is, roughly 100 years after the period covered in the *Paterik.* And while the Ilinarkh in the *Paterik* was destitute, the servitor of Ivan Petrovich was quite well off – able to give a substantial donation of cash and goods worth more than 20 rubles. Even the name in reality does not match because in the *Paterik* Ilinarkh is the monastic name of Il'ia, while the Shuiskii servitor's lay name was Ilinarkh. Thus it appears that the *Paterik's* editors took a fairly casual approach to the question of identifying individuals in this instance, which bolsters the conclusion that they did so in the case of the two Arseniis and the two Feodosiis.

This rather long exploration of the data behind the identification of just a few out of the hundreds of monks who populated the abbey of the Dormition in the sixteenth century illustrates some of the difficulties and uncertainties involved in analyzing the data. Such uncertainties lie behind any sociological analysis of sixteenth century Russian people, even if they are not always acknowledged. The outstanding questions do not mean that all resulting statistics or interpretive conclusions are unreliable, but they do mean that any

[219]The editors enclose *boiarskom posluzhivtse* in quotes but the phrase does not occur in the text.

individual piece of the supporting data is provisional and subject to correction if and when additional sources can be analyzed.[220]

[220]That in turn means that any such study should include as much of the supporting data as possible to allow other scholars to verify what has been done and correct or build upon it in the future. Toward that end the Appendix lists for each monk identified all known references to him. This applies to the less-well-known individuals, not to famous and literarily productive men such as Iosif Sanin himself and Daniil Riazanets (Metropolitan Daniil). A list for Iosif would be a book in itself..

4. Social Provenance and Mobility

Historiography about monasticism East and West includes many attempts to characterize the social makeup of monastic brotherhoods, nearly all of which are based on limited anecdotal evidence. While such characterizations may be accurate, there is always the danger that the historian will find confirmation of whatever he or she expects or wants to find. The literature about Volokolamsk is a case in point. Aleksandr Zimin recites a long list of some 28 "landowner" (*votchinnik*) council elders as evidence for his conclusion that:

> Among the monastery council elders, just as among the donors, the foundational place (*osnovnoe mesto*) was occupied by representatives of *votchinniki* of average means of the neighboring regions. (1977, 154)

Paul Bushkovitch, though dependent on Zimin's data, states the case even more strongly:[221]

> These *melkie votchinniki* (lesser landowners) made up the majority of the monks through the whole period from the founding of the monastery in 1479 until the end of the sixteenth century ... The typical monk ... who entered the monastery fairly early in life without a secular career, remained the son of local landholders throughout the century. (1992, 36, 37)

By itself 28 sounds like a substantial number, but when one realizes that more than 120 council elders are attested for this period, phrases like "foundational place," "majority," and "typical" begin to sound rather inappropriate.

Given the nature of the surviving sources we will never know with certainty exactly how many monks or council elders or even igumens there were, and for most of these men we can make only educated guesses about their social provenance. But any attempt to characterize a group should at the very least try to look at the whole group. What follows does just that for the monastic brotherhood of Volokolamsk and the leadership ranks within it.

[221]Bushkovitch's statement extending landowner dominance to the entire monastic brotherhood are not based on anything Zimin said, though he cites Zimin as his source. Zimin actually asserted quite clearly that peasants and tradesmen made up the bulk of the brotherhood outside of the council (1977, 164). It is possible he is confusing Tikhomirov and Zimin, since Tikhomirov (1938, 135) did make this claim.

The Brotherhood as a Whole

Before looking at individual ranks in the monastic hierarchy, an overview of what is known about the brotherhood as a whole is in order. For the entire period from 1479 to 1607, some 438 individuals are identifiable as monks. This excludes 102 who were probably never active members of the brotherhood since they fit the profile for "deathbed tonsure,"[222] and it excludes 155 for whom the evidence that they were monks rather than connected with the monastery in some other way is questionable.[223] Of the 438, 21 became igumens at one time or another, 40 became stewards, 45 became treasurers, and 126 became council elders. Since some occupied more than one post, and stewards and treasurers were ex officio members of the council, these figures cannot be added up to find the total number who attained formal leadership positions (i.e., became igumens or council members). That number is 144, or roughly one third of all the men who left evidence indicating they lived a significant part of their lives as monks. Chances are the proportion in reality was much smaller than a third, since there were probably many more rank and file monks than council members who left no trace in the surviving records. Of the rank and file, 83 fulfilled administrative roles of one sort or another working on the monastic estates, while 211 apparently exercised no authority either over fellow monks or over the monastery's peasants.[224]

The representativeness of the data can be judged in part by comparing the number of names we know for a given group to an estimate of the total number of people who were members of the group. The proportion starts at near 100% for the level of igumen and decreases as one descends the hierarchy. It is likely that the number of stewards, treasurers, and council elders who have escaped notice is a minority – very small for the years after 1550, somewhat larger for the earlier period.

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[222]As noted above, these are people for whom substantial donations are recorded along with the fact that they were given a monastic name, but no other evidence of activity as a monk exists, i.e., they did not even so much as own a book.

[223]The vast majority of this group are men who owned, wrote (i.e., copied), or donated books that made their way into the Iosifov library, but no monastic title is found next to their names.

[224]Among the 211, 78 are accorded the honorary title *starets* at least once. By itself, in the absence of any other indication of leadership role, this title does not sufficiently differentiate these people so as to warrant considering them a separate group from those that never get called *starets*. The surviving records have them all doing the same things – mainly owning, writing, and donating books, and donating money.

The contrast between pre-1550 and post-1550 data is likely to be much greater for the monks in non-council administrative roles. These people's activity shows up only in the estate management books, and those are almost nonexistent for the earlier period. In addition, some administrative elders may have carried out functions that did not normally involve cash transactions, which means they would never get mentioned in the most complete set of surviving records, the income and expense books. Nevertheless, the people who are attested for administrative roles are likely to be reasonably representative of their group as a whole in the post-1550 period. The total number of them (83) is fairly substantial, and any omissions are not likely to have been overlooked due to either high or low birth.

For the remaining population – members of the rank and file who apparently did not hold any position of authority – the representativeness of the data we have is highly questionable even though this is the largest single group (211). Many ordinary monks could have lived for years without leaving a trace in the records that have been preserved. Many of those who did leave a trace, and consequently have been included in this list, may be unrecognized cases of death-bed tonsure. Conversely, some of those that have been excluded from the list because they fit the profile of the death-bed tonsure may actually have lived in the monastery for years. Nevertheless, this is a large group, it is all we have to go on for an attempt at understanding the brotherhood as a whole, and it at least provides a fuller picture of that rank and file than has heretofore been available.[225]

Turning first, then, to the composition of the brotherhood as a whole, that is, the 438 excluding those who fit the profile of death-bed tonsure and those whose monastic status is questionable, the nobility[226] and landowners together make up just 21% of the total (26 and 68 individuals respectively). Those positively identifiable as servitors, tradesmen, peasants, and clergy make up another 18% (40, 7, 16, and 18 respectively). Fully 60% are unknown, which breaks down further to 31% (136) for whom there is no evidence suggestive of high

[225]Each of these lists even when relatively incomplete can be representative anyway because a monk's original social class is not likely to influence whether or not his name would survive to the twentieth century in monastery records, except indirectly if, for instance, a greater proportion of upper class monks owned books in which they inscribed their names.

[226]See chapter 3 for a definition of "nobility" and the other words used to designate social classes in this chapter – landowners, servitors, tradesmen, peasants, clergy, unknown and unknown-low-class.

or low status and 29% (127) for whom evidence of below-landowner status is strong (mostly in the form of adjectival last names).[227] Figure 1 illustrates these proportions.

Even allowing for the likelihood that these numbers may not be perfectly representative, and even if the unknowns are all assumed to be of low degree, the social makeup of the monastery was hardly a reflection of medieval Russian society generally. Upper classes (nobility and landowners) were strongly over-represented compared to the general population, though a minority within the abbey.[228] This does not necessarily mean the upper classes in general were more pious than their social inferiors. Rather, it more likely reflects the fact that by and large the monastery effectively ensured that only men of means could become monks, regardless of social class.

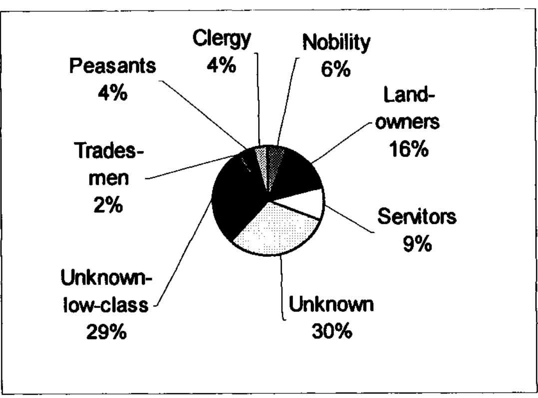

Figure 1: The Brotherhood as a Whole

One thing that kept out all but fairly wealthy peasants and townsmen was a high entrance fee. There is nothing about this in the monastic Rule, and the 1551 Stoglav church council condemned the practice (Emchenko 2000, 337-38), but the estate management books and commemoration books preserve abundant evidence that it remained very much in effect throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. Actually, donations specifically for the purpose of tonsure are attested almost exclusively for the 1560s through 1607, but the requirement itself certainly goes back to the abbey's earliest days. One source dating back to 1525 alludes to it.[229] The amounts actually paid vary from as little as 2 rubles (still a substantial amount for a peasant) to 50 rubles or more. The smaller amounts are clearly

[227]The total for peasants includes 13 out of the 31 that are identified as such only by their last name, while 1 of the 35 slugi and 38 of the 64 votchinniki are identified that way. These men have actual family names (i.e., not adjectives of some sort for names) which are distinctive enough and typical enough of a given clan to warrant their use in establishing social origins. Stupishin, for instance, is a distinctive name shared by many members of one clan of votchinniki who played an important role at Volokolamsk. Even though no source explicitly connects Ferapont Stupishin to this clan, it is highly likely that he did come from it.

[228]Although precise breakdowns of social classes in sixteenth century Muscovy are not to be found in the extant historiography, just as precise descriptions of class boundaries are not to be found, it is safe to say that the landowning classes did not make up anywhere near 22% of the entire population.

[229]An *apostol* (New Testament epistles) contains the following inscription: "In the year 7033 [1525] the month of May the former igumen of the Koliazin [monastery] Ioasaf [donated] this *apostol* book for his tonsure during the tenure of *(pri)* igumen Nifont" (Iosif 1881, 8).

exceptions based on unique individual circumstances, while the larger amounts are cases where more than the bare minimum was given. The existence of a standard minimum amount from which any others would be special-case departures is indicated by entries such as the following:

> (1566) The peasant (*bobyl'*) Rodion, Iosif's son, from the hamlet Borino, a peasant (*krest'ianin*) of Vasilii Korovai, gave 6.25 rubles to the house of the Virgin, and he still needs to pay 3.75. And for that donation he can be tonsured, when he pays in full. (GIM 418, 20v.)

The norm appears to have remained at 10 over most of the second half of the century, then rose to 12 starting in the late 1580s.[230]

In all, records of donations earmarked explicitly for tonsure have survived for 47 individuals, 36 with amounts in rubles and 11 listing in-kind donations without specifying their value. Compared to the total number of 438 monks, this is very few, even taking into account the fact that such records for the most part were maintained – and lasted to the present day – only for the second half of the century. Thus it seems likely that not everyone was required to pay the entrance fee. Additional data that may support that surmise come from an analysis of who the people were who did pay the fee: as can be seen in Figure 2, they are almost exclusively from the lower classes. This list of 47 includes just 3 unknowns, 2 landowners, and not a single representative of the nobility. Moreover, both landowners are special cases – one who was tonsured by the tsar's order and one who was too poor to pay his own way, so his fee was paid by his brother.[231] On the other hand of the total of 16 known peasants in the whole brotherhood, 13 or 81% of them are in this group that had to pay for their tonsure.

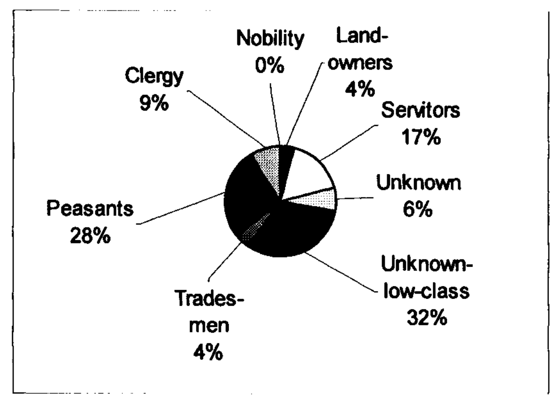

Figure 2: Monks who Paid for Tonsure

It appears as if the only ones who had to pay were those least able to pay. There is no indication that the wealthy simply paid more than the poor: the evidence suggests they

[230]Entries in the zapisnaia kniga with 12 as the amount can be found in GIM 418, 66v., 68v., 71, 72v.

[231]Grigorii Bel'skii (Man'kov 1980, 189), Isak Khvorostinin (GIM 418, 23-23v.).

by and large were not subject to an entrance fee. Many of them did make large donations, and it may be that a donation well over the minimum did not need to be marked as "for tonsure." In any case, the example of Isak Khvorostinin, the destitute landowner whose 10 ruble fee was paid by his brother Tikhon, suggests that regardless of one's class it would be difficult to gain acceptance at Volokolamsk without bringing a substantial sum of money. The Volokolamsk monastery was a refuge for the destitute and the hungry insofar as it provided them with food and sometimes jobs, but its doors seem to have been shut tight against any of them who wanted to become monks.

No explicit evidence indicates the reason for this state of affairs, but it is not difficult to surmise a reason if one considers the monastery's situation from the standpoint of those responsible for managing its affairs. Throughout its existence the abbey was located in the midst of a population teeming with poverty-stricken people, yet its monks lived almost every day in relative wealth and in comfortable certainty of a continued high standard of living that would last literally up to their dying day. In order to accept tonsure a man would have to renounce the chance to have a wife and family, but that would be little disincentive for someone starving in the cold. And it would be no disincentive at all for many men who were getting a little too old to work in the fields and perhaps had no family members willing and able to support them. In short, if the monastery did not put in place some kind of entrance barriers, it could have been turned into a retirement home for the young and a nursing home for the elderly. Needless to say, no sort of barrier would be 100% efficient, and a significant portion of the monastic brotherhood – if not the majority – would always be made up of people who joined it for economic as much as, or more than, religious reasons.

The idea that monasteries needed to put some controls on who could be tonsured is not mere speculation. Daniil Riazanets, the man who succeeded Iosif as igumen, in one of his letters observes that many people were too readily accepting tonsure and then finding they did not care for monastic life, after which they would either leave it altogether or "live not at all like a monk" (*zhili daleko ne pomonasheski*).[232] There is also an interesting

[232]In the words of Zhmakin (1881b, 654) summarizing Daniil's letter. The acts of the 1551 Stoglav church council (published in Emchenko 2000) also contain abundant evidence that badly behaving monks was a common problem. One Life of Iosif recounts the story of Arsenii Nevezhin, a boiar who accepted tonsure when he thought he was on his deathbed, then recovered and did not adapt well to monastic life (VMCh, 495-97).

exchange in one of Iosif's lives at the point where it portrays his initial entry into monastic life:

> And when Ivan [Iosif's birth name] came to the holy igumen Pafnutii, he fell at his feet and said, "Holy father! Count me, the prodigal sheep, as among your chosen flock." The saint asked him, "Who are you and from where?" And he, lying on the ground, said, "I have come, father, to your sanctuary; I want to be a monk (*inok*)." And the saint, seeing that he [Ivan] was young wanted to know a little about him, whether [he had come] out of need or from persecution or from grief. And he realized from the answers that he [Ivan] was very much of sound mind (*mnog v razume*) ... (VMCh, 458)

Men who sought tonsure when they were "young" were automatically suspect: monasticism was not normally thought of as a kind of lifelong "calling." This is confirmed in the donation records which frequently mention the names of monks' wives and children.[233] One may reasonably speculate that men who arrived after their kids were grown might be as much or more interested in a reasonably comfortable retirement as in spiritual enlightenment. And a person arriving late in life would not be particularly malleable and might adjust to cenobitic life with difficulty. On the other hand, Paphnutii's questions to Iosif reflect the common knowledge that some people sought tonsure because they were destitute, because they were refugees from political persecution,[234] or because they had experienced something that left them profoundly sad. Few such men would be likely to embrace monastic asceticism for long. The grief-stricken might be religiously inclined at first but would recover from their depression, the political refugees might not have been interested in monastic spirituality to begin with, and the poverty-stricken would grow accustomed to warm accommodations and regular meals.

One must not imagine that the majority of monks came to the monastery mainly out of religious zeal and permanently retained that zeal, and this helps explain why the council

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[233] Arsenii Nevezhin (GIM 419, 28v.); Arsenii Tuchin (GIM 418, 64); Dmitrii Nemoi-Obolenskii (Leonid 1863, 3; RIB, 32:446; Dianova et al 1991, 402); Dionisii Zvenigorodskii (Zimin 1977, 117); Feodosii Riabchikov (Steindorff 1998, 256); Filofei Polev (Novosel'skii and Pushkarev 1977, 2:181; Zimin 1977, 155); Gerontii Rakitin (AFZKh, 236); Il'ia Bel'skii (GIM 418, 45); Iona Burtsov (GIM 418, 27v.); Iosif Lystsev (Titov 1906a, 310); Isaia Rtishchev (Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 455); Leonid Markelov (Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 365); Login Lobkov (GIM 418, 51v.); Makarii Zaitsev (Man'kov 1980, 227); Nikandro Turkov (GIM 418, 66); Paphnutii Oboburov (Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 90); Ponar'ia (GIM 418, 11); Sidor (Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 24, 38); German Chemesov (Steindorff 1998, 258); Vasian Bel'skii (GIM 418, 48).

[234] Some examples are Misail Beznin who fled from Boris Godunov (see chapter 6), Iona Golova, who is said to have fled from prince Boris Vasilievich (Zimin 1977, 156), and Dionisii Nemoi-Obolenskii of whom the *kormovaia* says "God and the sovereign forced him into monasticism." (Steindorff 1998, 47-48)

elders appear so much like dormitory proctors in the monastic Rule and Iosif's letters. And thus the stories in Iosif's life about the brothers rising up against him en masse when they saw his devotion to the poor or obedience to the prince put their investment at risk bear the ring of truth.[235] With this in mind, it is easy to see that a substantial entrance fee would help solve at least some of these problems. It would help keep out those whose main interest in monasticism had to do with regular meals, warm hearths, and free medical services. At the same time, the money received from those among the not-so-wealthy who could scrape together such a sum would cover the monastery's room and board costs for such people for many years.[236] But regardless of the motives for imposing a fee, one effect was probably that the lower classes who donned cassocks tended to be the upper crust of the lower classes. They were not beggars and were not accustomed to acting as beggars. Through their accumulation of substantial wealth, many or most peasants and tradesmen before ever entering the cloister will have already drawn close in lifestyle and thus in overall thought and manner to the servitor class, and even to landowners.[237]

One must not overemphasize the divide between landowners and the landless classes in sixteenth-century Russia. Even as late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there were the *odnodvortsy* – landholders who owned but a single peasant household and were themselves so much like peasants that Peter the Great classified many of them as peasants.[238] And in the sixteenth century peasants, tradesmen, servitors, and clergymen who were able to muster 10 to 50 rubles for a donation – many did give well over the minimum[239] – were

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[235]See Zimin 1977, 78; VMCh 476, 482; Zimin 1959, 216. These episodes are discussed at greater length in chapters 5 and 6.

[236]Iosifov normally paid its agricultural laborers who were landless peasants by providing their room and board and paying a cash allowance for clothing. Around the middle of the sixteenth century this averaged ½ ruble a year; from the 1560s on it averaged 1 ruble a year. At this rate if the donation for tonsure was intended mainly for clothing it was the equivalent of paying for 10 years' worth of clothing up front (without taking into account that theoretically at least the monk's clothing was supposed to be simpler than laymen's clothing).

[237]This is also additional evidence against the assertion made first by Tikhomirov and seconded by Zimin, to the effect that the monks were by and large "ruined and embittered" people (1977, 162).

[238]See Blum 1961, 478; Bartlett 1990; Hartley 1998.

[239]Peasants: Aleksei Vasil'ev syn (56 rubles; GIM 418, 28v., 32, 47v.); Feodosii Matveev-syn Zinov'iev (40 rubles; GIM 418, 13v., 53v.; GIM 419, 53v.); Moisei Nepliuev (25 rubles; GIM 418, 43v.), Sava Chernevskii (Man'kov 1980, 195); Iakim Artem'ev (22 rubles, identified as a peasant based solely on his name; GIM 418, 21). Servitors go even higher, with some in the 100 ruble range: Matvei Shkilia (121 rubles; *chelovek monastyrskii*; Steindorff 1998, 80); Vasian Ushakov-Ovchinnikov (96.48 rubles; *sluga monastyrskii*; Steindorff 1998, 36; GIM 418, 60v.); Iosif Golovnin (GIM 419, 64v.); Akakii (34.25 rubles; GIM 418, 25), Iosif Pashin (30 rubles; GIM 418, 55); Irodion Lystsev (30 rubles; Titov 1906a, #310); Silvestr Kapustin (30 rubles; GIM 418, 24v., 43); Pamva Vlas'ev (30

hardly worlds apart from landowners able to give 100 rubles. Actually, as many of the landowners made donations in the 40 to 70 range as did in the 100 and over range, and very few gave substantially over 100. Thus, the majority of them were in something very close to the same economic range as their social inferiors.[240] To put matters in perspective one can also look at contemporary real estate prices, for a landless person would not need even 50 rubles to became a landholder. As little as 10 rubles could buy a meadow (*lug*), while populated hamlets (*derevni*) could be purchased for 20 rubles.[241] Thus, most peasants who had enough money to became monks were ipso facto within striking distance of becoming landholders themselves were they to choose that course of action instead.

The likelihood that most men who joined the Iosifov monastic brotherhood came from roughly similar economic circumstances regardless of social level helps explain why the monastery was able to do such an effective job of creating a united brotherhood with a strong sense of corporate identity. When Gurii of the landowning family Stupishin arrived in 1566 with nothing but 15 rubles worth of horse and saddle to give, he probably already had much in common with the peasant Miron Nepliuev who came nine years later with 20 rubles' worth of horse and goods. Both of them will have been closer socially to each other than either would have been to Vasilii Ivanovich Klushin who in 1569 was able to donate

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rubles; GIM 419, 122); Andrei Mokhov (41.36; GIM 418, 39; Man'kov 1980, 200); Vasian Retkinskii (20 rubles; GIM 418, 32v.). Unknowns: Venedikt Kapylov (30 rubles; GIM 418, 67). Men from clerical families were similar financially to servitors: Dionisii (100 rubles; a Moscow archpriest; Steindorff 1998, 302); Semen (50 rubles; an archpriest; GIM 419, 28, 66v.); Levkei Akishev (50 rubles; a deacon; GIM 418, 52v.); Moisei Kolmak (46.45 rubles; a deacon; GIM 418, 62); Ivan Dmitreev syn (a priest's son; 30 rubles; GIM 418, 57v.); Arsenii Semenov syn (20 rubles; a former priest; GIM 418, 71); Varlam Belkovskii (20 rubles; a former priest; GIM 418, 38v.). The list could be extended greatly by including those determined to be from the lower classes on the basis of adjectival last names or absence of last names, but the conclusion is clear without that: many if not most peasants, servants, townsmen, and white clergy who became monks were quite well off.

[240]For the most part, the only way to verify this is to look at the records of people who appear to be "death-bed tonsures," since for landowners who became active monks and elders it is often not clear if their donations come from pre-tonsure or post-tonsure income. Many of the "death-bed tonsure" cases are well under the 100 ruble range: Kuz'ma . Golovlenkov (40 rubles; GIM 419 42v., 45); Dmitrii Aleksandrov (50 rubles; GIM 419, 63); Boris Stupishin (GIM 419, 61); Iurchak Tolbuzin (50 rubles; GIM 419, 49); Taras Mechev (50 rubles; GIM 419, 38v.); Ivan Marinin (50 rubles; GIM 419, 35v.); Ivan Klokachev (GIM 419, 29v., 62v.); Olad'ia Kliment'ev (50 rubles; GIM 419, 29); Dmitrii Nashchekin (70 rubles; GIM 419, 50v.); Iona Khludenev (74 rubles' worth of rye and oats; Steindorff 1998, 256).

[241]Istoma Rzhevskii sold a *lug* (meadow) to Iosifov for 10 rubles (GIM 419, 28). Feodosiia Fomina redeemed seven hamlets (originally donated by her husband) for 73 rubles (GIM 419, 41v.), and the monastery bought two hamlets from Vasilii Selianinov for 40 rubles (GIM 419, 37v.). Other hamlets went for more money (65 rubles for a hamlet and a *lug*; GIM 419, 32v.), as did most villages (55 rubles for a village; GIM 419, 27v.; 35 rubles for half a village; GIM 419, 27v.; 150 rubles for a small village (*sel'tso*); GIM 419, 36). Large villages were worth hundreds of rubles.

the princely sum of 400 rubles.[242] Relatively few men like Klushin entered the abbey. And interestingly enough, both Gurii and Miron (as the monk Moisei) eventually became council elders, while Vasilii and others from similarly exalted social circles did not.

Igumens and Council Members

A closer look at who got into the leadership ranks tends to confirm the impression that high social status was not the most important criterion for promotion. The highest rank in the formal hierarchy was that of igumen, and it is represented by the smallest group, some 21 individuals. As can be seen in Figure 3, no one social class stands out here. Of the individuals whose background can be identified with some degree of certainty, 3 came from clerical families, 4 were landowners, 2 were servitors, and 1 came from a family of tradesmen. Humble origins are suggested by characteristics of their names for 6 igumens, while the background of 5 is completely unknown.[243]

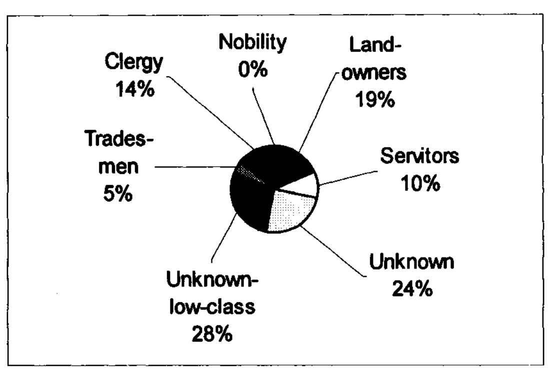

Figure 3: Igumens

The igumens are a curious mix of famous participants in the political and cultural life of sixteenth century Russia, and unknown individuals who appear out of nowhere and quickly disappear again without leaving any other trace of their existence. Despite the power of the office within the abbey and its prestige and influence in the outside world, the igumens after Iosif were very much pawns of the higher ecclesiastical and political authorities: few appear to have been promoted from within the Volokolamsk brotherhood,[244]

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[242]Gurii Stupishin: GIM 418, 63v. Moisei Nepliuev: GIM 418, 43v. Vasilii Klushin: GIM 419, 143v. Eventually Vasilii gave a total of 610 rubles (Steindorff 1998, 80).

[243]Clerical origins: Vavila D'iakon, Levkei Akishev, and Varlam Belkovskii. Landowners: Iosif himself, Tikhon Khvorostinin, Pimen Sadykov, and Gerasim Lenkov. Slugi: Gurii Rugotin and Evfimii Turkov. Peasant or tradesman: Arsenii. Those with names indicating humble origin: Daniil Riazanets, Ioasaf Lukovnikovskii, Vasian, Lavrentii, Gelasii (1595-99), Nil. The unknowns: Gelasii (1567) and Levkei (1527), Galakhtion Tetry, Nifont Kormilitsyn, Leonid Protas'ev. Although no last name is attested for Gelasii and Levkei, each of them is attested only once, so the absence of the last name could be happenstance.

[244]The elder Gerasim Lenkov became igumen in 1522, but lasted only two months before he was replaced by Nifont Kormilitsyn. After that all igumens appear to arrive from outside until 1573. A 20 year period during which the monastery was apparently left to its own devices ensued, under Tikhon Khvorostinin (1573-75), Evfimii Turkov (1575-87), Varlam Belkovskii (1587), and Levkei Akishev (1587-91). Arsenii, whose term began in 1605 may have

and few were allowed to remain in office for very long before being transferred out to head other monasteries or occupy episcopal sees.[245] Aside from Iosif, only 3 individuals led the brotherhood for 10 years or more; the majority (13 of 21) remained in office for less than 5 years.

Nevertheless, the prestige of the office is reflected in the close personal relations that so many of the igumens had with the tsar as well as other political authorities. The office itself facilitated those relations, for during the sixteenth century Volokolamsk was a popular destination for pilgrimages made by the grand prince or tsar,[246] and while there he would spend time with the head of the abbey. Written evidence of such relationships has survived for no fewer than eight of the Volokolamsk igumens, whose cumulative tenure in office covers 95 out of the 133 years from 1479 to 1612.

The evidence is abundant, of course, for major national figures like Iosif himself and his immediate successor Daniil Riazanets, who became metropolitan in 1522. But those whose field of view was otherwise limited mainly to their own monastery likewise enjoyed the favor of the tsar. For some, personal letters to and from the head of state have survived,[247] while for others the expense books record expenditures for numerous trips to visit him in person. An example of the latter is the entry for August 31, 1607:

> On that day igumen Arsenii and steward Leonid Markelov came from the sovereign (*ot gosudaria*) near Tula. They had gone to the sovereign with holy water for the feast day. The amount spent by them on horse feed and all expenses traveling to Tula and back was 3 rubles, 13 *altyn*, 3 *dengi*. (Bibikov 1936, 19)[248]

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been another case of internal promotion, although no evidence exists of his presence as a monk before 1605; his nephew is attested as an employee of the monastery, so his family appears to have had some connection to it.

[245]When an igumen disappears, the sources do not always record what happened to him. Those we know about are: Daniil Riazanets (became metropolitan in 1522 after 7 years as igumen); Nifont Kormilitsyn (became igumen of Novospasskii in 1543 after 21 years; and later the bishop of Sarai); Gurii Rugotin (became igumen of Selizharov in 1551 after 8 years; and later the archbishop of Kazan'); Galakhtion Tetry (became igumen of Novospasskii in 1558 after 7 years; and later the bishop of Krutitsa). Pimen Sadykov (became igumen of Ugreshskii after 3 years); Lavrentii (became archbishop of Kazan' in 1568 after 2 years); Leonid Protas'ev (became bishop of Riazan' in 1573 after 7 years); and Tikhon Khvorostinin (was transferred out to become igumen of Ugreshskii in 1572 before becoming igumen at Volokolamsk, then transferred back as igumen at Volokolamsk for 2 years before being transferred out again to become archbishop of Kazan'). It is likely that similar transfers happened to some of the other Volokolamsk igumens who disappear without a trace. On such transfers see further below.

[246]Before 1547 the title "grand prince" was the more common, while tsar appeared occasionally. In 1547 the title "tsar" was adopted officially and quickly replaced "grand prince" after that.

[247]Nifont Kormilitsyn (Zimin 1963b, 132-133); Leonid Protas'ev (Iosif 1881, 207).

[248]There are also records of trips by Arsenii to Moscow without explicit mention of the tsar (Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 348; Zimin 1947, 375). The task of bringing holy water to the tsar was not only performed by igumens; council elder Iev Mechev did it in 1575 (Man'kov 1980, 109), and Gerasim Lenkov in the 1530s (Dianova et al 1991,

An igumen's social origins had no effect on his access to the very top of the secular social hierarchy; Arsenii was among the humblest, having come from a family of tradesmen. Humble origins apparently did not limit Arsenii's ability to function in any way; his was one of the longest-lasting tenures in office at 18 years (1605-23).

The igumen who visited the tsar most frequently according to the surviving sources (aside from Iosif and Daniil) was Evfimii Turkov who came from a family of monastery servitors.[249] Actually, Evfimii's record, which seems to have him on the road or in Moscow as often as he was within the abbey walls, may be typical. His tenure in the 1570s and 1580s coincides with the time for which the estate management books were most carefully kept and most completely preserved, so the relative lack of direct evidence of his predecessors' and successors' travel does not necessarily mean they actually traveled less.

In the igumen's frequent absences or during interregna it was the steward who was in charge, and even when the former was at home it was the latter who took charge of most of the day-to-day operational affairs of the monastery. These men were nearly as powerful inside the monastery as the igumen, and they conducted some external diplomatic affairs just as the igumens did, alongside them or without them. At least 39 monks occupied this post at one time or another, and their social backgrounds are also a mixed bag: they include just three nobles,[250] 12 landowners, 1 servitor, 1 peasant, 8 with family names indicative of humble origin, and 14 we can only class as "unknown" (see Figure 4).

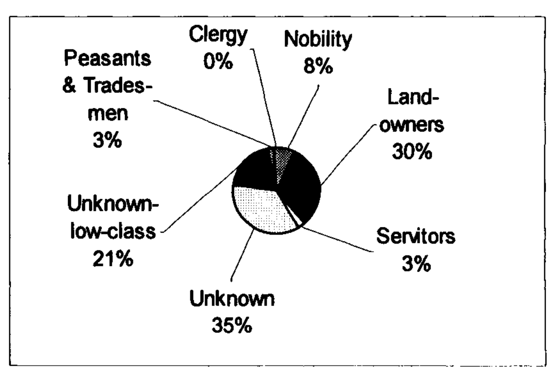

Figure 4: Stewards

The data are too sketchy to permit any precise determinations of steward terms of office, but it is clear that men went into and out

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389).

[249]Man'kov 1980, 102, 109, 127, 159, 174, 203, 214, 216. Some of the expense books also witness to extended periods of time spent in Moscow during which there was also most likely some contact with the tsar (Man'kov 1980, 178, 206, 229, 230; Man'kov 1987, 23). There are also records of shorter trips to Moscow that do not explicitly mention the tsar (Man'kov 1980, 32, 156). For Tikhon Khvorostinin there is one explicit mention of a visit to the tsar in Moscow (Man'kov 1980, 81) and other trips to Moscow (Man'kov 1980, 35, 67, 69, 72, 84)

[250]German Cheglokov, born Grigorii Iakovlevich; Iosif Korovin, born Ivan Andreevich Kutuzov-Korovin, and Vasian Rakitin, a junior boiar.

of the office much more frequently than was true of igumens. Many had several separate terms as steward as well as intervening shorter terms as treasurer or ordinary council elder. There is no indication social origins had any effect at all on a steward's authority or tenure in office. A former servitor, Leonid Markelov, held one of the longest verifiable terms of office at six years (1606-1612) and accompanied the igumen on trips to visit the tsar.[251] When the shaky regime of Tsar Vasilii Shuiskii demanded a "loan" of 3,000 rubles from the monastery treasury, it was Leonid along with the treasurer who personally delivered the enormous sum. (The precedent for such a demand had actually been set two years earlier by the pretender tsar Dmitrii I who was the first to demand and receive a "loan" of 3,000 rubles. There is no evidence that either loan was ever repaid.)[252]

The stewards would seem natural candidates for the igumenate, and among the names Iosif listed in 1515 as his own choice of potential successors was the steward at that time Selivan (who is described in Iosif's life as being "of simple provenance").[253] But only one steward seems to have actually made that transition (Tikhon Khvorostinin, a former landowner, in 1572).

Third in command, and with a much more restricted sphere of authority, were the treasurers (Figure 5). Since their term was limited by custom to one year at a time (with audits at each changeover to ensure accountability), one might expect to find much more of them than stewards. But in fact the custom was not always observed religiously; and when it was, the same individuals would trade off from year to year, so the total number

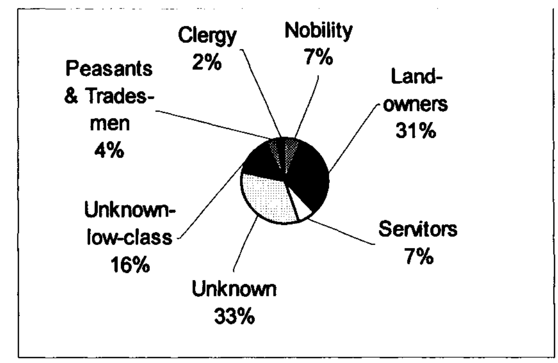

Figure 5: Treasurers

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[251]Bibikov 1936, 19; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 361.

[252]For the earlier loan see AFZKh, 416 and 417; for the later one see Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 351. See also the discussion in Koretskii (1970, 87) about the tsars' use of this fund-raising method.

[253]*ot prostye chiadi* (VMCh, 468, 489). The others recommended by Iosif were a prince (Arsenii Golenin), four landowners (Vasian Sanin, Gerontii Rakitin, Tikhon Lenkov, Varlam Chemesov), two servitors (Iona Golova, Kasian Bosoi), two whose last names suggest humble origins (Kallist Staryi, Gurii Staryi), and one of unknown origin (Gelasii Sukolenov). Varlam Chemesov is actually called Varlam Staryi in the will, but a Varlam Chemesov is also attested as a steward in approximately the same period, and Chemesov appears to be the name of a landowner clan in the Volokolamsk region, hence it is safest to class him as a landowner.

of known treasurers at 45 is not many more than the stewards. In fact, there was so much job swapping that no fewer than 13 of the treasurers were also stewards at other times.[254] Consequently the representation of various social groups is similar to what was seen for stewards. There were 3 nobles, 14 landowners, 3 servitors, 1 each peasants and tradesmen, 1 cleric, 8 probably lower-class, and 13 unknown.

It should come as no surprise, then, that a survey of all the council elders – which by definition includes all of the stewards and the treasurers – also reveals a similar picture (Figure 6). While landowners are the largest single group aside from the unknowns, they – even when counted along with nobles – nevertheless constitute a minority. This contrasts sharply with the Soviet historiography's portrayal of a council completely dominated by landowning elites.[255]

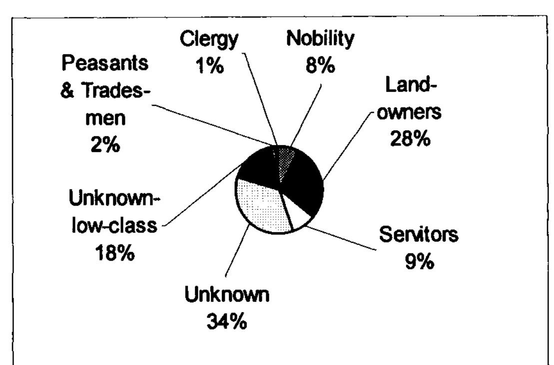

Figure 6: Council Elders

Of 126 council elders over 128 years of monastery history, there were 10 nobles,[256] 35 landowners, 11 servitors, 1 each peasants and tradesmen, 23 with names strongly suggestive of lower class origin, 1 cleric, and 44 unknown.[257] Considered in terms of percentages, the breakdowns for the stewards, the treasurers, and the council elders as a whole are remarkably similar. There is thus no statistical evidence that social status played any more role in the selection of a steward or a treasurer than it did for any other council member.

Of course, all of the groups whose social makeup has been analyzed thus far are imaginary in nature: at any given time the monastery was run by only one igumen, one steward, one treasurer, and, according to the Rule, ten other council elders. To answer the

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[254] Benedict Zazirkin, Moisei Nepliuev, Ignatii Elizarov, Ignatii Zaitsev, Ilarion Vysokii, Zosima, German Cheglokov, Sava Slepushkin, Iosif Korovin, Filofei Polev, Kornilii Iazykov, Timofei Chemesov, and Arsenii Rzhevskii.

[255] See the discussion of Zimin, Shchepetov, and Tikhomirov in chapter 2.

[256] Princes Feodosii Zvenigorodskii, Dionisii Zvenigorodskii, and Arsenii Golenin; junior boiars Misail Beznin, Vasian Rakitin, and Makarii Rzhevskii; and four whose titles are not known but their patronymics end in -ovich – Leonid (Leontii Ivanovich) Tolbuzin, German (Grigorii Iakovlevich) Cheglokov, Iosif (Ivan Andreevich) Kutuzov-Korovin, Nil Polev.

[257] Of 6 peasants and 41 landowners, 5 of the former and 24 of the latter are classified as such solely on the basis of their last names.

question of whether any social group could have dominated the council (at least in terms of sheer numbers) one would need to look specifically at those dates for which the names of all the council members are known.

There are 10 places where the sources name all the council elders involved in a particular decision or action, their dates ranging from 1507 to 1605.[258] Few of these lists necessarily witness to the complete composition of the council, since they are ad hoc records of decisions that some individual members may not have been included in for one reason or another. And all together they only record the situation at 10 points in time spread over more than 100 years of history. But they are sufficient to convey a general impression as to whether any major changes in the social composition of the council happened over time.

Landowners form an absolute majority in only one of these lists, which because it has only eight names is probably incomplete (1568). They along with the nobles are in the majority in one (1507) and right at the halfway mark in three (1566, 1575, 1579). In the remaining five lists the "elite" defined as nobles and landowners are in the minority. In one of those years, the servitors along with those deemed of humble birth due to characteristics of their name have the majority (1516), and in two they are at 50 percent (1525, 1605).

As can be seen in Figure 7 which charts changes in proportionate social group representation in the 10 lists, there is no discernible trend or pattern of consistent change over time. The landowners and nobles had a majority early on, lost it by 1516, regained it sometime between 1525 and 1566, then lost it again between 1591 and 1605. At no time did they have exclusive command of the council, and the only time they seem to have had a truly commanding majority (6 out of 8 in the 1566 list) is in one of the short lists that probably omits some council members.

[258]That is, counting lists of at least eight council members. There are other lists that contain fewer names which are to be taken as reporting contingents from the council rather than the council as a whole. For 1591 there are three lists, but the ones with 9 and 11 members are subsets of the one with 12 members, so only the one with 12 is being used here. The lists are found in the following locations: AFZKh, 36 (May, 1507); AFZKh, 37 (Nov., 1507); AFZKh, 72 (May, 1516); Pokrovskii 1971 (May, 1525); GIM 418, 20 (Feb., 1566); AFZKh, 340 (dated only by year, 7077, i.e., September 1567-August 1568; represented in the graph by Mar., 1568 as the halfway point); Man'kov 1980, 85 (July, 1575); Man'kov 1980, 132 (Apr., 1579); AFZKh, 391 (Sept., 1591; see also for the same time period AFZKh, 436; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 161); AFZKh, 417 (Oct., 1605).

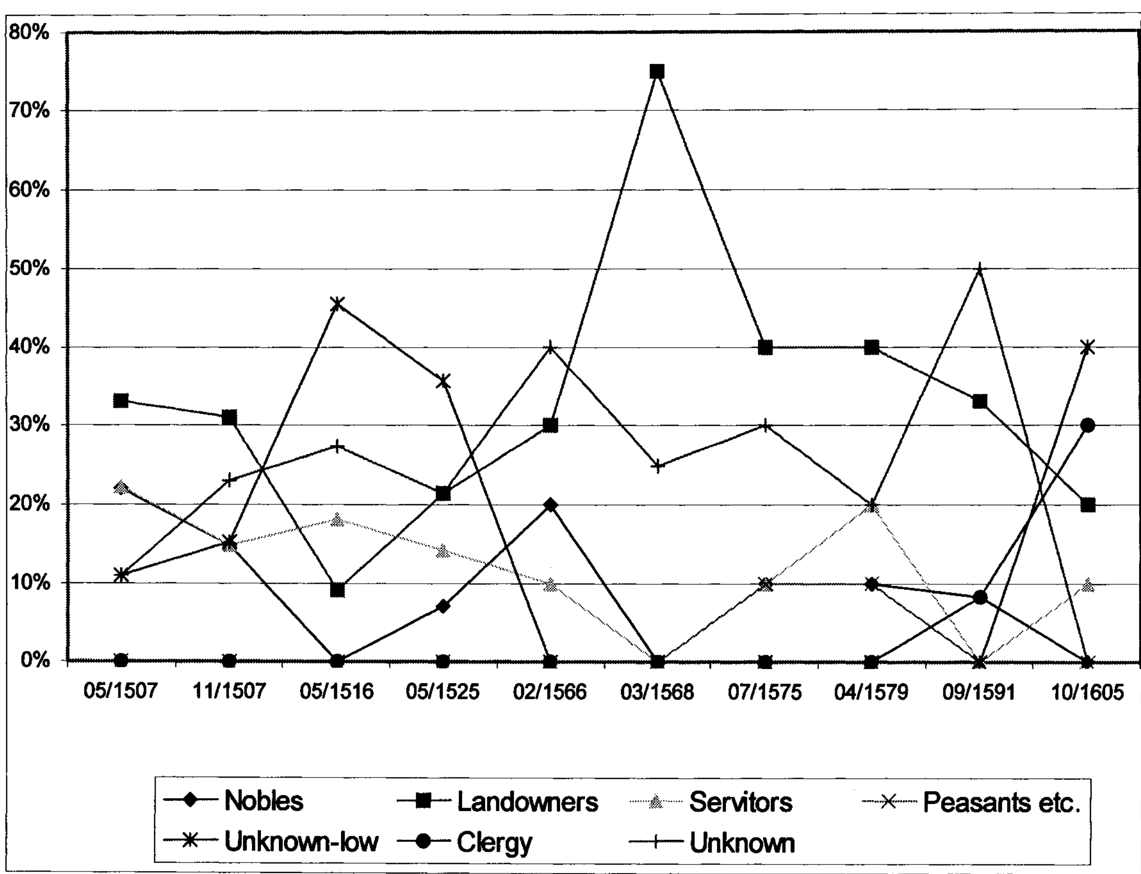

Figure 7: Composition of the Council on Specified Dates

The Rank and File

There were also positions of authority that did not involve a seat on the council of elders. Most of those to whom the sources at one time or another attribute the title *starets*, yet who never made it to the council, were involved in some sort of administrative responsibilities. They paid wages, collected rent, managed the horse barn, went on trips to buy goods for the brotherhood's use, and so forth. Some had formal titles such as under-treasurer (*menshii kaznachei*), under-steward (*podkelarnik*), majordomo starets (*dvoretskii starets*), miller starets (*mel'nichnyi starets*), village starets (*posel'nai, posel'skii, prikazchik starets*), librarian (*knigokhranitel'*), and ecclesiarch (*ustavshchik*).[259] Some held positions of authority over fellow monks, others had authority over monastery peasants, workmen, and

[259] No English word corresponds well to *ustavshchik*. This is the person responsible for keeping all the records governing the conduct of church services, such as keeping track of who was to be commemorated in them.

servitors. Most were entrusted from time to time with carrying large sums of money.[260] They performed the same range of tasks that council elders did, and so they are also the group that council elders will most likely have been chosen from when there were openings on the council.[261]

Compared to the council elders, the upper classes (nobles and landowners) shrink from 36% there to just 11% in this group (see Figure 8). Among these 83 monks only 9 are landowners and none are above that level. The difference is made up by a corresponding increase in the number of men whose names indicate humble origin, and the unknowns: those two groups go from a total of 52% among the council elders to 79% here.[262]

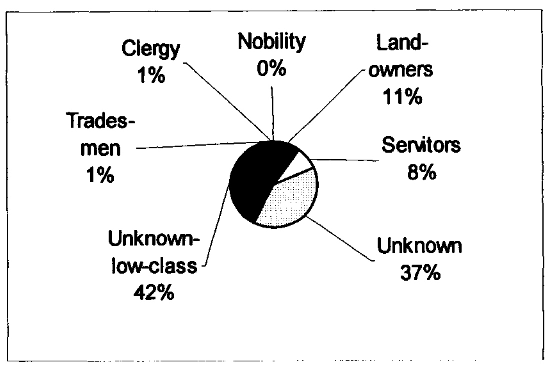

Figure 8: Administrative Elders

The remaining 212 monks left no evidence of taking part in any formal leadership or administrative role.[263] Their backgrounds are depicted in Figure 9. Despite this substantial

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[260] Veniamin Perfir'ev accompanied treasurer Iosif Moskvitin to carry a major part of the entire monastery treasury – 3,000 rubles – to Moscow (AFZKh, 417). The under-treasurer Sava Rzhevitin is seen regularly carrying around sums in the neighborhood of 100 rubles to buy supplies of various sorts: 32 rubles in May, 1573; 100 rubles in June, 1573; 80 rubles in June, 1576; 82 rubles in July, 1581; 81 rubles in July, 1588 (Man'kov 1980, 26, 30, 129, 209, 250). Feodosii Sokolovskii carries 200 rubles to buy fish in Kazan in May of 1588 and is given 10 rubles to spend as he sees fit to cover his expenses (Man'kov 1980, 249, 260; Man'kov 1987, 1:9). Leontii Rzhevitin spends 44 rubles in Tver' in March of 1576, 82 rubles for fish in Mozhaisk in July of 1581, and 44 rubles again in Tver' in February of 1588 and 60 rubles in December (Man'kov 1980, 123; 209, 250, 255). When a very large quantity of mead is required in preparation for a September, 1573 visit by Ivan IV, he is sent with 5 rubles to the village of Zubtsovo to buy it (Man'kov 1980, 39). Even 5 rubles is a large sum of money – 5 years wages for a laborer. All of these individuals except Veniamin Perfir'ev are in the "humble origins indicated by last name" category, since their names all indicate their city or village of origin. Veniamin's background is unknown.

[261] Indeed, it is likely that some of these actually did become council elders but left no permanent record of that. A good example is Varsunofii Krenitsyn. In December of 1587, he was sent along with 2 other startsy on an official mission to Moscow to petition the tsar about getting a new igumen appointed (Man'kov 1980, 252). That seems like a task most appropriate for a council elder, but he is not attested as such anywhere, and the record of this trip is just a receipt for expenses so there was no need to record official titles. Varsunofii's level of responsibility is also indicated by the fact that he was entrusted with 500 rubles to carry to Kazan' to buy fish for the monastery in February of 1588 (Man'kov 1980, 260).

[262] 9 votchinniki, 7 slugi, 3 peasants, 33 with names indicating humble origins, 1 clergy, 30 unknowns.

[263] This number includes some who did end up in leadership roles by being transferred outside Iosifov monastery to the igumenate in other monasteries or to episcopal sees. Nevertheless, while in Iosifov the sources indicate they were ordinary monks.

number, the uncertainties regarding whether some in the list do not belong there, while others were missed, mean that any conclusions drawn from examining their social composition will be substantially more speculative than with the previous groups. It is interesting, however, to note that a substantial number of nobles (16, i.e., 8%) and landowners (22, i.e., 10%) apparently never attained any leadership or administrative position.[264] And these are not likely to have been cases of "death-bed tonsure," because to be included in this group they had to leave behind some evidence of involvement in monastic life, such as ownership of books. On the other hand this least influential group is far from being dominated by peasants and tradesmen – they make up only 9% out of a total of 44% of the monks whose social class is positively identifiable. Even if as many as half of the unknowns were peasants and tradesmen, which is extremely unlikely, men from below servitor class would still be a minority overall. This contradicts Zimin's (1977, 164) assertion that the rank and file was predominantly peasant.

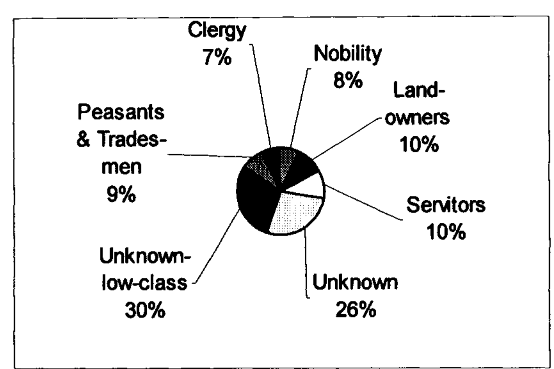

Figure 9: Non-elder Monks

The one group of Iosifov monks in which the upper classes truly dominate is part of the "rank and file" only in the sense that they never attained any leadership or administrative positions. But that is because they did not actually live in the community as monks for longer than a few hours or days – these are the 102 men who fit the profile of a "death-bed tonsure." Here the top two classes make up no less than 81% (80 out of the 102) of the total, and there is not a single positively identifiable peasant or tradesman (see Figure 10). Aside

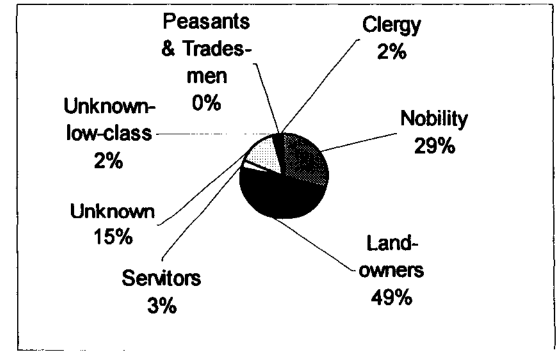

Figure 10: Deathbed Tonsures

[264] 16 nobles, 22 landowners, 21 servitors, 15 peasants, 4 tradesmen, 64 with names indicating humble origin, 14 from clerical families, and 57 unknowns.

from the 17 unknowns, only 3 servitors and 2 clergy were among those who donated enough money to buy "eternal" commemoration but left no indication of any other involvement in the life of the monastic community.

Disciples, Masters, and Hierarchs

There are still a couple of identifiable groupings of monks whose social origins are of interest. An informal leadership role open to both ordinary monks and those in formal leadership was that of "spiritual father" or *dukhovnik.* In a monastic brotherhood, evidence of relationships between such men and their spiritual children is generally attested by an individual calling himself the *uchenik* of someone else. In modern Russian the word *uchenik* primarily means "student" in the sense of children learning in school, but such was not its meaning in the sixteenth century. In secular usage, "apprentice" in the sense of one person learning a trade from another would be a better translation. In the monastic world it can have that meaning too, but more often "disciple" would fit better. The word generally carries the connotation of a spiritual father-son relationship and often by extension the formation of what we today would call "schools" of people who follow a charismatic leader.

It is important to understand that in the monastic world, the title *uchenik* is not a mark of diminished status, and does not necessarily imply youth, but to the contrary may function as a mark of distinction. The disciple in effect appropriates for himself some of the fame and status of his illustrious spiritual father. Thus, the author of a saint's life will often identify himself as a disciple of the saint. The Bishop of Rostov who wrote the Life of Paphnutii of Borovsk calls himself a disciple of Paphnutii; and Dosifei Toporkov, an influential starets of Volokolamsk who wrote a Life of the monastery's founder, calls himself a disciple of Iosif (Stroev 1891, 111). Vasian Koshka, one of the most prolific scribes of Volokolamsk, wrote inscriptions in his books calling himself a disciple of Fotii (Iosif 1881, 182), as does Feodosii, a steward in the 1530s (Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 226) and Isaia Rtishchev, treasurer in the 1530s and later Archbishop of Kazan' (Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 225). Consequently, "disciple" status is something that remains of value even after the master is gone: one scribe of a book written at Volokolamsk calls himself the "disciple of the former igumen Lavrentii" (Dianova et al 1991, 350). The venerable Fotii Staryi is identified by his biographer as "disciple of Kasian Bosoi" long after

his own death and the death of his master (Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 223). The word's function of appropriating the master's aura of authority or holiness for the disciple is evident in the way Vasian Koshka actually places himself in a line of two generations of disciples, signing one of his productions: "written by the lowly Vasian, disciple of the elder Fotii, disciple of Kasian Bosoi.[265]

The exact nature of such relationships would vary and is generally impossible to establish for any particular individuals. In some cases, the relationship began with the igumen's assignment of a new monk to an experienced one for guidance and to practice the virtue of obedience.[266] These and other examples show that it could involve on the part of the disciple near constant attendance on and obedience to the master.[267] But in some cases it could imply something more along the lines of a political faction, the expression of some sort of alliance. That is how a 1636 edict from the tsar addressing disorders among the council elders at the Solovki monastery appears to understand the word, for one of its provisions prohibited any council elder from having more than 3 disciples.[268]

In the sources connected with Iosifov monastery, some 28 individuals are attested as disciples of someone else, 19 as masters.[269] This is not a large sampling, and it is difficult

[265]"*sbornik pismo nishchego Vasianishka, uchenika startsa Fateia, Kasianova uchenika Bosovo*" (Iosif 1881, 182). Another who places himself in a line of more than one is Evfimii Turkov ("*uchenik byv velikago startsa Feodosiia, arkhiepiskopa velikago Novograda, uchenika prepodobnago Iosifa*"; Leonid 1863, 1). Likewise, Vasian Sanin while archbishop of Rostov and long after the death of Pafnutii of Borovsk, continues to call himself *uchenik* of Pafnutii (Stroev 1891, 111).

[266]As in the Life of Fotii, which states that when Fotii came to the monastery Iosif assigned him as a disciple to Kasian Bosoi (Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 223). In Vasian Sanin's Life of Pafnutii of Borovsk, when Pafnutii is first tonsured he is assigned by his igumen to serve as disciple to an elderly blind former igumen who was living as a monk there, the intention being that he would learn the "feat of obedience" (*podvig poslushaniia*; Kadlubovskii 1899, 119).

[267]Fotii's Life, for instance, mentions that when he went blind from fasting too much and had to be led by the hand to and from church services, it was his disciple Iona Golova who did so. Likewise Pafnutii as disciple had to attend constantly to his blind master (Kadlubovskii, 119-20).

[268]Quoted in Savich 1927, 212.

[269]Some individuals are both disciples and masters at the same time, and some masters have multiple disciples. The sources almost invariably say "disciple of" followed by a name, but all we know about some of these people is the name itself. Sometimes only a first name is provided, which may make it impossible to identify which known person bearing that name was intended, and it's always possible that the reference may be to someone completely unknown from any other source.

to judge its representativeness, but the evidence does seem to suggest that social status did have some impact on relationships within the monastic community. Out of 28 master-disciple relationships, in only 3 instances are men of landholder birth or above disciples rather than masters, and in two of those cases they are disciples of others of their own social status (Dosifei Toporkov for Iosif Sanin, Vasian Sanin for Pafnutii of Borovsk). That leaves just one case of an apparent landowner disciple serving someone of lower status, and in that

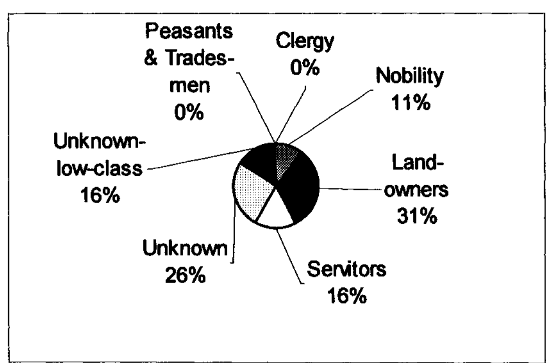

Figure 11: Masters

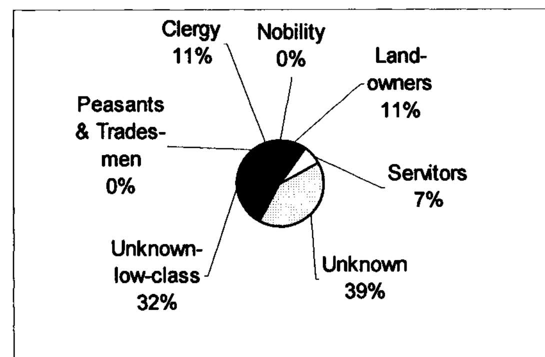

Figure 12: Disciples

case all we have to identify the disciple by is a first name which could possibly refer to someone else (Isaia Rtishchev as disciple of Fotii Staryi).[270] Figures 11 and 12 graphically demonstrate a significantly different profile for the disciples versus the masters.[271]

One may well speculate that in some of the cases where landowners and above have all-but-nameless apparently lower-class disciples, the word *uchenik* may in fact be a euphemism for "servant." Otherwise, no personal servants at all are attested for Volokolamsk monks regardless of original social status. The monastic Rule and Iosif's Lives with their persistent stress on humility and asceticism and equality among the brethren

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[270]Fotii's life mentions an uchenik of his named Isaia. Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov (1999, 455) consider this to be Isaia Rtishchev, but their suppositions on other subjects do not stand up to closer examination, and there were others named Isaia who lived in the same period, and one of them might have been Fotii's disciple.

[271]The masters (with their disciples in parentheses): Dionisii Zvenigorodskii (Anufrei Isakov, Nikon, Dionisii Gorbatyi); Epifanii Lenkov (Isak Sumin); Iosif Sanin (Gerasim Chernyi, Dosifei Toporkov); Trifon Stupishin (Iosif); Aleksei Stupishin (Semen); Gurii Stupishin (Lavrentii); Vasian Toporkov (Maksim Novgorodets); Gerasim Lenkov (Fedorit Smolev, Ilinarkh Vasil'ev-syn Mizhiueva); Kasian Bosoi (Fotii Staryi); Fotii Staryi (Vasian Koshka, Isaia Rtishchev, Feodosii Lukovnikovskii); Evfimii Turkov (Mark Bostov, Varlam Dvinianin); Kornilii Novgorodets (Andrei); Afanasii Vorotynets (Savatei); Lavrentii, igumen 1566-68(Pafnutii Rykov); Feodosii, Archbishop of Novgorod (Evfimii Turkov, Ieremiia); Gelasii Sukolenov (Lavrentii Novgorodets); Pamva (Pafnutii); Sergii (Iev Novgorodets); Ignatii Zaitsev (Fotii Anichkov).

make clear that such would be out of place among the monastic brotherhood. Yet some high-born individuals would certainly find it difficult to adapt to life entirely on their own, and Iosif's Lives preserve stories of some of them who fought against Iosif's strict monastic regime. Within a saint's Life those who battle against the Rule are bound to lose, of course, but it is safe to assume that the Rule was not so consistently and strictly observed in real life.[272] Having a servant but calling him a disciple may have been a way for someone accustomed to servants to retain at least one while avoiding obvious transgression against the Rule. And it would not be obviously inappropriate because even a "true" master-disciple relationship could involve servant-like obedience and service on the part of the disciple.

Another group whose social profile is of interest is the monks of Iosifov who were transferred into positions of authority elsewhere in the church, as hierarchs or heads of other monasteries. As a matter of fact, throughout the sixteenth century Volokolamsk had a reputation as a kind of training ground for bishops. Less well known is the fact that many from its brotherhood were tapped to head other monasteries as well. Often a person would be transferred out after attaining some leadership rank within Iosifov, but sometimes the promotions appear to have come directly from the rank and file.

At least 23 men were transferred to high position outside Volokolamsk, 19 of them becoming bishops and 19 of them becoming igumens or archimandrites elsewhere (many were transferred multiple times and so occupied both episcopal sees and monastery igumenates). Two of these men were appointed to the highest ecclesiastical office in the Russian church, that of metropolitan. The most famous of the two was a man of humble origins – Daniil Riazanets, a man whose last name means simply "resident of Riazan'," on account of which Aleksandr Zimin understood him to be a townsman (1977, 164). He could also have been a servitor or from a clerical family. The other one was German Polev, landowner in origin, who lasted only a few days after taking Ivan IV to task for his cruelties.

[272] And as will be discussed below in chapter 5, there is clear evidence that the Rule was routinely ignored in the important area of "non-possession." The monks took part in a money-based economy, earning, saving, and spending large sums of money.

Besides German Polev, only 5 other landowners were among the 23. As can be seen from Figures 13 and 14, these groups are not dominated by landed upper classes any more than the Iosifov leadership itself, and there is not a great difference between those who left

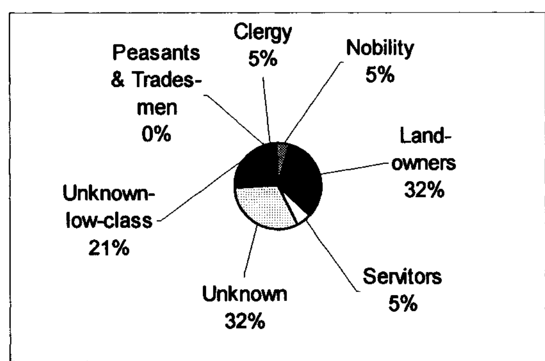

Figure 13: Hierarchs

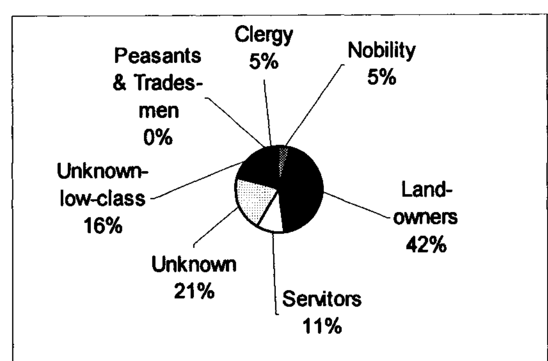

Figure 14: Igumens and Archimandrites

to lead the secular church and those who led the monastic community.[273] The bishops in particular certainly were an ecclesiastical elite, but in this group a minority appears to have come from the secular social elite. This profile of church leadership figures suggests that the entire Russian church in the sixteenth century was led not exclusively by the landed nobility but by a mix of individuals from various social classes.

Social Status versus Monastic Status

A mix of social classes appears to be characteristic of both leadership and rank and file at Volokolamsk. From the fact that members of the upper classes can be found among the latter it is clear that high social status provided no guarantee of high monastic rank. By the same token the presence of lower class persons among the leadership shows that low social status was no barrier. Nevertheless, it is clear enough that the upper classes tended to gravitate toward leadership positions more than the lower classes did. One can quantify this phenomenon by determining the percentage of individuals who ended up in formal

[273]These statistics do not confirm Bushkovitch's (1992, 40) assertion that bishops were predominantly from the lesser landowning class, or Lur'e's (1956, 135-36) that the Iosifov monastery could not possibly have maintained social equality within the cloister because it was committed to training bishops, who had to be from socially elite classes. With regard to the latter point, it is worth noting not only the varied social backgrounds of those who became bishops, but also their tiny numbers as a proportion of the whole brotherhood – 4% of the known monks and probably a much smaller percent of the actual total number of monks. Iosifov did produce bishops, but that could hardly have been deemed a major part of its institutional mission if less than 1 in 25 monks ever made it to an episcopal see.

leadership positions out of the total for each social class. For a complete picture of upward mobility one must include not only igumens and council members but also those who transferred out to episcopal sees or to head other monasteries. The results are shown in Figure 15.

Given the uncertainties surrounding the "rank and file" data and the relatively small numbers of peasants and clergy,[274] small differences are not meaningful, but the rate for landowners certainly stands far above the rest and the rate for peasants is very low. There are several possible explanations for the relatively low rate for those above landowner class. Some of these men may have been cases of almost-deathbed tonsure; that is, they lasted long enough to own books but not long enough to take over leadership roles. At least two, and possibly others, were in effect political prisoners and so may not have been eligible for

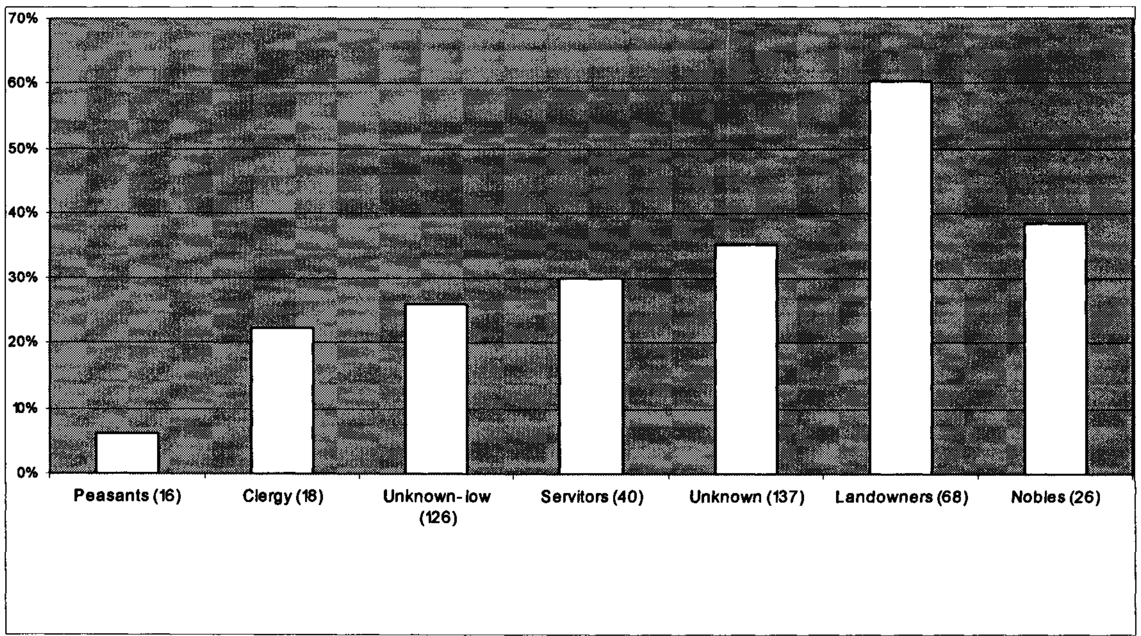

Figure 15: Formal Leadership Positions as a Function of Social Status

leadership positions (Dmitrii Nemoi-Obolenskii, Vasian Patrikeev).[275] Also, Iosif's Lives report that some high-born recruits simply could not accept the Rule's requirements that they

[274]Tradesmen were omitted from this graph because there were only seven of them, which is not enough to make percentages meaningful. The rate would have been 29% (two out of the seven).

[275]Steindorff 1998, 48; SKKDR 2:1:121.

dress and live simply, and so they did not last long as monks at Volokolamsk, or at least did not get promoted, for that reason.[276]

While it is not difficult to explain the low rates in Figure 15 for peasants, the high rate for landowners, and the second-to-highest rate for nobles, the reasons for the intermediate rates are not immediately obvious. Perhaps the most curious feature of this graph is the remarkable similarity in the rates for servitors and the two "unknown" groups. As one would expect, fewer of the men with names suggestive of lower-class origins end up in leadership positions compared to the regular "unknowns." But the difference is not that great. Both are much closer to the servitor rate than to the landowner rate (26% and 35% respectively, compared to 30% for servitors vs. 60% for landowners).

In some of the other groupings whose social origins were presented above, there were substantial differences between the two groups of "unknowns." The unknown-low-class group far outnumbered the unknowns in the list of monks who had to pay for tonsure (32% vs. 6%). And they were far outnumbered by the regular unknowns among deathbed tonsures (2% vs. 15%). These differences suggest that there is indeed some validity to the methodology of classifying people based on characteristics of their names.

On the other hand, these two groups that are roughly equal in size (126 low-class, 137 unknown) are at roughly the same percentage not only in Figure 15 but also among the "administrative elders" (42% vs. 37%), among disciples (32% vs. 39%), and in the rank and file (30% vs. 26%). To explain all these phenomena I suggest that the majority of both the "unknown-low-class" group and the "unknown" group had one and the same social origin: from the servitor class. The unknown-low-class group would be fundamentally servitors with some peasants and tradesmen among them, while the unknowns would be fundamentally servitors with a few unrecognized landowners mixed in.

When each group is considered as a whole, that is, looking at all 126 and all 137, the numbers of unrecognized peasants or tradesmen on the one hand, and landowners on the other, are not sufficient to make either group's statistics appear similar to those of the peasants or the landowners. Within a smaller group such as those who paid for tonsure, which is heavily weighted toward people of peasant class, there would naturally be more

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[276]See the story about Arsenii Nevezhin in VMCh, 495ff.

unknown-low-class individuals because that group has more people of peasant and tradesman origins in it. Hence the 32% from the unknown-low-class group versus 6% unknown in that list. On the other hand, in a group that by its nature is made up predominantly of upper-class individuals, one would expect to see more people with complete names including *familia*. Many of these are probably actually landowners for whom records of their status have been lost. Hence the 15% unknowns versus 2% unknown-low-class among the "deathbed tonsures."

If, then, we assume that servitors make up the bulk of both those judged lower-class on account of characteristics of their name as well as of the unknowns, it is precisely this social group that occupies the "foundational place" among the Volokolamsk brotherhood. The known servitors plus these two groups make up 68% of the entire brotherhood, 62% of the igumens, 61% of the council elders, and 87% of the administrative elders. The hypothesis fits the other facts we know about the brotherhood as well. The requirement of a substantial donation for tonsure would be more readily fulfilled by a servitor than by a peasant or tradesman. The kind of administrative work that was done by as much as half of the brotherhood was precisely the sort of thing a servitor's experience would prepare him for, while such experience would be lacking among most peasants and tradesmen. On the other hand, the servitor's dependence on, and required obedience to, a secular master would leave him better prepared than a landowner to adapt to a strict monastic regime and submit to the authority of igumen and elders. Servitors were in effect the medieval Russian "middle class" – education and experience akin to the landed classes,[277] yet servants of those classes rather than peers of them. Once in the monastery this "middle class" formed the core around which was formed the socially diverse yet integrated community that was the Volokolamsk brotherhood.

The community does not appear to have been internally stratified along social class lines. The landed classes apparently acceded to leadership positions more readily, but it is apparent that social status was not the most important consideration determining whether

[277]"Education" is not meant here in the sense of something received via an institution of some sort. But the work of servitors generally involved the necessity of reading and writing documents such as loan deeds and receipts for payments or expenses, and so forth. One need not assume all servitors were at a high level of literacy, but the vast majority of them needed to be at a certain basic practical level, and some form of education was required for that.

men would be promoted into the brotherhood's leadership positions.[278] Many of the upper classes never became council members or igumens, just as many of the lower classes did. Actually, as a determinant of upward mobility social class per se may well have been even less important than the statistics suggest. As a purely practical consideration, landowners and servitors would by dint of education and life experience be better prepared for political and supervisory functions than a peasant would. Thus, even a promotion system based on some calculation of "merit" would produce results similar to what has been observed.[279]

All of the foregoing suggests strongly that the social elite in the sense of landholders and nobles were not in a dominant position in the monastery for any extended periods of time. Only a small minority of the igumens, and well under half of the council members, and a small percentage of the brotherhood as a whole were men of such status. On the governing council these social elite rubbed elbows with – and often were outnumbered by – landless servitors, men from clerical families, and probably some peasants and tradesmen. The normal requirement of a substantial donation for tonsure will have helped to ensure that even the brotherhood as a whole would be under-represented by the like of peasants, compared to society at large. And many of the peasants and townsmen themselves would be the elite from their own groups, those whom good fortune or entrepreneurial skill permitted to accumulate the equivalent of several years' wages of a common laborer.

With all this in mind, it is worth reconsidering the definition of "elite." The landless servitors were not exactly "of humble origins." They were the administrators of medieval Russia, the men placed by the property owners in positions of responsibility, and often with some direct authority over the great mass of the peasant population. Some of them, by virtue of being associated closely with powerful princes as their personal serving-men would certainly have been considered the social equals or even betters of most landowners. Thus,

[278]Other factors affecting a person's ability to rise in the hierarchy would be things like political ability, reputation for sanctity, and family connections. Several families sent multiple members to Volokolamsk, and many of these families' members seem to have been promoted relatively consistently. Eight Stupishins became monks, five of them council elders and three administrative elders. Two more were apparent cases of deathbed tonsure.

[279]Another way of looking at this is in terms of "status attainment theory" which postulates that "even the relative advantage conferred by having a high-status father is largely mediated through education. In other words, high levels of affluence and occupational prestige are not so much a result of being born into a privileged status as they are the result of the superior education that affluence makes possible." (Healey 2003, 45-46) "Education" need not be understood as a formal institutional education; the education that mattered in medieval Russia was what one learned within one's family, as an apprentice, and in on-the-job training.

in the final analysis, my picture of the social background of the monks of Volokolamsk does not entirely contradict that of Tikhomirov and Zimin. It does contradict Zimin's picture of a brotherhood sharply divided between socially elite leadership and poverty-stricken peasant rank and file.[280] And it does contradict their understanding – which is widely shared by historians of medieval Russia – that social elites in Russia were fundamentally landed elites.[281] But if one sets aside the emphasis on land ownership as the mark of elite status, and recognizes the elite status of landless servitors, then one must acknowledge that the monastic brotherhood of Volokolamsk was indeed predominantly a social elite, not just its leadership but the brotherhood as a whole.

Nevertheless, all social groups were represented, and relatively little evidence is to be found of tensions between them arising specifically from differences in social origins. All we have on that score are a few anecdotes in Iosif's Lives about the early days when some princely recruits wanted to continue living in the style to which they had been accustomed. In those stories, the princes always lose the battle, and we have no evidence at all of separate accommodations or any other form of segregation within the monastic community such as typifies many Western monastic communities.[282] The following chapter will take a closer look at this phenomenon of social integration, its limitations, and the reasons for its success.

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[280] "The all-class (*vsesoslovnyi*) character of the monastic corporation, reflecting the structure of Russian society in the sixteenth century, led to serious contradictions in its daily life. The leadership of the monastery, formed preeminently from the number of representatives of the ruling class (*klassa*), lived at the expense of cruel exploitation of both the peasantry and the rank and file monastic brotherhood. The rebellion of 1594/95 is evidence of the sharpening of class (*klassa*) struggle in the estate of the Volokolamsk monastery." (Zimin 1977, 164-65) The rebellion actually had nothing to do with exploitation of monks by their leaders, as will be seen in chapter 6.

[281] See chapter 1 for a discussion of Tikhomirov's assertion that the whole brotherhood was made up of landowners and Zimin's assertion that the monastery ruling class was landowners. In chapter 3 I discuss the tendency of other historians to jump from landowning classes as "elites" to the "commoner" classes of peasants and tradesmen.

[282] See, for example, the discussions in Farmer (1991, 134), Harvey (1993, 78), and Knowles (1969, 109).

5. Some Aspects of Josephite Social Culture

Josephites are often portrayed as a tight-knit corps of men from the secular elite classes who managed, among other things, to lead the entire Russian church down a dead-end road toward "ritualism."[283] The implication is that leadership roles among Iosif's followers and high social status go together, that is, that the same rules determining social status in the secular world were fully operative among the Iosifov monks.[284] The statistics presented in the previous chapter suggest that such portrayals are simplistic at best, but by themselves they do not provide an alternative explanation. In this chapter I will argue that one reason for Iosifov's ability to forge a united community was in fact a radically different set of ideals determining social status compared to what obtained in secular social culture.[285] As Webster indicates, an "ideal" is by definition a largely unreached goal: "a standard of perfection, beauty, or excellence believed to be capable of realization or attainment," or "an ultimate object or aim of endeavor." And as is true of any human society there was some tension at Volokolamsk between commonly acknowledged ideals and lived reality. In order to present a balanced view of this aspect of what may be termed "social culture," I will examine both sides of the story. This two-sided approach will also lead to a new perspective

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[283]One also sees related words such as "formalism" and "traditionalism." The basic idea is adherence to outward forms of religious practice without regard to practical meaning. See the Introduction for references to scholars who espouse these views. The view of Josephites as an aristocratic elite is so prevalent in the scholarly literature that it makes its way into popular works, such as a 1997 coffee-table picture book published by the State Russian Museum (*Gosudarstvennyi Russkii muzei*) which states flatly, "Among the monks of the Iosifov Dormition monastery from the very beginning were many boiars, and it, like no other in Russia, distinguished itself by its aristocratic character." (Laks 1997, 68)

[284]This is usually implied rather than explicit, but of course it is at the very heart of the Soviet literature; see especially Zimin's (1977, 164-65) portrayal of monastic society as a microcosm of secular society.

[285]As William Sewell (1999) has pointed out, many definitions for "culture" compete for dominance in academic literature. Throughout this study it has been my intention to avoid the narrowly technical language and word-meanings of theoreticians in favor of standard English, and that holds true as well for "culture." In this case the relevant definition from Webster is: "the body of customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits constituting a distinct complex of tradition of a racial, religious, or social group." This does correspond well to the view of culture as "a concrete and bounded world of beliefs and practices" (39), a view which Sewell cites but dislikes. His main quarrel with that view seems to be a fear that the "boundedness" of cultures tends to be overstated. I am not doing that. There is no question that Iosifov monks lived in a bigger world than the monastery and there were influences back and forth between it and the outside world. But I am focusing here on typically Josephite patterns of "beliefs,""social forms," and "material traits" – that is, beliefs commonly accepted, and behavior commonly repeated. There is no attempt to give a comprehensive picture of Josephite culture, hence the chapter title indicating the interest in "Some Aspects" of that culture.

on the old issue of "ritualism" and will help integrate the apparently conflicting depictions of medieval Russian monks as mainly self-serving and greedy versus being devoted to altruism and a genuine spiritual quest.[286]

Collective Identity

The culture of cenobitic monasticism in general is uniquely suited for building a strong sense of unity and common goals among diverse people in part by effacing many of their original differences. Every man who joins the community goes through rites intended to give him a brand new identity, some of which has a practical as well as symbolic impact. The new monk gives up all of his personal property, takes a new name,[287] begins to wear the same clothing as everyone else, eats the same food at the same times, attends the same services, reads the same texts, obeys the same igumen, and so forth. This experience is not only a phenomenon of Eastern Monasticism. Janet Coleman (1992) has argued that adherence to the Rule of St. Benedict had a profound effect on individuals' self-concept, from the enforced practice of obedience and from the careful choice of texts that are to be read and constantly impressed upon the monk's memory. Monks are taught to remember not their own past or extramural events but God's law:

> One obliterates one's will and one's memory of the outer world, and one's past. ... Groups of men capable of putting these injunctions into practice so that they become habit, have truly transformed their personalities and made themselves unfit indeed to live in the world for which they have no concern. ... After several years of such an experience the monk would be a walking thesaurus of biblical history expressed in words shared by the whole community. One's own sense of self as unique would be humbled through daily focusing on one's faults, faults shared by fallen men but seen as worse in oneself. Gradually the habit of selflessness would develop and

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[286]See the Introduction and chapter 1 for specific citations. Soviet authors favor the greed interpretation, Florovsky (1979, 20) represents the altruism interpretation, and Spock (1999, 157, 206) represents the spiritual quest interpretation. Georg Michels (1999) comes close to the Soviet view by emphasizing that monks who revolted against Patriarch Nikon's reforms in the mid-seventeenth century did so for personal gain or out of personal grudges rather than for any reasons connected with differences over religious belief and custom.

[287]Russian hagiography itself attributes great significance to the name change as part of a whole rite symbolic of identity change. "He left the house and the sweet love of his parents, and all his kin, friends, and acquaintances, and all that was in the world. He enlisted in the army of the saints of the monastic struggle. He was 12 years old at the time. He was tonsured into the monastic image in the abbey of the Honorable Protection of the Most Pure Mother of God. ... and he set aside his hair, and with it all the other things that are of the world, along with fleshly desires, and in place of Parfenii was renamed Pafnutii ..." (Kadlubovskii 1899, 119).

> with wilful behavior and consciousness behind one, the monk would be, as Augustine and Plotinus sought to encourage, a man without a personal memory.[288]

Catherine Cubitt (2000) responds to Coleman's view by suggesting it is one-sided because it relies too much on prescriptive texts: in reality monastic culture was not so all-efficient after all. Monastic life was in fact one of perpetual conflict and division, not the harmonious unity portrayed by the Rule. Monks showed concern for maximizing comfort in life, and their society was riven by social stratification much like secular society. Child oblates were well known for approaching more closely than others the ideals of monastic thought and behavior, and they looked down with scorn on the late entrants (256-57). Some monks were ordained priests and they looked down on those who were not. Monks had a variety of different jobs, and "[t]hese specialized activities may have led to the formation of different groups within the monastery" (258). The argument that secular memories would be effaced is contradicted by the reality of monks' continuing contacts with the secular world. And in Cubitt's view, the common memory of a monastery was focused not so much on the Rule as on its own unique history: "A community's traditions were dominated by its former abbots and founding fathers who were held to have established its way of life and who were interpreted according to textual norms as models of the monastic life." (275) And even such dominant traditions could be and were opposed from time to time.

Both Coleman and Cubitt argue their cases persuasively, and one needs both to understand the life of a Benedictine community. However, some of their arguments do not apply to Russian monasticism in general or Iosifov in particular. There was no contrast between Rule and founders' traditions at Iosifov because they were one and the same. There is no evidence for child oblates at Iosifov, and precious little for the practice at other Russian monasteries.[289] Few monks became priests, and there is little evidence that those who did

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[288] 1992, 132-35. Coleman acknowledges that monasteries became the historical memory storehouse of Europe, but she argues that this is not at all what Benedict or Gregory intended. Nevertheless some of the original intentions behind monastic culture survived even as monasteries carried out the unintended historical function – an indifference to historical accuracy and verifiability (136).

[289] See Spock 1999, 50-51. There are cases such as Pafnutii of Borovsk whose Life has him tonsured at age 12, but that age can be represented as an age of conscious choice, and it is so represented in Pafnutii's Life (Kadlubovskii 1899, 119).

enjoyed special prestige.[290] These are but a few examples of a phenomenon that contrary to popular belief was the strength behind Iosifov: a social culture that tended to put everyone on the same footing once they entered the monastery, that is, a system of ideals determining social status radically different from the secular world. The key word here is "tended," because for all the power of monastic culture described so well by Coleman, the outside world managed to leave its imprint on the Iosifov community just as Cubitt describes it doing for Benedictine communities.

The presence of conflicting forces at work that either strengthen or weaken a group's collective identity[291] is not unique to religious communities but is a universal phenomenon of human society. Literature in the field of social psychology contains a plethora of theories addressing this issue, one of which is worth reviewing briefly here because it so well fits the Volokolamsk data. Social categorization theory (John Turner et al 1987) seeks to explain "depersonalization" or "self-stereotyping" which is described as "the process ... whereby people come to perceive themselves more as the interchangeable exemplars of a social category than as unique personalities defined by their individual differences from others." (50) This process itself is of course precisely what Coleman focuses on. The theory goes on to describe this the consequences or results of this process, some of which are especially relevant to the present study. It considers this depersonalization to be the basic process underlying group phenomena such as "social stereotyping, group cohesiveness, ethnocentrism, collective action" (50). Consequently:

> ... subjective validity ... one's confidence in the objective validity of one's opinions, attitudes, beliefs, etc. (also termed subjective certainty, competence, correctness, etc.) is a direct function of the extent to which similar people (in relevant respects) in the same stimulus situation are perceived, expected, or believed to agree with one's own response. (73)

Josephites were known for their absolute certainty in the rightness of their causes (high "subjective validity"). There is no evidence that they ever acknowledged that monastic

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[290] At Volokolamsk only 15 of more than 400 monks are positively identifiable as priests. None of them became council elders. One was an igumen (Varlam Belkovskii), but he was a priest before being tonsured and his priesthood had nothing to do with his status in the monastery. See also Dmitriev's (1997, 151) comments about Trinity-Sergius.

[291] A concise definition of "collective identity" is "an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution." (Owens 2003, 226-27)

landowning might have had even a little corrupting influence on monks. In the case of punishment of heretics they pursued their belief right up to the point of supporting capital punishment and even refusing to accept recantations as genuine. They likewise showed little sympathy for the plight of widowed priests.[292] Their treatment of heretics and widowed priests may be seen as a form of social stereotyping or depersonalization acting on the "outgroup," and all of this is described in Turner's theory as "polarization." A group which has a strong sense of collective identity tends to build consensus toward one side of an issue rather than fostering continued interplay of various viewpoints (150). To explain this, self-categorization theory offers an explanation of how persuasiveness operates in a group context. Turner et al argue that influence or persuasiveness does not only depend on the logic of a presenter's arguments or his authoritative status in a community:

> A message from a group one supports and identifies with will be perceived quite differently than similar messages from a rival outgroup to which one is strongly opposed. ... Persuasiveness depends on one's perception of the source, situation, and message, and one's own initial attitudinal position." (148-49)

That attitudinal position is directly influenced by what each member perceives his "ingroup" as a whole to believe:

> The direction of effective influence within the group (who successfully influences whom) is a function of the relative persuasiveness of the members, which is based on the degree to which their response (their arguments, position, attributes, experience, role, etc.) is perceived as prototypical of the initial distribution of responses of the group as a whole, i.e., the degree of relative consensual support for a member. (74)

Thus the group with a strong sense of collective identity tends to move not just toward consensus but toward absolute certainty that its consensus is objectively true:

> The greater the consensus within a group, the more likely it is that the group's view will be seen to encapsulate some objectively correct feature of the world. People are open to influence or persuasion when they expect to agree with other people and they expect to agree if others are perceived as members of the same social category (i.e., ingroup as opposed to outgroup members) and thus as an appropriate reference group. Moreover, as the importance or salience of that group membership increases, so will the expectation of agreement and probability of mutual influence. (154)

[292] Orthodox priests are typically married and are not allowed to remarry after their wife dies. The question about whether they should be allowed to continue serving as priests after becoming widowers or should be forced to enter a monastery arose, and Iosif championed the side arguing that they should have to become monks. His side won in official church council decisions. See Ostrowski 1993.

This all describes very well the observable behavior of the Iosifov community, so of particular interest here are the factors that the theory indicates strengthen or weaken these phenomena. Key to the whole process is the assumption that "polarization will increase as identification with the group increases" (158). The relative level of subjective identification is indicated by the word "salience." Salience is basically a reference to how obvious it is to a person that he and other ingroup members are in the same group while outgroup members are in a different group.[293] In any given instance it is the primary factor that determines whether a person's collective identity acts "as the immediate influence on perception and behavior." (54) A key factor that serves to magnify salience is perceived similarity among members of the ingroup:

> Group cohesion or mutual attraction between ingroup members is a function of mutually perceived similarity (identity) between self and others in terms of the defining characteristics of the ingroup self-category. (59)
>
> The perception of identity between oneself and ingroup members leads to a perceived identity of interests in terms of the needs, goals, and motives associated with ingroup membership. ... Factors which tend to enhance the salience of shared ingroup memberships will tend to increase the level of intragroup cooperation (and intergroup competition). (65)

Conversely, ingroup differences – which in the instance of a monastic community would refer among other things to a hierarchical social structure – weaken intragroup cooperation and impede polarization:

> Factors which tend to personalize or individuate intragroup relations (or lead to the categorization of others as outgroup members) will decrease mutual co-operation (and increase interpersonal competition). (65)

Though Cubitt found many differentiating factors within Benedictine communities, Coleman demonstrated well the high degree to which Benedictine monasticism strove precisely to avoid personalizing or individuating monks, and in effect tried to "enhance the salience of shared in-group memberships." Many of their observations apply to Eastern cenobitic monasticism. But Iosif's community was particularly successful at effectively erasing the differentiating effect of monks' original social statuses.

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[293] In language that could perhaps have been written more clearly: "... salience of some ingroup-outgroup categorization in a specific situation is a function of an interaction between the 'relative accessibility' of that categorization for the perceiver and the 'fit' between the stimulus input and category specifications." (54)

It is true that Cubitt's perspective is also applicable to Iosifov: there was indeed significant ingroup differentiation. Self-categorization theory recognizes that any individual is a member of multiple groups, any one of which may be more or less salient for a particular individual in a particular instance.[294] A monk may, for example, retain connections with family members outside the cloister walls. However, I will argue that the salience of those relationships was generally a good deal weaker than the ones that bound the monks together into a community.[295]

Non-possession and Humility: The Ideals

Two of the most significant factors that helped to foster "mutually perceived similarity" among monks were ideals common to both Eastern and Western cenobitic monasticism: no monk should own any private property at all, and all monks should cultivate the virtue of humility. What set apart Iosifov was not these ideals per se so much as the zeal with which the former was enforced and the latter encouraged. In fact, it is highly ironic that Iosif and his followers are known to the present day mainly as "possessors" who fought and won a long and fierce debate against "non-possessors." The truth of the matter

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[294]The phenomenon of multiple group memberships and their relative impact on the individual's behavior is especially well addressed by George Wood and Juan Judikis (2002) in a book that focuses not on groups in general but particularly on communities. They define a community as a group of people who have a sense of common purpose(s) and/or interest(s) for which they assume mutual responsibility, who acknowledge their interconnectedness, who respect the individual differences among members, and who commit themselves to the well-being of each other and the integrity and well-being of the group. The "respect individual differences" aspect of their theory may be somewhat problematic with respect to monastic communities, but by and large their theories about the profound effect community memberships have on individuals do apply well to monasteries.

[295]There are, of course, many other theories concerned with social identity which could be brought to bear on the history of Iosifov, but self-categorization theory offers the best overall fit with the phenomena I am attempting to explain. See also Donald Taylor's (2002, 40) theory that collective identity is the most basic component of individual identity: "I propose that a person's collective identity is the most important and psychologically primary component to the self-concept." He argues that one cannot even determine personal identity and build any self-esteem without comparing oneself to one's reference group, so the group must be first. "Without a collective identity, the individual has no clearly established template upon which to articulate a personal identity or personal self-esteem." In his view, an individual's free will is central to the understanding of self-identity, but an individual's choices are "extensions of his or her personal identity," and personal identity can only be articulated against the backdrop of a clearly defined collective identity. The group at the most basic level affects the individual's behavior. If one accepts Taylor's theory, it has direct application to monasticism, since it explains the profound psychological impact that joining a monastic community would have on an individual. In another volume on self-categorization theory John Turner and Alexander Haslam (2001) point out that some behaviors of group psychology – "ingroup bias (i.e., discriminatory behavior and attitudes in favor of the ingroup and at the expense of the outgroup)." – result even without obvious factors identifying ingroup members and differentiating outgroup members. This has been substantiated, for example, by studies of schoolchildren which showed that even randomly assigned groups acted this way. See also Owens 2003 for a discussion of the impact of roles and role relations on self-identity. This is relevant to Cubitt's observation that monks were assigned different jobs which presumes some differentiation among them on that basis.

is that he was among the most extreme proponents in his own day of absolute non-possession for individual monks; he supported "possession" in the sense of land ownership only for monasteries as institutions. I will show presently that institutional possession did in fact make non-possession for individual monks impossible, but it is indisputable that Iosif himself never acknowledged this to be the case and did everything in his power to eliminate any vestige of private property among his monks.

The Lives of Iosif and the Volokolamsk *Paterik* witness to the earliest days of the community's life. They naturally gloss over political issues that played a role in decisions such as Iosif's to leave Borovsk and found a new monastery, but that does not mean the events they do recount are unreliable. To the contrary, they were written by relatives and personal acquaintances who knew Iosif while he was alive,[296] and there is every reason to believe that what they did choose to report as historical fact is substantially accurate. Moreover, so far as the ideal of non-possession is concerned there is complete consistency extending across a period of at least 70 years from the origin of Iosifov to the middle of the sixteenth century when the Life by Sava Chernyi was written: the historical picture presented in the hagiography speaks for the earliest period, Iosif's own writings also cover that period up until his death, and the attitudes expressed in the hagiography reflect also the times in which they were written. All these sources insist that the most basic ethic of the Iosifov monastery was from the beginning an uncompromising rejection of all private property for individual monks, and a glorification of humble attitudes and behavior on the part of even those who before tonsure had been socially exalted.

In Iosif's Lives the image of the ideal monk is of course Iosif himself. Though Iosif came from a landowning family, from the beginning of his monastic career he is said to have worked at menial jobs such as cook and baker and miller, and he continued to do so from time to time even after attaining the rank of igumen.[297] When he first became igumen at

[296] With the possible exception of the anonymous Life.

[297] A sample text from the "Eulogy at the Grave" that stresses that this was done to a degree that some monks thought unusual or even improper: "Then the father came with the brothers who were with him and began with them to clear a place [for the monastery in 1479]. For the wood was thick and impassable. And with much work they barely were able to clear [the land] and they build a wooden church and refectory and a few cells – and to every task he himself went first before all. ... with their own hands they had to mill all the grain – the father after the morning service and his own usual rule of prayer before all of them went out to the black cell to such work. And a certain monk from another monastery was received by the father and found him milling, and was amazed, and thought it

Borovsk, it was his insistence on implementing true non-possession that is credited with sparking resistance against him:

> And they began to honor the igumen Iosif just as they had the holy igumen Pafnutii, and in all things they did his will, and all were submissive and obedient without questioning. And after a while Iosif decided that there should be unity and everyone should have everything in common, and no one should have anything of his own. But they gave no agreement to this. Iosif for his part said nothing more to them about it. Seeing their unwillingness, he began to pray to the Lord God and his pure Mother, and he promised to have all in common and to own nothing of his own, just as at one time among the Apostles no one owned anything ... for everything necessary can be had from the steward, both of food and of drink, just as it was under the igumen (*obshchenachal'nik*) holy Feodosii and after him the Great Afanasii of Athos. And he prayed, "Lord Jesus Christ our God! If my intention is from your grace, give me helpers, O Lord!" (VMCh, 461-62)

Of course, he did get helpers. He and seven others set out to find a community that truly had everything in common. Ultimately not finding one to their liking, they founded a new one near the city of Volok Lamskii. Strict cenobitic common life was established from the beginning in this new community:

> For in the beginning the rule (*obeshchanie*) of the saint (i.e., Iosif) was: no one should own anything at all of his own, but all was to be in common; and all the food and the drink was to be the same for everyone, likewise for clothing and footwear; and no one was to eat or drink in their cells except due to sickness or old age; and no one was to have alcoholic beverages. (VMCh, 466)

One could imagine a form of non-possession that nevertheless recognized differences among monk recruits, but the sources all uniformly also insist that this was never permitted at Volokolamsk. The Life explicitly states that the high-born had to live by the same rules as everyone else:

> ... even if someone was from the grandees (*ot velmozh*) or from the princes, or from the boiars – the same old and worn clothing and shoes were on everyone. The saint himself went around clothed the same way, to the degree that no one could tell him apart from the other brothers. He was as one of the lowest, and so he remained until the end of his life. (VMCh, 467)

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dishonorable for him to be doing such work, and begged him to stop. ... and after trying many times [to get Iosif to stop] he left the monastery, saying, this igumen will not mill for me." (Nevostruev 1865c, 169-70; see also Belokurov 1903, 14-18; VMCh, 465)

The insistence on even the igumen appearing as "one of lowest of the brethren" and engaging in manual labor, is a typical theme of Josephite literature. It appears also in the Life of Pafnutii of Borovsk written by Iosif's brother Vasian Sanin.[298]

What set people apart for special veneration in this community was not social status or even monastic office but ascetic endeavor:

> The rule in their cells for these voluntary sufferers of Christ's was as much as each could endure according to their ability, but everything was by the blessing and advice of Father Iosif. Out of great zeal for God, one would wear chains against his bare skin under his clothing; another would wear heavy irons and would make 1,000, 2,000, or 3,000 prostrations; another would sleep sitting up. In the same way they labored at all the tasks assigned to them (*vo vsekh sluzhbakh*), each as much as he could, but all with the blessing and advice of Father Iosif. (VMCh, 467)

One would expect that any new recruit, but especially those from the upper classes, would find it difficult to adjust to monastic life at Iosifov. Personal possessions were forbidden, the food was simple, clothing was simple, physical labor was required, and the igumen's permission was required for everything from eating in one's cell to going out the front gate. So the anonymous Life is quite believable when it observes that many boiars and princes did not always adapt successfully:

> ... the first in honor turned out to be last in humility, while those who were last in honor became first in love.[299] For those who came with property and riches did not receive from him rest and relaxation, nor were those tonsured from poverty and slavery weighted down with work and servitude, nor were grandeees granted any preference or served any more than the lesser and more humble ones. Rather, all were equal in their brotherly possessions ... all were subject to the same yoke of obedience and tied to the same yoke of submissiveness, and all labored under the same burden of humility and love for hard work. (Belokurov 1903, 24)

This is not simply a hagiographical platitude. The Life by Sava Chernyi backs up this depiction and illustrates it with stories of some princes who adapted and others who did not. Prince Andrei (the monk Arsenii) Golenin is a positive example: he gave all his property to the monastery, obeyed Iosif in all things, worked at menial tasks involving physical labor, wore plain clothing like everyone else, and was beloved by all (VMCh, 493; Belokurov

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[298]See Kadlubovskii 1899, 139, 141, 143.

[299]This statement is modeled after one from the gospels: "But many that are first will be last, and the last first" (Mt 19:30 // Mk 10:31). It also calls to mind a refrain from one of the most popular hymns of the church, the Magnificat of Mary: "he has put down the mighty from their thrones, and exalted those of low degree" (from Lk 1:52).

1903, 27). Interestingly, there is no clear evidence that Arsenii was ever called a starets or became a council elder.[300] Another early success story was the prince Dionisii Zvenigorodskii who likewise "loved common labor" (Belokurov 1903, 30).

Representing those who did not adapt is Arsenii Nevezhin (VMCh, 495-97). He was a boiar who accepted tonsure when he thought he was on his deathbed, then recovered. He then started to act as though he was above everyone else. The treasurer reported his behavior to the igumen and the other council elders. They all tried to remind Andrei that he had "left the world," but he responded in anger stating that he knew good and well that other monasteries allowed the clothing flourishes he was indulging in. They responded by naming yet other monasteries that had rules like Iosif's. Eventually he escaped to the Kirillo-Belozersk monastery where he got along better for a while. Then he demanded to be allowed to travel to Moscow to see the grand prince, and was allowed to do so. Along the way he was struck down by sickness again and the monk accompanying him advised that it was time to return to Volokolamsk. Finally, after this brush with death, he became a changed man. And in the end his sanctity was witnessed to by the fact that his body remained incorrupt 10 years after his death.

Arsenii Nevezhin is another grandee who never became an council elder – and he is never even called a *starets* in any surviving source. These are not isolated cases, and one of the clearest kinds of evidence that monastic society was based on different principles compared to secular society is the number of princes and boiars who became active for long periods in the community yet left no evidence of ever having attained formal leadership positions.[301]

In hagiography even bad examples such as Arsenii Nevezhin tend to wind up with happy endings. No doubt in reality many such stories did not have such happy endings. One is the case of Prince Dionisii Zvenigorodskii. He was close to Iosif and to Iosif's successor Daniil, but when the latter left for the metropolitanate things changed for Dionisii. For reasons never made clear, he quarreled with the new igumen Nifont, felt as though he was

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[300]A 1525 list of council elders mentions an "Arsenii" without a last name. This could be Golenin, but it could also be Arsenii Pleshcheev or some other Arsenii.

[301]Others include Dmitrii Ivanovich Nemoi-Obolenskii (the monk Dionisii) and Boris Vasil'evich Kutuzov (the monk Avramii).

being badly mistreated, and complained to the metropolitan about the treatment he was receiving. The only help he got in reply was advice to grin and bear it. In a very long letter Daniil in effect reminded him to think like a monk, advising him to remember that the more troubles one goes through the better off one is, since one derives great spiritual benefit from suffering (Zhmakin 1881b, 683; AI, 1:534). Dionisii's predicament and helplessness clearly represent a situation far different from what one of his stature would have experienced in the outside world.

The testimony of Iosif's Lives is firmly backed up by his own writings in his Will and Testament (*dukhovnaia gramota*), usually called his monastic Rule. The radically different – and in effect socially leveling – bases for determining status within the abbey compared to the secular world is evident, for example, in the instructions pertaining to clothing (VMCh, 520-27). The text begins by asserting that clothing must not be expensive or unnecessary; the poorer and more worn out the better for a monk. Anyone who laughs at others' poor clothing is to be excommunicated, and anyone who loves fine clothing is bereft of "spiritual clothing" (521). A long section expands on the evils of making clothing look finer. Such desires to look better than others are one of the reasons the fathers unanimously advised absolute non-ownership of anything at all. That is also why not only whatever clothing one wears – but also which icons one keeps in one's cell, which books, and ultimately any possessions at all – are to be "possessed" only by the express permission and blessing of the igumen (523). Thus exceptions are allowed, but the igumen is the personal guarantor that any exceptions violate only the letter, and not the spirit, of the Rule. Food and drink are treated the same way: all are to eat the same food at the same table, but the less and the simpler the food one eats, the better (513-19).[302]

Much has been made in Soviet literature about the fact that the final version of the Rule divides monks into three "ranks" while the earlier version did not.[303] However, the ranking system is based on ascetic accomplishment. In the case of clothing, the first and highest rank, which is only for the *most perfect* of monks, is only attained by limiting one's

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[302]VMCh, 518. Iosif's Life by Sava also insists that all monks including the igumen should receive exactly the same food and drink (VMCh, 468).

[303]See chapter 1.

possession of clothing to one set in poor condition. There can be no provision for winter clothing; the monk must endure cold weather without protection from it. Second-rank monks get to have their one set of clothing be in good condition. The third and lowest level has no set rule but a goal to limit themselves to two sets of clothing, one in bad shape and one in good shape. There is a similar gradation in amount of food allowed for each of the three ranks. The reason why Iosif went from no discussion of ranks to the three-fold division in the final version of the Rule was not to create a comfortable exception for the upper classes (Zimin 1977, 95), but – and he explicitly states this – to codify and officially recognize the variation among monks in their ability or determination to reach the heights of ascetic endeavor. The earlier version makes no specific prescription at all but merely states the goal; the later one restates the same goal, but explicitly recognizes that not everyone will reach it. In both, those with the poorest clothing who eat the least are esteemed the highest, and no expensive or unnecessary clothing, or food different from what is served to all, is allowed. Some differences in relative status are envisioned, but they are based entirely on ascetic endeavor – a monk who got tired of wearing summer clothing in winter would quickly slip back from first or second to third rank. By the same token, any third rank monk who chose at any time to put up with being poorly clothed and observing a starvation diet could readily join the first or second ranks. One need not envision a brotherhood distributed evenly among the three ranks – both of the higher ranks represent not norms but special, extra severity of life which would be attempted by a relatively few of the "most perfect."

Provisions such as these illustrate well an ideal of "non-possession" which is well within Eastern Orthodox tradition but contrasts starkly with its corollary in the West, where, as Ludo Milis explains:

> ... the denial of private property does not imply in any way a materially poor life-style. In the middle ages the word *poor* did not primarily refer to the person without goods but to one who lacks power. As the monk no longer has 'power even over his own body' ... he is necessarily poor. Refinement in garments or even in food was not felt to be opposed to the letter of the Rule. (1992, 18)

Far more than the Western tradition, Iosifov non-possession was a system in which well-born recruits would actually be at a disadvantage (adapting to poor clothing and food would

involve more of a change for them). In addition, Iosif included in the Rule a specific warning advising them not to think and act as if they were better than the others:

> If you are a noble (*blagoroden*), do not brag (*ne vzimaisia*) about your nobility of flesh and honor, seeking more rest than others; rather, consider yourself to be without honor and sinful above all people; and as a stranger and a newcomer seek to be last after everyone, the slave of everyone. For our Lord Jesus Christ said, "If anyone wants to be first, let him be last after everyone and the servant of everyone ..." and elsewhere he said, "For I am among you as one who serves, while you recline." And again he says: learn from me for I am meek and humble of heart." Therefore reject haughtiness and accept serving, especially humility.[304] If you begin this way and end this way, in a short time by God's grace you will enter heaven, rejoicing with Christ forever. (542)

After Iosif died his traditions were carried on enthusiastically by his immediate successor, Daniil Riazanets. This is remarkable because Daniil was the grand prince's choice and was not even on Iosif's original list of people he wanted to succeed him.[305] Daniil was so zealous on this score that he made an effort to cut back even on books and icons kept by monks in their cells. He wrote a long sermon addressing the subject, arguing that:

> ... cenobitic law and rule does not allow any brother to have (*imet'*) anything personal at all, small or great ... For what use to us, beloved brothers who live a common life, for whom food and drink and clothing and footwear and many other needs are prepared from everything held in the treasury of the monastery of the Pure Virgin?"[306]

He appended abundant quotations from church Fathers as proofs of the validity of this rule. (Interestingly enough, he did not cite the earlier version of Iosif's own Rule which also

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[304]The Russian of this sentence's first clause obscure: "*Sego radi v"znoshenia vinu slugovanie priimati, no pache smirenie.*" Goldfrank (2000, 216) proposes "Therefore condemn loftiness ...". I retain his supposition that *v"znoshenia* is intended to be presented as something negative but consider that "reject" fits the context better than "condemn," while "haughtiness" fits the noun better than "loftiness." An alternative translation emending *vinu* as *vynu* is "For the sake of this elevation [referring back to the just-quoted: 'Whoever would be first among you shall be last of all and servant of all.'] always accept serving, but especially humility."

[305]The list is in VMCh, 489.

[306]Zhmakin 1881b, 666-67. See Zhmakin's (1881b, 663-71) discussion of a "letter" of Daniil which was apparently written as a sermon for the Volokolamsk monks while he was still igumen there. Zhmakin supposes this letter to be evidence that Iosif had indeed been able to enforce absolute non-possession while he was igumen, but the new and inexperienced igumen Daniil did not have Iosif's authority and ability to keep up that enforcement. Zhmakin suggests that only after Iosif did monks begin to get and keep money and goods for their own personal use, and thus they became concerned with their own welfare rather than that of the community. This is something that cannot be proven either way, but I am inclined to believe the later depictions of earlier paradisiac conditions probably represent wishful thinking rather than accurate historical memory.

inveighs against book ownership,[307] evidence that from the very beginning it was only a kind of draft which was never widely distributed.) Some of the monks responded to his initiative with their own arguments drawing on other church fathers who said monks need books and icons for spiritual edification, even icons decorated with silver and gold. They framed their protest as a written complaint to council elder Iona Golova, who, having come from Borovsk with Iosif, was one of the senior monks on the council.[308] Whether Iona took up their cause and was successful is unknown, but it is significant that the protesters fought only for the right to keep books and icons in their cells, explicitly denying they wanted any other possessions. Thus, all acknowledged the general principle that a monk should "own" nothing.

This dispute is directly related to the problem of integrating people of different social backgrounds into one community, for many if not most books and icons were very expensive objects that only the wealthy could afford. Thus, it may be no coincidence that at the end of Daniil's sermon against book and icon ownership he severely castigates those who brag about being of noble birth or being better than other monks in any other way (669). The mere fact that he raises the subject is evidence that it was in fact an issue among the brotherhood. Yet it was an issue that the community's leadership continued to address vigorously even after Iosif's day.[309]

The fact that the leadership had to fight for the ideals of non-possession and humility does not mean that the rank and file by and large did not share those ideals *as ideals*. Today having a physically fit body is a common ideal, and the fact that many if not most Americans are overweight and under-exercised does not prove they reject the ideal *as an ideal*. The commonly accepted Josephite ideals are also evident in what was remembered of the other Iosifov monks who were revered by their contemporaries and acclaimed as saints after they died. Of the men of Volokolamsk who came to be recognized as saints, two of them –

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[307]Goldfrank 2000, 139-41.

[308]Their letter is preserved in Zhmakin 1881b, 3:55-57. Before tonsure Iona was a highly-placed servitor; he acted as tutor to the sons of prince Boris Vasil'evich of Volokolamsk.

[309]Contra Zhmakin (1881b, 669), this is not evidence that everyone at Volokolamsk was of high birth; if that were the case there would be nothing to brag about because everyone would be among equals. It is rather an indication that some were clearly more "elite" than others, or at least considered themselves so. If the majority were that way, there would not be much to brag about; so even if no statistical data were available, statements like this suggest that such grandees were a minority in the community.

Kasian Bosoi and Fotii Staryi (or Volotskii) – lived out their lives at the monastery, and so the basis for their widely recognized sanctity was entirely their way of life as Iosifov monks. Both earned their place in Iosifov society through humility and ascetic endeavors that had little to do with, or contrasted with, their original social status.

The most famous *dukhovnik* (spiritual leader) was Kasian Bosoi.[310] As often happened with monks known for great spiritual achievement he became sought after from beyond the cloister walls, and ultimately he became the godfather of Ivan IV. He is said to have been born in 1439 "to Orthodox parents" in Pereiaslavl'. Upon coming of age he joined the grand prince's court (*s"vodvoriaiasia s zhyvushchimi v tsarskoi polate*; no explanation for how he got there is offered), where he taught Ivan III how to shoot.[311] He had a safe position there having earned "honor and protection" from the grand prince, but he decided to become a monk and joined the Pafnutii-Borovsk monastery, where Iosif himself began his monastic career. He and Iosif became close, and Kasian followed Iosif when the latter left to establish his own cloister at Volokolamsk. There he became known for intense spiritual endeavors – his Life reports that daily he would perform 6,000 repetitions of the Jesus prayer[312] and 1,000 prostrations, and wore a shirt of mail (*pantsyr'*) and chains under his clothing. He fasted so long that he went blind for 30 days and lost the use of his legs. When Iosif saw that Kasian's fast had become excessive he ordered him to begin eating again. Kasian's sight came back but he was still crippled, so he made a promise to the Virgin: if she would heal his legs, he would walk barefoot the rest of his days. She did, and he fulfilled his promise:

> And so he began to walk, and until the end of his life he never went back on his word that he had promised to the most-pure Mother of God. In winter as well as in summer he went around only in his cassock. Once there was an extremely cold winter, so that even the birds froze, but he nevertheless added nothing else on himself but endured thus, saying to himself "Endure, sinful Kasian, endure! The cold is painful (*gorek*) but heaven is sweet, and if I don't die now I will [eventually]

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[310]One indication of his popularity is to be found in Igumen Evfimii Turkov's *obikhodnik*, which lists people commemorated on various days of the year and tells how to find their graves. For one after another it gives detailed directions about how to find the right part of the graveyard, but for Tikhon Zvorykin all it has to do is list one very well-known landmark: "And the grave of Tikhon is near Kasian Bosoi's grave, on the right." (Steindorff 1998, 38)

[311]This information and much of what follows comes from his Life, published in Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 213-17.

[312]"Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner."

> anyway." And so he endured until the dismissal of the divine service, for in those days there were still no warm churches. (Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 215)

Consequently he got in place of a family name the adjective *Bosoi* which means "barefoot." His actual family name, if indeed he ever had one, is lost forever.

Kasian's reputation for sanctity spread far and wide, and when in 1530, after many long years of awaiting an heir, Ivan's successor Vasilii III finally had a son to baptize (the future Ivan IV), it was Kasian Bosoi that he called for to baptize him. The 90-year-old Kasian was reluctant to make the trip to Moscow, so the grand prince sent an emissary and wrote letters literally begging him to come, and exhorting his superiors at the monastery to likewise beg him to come. One of these letters is reproduced in full below:

> From Grand Prince Vasilii Ivanovich of all Russia, to igumen Nifont of the abbey (*obitel'*) of the Virgin, the Iosifov monastery, with the brotherhood. By the mercy of God and his most-pure Mother and the holy miracle-workers; by the prayers of our father Daniil, metropolitan of all Russia, and the entire holy synod; and by your prayers – the Lord God has sent us his mercy, a son Ivan has been born to us. You and the brotherhood please pray (*i ty by z brateiu molil*) to God and his most-pure Mother and the holy miracle-workers for our health and the health of our princess and our son Ivan and for all Orthodox Christians. I sent starets Tikhon Zvorykin to talk about our business (*delo*) and to petition (*biti chelom*) starets Kasian. And that business is – I ordered Tikhon to speak to you, so that you, master (*gospodine*) igumen, would plead (*molil*) to Kasian about our business and get him to take action on it, so that he would not ignore our request (*prosheniia*), but rather that he would work to undertake our business and that he would not despise our petition. And I myself petition him (*a iaz emu chelom biu*). (Zimin 1963b, 132-133)

According to Kasian's Life, he initially rejected the request carried by fellow starets Tikhon and had to be convinced by the igumen and the entire council of elders to accede to the tsar's request. A year later, now as the heir apparent's godfather, Kasian began to receive letters from Vasilii III addressed directly to him. These letters asking for his prayers when the future Ivan the Terrible fell ill witness to a unique relationship between the highest authority in the land and a simple monk. Below, again reproduced in full, is one of them:

> From Grand Prince Vasilii Ivanovich of all Russia, to master (*gospodinu*) starets Kasian. Here, because of my sins, your son and ours is sick. Would you please deign to pray (*i ty [by] pozhaloval molil*) to the Lord God and his most-pure Mother and the holy miracle-workers and the miracle-worker Pafnutii and starets Iosif concerning our sin and for our health and for the health of Ivan, and so that the Lord God would save us and all Orthodox Christians from enemies – from Islam and from

> the Latins – and that the Lord God would save our son Ivan from sickness. And I myself petition you, my master (*svoemu gospodinu*). (Zimin 1963b, 134)

The Russian word for "petition" (*bit' chelom*) literally means "to beat one's forehead [against the ground]" and suggests a relationship of subjugation on the part of the petitioner to the one petitioned. This is language that was traditionally used by everyone from the highest boiar on down when addressing the grand prince or tsar; it is unusual for the latter to address one of his subjects in this manner, or to call someone else "my master" (*svoi gospodin*). Vasilii III's relationship with Kasian Bosoi demonstrates that secular social status was of no account in the "spiritual father" relationship even in the outside world. The same was certainly true within a monastic brotherhood.

Another *dukhovnik* whose life story illustrates this principle is Fotii Staryi.[313] According to his Life, Fotii was born to "Orthodox and noble (*blagorodnyi*)" parents and grew up to be a servitor of the prince of Putivl' who acted as the tutor for his children. When that city was taken by Ivan III, he along with his employer became a prisoner of war. As such he was assigned to serve one of the Russian appanage princes, Iurii Ivanovich Zamiatnin. After working for Zamiatnin for some time he apparently escaped, fled to Iosif's monastery, and was tonsured. Some time later Iosif himself assigned Fotii as a disciple to Kasian, and eventually Fotii himself accumulated more disciples than Kasian did.[314] There are only a couple of simple miracles in the Life, added as if as an afterthought at its conclusion in two brief reminiscences of his disciples.[315] The main justification for the honor Fotii earned among his brothers was along the same lines as what had been written of Kasian – his feats of asceticism:

> ... From the beginning until his death he was never unfaithful to his cell rule. And his rule was this: in daytime and at night time four kathismata[316] each, and two canons[317] ... and an article of the Gospel, and 600 Jesus prayers, and 100 additional

[313]For Fotii's Life see Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 223-26.

[314]Martem'ian Staryi, Vasian Koshka, Isaia Rtishchev, and Feodosii Lukovnikovskii. His Life identifies the latter two only by first name, and the commentary in Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov (1999, 456) identifies the last as Feodosii Pleshcheev. However, the only primary source that identifies a Feodosii as disciple of Fotii and includes Feodosii's last name specifies it as Lukovnikovskii (Dmitrieva 1991d, 77). The backgrounds of Martem'ian, Vasian, and Feodosii are unknown; Isaia Rtishchev was a landowner.

[315]One was a vision of the Virgin Fotii had, another was a sweet smell that filled his cell in his last days (Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 225-26).

[316]Hymns from the psalter.

[317]Hymns written for church services.

> prayers to the Virgin ... and 300 prostrations, and a *iefimon*, and a *polunoshchnitsa*;[318] and the rest of the time he spent reading holy scripture and working with his hands. As for sleep, he took a total of three or four hours at night time and in daytime, lying on the ground without a bed. ... He would come to church services on time with great diligence and stood with great attention. ... And he did not delight in the beauties of this world and did not want to be deemed an elder (*ne zhelashe stareishin'stva*) or to be under anyone else as an elder (*pod stareishinoiu byti*). Whenever anyone by the instigation of the Enemy, the action of Satan, offended him, he with heartfelt sighing and many tears prayed to God the all-merciful creator of the whole world and the pure Mother of God, and called for help from the great miracle workers and the holy venerable starets Iosif, that they would give him patience. And he would account grief caused him by people as great visitation from God, not asking for help from men at all and not attempting any retribution such as by speaking words against his brother. (Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 223-24)

Some sermons and letters written by Fotii have survived. In one of the former he fervently warns his fellow monks against swearing at their fellow man:

> How do we dare to say to our brother, or to anyone of our Christian faith, such abusive language as "son of a bitch" (*bliadin syn*)? For we do not say such a rotten and miserable word to our brother but to our Lord God ... such a horrible and rotten and low word should be especially foreign to us monks (*inokom*). For if our Lord Jesus Christ in his gospel forbids us to say to our brother "fool," [lest we be] guilty of the fire of hell, how much more should we fear and tremble if we say to our brother, "son of a bitch" or any bad word at all, by which we defile our holy mouths and tongues? The very mouths and tongues that receive the holy body of Christ and his holy blood we use to revile our brother! About this the apostle teaches us: let no rotten word proceed out of your mouths, lest the Holy Spirit of God be offended. (Fotii 1862, 189)

The sermon goes on in the same vein for more than 150 lines of text. A couple points are worth mentioning here in conjunction with the view of Josephites as "ritualist." First, Iosif and his followers produced a great volume of homiletic literature, and relatively little of it is concerned with performing rituals correctly or for their own sake without regard to their intended meaning.[319] This literature is in fact very much concerned with people's morals –

[318] *Iefimon* and *polunoshchnitsa* are the names of two church services.

[319] The contents of a single *sbornik* (collection of writings bound in one volume) from the Volokolamsk library is a good example, with a series of sermons that: advise diligent reading of scripture; exhort monks to confess sins to their spiritual father; advise them to learn humility by practicing silence and avoiding unnecessary speech; exhort them to practice non-possession in order to learn detachment from "the world"; advise them to give alms to all who ask, give hospitality to all who come, and not to think that giving to their relatives counts as giving alms; advise them to avoid pride and cultivate humility; advise them not to judge their brother monks; and advise them not to seek authority or positions of authority over their fellow monks. (Iosif 1881, 177-78) One can of course sometimes see unresolved contradictions in this literature: how can a monk who has truly divested himself of all property give alms?

with improving or protecting their relationships with other people and with God. Second, the sermon does a masterful job of showing precisely that rituals have practical meaning and purpose for Fotii: those who speak ill of their neighbor defile the mouths that receive communion. What matters in receiving the body and blood of the Lord is not only that the priest use the right ingredients and say the words, but also that the recipient behave correctly in his daily life outside of church. This simple sermon of a revered Josephite monk shows that Josephism was not nearly so "ritualist" as it is often portrayed.

Moreover, even in this fiery sermon that repeatedly promises hellfire for the monk who so much as swears at one of his brothers, the element of humility on the part of the homilist is present:

> As for me, my lords and fathers and brothers in Christ, the Lord God is my witness. What was said here was from the holy gospel of Christ our God and from his holy apostles, later from our holy and God-bearing fathers, and not from what I thought up myself. For if I here speak and write from myself, then it would be worth disbelieving what was written here. But if this is all truth from the divine writings, then do not be angry at me ... For I brought forth these words not from my own mind, but from what lay in holy scripture; for all divine writings which have been given to the holy church are faultless, and one must not be heedless but with all one's strength observe and seek them out. (191)

Here again notice the technique, which is not just Fotii's but is typical of Iosif as well: not only is he deflecting attention away from himself, he is calling on his listeners to hear and understand and judge for themselves the meaning of the divine writings quoted to them. There is no call for blind obedience, but to understanding and to action based on understanding. This emphasis on action is evident also in a letter he wrote to answer someone's question about what happens to monks who die without attaining the great schema (a mark of monastic distinction that a monk would usually take only on his deathbed). After explaining that God's judgments cannot be known and adding that for someone who is weak even small virtues are considered as great accomplishments by God, he concludes:

> If in this vain age [i.e., during one's life on earth] anyone lives without care and without fear for his salvation and is negligent about the deeds (*o delekh*) of a monastic life – then even if he dies in a schema, his tonsure into the schema will do him no good. (Filaret 1884, 148)

The "schema" was one of the most sacred rituals of monastic life, yet Fotii counts it worthless to one who does not live a virtuous life.

The other two Iosifov men who came to be recognized as saints were Gurii Rugotin and German Polev, both of whom earned their fame not so much as monks but as archbishops of Kazan'. Iosifov produced no peasant or tradesman saints: counting Iosif himself there were two landowners (Iosif and German), a servitor of the grand prince (Kasian), and two servitors of appanage princes (Fotii and Gurii). None of these men were what one could reasonably call "commoners." The servitors were not menial servants but more like close collaborators with their princes.[320] Their occupation and close relationship to their princes put them socially above the level of a typical landless servitor in the sense of a monastery bailiff (*sluga*, *kliuchnik*, *prikazchik*). Kasian in particular as tutor to the grand prince may well have ranked more highly than most landowners who were not military commanders. And Fotii's biographer betrays some interest in his social status by mentioning that his parents were not only Orthodox but "noble" (*blagorodnyi*). However, insofar as the Josephite saint functions as an exemplar of saintly virtues, his ascetic achievement and humility are far more important than who his parents were or what his pre-monastic job was. And these virtues are equally accessible to all.

Non-possession and Humility: Reality

It is far more difficult to determine the degree to which ideals were implemented than it is to ascertain what they were. Here some questions to be addressed are: to what extent was non-possession put into practice, and to what extent did humility actually overshadow pride of social status in upper-class monks' minds? The latter, of course, would be difficult to answer with any certainty even for a twenty-first century community where the investigator can interview living people. But some clues to people's private thoughts do survive from the sixteenth century.

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[320]On Gurii Rugotin see Zimin (1977, 155-56). He is said to have been a former servitor of prince Ivan Ivanovich Penkov, having either been forced into that position by the prince or having accepted it due to his own poverty. The prince later suspected Gurii of having improper relations with his wife and put him in jail, and Gurii fled to the Volokolamsk monastery after escaping from jail in the 1520s. Eventually he became igumen for eight years (1543-51), was transferred out to head the Selizharov monastery (1551-55), and ultimately was appointed archbishop of Kazan' (1555-63).

It has already been noted that monastic society was a literate society to an extraordinary extent. The life of every monk, from the igumen on down to the newest recruit, was regulated by and enriched by a dizzying array of books of various sorts. In a world without printing presses all these books constantly had to be laboriously hand-copied. The monastery employed secular servitors to do some of the necessary copying but much of it was done by the monks themselves. The amount of painstaking work involved in copying books should not be underestimated. Fotii Staryi's biographer devotes a whole paragraph to his scribal endeavors, praising him for managing to complete entire books in just 9 weeks for one and 12 weeks for another without compromising his daily rule of prayer.[321] Thus it is significant that men from all social classes took part in this tedious task, including those of high birth who otherwise would have servitors of their own doing the work for them. Not just a few, but a significant proportion of the landowners among the Volokolamsk brotherhood (at least 17), and even a few of princely provenance, were copyists, many of them quite prolific.[322] Many of these men were highly placed in the monastery hierarchy, several of them igumens and council elders, and they would have had some choice over the kind of work they would be doing. If they chose such tedious work as copying books it must have been out of a conscious desire to do work that they felt had some intrinsic value.

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[321]Fotii himself reported taking 12 weeks in one of his books, starting on 12/24 and ending on 3/16 (year not noted; Iosif 1881, 5). An unnamed scribe of a *sbornik torzhestvennyi* (compilation of festal hymns) reported taking four months to complete the job (Dmitrieva 1991c, 38). Another reported starting on 8/25/1505 and ending on 10/24/1505 (Stroev 1891, 149).

[322]Iosif Sanin himself not only authored but copied numerous books over his long life span. His brother Vasian Sanin copied at least two books and painted icons (Iosif 1881, 20; Pliguzov 1984b, 185; Stroev 1891, 101; Dmitrieva 1991c, 36; Dmitrieva 1991d, 71), and his cousin Dosifei Toporkov not only copied books and painted icons but also translated books and composed and wrote a Life of Iosif (Stroev 1891, 101, 111; Dianova et al 1991, 249; Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 323; Pliguzov 1984b, 185; Dmitrieva 1991c, 33, 36, 41; Dmitrieva 1991d, 75). Two of the Stupishin clan were scribes: Fedorit (Dianova et al 1991, 205; Dmitrieva 1991d, 77) and Ferapont (Iosif 1881, 16; Dmitrieva 1991c, 26, 31; Dmitrieva 1991d, 54, 73). Two from the Polev clan were scribes: German (Dianova et al 1991, 165; Dmitrieva 1991c, 24, 27; Dmitrieva 1991d, 44, 57, 65) and Serapion (Dmitrieva 1991c, 30, 32; Dmitrieva 1991d, 60, 69, 79; Dianova et al 1991, 406). Others include Tikhon Lenkov (Dmitrieva 1991c, 28); Semen Stremoukhov (Dmitrieva 1991d, 91); Tikhon Zvorykin (Dmitrieva 1991a, 7; Dmitrieva 1991c, 26, 33; Dmitrieva 1991d, 51, 67, 77, 80, 82); Gerasim Zamytskii (Iosif 1881, 16; Stroev 1891, 61; Dmitrieva 1991c, 27, 28; Dmitrieva 1991d, 44, 55, 56, 58, 60, 61); Pimen Sadykov (Dmitrieva 1991c, 32; Dmitrieva 1991d, 78); Fedorit Rzhevskii (Dmitrieva 1991d, 54); Pafnutii Kutuzov-Korovin (Dmitrieva 1991c, 36); Makarii Borozdin (Dmitrieva 1991c, 35). Those of princely provenance were Arsenii Golenin, who wrote at least two books (Dmitrieva 1991c, 28; Dmitrieva 1991d, 55); and Nil Polev who wrote at least eight (Dmitrieva 1991c, 25, 29, 31; Dmitrieva 1991d, 47, 50, 65, 72, 74, 79, 80).

The content of the books they copied, and of the books that the rank and file fought so desperately against Daniil to be able to keep in their cells, was almost without exception what we would call religious.[323] What the men wanted to have and to read were service books, prayer books, scripture, patristic writings, saints' lives, and the like. By and large they got what they wanted. After Daniil no dispute about book ownership recurs, and the abundant evidence of widespread private ownership of books indicates that his crusade for this form of non-possession suffered a crushing and enduring defeat. Over the years the monastery library filled up with hundreds of books containing inscriptions indicating they had been owned or donated by individual monks.

Many books do contain inscriptions indicating ownership by the monastery itself.[324] And some have notes in them explicitly prohibiting loaning them out to cells, which means that others must have been available for that.[325] But most bear testimony to having been owned by individual monks, and the evidence for that goes back to the earliest time of the monastery's existence. One of the books contains the following inscription:

> Igumen Iosif gave this psalter to Serapion with the provision that he would not sell or give it to anyone, nor donate it for commemoration of his soul, but rather would return it after his death to the Iosifov monastery ...[326]

The need for a specific and explicit prohibition against selling it or donating it for commemoration of one's soul indicates that books were already being treated as possessions and commodities at this early date. Moreover, this book was no "loaner" but a one-time special favor for Serapion.

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[323]For a look at the rare exceptions, see Dmitrieva 1963.

[324]Many inscriptions say simply "A book of Iosifov monastery" or something similar, without any indication they had ever been let out for cell use. A few examples: Dianova et al 1991, 255, 258. Some indicate they came from or belong in the treasury (*kazennaia*; example on p.355).

[325]A few have inscriptions barring them from being loaned out, such as the following: "Psalter, translated by Kiprian; Gerasim Zamytskii's handwriting; not to be given out to cells, but rather keep as a witness." (Stroev 1891, 61; see also 73; Iosif 1881, 18) The editor interprets the last phrase as meaning the book was to be used to verify the accuracy of future copies of the psalter as they were produced. One book has the interesting inscription, "A *bogorodichen* book of the Iosifov monastery monastery. It lived in the igumen's cell and traveled on the road with him (*Kniga Iosifova manastyria bogorodichen zhil v kel'e u igumena i v put' s nim khodil*"; Dianova et al 1991, 166; see also Iosif 1881, 19). Although this book of hymns to the Virgin "lived" outside the library, it was used for official purposes so was not really a loaner. The following note is similar: "This book igumen Leonid decreed can be loaned to villages to whomever (*otdati v selo v koe ni budi*) ..." (368).

[326]*Siiu psaltyriu dal Serapionu igumen Iosif, na tom koeo (?) [sic] emu eia ne prodat' ni otdat' nikomu, ni po dushe svoei ne dat', otoslat' emu eia posle svoego zhivota vo Osif'v zh manastyr ...* (Dianova et al 1991, 177). The inscription goes on to warn that anyone who takes it after Serapion's death will "answer to God" for that.

The few cases where inscriptions indicate that books not actually owned were kept in cells are exceptions that point to the importance of ownership.[327] They also testify to how important it was to the monks to have books in their cells. In two of the three instances the books "loaned" were originally owned by the "borrower." Irodion Lystsev paid for his tonsure in 1567 by donating a psalter and an *apostol* (New Testament epistles) but stipulated that he would get to keep them in his cell for life (Dmitrieva 1991c, 40). Treasurer Paisii Michiurin somehow accumulated no fewer than 14 books – altogether a patrimony worth more than some villages – which he donated to the monastery in 1589 on condition that they all stay in his cell until his death. He was not on his deathbed at the time, since he lived for 7 years after this. The circumstances of the third case may well be the same as the first two. A convicted heretic Vasilii Kuritsyn was sent to Volokolamsk as punishment sometime in the early 1590s.[328] He sought and received permission from igumen Ioasaf Lukovnikovskii to keep a *mineiia* (collection of festal hymns) in his cell.[329] Whether it was his own or not is never made clear.

Thus, many if not most monks who had books in their cells seem to have owned them, and they used them as personal property accordingly. They read them, traded them, sold them, donated them ... and wrote in them. They wrote not only their names to record ownership but all sorts of notes and information. In a world where blank paper was not readily at hand at the nearest office supply store, the blank pages or margins of books were handy places to write whatever one felt like writing or just for doodling. One finds in them everything from pen and ink test-marks to alphabet practice to first drafts of official documents,[330] and since these scribblings were not of an official character and not intended for public consumption beyond whoever else might pick up the book, they are as close as we can get to honest expressions of what these men privately thought as opposed to what was officially expected or merely "politically correct." A few examples familiar to anyone

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[327] Aside from the examples discussed here, the closest one gets is the ambiguous "This psalter remained in the cell after starets Feodosii Lukovnikovskii [died]" (Dianova et al 1991, 230).

[328] Said to have been accused of "false correction" of scriptures (Feoktistov 1995, 333).

[329] Iosif 1881, 240, 246; Stroev 1891, 19, 163; Dianova et al 1991, 399.

[330] A book once owned by treasurer Ignatii Zaitsev has portions of his income and expense books (Dianova et al 1991, 313).

who has ever worked with such manuscripts will illustrate their informal and often practical character for those who have not:

> I read [this book] on April 4.[331]
>
> This book of Isaac the Syrian was starets Timofei Iosifov's. 30 *altyn* less a *grivna* was paid for it; two *grivny* were owed as change to Nil, and I sent that with the book.[332]
>
> As a foreigner longs to see his homeland and a traveling seafarer longs to see his harbor, so a scribe longs to see the end of a book.[333]
>
> *Kako* – add *on* to *kako*, add *rtsi* to *on*, to *rtsi* add *nash*, add *izhe* to *nash*, to *izhe* add *liudi*, to *liudi* add *er'*, to *er'* add *e*, and you get Kornil'e.[334]
>
> On October 2, 1552 on Sunday during matins they were reading the gospel for the saint – "there will be one flock and one pastor" – and at that time news arrived to the igumen[335] that they had taken Kazan'. The tsar, grand prince Ivan Vasil'evich, took Kazan'.[336]
>
> On September 19, 1591, on Sunday at the third hour, the servant of God schemamonk Iosif Bulychev died, on the day of the holy martyrs Trofim and Savatii and Doriment.[337]

For my purposes it is not necessary to suppose that marginal notations such as these are all completely reliable windows into a monk's soul any more than a personal interview with a monk in 2004 would be. However, they are written at a higher level of informality than the main content of a book and so they can serve as additional, somewhat stronger, evidence of

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[331]"*Prochtokh aprilia v 4 den*'" (Dianova et al 1991, 397). Another variant: "I read and benefited (*Prochtokh i pol'zovakhsia*; 395).

[332]"*Sia kniga Isaak Sirin startsa Timofeiia Iosifova, a dano na nei 30 altyn bez grivny, astalosia za Nilom dve grivny, i sia poslakh so knigoiu siu*" (Dianova et al 1991, 345). The name could be rendered "Timofei of Iosifov [monastery]". For more such receipts marking the sale of books see Stroev 1891, 50, 160; Iosif 1881, 5, 22.

[333]"*Iako zhe stranym zhelat' videti otechestvo svoe, plavae korablinik zhelaet' videti pristanishch svoe, tako i pisets zhelaet videti konets' knigi*" (Dianova et al 1991, 286). There are numerous versions of this, some shorter and some longer. Many use the ship and harbor or foreigner and homeland analogies (see also 206, 273), while others come up with their own themes, such as "... as a rabbit is glad to escape from the fox, so is the scribe glad to finish his book, every fisherman glad at his catch, and the trader glad at profit" (*rad zaets ot teniatia ubezhav, tako i pisets' rad knigu siiu dopisav, vsiakoi lovets rad ulovu soemu, tako torgovets rad prikupu*; 238). See also Dianova et al 294; Stroev 1891, 66.

[334]Dianova et al 1991, 333. "*Kako*" etc. are the names of letters. Presumably Kornil'e was the book's owner, though he doesn't specifically identify himself as such.

[335]Lliterally: the lord or sovereign (*gosudar'*).

[336]Dianova et al 1991, 309. "The gospel for the saint" means the gospel reading appointed to be read on that day to commemorate whichever saint was being commemorated. Other events the monks thought of great import were the taking of Pskov in 1510 (203), the death of Vasilii III (212), the death of Ivan IV (223), a solar eclipse (405), and a fire in the monastery (311, 313).

[337]Dianova et al 1991, 276. Other inscriptions recount the death of Rodion (the monk Rafail) Pavlov in 1597 (276), Fotii Staryi in 1554 (183), and Kasian Bosoi in 1532 (203).

what monks were thinking. Some books were copied by monks for their own use, but many and probably most were done "under contract." Thus one could argue that any given book's content may or may not correspond well to the scribe's own interests. Inscriptions were not written "under contract." The individual monk copyist or owner could at his own discretion choose to say something or remain silent. Moreover, many monks who never copied a book did write in the margins of books they acquired for themselves. Thus, these notations have the added benefit of telling us something about many individuals who would otherwise have remained completely unknown.

An inscription exists because some copyist or book owner took some personal initiative to write something he was not specifically told to write. If he wrote a blurb at the end of a manuscript expressing his relief at the completion of a major undertaking, that addition really does reveal something about him as a person even though the "ship reaching harbor" theme itself is a common one. Actually, one rarely finds exactly the same "ship reaching harbor" text from one book to the next, which is more evidence that a monk could invest some of himself in the inscription: modifying the wording slightly would make it his own. Once again, no one directed the monk to write these things. If completing a book left someone without any particular feeling of great relief or gave him no sense of accomplishment, he would have no need to add anything. If he was disinclined to say anything about himself, he was free to do so.

One of the common characteristics of these inscriptions is that whenever monks write something about themselves, regardless of their social backgrounds they describe themselves in strikingly "humble" terms. Monastic texts chanted in services, read aloud during meals, and read privately in cells constantly stress the monk's sinfulness and unworthiness, and this they internalized to the degree that they repeated it even in private or semi-private notations:

> ... the much-sinful monk (*mnogogreshnyi inok*) Dosifei wrote this book by the blessing of his father igumen Iosif. (former landowner Dosifei Toporkov)
>
> The sinful monk Trifon called Stupishin. (former landowner, archbishop)
>
> ... this book was written ... by the least in monastic form (*poslednim v obraze inoch'stem*), the much-sinful German Sadyrev ... (former landowner German Polev)

> ... this book was written by the hand of the much-sinful monkling (*chr'nchishko*) Evfimiishko Turkov ... (former servitor, igumen Evfimii Turkov)
>
> This book was written by stupid Sava Novgorodets, weak-minded, foolish, and thoughtless (*glupyi ... khudoumnyi, nerazumnyi mysl'iu nedostatochnyi*), but God gave bodily and mental and spiritual health to finish this book. Amen. (unknown background)[338]

When the inscription is by the copyist identifying himself as such, there is often a clause begging the reader's indulgence in case any errors are found. Below is a long one by German Polev, one of the Iosifov monks who became archbishop of Kazan' and was later canonized:

> By the help and grace of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ and our Holy Lady the Mother of God who gave birth to him; in the year 7052 (1544) during the reign of our autocratic sovereign the pious and Christ-loving grand prince Ivan Vasil'evich of all Russia; while the blessed Makarii was at the helm of the apostolic throne of the Great Russian metropolitan ... by the order of our lord and father igumen Gurii, this book was written, called a *bogorodichnik*, in the monastery of the honorable and glorious Dormition of the Pure Mother of God ... by the last in monastic life, the much-sinful German Sadyrev. I implore you, my lords and fathers and brothers in Christ, who read through this book, if you find anything incorrect, for the Lord's sake do not cast aspersions on (*ne portsite tiagosti*) my much-sinful soul, for I am, my lords and fathers, afflicted by much coarseness and ignorance and am buried in the abyss of my many sins. But by your holy prayers I hope to be saved. Amen. (Dianova et al, 165)

German was ultimately appointed metropolitan by Ivan IV, but he is not usually remembered as metropolitan because he only lasted two days in that office. He confronted Ivan about his treatment of the previous metropolitan and paid for his boldness with his life.

There were some common idioms used to beg the readers' indulgence but no standard formula. In fact, the large number of variations and the fact that most books do not have these kinds of inscriptions shows that they were not empty formulas mindlessly copied. Some additional samples are reproduced below:

> Written by the much-sinful and worthless slave (*rab*, i.e., slave of God) the monk Pafnutii. And where there is a mistake, you, lords (*gosudari*), for the sake of God,

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[338]Dianova et al 1991, 250, 149, 165, 304, 258. See also Evfimii Turkov (Iosif 1881, 19, 46), Gavriil Bel'skii (289), Gerasim Chernyi (280, 346), Fotii Staryi (378), Vasian Gobislov (195), Pafnutii Rykov (350), Nifont (Iosif 1881, 1), Ferapont Obukhov (Iosif 1881, 50), Vasiuk Panfilov (possibly not a monk of Iosifov, 206), and Ol'ferii Trofimov (a servitor, not a monk, 192). A remarkable exception that shows there certainly were alternatives is one by Simeon, a Moscow archpriest who came to be tonsured at Iosifov. After naming himself he says he is "adorned with faith and love and good deeds, and even more glorious and magnificent in alms above all others"; nevertheless he ends by asking whoever uses the book in services to commemorate him.

> fix it yourselves, and do not swear at me, the much-sinful and lazy slave, for, lords, I have not enough intelligence and am deficient in all human abilities (*vsemi chiuvstvy skuden*). (Pafnutii Rykov, unknown background)
>
> For the sake of God, priests and deacons and *d'iaki*, don't swear at God where I have made a mistake; you yourselves for the sake of God make corrections because I was not able (*zanezhe ne umel*). (anonymous)[339]

Many of the copyist self-identification inscriptions, as well as some written by donors, contain humble requests that the book's users pray for the one who copied or donated it:

> With God's help and that of the pure Virgin this book called a collection of divine writings beneficial for all who read it, was completed. It was written by the hand of the much-sinful monk Gelaseiishcha [diminutive of Gelasii], and whoever wants to read through this book, do not forget to commemorate my much-sinful soul in your holy prayers. (Gelasii Sukolenov, unknown background)
>
> A Psalter with *sledovanie* of [owned by] the monk Vasian Gobislov. And when he dies, then write into the senanik his father the monk Feodosii and his mother the nun Anatoliia and his brother the monk Iona and the sinful monk Vasian. (former servitor)
>
> Feodosii Andreevich Riabchikov gave this gospel to the [monastery of] the Virgin, for the altar of the [church of the] Nativity; whichever priests serve with it let them commemorate (*pominati*) me the monk Feodosii every day. (probably a junior boiar)[340]

Many books have prayers addressed directly to God and unconnected with any intention to announce who copied, owned or donated the book. Frequently these are copies of common prayers heard in church services (the penitential Psalm 51 being the most popular), but often they appear to be impromptu:

> O Lord, save, Lord, hurry. (anonymous)
>
> I see you, O grave and am dismayed by your appearance; I shed tears; the common debt I understand; alas, alas – then oh, oh, death, who can escape you? ... Lord, help your servant Vasilii to understand this book. ... (unknown background)
>
> Lord, help your slave the monk starets F..ii, last among monks, give him a strong hand, and a happy heart that he may write quickly ... (Fotii Staryi, former servitor)

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[339]Dianova et al 1991, 350, 211. For one similar to German Polev's, see 195 (Vasian Gobislov). For a very long one see 237-38 (by a monk named Nikifor). For other variants see 194 (Afanasii Temyi-Staryi), 206 (Vasiuk Panfilov syn Poiasnichkov, possibly not a monk of Iosifov), 347 (by a *d'iak*), 399, 402 (Ivan Buzin and Gavriil Chudinov, scribes at Iosifov who may not have been monks); Iosif 1881, 186 (Vasian Koshka), 190 (Fotii Staryi), 207 (anonymous).

[340]Dianova et al 1991, 376, 182, 146. See also 280 (Gerasim Chernyi), 195 (Vasian Gobislov again, a much longer version), 261 (Fegnost Rugotin); Iosif 1881, 6 (Nil Polev), 74 (Timofei Veniaminov), 144 (Evfimii Turkov).

> O Christ, tsar of all, give me warm tears that I may weep for my soul which I have destroyed with evil (*zle pogubikh*). Virgin Mother of God, the hope of Christians, cover, protect, and save those who call on you. (anonymous)
>
> Save, Lord, the one who wrote this book and the one who sings from it. Amen. (anonymous)[341]

One monk in the late sixteenth century (judging by handwriting) even entered a brief confession:

> I have sinned against heaven before you ... And behold, my sins are theft, fighting, drunkenness, fornication. I have sinned, father, against heaven and before you, I have sinned with all my feelings (*chuvstvy*). (Dianova et al 1991, 232)

Some wrote advice in their books for themselves or future readers:

> Say this prayer quietly, mentally, not hurrying, but with all contrition and with sighing and with weeping for the repose of your soul, unto life eternal now and always and unto ages of ages, amen. (anonymous)
>
> When you want to read a book or hear one read, first pray to God saying, Lord Jesus Christ, open my ears and the eyes of my heart to hear your words and understand, and to do your will. (anonymous)[342]

What all these inscriptions bear witness to is the fact that many of the monks of the Iosifov monastery in the sixteenth century took quite seriously the monastic texts they not only heard many times every day in church and at meals, but also read in the privacy of their cells. Since tonsure they had answered to a new monastic name, worn monastic clothing, eaten monastic food, and lived a life that entailed constant reminders of its monastic character – sooner or later the image of the humble monk came to have some resonance for many of them regardless of their pre-tonsure status. Naturally that does not necessarily mean that if one were to meet in real life a person who had written such inscriptions he could be observed behaving with complete humility at all times. But one would not likely find him

[341]Dianova et al 1991, 381, 381 (different hands), 378, 197, 253. See also 381 (Serapion Polev, another person praying for understanding, writing in the same book), 167 (Fegnost Rugotin), 213 (a monk named Ieremei), 218 (a monk named Prokofii), 223 (a monk named Anisim Dmitrievich), 200, 231, 269, 278, 292, 294, 379 (anonymous). There are so many of these that the editors of *Knizhnye Tsentry Drevnei Rusi* often instead of transcribing them summarize them with phrases such as "notes of moral-penitent content" (188, 220). For samples that repeat all or part of Ps. 51, see 256, 366, 368, 381. While the donors sometimes ask for prayers, one person inscribed a prayer to the anonymous donor: "A Christ-lover gave this book ... have mercy on him Lord in this age and the next" (323).

[342]Dianova et al 1991, 194, 379. See also 158, 320-21.

openly flaunting high social status as something differentiating himself from lower-class brothers.[343]

The extent of non-possession among monks is much easier to speak of with some certainty compared to judging their humility since it is more of an objective phenomenon than a subjective attitude. Even so, statements pertaining to the earliest days of the monastery that make it sound like an accomplished fact cannot be taken at face value. When igumen Daniil fought his losing battle to keep the monks from owning books, he based his argument in part by referring to the "golden age" of the monastery when true non-possession was instituted and enforced under the founder, Iosif. This is a common theme in Orthodox homiletics: in a highly conservative religion one argues for change by saying that people must go back to what once was, rather than by openly initiating something new. If the community's leaders want to take the community in a direction it has never been, they must manufacture for it a past that never was.

This has been the methodology of medieval Christianity,[344] Christian scripture, and before that the scripture of Judaism, from the beginning. In the Genesis tale of Adam and Eve the whole image of "paradise" is set up only to depict its destruction. One need not imagine that the authors and editors themselves were under any illusions that they were depicting something somehow "historical": they were constructing what was intended to be a psychologically effective exhortation to obedience by showing the consequences of disobedience. The same approach is taken in the New Testament book of Acts, which opens its history of the Christian church with a description of a situation that in reality never was:

> And all who believed were together and had all things in common; and they sold their possessions and goods and distributed them to all, as any had need. (Acts 2:44-45)

Long before the text of Acts ever gets to a somewhat historical section, this idyllic setting disintegrates when certain individuals named Ananias and Sapphira decide to keep their own property and are struck down by God for that (5:1-2). The two sides of this story – idyllic

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[343] At the very least, the inscriptions confirm that large numbers of ordinary monks acknowledged (without necessarily living up to) the same ideal of humility that we see in Iosif's writings, his Lives, the *Paterik*, and the Lives of Kasian Bosoi and Fotii Staryi.

[344] It was typical of Western religious culture through at least the twelfth century; see Constable 1982a, 65. Milis (1992, 14) extends it through the eighteenth century.

beginning and evil ending – were never intended to relate "historical" past events but rather to provide a vision for the future, a goal for the community to work for on the one hand and a warning of behavior to avoid on the other hand. With a story like this in hand the leaders of a community do not have to claim they are innovating even when they are genuinely trying to push or drag it to someplace it has never been before. Instead, the leader can point to the fact that the ideal community – as it was at the very beginning – did what they are trying to get the present one to do now. Assuming Iosif's biographer is accurate, this is precisely what Iosif tried to do at Borovsk when he backed up his attempt to institute a cenobitic rule where there had been none by reference to the precedent in Acts ("just as at one time among the Apostles no one owned anything"; VMCh, 462).

Judaic and Christian scripture could safely depict utopian conditions because they were written when the supposedly paradisiac times were already so distant that none or few had first-hand knowledge of them. Unfortunately for Daniil, many in his audience had been around from the beginning and knew that the "golden age" of Iosif's monastery had not been as golden as he tried to depict it. Even Iosif's Life by Sava Chernyi, written some 30 years after his death, recognizes that from the beginning not all of his monks were completely cooperative:

> But some, full of disobedience and stubbornness, possessed by self-will and impelled by pride, stood apart, just as once [people stood apart] from our Lord Jesus Christ. They said, his word is too severe, who can bear it? Thus they poured invective upon the saintly father, and left the monastery, saying: "This life is severe (*zhestoko*); who can bear such things in today's generation?" They left grumbling and jeering. (VMCh, 468)

If some left grumbling and jeering, others certainly grumbled under their breath without leaving.

One specific problem indicative of an interest in "possession" rather than its opposite was theft, which was as prevalent among monks as it always has been in the outside world. One of Daniil's letters sent after he became metropolitan dealt with such a situation at another monastery that could as well have been at Iosifov. Monastery priests and deacons who were receiving donations meant for the monastery were pocketing the money. Daniil advised the igumen of that monastery to choose "good, spiritual, startsy" and mentioned a few trustworthy ones by name, adding "or whoever else is appropriate, just not anyone who

is evil, and no one who is at all cunning (*bez vsiakia khitrosti*), so that no one would perish either in this age or the next" (i.e., beware of setting up something where the overseer elder himself would start stealing).[345] This is one reason why monasteries needed so many council elders – to act as overseers watching over the rest of the monks. Yet, completely reliable people were not so plentiful, and some of the overseers themselves would be among those on track to "perish," using Daniil's language.

There is evidence that theft was a problem at Iosifov as well. Iosif's entire Rule testifies to the brothers' tendencies to fall short of monastic ideals, and extended inveighing against any particular sin can certainly be taken as evidence that it was a problem, not that it was absent. There are very long sections in Iosif's Rule about the evils of taking monastery goods without permission which by their very insistence indicate that the desire to "possess" had in no way been eliminated in his own day:

> For if in the Old Testament Akhar and Gehazi, and in apostolic times Ananias and Sapphira, were sentenced to death for theft, how much more does it become us to keep ourselves from theft? If anyone says, "in a cenobium everything is in common, so let us take what we need without permission" – listen to what Basil the Great says: anyone who does anything in the cenobium secretly and without permission is none other than the devil and his helper, and with him he will be condemned to outer darkness on account of theft. For this reason the apostle says that thieves will not inherit the kingdom of heaven ... When we are accused [of theft] we say, "in a cenobium everything is in common"; but when someone takes something of ours, then we do not say "in a cenobium everything is common." Instead we are like wild animals biting and stinging our neighbor, and we shamelessly quarrel and take them to court (*svaritisia i sudy tvoriti ne sramliaemsia*), just like laymen and evil people. (VMCh, 526-27)

The Rule constantly leaves the impression that many or most monks had to be badgered to fulfill even the most basic requirements – lot alone lofty ideals – of monastic life. Even getting them to work diligently at their assigned tasks was a struggle:

> It becomes everyone to be diligent at the common work; for the holy apostle Paul says, "I command you, and exhort you in Christ Jesus, that you work quietly and eat your own bread, and whoever does not want to work, let him not eat." ... For the Holy Fathers say, "the working monk struggles with a single demon; the idle one is taken prisoner by a thousand demons." ... The holy Efrem says, "The origin of pride and arrogance is not wanting to work with the brothers with all one's might, to work with one's hands; such a person shall not eat. ... If we begin to arrive after everyone

[345] Zhmakin's (1881b) summary is on p.672, the text is on p.40 of the appendix.

> else, and leave before everyone, and work with grumbling and in disobedience, and jeer and make idle chatter, then our work is neither acceptable nor pleasing to God; it is like the sacrifice of Cain. (530-31, 535)

Outside the Rule, the practice of limiting treasurer terms to one year, with thorough audits at turnover points, likewise would not have arisen unless there had been abuses by people quite interested in "possessing" more than was allotted to them. Considering that sixteenth century Russia was to a large extent not a cash-based economy, the monastery had a remarkably advanced and accurate system of accounting for its cash transactions. It tracked exact amounts taken in, exact amounts spent, and each year all these transactions would be totaled up, added to the prior year-end balance, and the result had to equal the current year-end balance. Below is an extract from a typical audit report:

> In the year 7096 (1588), on May 24, igumen Levkei, steward German Cheglokov, Moisei Nepliuev, Nikandro Turkov, Leonid Nedoveskov, and Gerasim Neledinskii of the Iosifov monastery of the Virgin Mother of God audited (*perepisali*) the monastery treasury and ordered that it be turned over to treasurer starets Efrem Nashchekin after treasurer starets Nikifor Morin. And old money in the monastery treasury under the church, under the bells, and in a box in the office (*na polatiakh*) was 1,200 rubles; in the box in the lower case (*kiot*) was 300 rubles and 50 gold [coins]; in the great church in the library was 3,000 rubles; and in Moscow in the box in the treasury under the altar was 1,300 rubles. Also 900 rubles had been sent to Kazan' for purchase of fish with starets Varsunofii Krenitsyn. ... and in the cell storeroom in the chest was 87 rubles 9 *altyn*. And in the small sack of expense money there was 4 rubles, 17 *altyn*, 3 *den'gi*. And the whole amount of money consigned (*otpisano*) to Efrem in the monastery and in Moscow, and the money that went away with Varsunofii Krenitsyn ... was 6,933 rubles.[346]

As can be seen, this system even allows for what we today would call a petty cash fund, and even that must be tallied at year end. Such an elaborate system would not have been devised had there not been problems with misuse of funds.

It was not only treasurers who had to have, handle, and spend money. The only monks who could possibly avoid that were those who never exited the monastery gates, and from the very beginning this would have been impossible for many of them. When the monastery was founded by Iosif and seven comrades from the Borovsk monastery, interactions involving monetary transactions with the outside world were required for the

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[346]Man'kov 1987, 1:9-10. The same text is quoted by Shchepetov (1946, 96) with one variant which I have partially adopted over the Man'kov text. For the text translated above as "and 50 gold [coins]," Man'kov has "*v cheresu 50 zolatykh*" while Shchepetov has "*da eshche 500 zolatykh.*"

building of churches, refectory, and cells; for purchasing food and clothes; for purchasing horses and sleighs and food for the horses; and for a host of other services. The need for ongoing building projects, building maintenance, and all the other services was a constant throughout the life-span of the community.

Thus, while it is possible to create an artificial environment where some monks could live without material cares of any sort, in order to do so a number of others must attend carefully to those material cares. They must handle money, often large sums of it, they must spend time in the outside world, they must be shrewd "businessmen" wise in the ways of the world in order not to be cheated, they must spend money on "expenses" while on business trips for the monastery, and so forth. As soon as the monastery began to acquire agricultural land, which it did very early, more and more monks had to take on these "businessman" roles and spend more and more time outside the monastery. Then they not only managed money for their own and institutional expenses, they collected it in the form of rents and other payments from peasants. Ultimately these monks were hardly distinguishable from the servitors of secular feudal lords – collecting and spending money on behalf of their "employer," spending it for their own needs and wants, and even amassing their own "nest-eggs."

In an ideal monastic world, the igumen, treasurer, steward, and council elders would attend to the material needs of the monastic community, leaving the rest to live a life of non-possession. The former would in effect sacrifice themselves for the latter by accepting the corrupting influences of capital and the outside world for the sake of their brothers. What happened at Volokolamsk was that an ever-increasing number, perhaps the majority since mid-century and possibly going back even to Iosif's day, had to "sacrifice themselves" in that way. For them the ideals of non-possession and even some of the most fundamental rules of monastic life (such as the absolute prohibition against contact with women) were effectively dead letters.

Given that such a large percentage of the brotherhood was so intimately involved in the outside economy, few of the remaining brothers could have remained completely unaffected. In fact, the widespread possession of personal property can be seen most clearly (and is attested solidly by surviving evidence) in its pervasive and universal application to

an area totally unrelated to outside commerce – that of commemoration. Commemoration of the dead in monastic church services was a commodity. It had a precisely determined price schedule, and the set prices were required of all, whether they were from the outside or members of the brotherhood. A monk could get a few years' commemoration after his death gratis, but anything over and above that, or for his loved ones left behind in the outside world, had to be paid for in cash or in goods worth the requisite amount of rubles. The rare exceptions where a monk got "something for nothing" had to be approved by the igumen and the entire council of elders.[347] Those who could not afford all the commemoration they wanted found ways to stretch their ruble. One such strategy was to purchase eternal commemoration starting immediately: one's parents would be written in the list now, then after one's death the parents' names would be erased and replaced with one's own name.[348]

The brothers needed money not just for major purchases like funeral feasts and eternal commemoration, but also for such simple things as to get their own parents commemorated temporarily. Starets Feodosii Gravoronov, for example, had to spend two *grivny* (two tenths of a ruble) of his own money for what would seem like a basic need for any religiously-minded person, especially a monk – to have his parents prayed for in church.[349] In fact, it is precisely because of such purchases that most of the evidence of private property among monks has survived. Most of the informal daily transactions of private commerce among monks or between monks and outsiders never made it to any permanent official records. But even so, for no fewer than 193 monks, records have survived attesting to post-tonsure donations or payments of private property to the monastery. Most of them record the purchase of commemoration services for themselves and their immediate families. Some of them purchase such services for fellow monks.

It has already been seen that books – another foundation of monastic life – were commodities that were bought, sold, owned, and donated for commemoration. If, then, such

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[347]Chapter four above quoted from the *zapisnaia kniga* (GIM 418, 20) where starets Veniamin's funeral feast and eternal commemoration had to be approved by the igumen and the entire council; he had not given enough to pay in full even though he had given 50 rubles toward it himself.

[348]The following entry in the vkladnaia kniga (GIM 419, 60-60v.) is typical: "Commemorate in the daily list the monk German Slepushkin when he dies. ... for that German gave 56 rubles ... for that money commemorate in the daily list German's father the monk Vasian for as long as German is alive, and when German dies, erase his father the monk Vasian from the daily list, and write German in the eternal list." See also GIM 418, 24.

[349]Man'kov 1980, 190. See a similar entry for Gerasim Markov (243).

basic religious functions and needs of monastic life as commemoration and books had been turned into commodities which could be bought, sold, and traded based on equivalent ruble values, then the principles of non-possession had to have been routinely ignored. In that case, monks had strong incentive to somehow avoid turning over all their money to the monastery upon tonsure, and to accumulate more if possible after donning black. Both methods were in fact feasible. Theoretically, upon tonsure a person would give up all personal property to the monastery, after which the treasury would supply their needs. This seems to have happened sometimes, as there are plenty of records like the following where even the clothes of new recruits are taken and sold, with the monastery keeping the money:

> [On 2/19/1588] ... the soldier (*strelets*) Ivan was tonsured, as a monk – Ilinarkh. His coat, shirt, and shoes were sold for a *grivna* (1/10 ruble); his boots, well worn, for two *grivny*; his warm caftan for a half ruble; and for his single-breasted caftan a ruble was received from Grigorii Beleutov, and a half ruble is still owed on it. (Man'kov 1980, 242)

But some of the wealthier recruits appear to have set up the medieval equivalent of a modern trust fund tax shelter. They left money in the hands of relatives yet maintained their authority over those relatives concerning the disposition of the property. Thus Ignatii Shapochnik directed his brother to send 33 rubles to pay for the entry of Ignatii's name into the daily commemoration lists.[350] Others, such as Nikifor Morin, retained direct control over their property after tonsure, including real estate.[351]

Many monks who own no land at all nevertheless seem able to accumulate sums of money after tonsure. This seems particularly true of those in positions of authority. By far the largest sums of money were sent back home to Iosifov by people who became hierarchs,[352] but similar opportunities for financial gain were available within the monastery for igumens and council elders, as many of them were better able to donate more money later in their tenure as monks than at the beginning. During and after his term as igumen, Levkei Akishev donated 30 rubles cash for himself, 17 rubles cash for his parents, books and

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[350]"... and his brother Maksim gave 33 rubles for that, by order of his brother starets Ignatii" (GIM 419, 130v.). Arsenii Pleshcheev's mother sent 40 rubles, though it is not clear if that was on her initiative or his (GIM 419, 95); likewise for Pafnutii Kutuzov-Korovin (GIM 419, 99v.-100).

[351]See further on Nikifor below.

[352]One can tell they are donating their own personal property rather than passing on others' donations because they use the money to buy commemoration for themselves and their families.

clothing worth 20 rubles, and, later still, more than a dozen additional books.[353] Council elder Izmail Snazin kept adding rubles to his total donation until he finally reached 50 (the minimum for permanent commemoration) at least 27 years after his tonsure.[354] Council elder Nikandro Turkov was still adding to his donations at least 15 years after his tonsure. He appears as an elder already in 1573, so he probably arrived at Iosifov well before that. Some time after that he bought a place on the eternal list for his mother and his son for 50 rubles, then in 1588 he paid 15 rubles to add his father to the list, and got a promise from the authorities that when he came up with 15 more rubles he would not only get himself in the eternal list but would also have endowed an annual feast (*korm*) in his honor.[355]

These are far from infrequent exceptions. Moreover, as a practical matter, most monks needed their own money for much more than commemoration. Another example of this need has to do with their function as managers of the monastic estates. Whenever the monastery loaned money to peasants or paid wages to workers (since wages were paid at least partly in advance), it required that someone act as surety. That is, someone had to promise to pay up if the peasant or worker walked off with the money instead of paying back or doing the promised work. Very frequently it was monastery elders who took on this function and who thus had to be prepared to pay up out of their own pocket in the event of a default.[356]

There is no evidence of salaries having been paid to monks, though the "village elders" (*posel'nye startsy*) were empowered to collect many kinds of fees and taxes from the peasant households they oversaw. Others may have received ongoing contributions from family members. Some borrowed money from wealthier brothers when they needed it.[357]

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[353]Man'kov 1980, 243-244; Dmitrieva 1991d, 95, 99; GIM 418, 52v. Igumen Ioasaf Lukovnikovskii donated for himself more than a dozen books (Dmitrieva 1991d, 98).

[354]GIM 418, 17, 68. He also along the way spent about 3½ rubles on commemoration for a sacristan friend named Denis and for his parents (Man'kov 1980, 104).

[355]GIM 418, 66. See also the monk Lavrentii, the disciple of Gurii Stupishin, who accumulated 30 rubles over nearly 30 years (GIM 418, 71v.).

[356]There is at least one record that appears to be of an elder paying up on a surety promise, though precisely who defaulted is not clear: "On the same day 5 rubles were received from Vasian Bel'skii, the surety (*u Vas'iana Bel'skovo, u poruchnika*), for an *argamak*, on which money had not been paid up (*za argamak, kotorye byli den'gi nedodany*)." (Man'kov 1980, 89)

[357]For instance, Il'ia Shershnev loaned 35 rubles to Dmitrii Nemovo in 1542 (AFZKh, 316). Il'ia was treasurer at the time.

And there was plenty of opportunity for graft – those who traveled on monastery business got expense allowances which would allow the opportunity to pocket change; those who paid wages to workers could under-pay or over-report and pocket the change; and those who collected rents could over-collect or under-report. But unfortunately, besides the fees for village elders there is no direct evidence explaining how so many monks kept building up the value of their private property in a community that officially condemned private property. Wherever the money came from, Iosifov throughout most of the sixteenth century very clearly espoused the ideal of non-possession while just as clearly living a "capitalist" life, just as throughout most of the twentieth century the Soviet Union espoused the ideals of Communist non-possession while living a "state capitalist" life.

A Sense of Community

One must assume there was some economic differentiation among the monks, but there is no evidence that it was divisive. To the contrary, economic issues were a strongly unifying factor: despite minor individual differences in wealth, the fate of everyone was equally tied up to the fate of the institution.[358] Sixteenth century Russia was a world of uncertainty and insecurity, and any wealth, including monastic wealth, had to be protected from innumerable dangers and predators or the monks could find themselves out in the cold. In the language of self-categorization theory this realization of a common fate straddles the line between theorized conditions and results:

> The perception of identity between oneself and ingroup members leads to a perceived identity of interests in terms of the needs, goals, and motives associated with ingroup membership. (Turner et al 1987, 65)

Here the perception of identity is itself based on common needs and goals (economic security), and the identity of interests is not only perceived but real – every monk really is affected by what happens to the institution.

There are several accounts in Iosif's Lives that attest to this phenomenon. The Life by Sava Chernyi recounts that after 1507 there was a severe famine in the region and starving people flocked to the monastery:

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[358]Gonneau (1993, 375) says the same thing about Trinity-Sergius. One need not imagine, he argues, a big difference between rich and poor monks. The vast majority are devoted to the common task which is exploitation of the monastic domain. The rich get to do what they already did, and the poor get to elevate themselves socially.

> ... many left their homes and were scattered to other cities, and many others came to the brothers of Father Iosif's monastery, men and women crying out from hunger. Some brothers told the saint, and he called to himself the steward (*kelar'*) and ordered him to feed them. There were seven hundred, besides small children. And he ordered the small children to be taken and fed in the guest house (*strannopriemnitsa*), for there were more than fifty of them, and some very small, about 2½ years old. And not long after, the steward came to Father Iosif and said there was no more rye: "There is nothing to feed even the brothers," he said. So he [Iosif] called the treasurer and ordered him to buy rye. The treasurer said there was no money. Then the saint, Father Iosif, ordered him to borrow money and write out loan deeds, in order to buy rye and feed the hungry. (VMCh 482)

This caused some discontent among the brothers, who, explains the Life, were themselves eating very poorly at the time:

> Seeing this, some of the brothers began to grumble, saying, "How can we buy [food] for such a large crowd? This is foolish mercy (*bezrassudnaia sia milost'*), it will ruin us without feeding them." ... Certain ones could not endure it any longer and came to Father Iosif and told him that it was impossible to endure ... (483)

Iosif is said to have given them a little sermon about their Christian duty to suffer with those who are suffering, and asked them to hold on a little longer. The Life suggests his words had a miraculous effect, sending the brothers back to their cells with tears in their eyes and prayers in their heart. Shortly thereafter the grand prince came to the rescue with both food and money. One need not take every detail of this story as historically accurate to realize that the picture of monks fearing for the effect on each of them of their institution's insolvency bears the ring of truth.

There is also another account in the same Life where the monks rose up against Iosif, having in mind their own economic well-being. This was the incident where the local appanage prince Fedor Borisovich had begun to harass and plunder the monastery. Iosif is said to have decided it was time for him to flee. The whole body of monks then spoke up with one voice against that proposition, and the reason they give for insisting that he stay is instructive:

> We came to the monastery of the Virgin hoping in the Holy Mother of God and in you, our father. And we gave donations, and in memory of our parents, lands and villages for the inheritance of eternal blessings. And you, father, to whom are you

> leaving these things, and will the souls of our parents not be commemorated? You will give answer for that to God.[359]

Of course Iosif decided to stay. Here again we see a portrayal of monks as being acutely aware that their monastery did not have an inexhaustible supply of wealth. Most of them donated substantial sums of money or property upon tonsure, and they did so in hopes of living out their lives in economic security. Living out their lives as monks was what their monastery was all about, and as a rule they could be expected to band together to oppose anything that might jeopardize that.

The monks' attitude toward institutional property is also evident in a story from the "Graveside Eulogy" to Iosif by his cousin Dosifei Toporkov:

> And every year for the feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God more than 1,000 poor people came, and they were fed in the evening and on the feast day. And each was sent away with a coin (*srebrenitsa*). And [Iosif] used to say if you continue to do this (*tako tvorite*) after my death, your monastery will never be poor (*ne imat' oskudeti do veka*). After a long time, when the princes cut back on their donations, their [the monks] resolve to continue doing this weakened. And immediately the monastery became poor (*abie skudost' posledovashe sim*). Then they understood the cause of the poverty and again put their hope in Father [Iosif's] prayers, and they remembered his commandment, and again they began to do what he had said to do. And suddenly the monastery was rich again (*abi umnozhenie byst'*), even more than before. (Nevostruev 1865c, 175)

There are several things worth noting in this extract. First, those interested in seeing Josephites as "ritualist," could do worse than to cite this story. Giving out bread and coins once a year on a patronal feast day to people who gather at the gate may be expensive, but it is hardly effective social service, and it is not undertaken even secondarily (at least by the community after Iosif) as a social service endeavor. Second, it becomes clear that monks went along with this particular expense originally because they were getting reimbursed from the local prince. When the prince stopped donating, the monks stopped passing the money along. Finally, Toporkov's first-hand knowledge of the monastic mindset prompted him to encourage the re-establishment of feast day alms not by reminding his readers of their duty to be charitable but by promising that God would make the monastery rich in return. Thus, the fundamental impact of "possession" – the need to protect what one has vis-a-vis

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[359] VMCh, 476; see also Zimin 1977, 78; Zimin 1959, 216.

others and get more – applied to Iosifov monks not only individually with respect to private possessions but collectively with respect to institutional possessions. Their common fate as men whose lives were totally dependent on an institution bound them together tightly with shared economic interests, even more strongly than a group of major stockholders in a modern corporation.

There were thus a variety of factors that built a strong sense of community at Iosifov, and one other source of evidence for that solidarity has survived in their wills. A man's last will and testament is surely one of those documents that testifies most faithfully to what he really thinks and what really matters to him. It is significant, then, that so many privately owned books were not bequeathed to biological family members but to the monastery. Actually, more often than not there was no written will, the library's acquisition records noting simply that books it received were "left in so-and-so's cell after he died." These phenomena do not necessarily mean that the monk had completely cut off connections with his family, but they do mean that those connections either were gone or were not terribly important in the monk's own mind. In self-categorization theory language, they had ceased to be salient. Even if the relatives were illiterate, these books could have been sold and the money given to the relatives instead if the monk's connection with his biological family was in fact more salient than his connection to his monastic family. Indeed, many books left to the monastery even in the absence of explicit wills have their cash values stated so they can be used to purchase commemoration time, so books could readily be valued for such purposes. Therefore one cannot write off these donations by monks to their own monastery, whether by default or by will, as insignificant. There were in fact alternatives, as we see from those few monks who did craft wills leaving some of their property to relatives.

Moreover, many if not most monks left not only their books but also their cash to the monastery when they died. And this is true also of those who at the time of their death had been away from Iosifov for years, that is, the ones who had been transferred out to become bishops or heads of other monasteries. The list of such men who throughout their lives continued to donate and bequeath books and large sums of cash from afar, is a long one: metropolitan Daniil Riazanets; archbishop of Novgorod Feodosii; bishop of Suzdal' Genadii; archbishops of Kazan' Gurii Rugotin, Lavrentii, and Tikhon Khvorostinin; bishop

of Riazan' Leonid Protas'ev; bishops of Krutitsa Nifont Kormilitsyn, Sava Chernyi, and Semen; igumen of Ugreshskii monastery Pimen Sadykov; archbishop of Rostov Vasian Sanin; bishop of Tver' Akakii; bishop of Kolomna Vasian Toporkov; and bishop of Smolensk Gurii Zabolotskii.[360] This does not prove that Iosifov remained their primary or most salient community, but it does mean that some degree of loyalty remained even after so many years abroad.

That loyalty is also reflected in book donations accompanied by the stipulation that the books could never leave Iosifov even after the donor's death. A few donors even invoked curses against any who might dare to remove the books against the donor's wishes:

> Vasian [Sanin, archbishop of Rostov] gave this book to the Iosifov monastery of the Virgin for the [commemoration of] his soul. It is not to be given to anyone outside the monastery nor sold; if anyone sells it or gives it outside the monastery, let God's mercy not be on him, nor our blessing, not in this age nor the next. [361]

That even men who left the monastery continued to identify strongly with their original monastic community is also suggested by a letter written in the mid-1580s by Leonid Protas'ev, former igumen of Iosifov and bishop at that time of Riazan'. Leonid had

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[360]Daniil gave numerous books and more than 500 rubles (Dmitrieva 1991c, 30; Stroev 1891, 60; GIM 419 43v.; Steindorff 1998, 44, 228); Feodosii of Novgorod gave numerous books and more than 100 rubles (Dmitrieva 1991c, 27, 35, 36; Dmitrieva 1991d, 46, 52, 87; Steindorff 1998, 124); Genadii of Suzdal' gave books, icons and other church goods such as vestments (Dmitrieva 1991c, 31; Stroev 1891, 147; GIM 419, 40v. Iosif 1881, 78; Steindorff 1998, 38); Gurii Rugotin gave at least two books and 150 rubles (Dmitrieva 1991c, 30, 31; Steindorff 1998, 78); Lavrentii of Kazan' gave numerous books and icons and 300 rubles (Dmitrieva 1991d, 58, 64, 88, 93, 96, Stroev 1891, 38; GIM 419, 142; Steindorff 1998, 200, 260; Laks 1997, 71); Leonid of Riazan' gave numerous books and more than 200 rubles (Dianova et al 1991, 281; Dmitrieva 1991c, 26, 39, 40; Dmitrieva 1991d, 49, 58, 60, 87, Iosif 1881, 13-15; Stroev 1891, 39, 83; Steindorff 1998, 306); Nifont Kormilitsyn gave numerous books, icons, and cash, altogether worth more than 100 rubles (Dianova et al 1991, 163; Dmitrieva 1991c, 32, 36, 38, 39, 59, 77; Iosif 1881, 195; Stroev 1891, 93; Steindorff 1998, 122), Sava Chernyi gave icons and goods worth at least 100 rubles (Steindorff 1998, 120; GIM 418, 30v.), Galakhtion Tetry gave 100 rubles (Steindorff 1998, 306), Semen of Krutitsa gave books (Dmitrieva 1991d, 97), Pimen Sadykov gave numerous books and cash (Dianova et al 1991, 199, 353; Dmitrieva 1991c, 41; Dmitrieva 1991d, 45, 60, 87; Stroev 1891, 64, 102; Iosif 1881, 21; GIM 418, 17; GIM 419, 151); Tikhon Khvorostinin gave at least one book and enough cash to establish two permanent yearly feasts (*kormy*, would require at least 200 rubles; Dmitrieva 1991d, 70; Steindorff 1998, 238, 260), Vasian Sanin gave books and 130 rubles cash (Dianova et al 263; Stroev 1891, 104; GIM 419, 30; Steindorff 1998, 302), Akakii of Tver' gave books and at least 300 rubles (Dmitrieva 1991c, 36; GIM 419, 72; Steindorff 1998, 108), Vasian Toporkov gave numerous books (Dianova et al 1991, 201; Dmitrieva 1991c, 28, 29, 32), Gurii Zabolotskii gave at least one book and 100 rubles (Steindorff 1998, 60). The references listed here are only those explicitly mentioning donations; if one were to include all books once owned by these people based on the assumption that in order to get into the Volokolamsk library they must have been donated, the list would be much longer. The hierarchs missing from this list are archbishop of Kazan' German Polev (for whom there is one psalter in the monastery library that had been owned by him; Dmitrieva 1991d, 67), archbishop of Kazan' Ieremiia (left behind a psalter; Dmitrieva 1991d, 64), and bishop of Smolensk Sava Slepushkin (no explicit donation records).

[361]Dianova et al 1991, 264. See also 146 (igumen Leonid Protas'ev), 201 (bishop of Kolomna Vasian Toporkov), 163 (bishop of Krutitsa Nifont Kormilitsyn), 231 (igumen Levkei Akishev), 261 (igumen of Selizharov monastery Fegnost Rugotin); Iosif 1881, 11-12 (Lavrentii, archbishop of Kazan), 22 (starets Kornilii Novgorodets).

been snubbed at an official dinner by archbishop Evfimii of Rostov and sent a petition against him to tsar Fedor Ivanovich complaining that "he calls all of us who had been tonsured at Iosifov (*Osifovskikh postrizhennikov*) ... not Josephites but Judaizers (*zhidovliane*)..." (AI, 1:410). His letter goes on to defend the Josephites at length by referring to great ones of the past and present. The sainted founder Iosif has an unquestionably Orthodox pedigree, he says, having been baptized by another saint Pafnutii of Borovsk who was in turn baptized by the great Sergius of Radonezh. Josephite alumni have served and continue to serve in episcopal sees around the country; here Leonid mentions by name no fewer than 17 of them. His letter is of interest not only for what it reveals about Leonid's view, but also because it reveals that some outside of Volokolamsk also saw the Josephites as a close-knit clan, as it were – though in this case in very negative terms.[362] That sense of community will have been shared by many who never became hierarchs and is evident in what one of those who never became a hierarch wrote in one of his books:

> This psalter is Feodorit Stupishin's. And regardless of whatever monastery the starets Feodorit may die in, this psalter is to be given to the Iosifov monastery of the Virgin. (Dianova et al 1991, 205)

Also, in the outside world it is a person's immediate family that makes the final arrangements and takes an interest in remembering him after his death. For a monk this role is taken up by his monastic brothers. Occasionally explicit evidence of these relationships turns up in surviving records. Thus, in 1514 Nil Polev wrote an inscription in a book stating that he had given eight books and three rubles for commemorative services for himself, then adds "We pray with tears, and direct (*prikazyvaem*), that this be done after our death by

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[362]No explanation is given for specifically why Evfimii called men of Iosifov "Judaizers." It may reflect opposition to the harsh treatment Iosif advocated for the heretics accused of being Judaizers. Zhmakin (1881b, 119) discusses this tendency for Josephites to be seen as a kind of political party for the purpose of arguing that the Iosifov monastery stood for and propagated a particular politico-theological line of thought throughout Russia. However, the degree to which they actually did that versus simply being perceived as representatives of their illustrious founding father is not so easy to determine. There is other evidence for the same phenomenon. While Iosif was still alive Volokolamsk elder Nil Polev got into a dispute with elders of Kirillo-Belozersk when he had for a while moved to a hermitage in that area. In a letter to a Kirillov monk named German he complains that German claims that, "our father igumen Iosif and all of us tonsured by him are excommunicated from the holy and life-giving sacraments of Christ our God." (Zhmakin 1881a, 189) This is a reference to the Serapion affair, which did end up being decided in Iosif's favor, and Nil goes on to point out that the excommunication had been lifted. This is one example from a number of letters that testify to a kind of enmity or rivalry between the Iosifov and Kirillov communities. On Nil see the remainder of Zhmakin (1881a), and on Dionisii Zvenigorodskii who accompanied him to the Beloozero area see Druzhinin 1909, 52-63.

prince Arsenii Golenin and my elder Iona [Golova] and elder Gerontii Rakitin" (Iosif 1881, 134-35). There are also a few records of individual startsy paying for services or commemorative feasts for their erstwhile comrades.[363] Thus in the most fundamental ways, the Iosifov monastery community became "home" and "family" for its residents.

One of the best examples of a Iosifov monk's sense of community yet ongoing connections with family beyond the walls is Nikifor Morin. Nikifor was a monk since before 1568 and served as treasurer for many years after 1573, yet through 1589 he retained ownership of his patrimony the village (*sel'tso*) Sofatovo, for in that year he donated it to Iosifov for commemoration of family members and himself. In this donation it is remarkable that Nikifor presents himself as a typical landowner capable of undertaking all the financial responsibilities of a landowner even after this particular piece of property is no longer his. He himself becomes the Medieval equivalent of a title guaranty company, making a firm commitment to personally make good on any unknown encumbrances that may turn up on the property:

> And if my patrimony, the village Safatovo and the vacant land Utkino, should be subject to a loan, or a deed of purchase, or a deed of exchange, or a mortgage, or any kind of encumbrance with anyone – then I starets Nikifor will clear my patrimony from such encumbrances, and the Iosifov monastery will not suffer any loss.

Thus, Nikifor, who has already been a monk for 20 years, proclaims himself still a man of substantial worldly means. At the same time, Nikifor's ties are now to Iosifov rather than to the rest of his clan, as becomes clear in clauses such as the following:

> As for my tribe (*plemia*) and my clan (*rod*), none of them have any business whatsoever with the village Safatovo or the vacant land Utkino. And if any relative of mine seeks out this patrimony and wants to redeem it from Iosifov monastery, let him give Iosifov monastery, for [commemoration of] our relatives and for my soul, 200 rubles cash.[364]

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[363] Izmail Snazin gave one half ruble for mead for a feast for Vasian Bel'skii (Man'kov 1980, 144), and Nikifor Morin gave one and a half rubles for a feast for starets Nifont (Man'kov 1980, 150). For Iev Mechev and Isaia Klepik, unnamed donors or the monastery itself paid for their services (Man'kov 1980, 217, 240).

[364] AFZkh, 386. For another example, see Ioasaf Korovin (GIM 419, 131v.). Such clauses were common in sixteenth century land deeds because real estate was commonly thought to belong to the clan rather than to an individual, and otherwise different members of the clan would have a right of redemption. The point here is not that the clause itself is unique but that the very act of donating the land required Iosif to consciously make the monastery his beneficiary instead of his relatives.

Three years later Nikifor wrote his will in which he left numerous valuable icons to the monastery and sent small sums of cash far and wide to different churches and monasteries, to commemorate himself after his death, to pay for funeral feasts in his honor, and to give sums of money to the poor at those feasts. He also had yet one more piece of real estate to bequeath, the village Bashiurinovo which he lamented was not worth much because it had been desolate for 20 years on account of Ivan IV's *oprichnina*. (It may be no coincidence that the destruction of Bashiurinovo happened at roughly the same period of time as Nikifor's arrival at Iosifov.) Bashiurinovo went to his daughter, her husband, and their children. The will ends with the following paragraph:

> I commend (*prikazyvaiu*) my much-sinful soul to starets Misail Beznin and starets Efrem Nashchekin, that they would deign to commemorate my sinful soul as God directs them. 10 rubles remain behind after my death, and my executors (*prikazchiki*, i.e., Misail and Efrem) are to give out that money to the poor as alms. And there is also 40 rubles cash in the treasury in a pillow (?-*v kazne v podgolovke*) – give that out in the same manner. (AFZkh, 393)

Clearly Nikifor was no "non-possessing" monk in any sense of the word. And years after tonsure he retained some loyalty to his biological "family" over against his current monastic "family." But judging by the value of the gifts, the latter took precedence by far. The monastery got the valuable real estate while his daughter got barren land, and his cash went all for commemoration and alms for the poor.

Few monks were as wealthy as Nikifor, but it seems likely that many and probably most went through the same process of shifting their main sense of collective identity from the clan or family to the monastic community. In doing so, they espoused ideals of humility and non-possession but lived lives just as full of economic responsibilities, worries, and goals as their secular countrymen. Those ideals and the realities of life were no different from what any other Russian monastery at that time would have acknowledged, though the former were perhaps expressed more clearly by Iosif's rule and thus possibly were kept more effectively in the forefront of monks' minds. But from the standpoint of social culture, Iosifov was truly just another medieval Russian monastery.

Looking more closely at the economic realities of the monks' lives, though, one must also recognize the monastery-landlord as similar to secular landlords. The monks made their decisions on how to acquire and spend economic resources – both individually and

collectively – much like their secular countrymen. One cannot necessarily point to religious differences, for all confessed the same Orthodox faith. But there was one key difference: Volokolamsk was an institution whereas its neighbors were individual landowners. Yet institutions too are run by individuals, so what would make Volokolamsk fundamentally different? The next chapter will address that question by taking up the issue of institutional structures that guided or constrained the actions of the institution's leadership.

6. Some Aspects of Josephite Political Culture

Josephites are credited with fostering absolutism in Russian secular politics, both by exalting the office of grand prince or tsar and by glorifying "blind obedience" in a rigidly hierarchical political structure. James Billington and Iakov Lur'e present clear examples of this line of interpretation:[365]

> As the influence of the Josephite party grew at court, the conception of tsardom itself was given a monastic flavor. All of Muscovy came to be viewed as a kind of vast monastery under the discipline of a Tsar-Archimandrite. ... The victorious monastic party brought new confusion of authority into Muscovy by blurring the division between the monastery and the outside world. ... The asceticism and discipline of the Josephite monasteries began to be applied to civil society ... (Billington 1966, 64)
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> A [Josephite] monastery was not a free union of people equal among themselves who had "rejected the world" (*otrekshikhsia zhitiia*), but an organization shackled by iron discipline with a complicated hierarchy and unconditional subjection of the lower [class] to the upper [class]. (Lur'e 1956, 138)

A few scholars have pointed out complications in this simplistic picture,[366] but I will go farther than that by arguing that Iosif and his legacy actually did the exact opposite of encouraging unthinking obedience to established authority. "Political culture"[367] here means primarily the ideals and reality of relationships within the monastery ruling class, that is, between the igumen and the council of elders. Secondarily it includes relations between the

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[365]See also the Introduction for additional citations to scholars who advance such arguments.

[366]For example, Szeftel (1965) has pointed out that Iosif's portrayal of the grand prince varied depending on his actual relationship with him at particular times. Yet he does not attempt to determine if Iosif was simply being inconsistent and opportunistic or was guided by an underlying consistent belief that called for different specific reactions in different circumstances. Also, despite the widespread attribution of "influence" to "Josephites" it is actually quite difficult to find a work that specifically shows how obscure "Josephite" texts such as his *Prosvetitel'* which was probably read only by monks could have a profound impact on the Russian secular world in general or the boiar elite in particular. Nor is any true "Josephite" influence shown upon Metropolitan Makarii who did have some impact in transforming the "grand prince" into the "tsar" – he is called a Josephite merely because he followed that line although he had nothing to do with Iosifov itself! Conversely, other (genuine) Josephites after Iosif are not generally shown to have exalted the authority of the grand prince or tsar on their own.

[367]There are some historians for whom "political culture" would be a contradiction in terms since "culture" by definition is viewed as inherently distinct from other realms such as economics and politics. Others offer narrowly technical definitions for "political culture." As I pointed out in footnote 3 in chapter 5, I am not interested in entering into these debates on one side or the other, and I use "culture" in its ordinary English sense. In the context of this dissertation, "political culture" is synonymous with other terms such as "political order," "political relationships," and so on: it refers to the beliefs and behaviors of the monks of Iosifov pertaining to how they governed their community.

ruling class and the rank and file. In each case the question to be answered is how the monastery as an institution was governed, that is, how policy decisions were reached and implemented. No image of an absolutist Josephite igumen (or archimandrite in Billington's terms) emerges from this study.

Evidence for the ideal of a system wherein a relatively powerful council of elders acts as a check on the igumen's authority will be drawn mainly from Iosif's Rule. The monastery's estate management policies in the 1590s will then be examined as a case study illustrating those ideals in action. And the chapter will close by suggesting that Iosif's stress on the council's role in monastic government had a negative impact on institutional spending for charitable purposes. Unlike the previous chapter, this one finds that Iosif really did introduce a new emphasis, if not a totally new idea, to Russian monastic spirituality. Also different this time is the fact that reality appears to have matched the ideal very closely. Indeed, it appears that Iosif was far more "successful" than he himself would have expected or even wished.

The Igumen versus the Council of Elders

Up until Iosif's day, the igumen of a cenobitic monastery was theoretically an absolute monarch whose will was to be obeyed unquestioningly. As a practical matter he could not always count on such absolute obedience any more than the grand princes could, but the monks were firmly taught to obey, as can be seen in the following extract from the first Russian cenobitic Rule by Evfrosin of Elizarov monastery:

> On submitting one's will to one's igumen. Submit to him and cut off all your will by the sword of the word of God ... Brothers, it is fitting for us to not be disobedient but to do everything that we are ordered to do, and to accept [what we are ordered] as from God, as the holy apostle says, "Who obeys you, obeys me, and who rejects you, rejects me." (Suzdal'tseva 2001, 45)

Naturally, if the igumen is to be *obeyed* as God, it is very important that he *be* like God, that is, saintly. Hence Evfrosin's Rule devotes even more space to advising monks to choose a good igumen:

> You, brothers, search out for yourselves a God-pleasing, good, intelligent, and spiritual man, one having a good report in everything regarding his virtuous life. ... Let such an igumen be an example to his flock in everything, by truth and by a holy life, living saintly and righteously, observing whatever is lawful and pious. ...

> Having found such a one, you no longer need mourn, for you have found the path to salvation. (Suzdal'tseva 2001, 43-45)

The world, however, is not full of men fully qualified to function as a monastic brotherhood's path to salvation. Evfrosin's Rule has what may be considered a fatal flaw, for while it warns against installing a bad man as igumen, it does not give any guidance about what to do in the inevitable event that such a man actually ends up in that office anyway. It certainly stands to reason that if a good igumen is a monastery's very "path to salvation," a bad one enjoying absolute obedience could well be its "path to perdition."

During his long monastic career Iosif saw precisely that happen many times to other monastic communities.[368] Consequently, toward the end of his life he set his mind to the difficult task of figuring out how to protect his own monastery from such a fate after his death. His creation of a written Rule was the result. There is no evidence that he made any attempt to produce such a document for the first twenty years after he founded his community in 1479. The first draft so to speak apparently came into being some time after the turn of the century when he was already in his 60's.[369] And the final version was written just a few years before his death when his physical condition made it clear the end was at hand. His introduction to the document itself attests clearly to his physical state and his intentions

> I have issued these writings while I am still alive, in order that you treasure them while I am with you and after my departure. The years have approached old age, and the mortal cup is prepared. I have fallen sick with numerous and diverse illness, and nothing summons me but death and the terrible judgment of my Lord, Christ God. Therefore I fear and tremble, for I hear the Divine Writings say: The superior shall be called to account for all who are under him. If he is able to cut them off from evil, but fails to do so, God will demand their blood from his hand, and he himself will perish with them as indifferent and lazy. If he rebukes and forbids them and is still unable to cut them off from evil, then he has delivered his own soul, and they will die in their own sin. (Goldfrank 2000, 163-64)

Iosif considered himself personally responsible for the spiritual welfare and eternal salvation of the souls entrusted to him as igumen.[370] He devoted his whole life to untiring efforts to

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[368]This is not just a surmise, as is explained below, he actually recounts a whole series of such disasters within his Rule.

[369]On the dating of the Brief Rule, see Goldfrank 2000, 51.

[370]There is a great deal of material on the igumen as pastor responsible for his flock in pp.225-241.

that end, and he was convinced that the manner of life he established and maintained at Volokolamsk was the best way to protect and advance the monks' spiritual welfare. If during his lifetime Iosif saw no need for a written Rule, it is because he was the personification of a Rule. So what he put down in writing was not really a "Rule" per se but rather was first and foremost a document intended to preserve his personal legacy after his death. That is why the final version does not even contain the word "Rule" (*ustav*) in its title but rather "Will and Testament" (*dukhovnaia gramota*). As such, it may be taken as a faithful witness to just what Iosif really thought his legacy was all about and what he thought would be most likely to preserve it.

Iosif was fully aware that the way of life of his monastery was based largely on his personal leadership; he knew that any future igumen could have as much influence as he had; he knew that such influence could be used for good or ill; and he knew that he would have no control over who his successors would be. With that in mind he set out to create a document that would be as effective as possible in preserving the Volokolamsk way of life in the future *regardless of who might succeed him as igumen.*

Such a document would have to lay out in some detail the specific traditions essential to monastic life at Volokolamsk. Included in them would be the basic principles of cenobitic life and the role of a strong igumen which Iosif considered essential to that life. It would ideally serve as a didactic text for the igumen as well as the brotherhood, and Iosif did in fact include a great deal of advice for his successors, such as the following:

> It is proper for the superior to display all his zeal and to provide and care for the souls given him by God. "For the whole world is not worth one soul; the one passes, the other is imperishable and dies." (242)
>
> It is proper for the pastor to be flexible: meek and savage, humble and haughty. If everyone were good, then only goodness would be needed. If this is not so, then fear is necessary, since goodness affirms what is good, while fear bridles evil. (243)
>
> It is said in the Geronticon: ... "One shall be called to account for those under his control as to whether he thoroughly investigated possible transgressions and forbade them." (243)
>
> It is also proper for the pastor not to seek his own profit, but the profit of many, that many be saved. And when from one there arises detriment to the many, then it is not proper to forbear, because the improvement of many is better than the harm to one. (244)

But in order to be effective over the long term such a document would have to go beyond didacticism. Teachings can always be ignored. It would also have to put mechanisms in place that would *ensure adherence* to those traditions on the part of *both* leadership *and* brotherhood. Within his Rule Iosif does exhort brothers to obey igumens and all to obey the Rule, but he is under no illusions that they always will do so. The potential that people will disregard the written word is in fact the central problem behind the whole idea of creating an effective written Rule. Iosif addressed it in part by assigning a watchdog role to the council of elders.

The council has several functions in his rule. On the one hand its members are the igumen's eyes and ears, and his and the Rule's enforcers among the rank and file:

> The senior and council brothers, who have received the direction of the monastery together with the superior or in the absence of the superior, shall themselves accept and possess these instructions and also constrain the other brothers and instruct and counsel them to accept and possess them, so that at Christ's terrifying advent, you shall hear from the Lord Christ, 'Well done, you good and faithful servant; you have been faithful regarding a few things, I will set you over many; enter into the joy of your Lord.'" (253)
>
> If they see someone irregular or perverse, they shall rebuke and forbid or report him to the superior. (257)
>
> Not only pastors and directors, but also their disciples, that is, the senior and council brothers and all the monastery officials who received the direction of the monastery from them, likewise were meek and lenient when it was proper, and brutal and merciless when that was proper. Not only did they themselves keep the patristic traditions, but they also constrained and chastised others and were not afraid. (263)

With the igumen they are authority figures who help ensure Rule observance by all.[371] As "disciples" of the igumen they are subject to him, but at the same time they are also advisors to him – and in case he should transgress the rule, they are expected to admonish him to return to the straight and narrow:

> And if any transgressions be suspected on the part of the superior, it is proper to remind him of this. Behold that it is proper not only for the brothers, but also for the superior himself to be reminded by the preeminent council brothers. (265)

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[371]Outside Iosif's Rule, most of the extant evidence attests to the policing function of the council elders. They watch over the refectory to ensure meals proceed in good order (Steindorff 1998, 114-17) when large sums of money are received they are to be the ones to handle it (Steindorff 1998, 332); they have authority to act as the treasurer in his absence (Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 347); they have power to forgive loans made by the monastery (Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 350); they can vouch for the fact that a loan was paid off although written record of that is absent (Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 356); and they elect the treasurer each year (Man'kov 1987, 1:9).

The council is thus Iosif's central institutional insurance that his Rule will be followed by the igumen as well as the rank and file.[372] There is always the possibility that isolated individuals intent on corrupting Josephite traditions might get into leadership positions, or that some originally conscientious ones could "go bad." But a council made up of twelve men chosen for their conservative faithfulness to those traditions would put a serious brake on what any scattered individuals with evil intent could accomplish, even if one got into the igumen's office. The council's conservative influence may be compared to the United States Supreme Court, where the life terms ensure much more continuity compared to the elected politicians' two, four, and six year terms. So far as we know, Iosif's council elders also held their positions for life (men went into and out of the treasurer and steward offices while still remaining council elders).

Iosif's expectations for the council are the reason behind his insistence that it must always be twelve in number, which he advances against some contemporary objections that so many would be excessive:[373]

> Saint Theodore the Studite commands that there be ten council elders directing the monastery in addition to the superior and the steward; and Saint Athanasius commanded that in addition to the superior and steward, there be ten holding responsibility for church, refectory, and monastic good order. ... even in monasteries which are not large they have ten major and preeminent brothers along with the steward and treasurer. All of these make twelve in addition to the superior, and complete responsibility for the monastery is confided to them. It is these whom the divine Writings call the preeminent brothers in worthiness and intelligence. According to our custom, they are called "council brothers." ... As he [Christ] assembled a chorus of twelve disciples, the superior has selected twelve preeminent and senior brothers ... In the place of the Lord Christ, they have the persona of the superior, and in place of the twelve apostles they have chosen twelve brothers preeminent in worthiness and intelligence. (266)
>
> If someone says, "There is no need for so many council brothers," he is really saying, "there is no need for good order, reverence, and a peaceful administration in the church, refectory, or monastery, but everything shall be irregular and perverse." (268)

[372]Iosif also stipulated that the council elders serve as the primary electors of the igumen (Goldfrank 2000, 263), but this does not seem to be among those parts of the Rule that were normally observed in practice.

[373]See also the long defense of the number twelve on p.266. The number 12 is of course scriptural – the number of tribes of Israel, the number of apostles of Christ, and so forth. It symbolizes completeness. But there were also other scriptural numbers that could have been chosen, such as three and seven. Iosif's concern about opposition to his choice of 12 was not unrealistic – there is a 1526 decree from the metropolitan directing one monastery to establish a council consisting of treasurer and steward with three or four other monks (AI, 1:292)

This large size not only ensures that there would be enough of them to watch over the other monks, it also helps ensure both continuity and political effectiveness. A new igumen interested in making changes would not soon – perhaps not even within his lifetime – be able to influence the choice of enough new council members to stack the deck in his favor.[374] Also, there is safety in numbers when people in a formally lower position of authority (the council) must oppose a determined person in a higher position (the igumen).

Iosif's Rule explicitly addresses the difficulties inherent in opposing a bad igumen without sufficient backing, in a long "historical digression." The stated purpose of this part of the text is to show why a written Rule is needed. It does that by reciting a long litany of stories about other monasteries repeatedly betraying genuine monastic traditions in the past, leading to the conclusion that Russian monks in general, including Iosif himself with his community, have become lax and badly in need of guidance:

> And let no one consider that I condemn all the monks or revile the monasteries of the present time. Absolutely not, fathers and brothers, absolutely not! But as I wrote not to all monks, but to myself and to those under me, so now I speak and write not about everybody, but about myself and those under me. Since only the form of monasticism now exists among us, but not even the smallest deeds, we are not easily brought to virtue and we work hard for a little correction to our lives.[375] And we need a great many instructions and admonitions, parables and tales, and writings and traditions to persuade us. Indeed, if with instructions, admonitions, and writings, we behold the ideal models and then in the course of a short time fall into the depths of forgetfulness, then how much worse would it be if the writings were not written? They would quickly be forgotten and come to nought. (238-39)

The "ideal models" Iosif presents in this section are both good igumens of the past and the elders who oppose bad igumens. The corruptions of monastic life in many of the stories are introduced by igumens from outside who betray their new house's traditions. The heroes of these stories are the elders of those monasteries who confronted the evil igumens even at the cost of physical punishment. The elders are not always portrayed as successful, but they

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[374]The case of Boris Godunov discussed below offers a good example of someone doing just that in an analogous political situation. He gradually got rid of each of his enemies among the boiars until he no longer faced opposition to his rule.

[375]Substituting my own translation of this sentence. *Ponezhe tokmo obraz inochstva nyne v nas est', del zhe ni malo; i togo radi neudob' privodni esmy k dobrodeteli, i togo radi podvignemsia k malomu zhitia ispravleniiu.* The editors of the Russian edition in a footnote emend the second *togo radi* to *edva.* (VMCh, 560)

are very clearly portrayed as heroes – or rather, as saints. Iosif's technique is quite clear in the following extract:

> After the demise of the blessed Kirill and his disciples, Innokentii and Khristofor, there was in his monastery in our lifetime a superior from another monastery, one who did not treasure some of Saint Kirill's traditions and laws and put them into a state of neglect. There was at that time in Kirillov Monastery an elder by the name of Dosifei, called Nevedomitsin. He and other of the active elders who loved Saint Kirill's traditions – namely Symon Kartmazov and Mikhailo Treparev, Irinarkh Sukhoy, Feognost Oboburov, Feodot Proskurnik, and others – were in no way silent, but reprimanded and talked back. The blessed Dosifei so suffered at the hands of the superior that he received blows from him many times. Once when he was telling the superior that he must not pervert the traditions of Saint Kirill, the latter threw him off the refectory balcony, and he fell down on the ground almost dead. When he recovered his health, he said to the superior: 'Even if you want to surrender me to death, I shall not cease to speak to you of this.'" (Goldfrank 2000, 229-230)

Notice how all of the characters in this story who behaved "correctly" in Iosif's view are named even if they played such minor roles that nothing else is told about them except that they were on the correct (if not the winning) side of the conflict. By naming these men Iosif is immortalizing them, or in a sense canonizing, them. The intended message is that anyone who defends Iosif's traditions in the future at Volokolamsk will likewise be glorified some day even if their efforts are not immediately successful. Conversely, the evil igumen who is the central character in the story is never named – the lesson here is that those who betray genuine monastic traditions will ultimately be forgotten regardless of their high office. Also very important in this story is the fact that the elders who oppose the bad igumen do so only verbally – they do not raise a hand against him. The violence in the story is committed only by the bad igumen.

Such stories send a clear message to future Volokolamsk council elders and even ordinary monks, exhorting them to follow suit if necessary. The purpose of this section is not so much to justify the creation of a written Rule as to help ensure adherence to it even if Volokolamsk should be afflicted with a bad igumen. Given the universal emphasis in the monastic world as well as elsewhere in Iosif's own Rule on the importance of obedience to the igumen, it was not enough to state simply that, "it is proper not only for the brothers, but also for the superior himself to be reminded by the preeminent council brothers." He needed

solid historical precedent in order to impress upon future council elders that they must be prepared to oppose vigorously regardless of consequences the man that elsewhere they are urged to obey as a father figure. This very long historical section is truly Iosif's unique personal contribution to a Rule that is otherwise a compendium of texts drawn from other Orthodox sources.[376] And it would very effectively cement in its readers' minds an understanding of relations between the council and the abbot that would put a severe limit on the latter's power. Clearly, the oft-heard charge that Iosif's brand of monasticism was all about "blind obedience" could not be farther from the truth. To the contrary, his special contribution to Russian monastic spirituality is rather a stress on the igumen's accountability to the brotherhood.

Thus we have in the Rule a carefully thought-out combination of cenobitic traditions and an institutional structure designed to administer them, enforce them, and protect them from change or neglect. The igumen's role is to act not as an autocrat but as an administrator. Throughout the Rule Iosif recognizes that each monk is a unique human being with unique needs, and generalized principles cannot be applied unthinkingly in every circumstance. For every person who should eat only the standard fare set before him there is another whose health or assigned work demands something special. Cenobitic life must be guided by an administrator whose responsibility is the spiritual welfare of each monk and

[376] Goldfrank (2000, 92) calls the historical digression "a slanted, didactic history of some highlights of Rus and Russian monastic leadership." He suggests the intent was partly to avert the problem of igumens being chosen from other monasteries; but one must remember who the Rule is for: it is to be read by the monks, the elders, and the igumen. Though Iosif stated that the council should select the igumen in the Rule, he also knew very well that the grand prince would do it, and he cannot have expected that every grand prince would read the Rule. Also, the structure of these stories with their emphasis on the elders who (mostly in vain) oppose the bad igumens makes clear the lessons being taught have to do not so much with avoiding bad igumens as with how to respond to them. Elsewhere Goldfrank suggests that this section constitutes mainly "a tendentious account of Russian monastic history to justify his [Iosif's] own style of monasticism." (108) But this supposition also does not fit the facts very well, for the stories do not justify any particular "style" of life – they do not even explain just what "traditions" were abrogated by the bad igumens. They only emphasize that elders and even monks must oppose an igumen who neglects the right traditions (which the reader is to understand means those that are explained in the rest of Iosif's Rule). Goldfrank does mention that "[i]n the light of Vasilii III's power to appoint the successor and his forbidding Iosif to write anything against Vassian, Iosif firmed up his council as a means of preserving his overall political and ideological legacy." (109) However, he offers no further explanation of what exactly he means by "firming up" or "preserving." Finally, Goldfrank expends some effort attempting to ascertain how accurate Iosif's historical stories were and identifying the "bad igumens" whom Iosif himself refrains from naming (see pp.93-97). He correctly observes that "Whether the issue of Kirill's traditions actually caused any or all of the struggles against the superiors, as Iosif claimed, is debatable." (95) I would go farther and replace "debatable" with "doubtful" – but for my purposes of ascertaining both the intended and actual function of these stories, that does not matter. The monks who read these stories were not historians who would seek out "what actually happened." They would internalize the stories themselves with the images of elders standing up to igumens in order to defend a monastery's traditions.

who will ensure that the spirit rather than the letter of the Rule will be applied in each case. This is the igumen's primary function, and that is why he is to be consulted in nearly every aspect of the monk's daily life:

> Consult the superior about what, when, and how it is proper to eat and drink foods and drinks, and also about what quantity and value to have of clothing and footwear, holy icons, books, and all things, and silver coins, and for working handicrafts, buying and selling, and writing and sending letters, or if anyone is sent a letter or anything else. (193)

> Without the superior or the steward's blessing, no one in the brotherhood shall take anything: not from the church, not from the refectory, not from the other workshops, not from the cells in the monastery, and not from outside the monastery; no garment, no boots, no other such item; none of the iron objects, namely pole axes, knives, nails, awls, needles, and similar things; none of the woodworking objects, namely logs, planks, squared beams, and roofing boards for cells and other buildings, and nothing belonging to the monastery, or anything belonging to a brother. (196-197)

> It is necessary to know that it is improper, better to say, calamitous, for monks to go outside the monastery without the superior's blessing. (201)

Even late arrival for a meal in the refectory requires that one ask the igumen or in his absence the steward for forgiveness, and those who are sick and need a special diet or must eat in their cells are to get the igumen's permission for that.[377]

The igumen, however, is not allowed to act as an absolute monarch. He has around him the council of elders whose function is in part to ensure that he does in fact follow the spirit of the Rule. And even in their "enforcer" roles the elders are not mindlessly obedient automatons but are expected to act with the same authority, discernment, and sense of responsibility the igumen himself is charged with. They are all called upon to understand and apply the spirit of the rule to particular circumstances even when the igumen is

[377]The igumen has the same responsibility to guide even the council elders and monks in positions of authority in the conduct of their jobs: "In like manner, the officials are not to buy for themselves anything special with the monastery's money without the superior's or the steward's blessing. And they shall distribute and take back and do everything in keeping with the superior's blessing and not have or consider anything their own." (193-194)

present.[378] And in his absence or during interregna they – collectively or one of their number, often but not always the steward – must function as acting igumen.[379]

Thus, all must be involved in a constant process of discerning just what that "spirit of the Rule" actually entails. This presumes that all read the Rule and that all take part in some deliberative process by which disagreements and misunderstandings concerning the Rule are resolved. This was certainly Iosif's hope; no doubt there were elders whose knowledge of cenobitic traditions did not come from reading the Rule, and those for whom preserving such traditions was not a very high priority. But in any case they will all have been active participants in the process of governing the monastery, not merely obeying orders but deciding what the orders should be.

The political culture I am describing here bears a remarkable resemblance to the rule-by-consensus political culture Nancy Kollmann (1987) has attributed to the grand princely court of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries. Kollmann devotes a great deal of her book to describing the importance of kinship and marriage connections in political relationships, which in the monastic environment play a relatively small role.[380] But aside from that the similarities are striking. The "unity of interest" (3) she ascribes to the boiars and the sovereign parallels that between the council and the igumen. The sovereign's function as the "symbolic center" (47) and the "ideology and public ceremony" designed to promote an image of his autocratic power (146) apply perfectly to the monastic conception of the igumen's role. Boiar control during grand princely sickness or minority parallels council control during igumen absences and interregna.[381] The boiars' official "legitimacy as advisors, reflecting in some measure their real power" (149) reflects the council's

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[378]Consider, for instance, Iosif's remark quoted above stating that ideal elders of the past were "meek and lenient when it was proper, and brutal and merciless when that was proper." (Goldfrank 2000, 263)

[379]One occasionally sees in land deeds and other documents the phrase "igumen so-and-so and brotherhood" replaced by "steward so-and-so and brotherhood" (as in AFZKh, 428) or even by naming one or more council elders in place of the igumen or steward (as in AFZKh, 408). When the community needed a new igumen in 1587, it was a delegation of three council elders that traveled to Moscow to petition the tsar' to appoint a new one (Man'kov 1980, 252).

[380]As noted above in chapter 4, a few families sent many members to Volokolamsk, each of which tended to gravitate quickly to influential positions. Eight Stupishins became monks, five of them council elders and three *startsy*. Two more were apparent cases of deathbed tonsure.

[381]Even her arguments parallel mine: "The power exercised by the boiars in these extraordinary times suggests that even in normal times boiars were involved in decisions concerning the distribution of power." (73) It is not a ironclad argument of course, but it contributes to the rest of a strong circumstantial case.

advisory function and its real power. Kollmann's contrast between ideal and reality could as well have written about Volokolamsk:

> The ubiquity of the theme of harmony and unanimity compels us to take it seriously as a principle of Muscovite politics. It is not consistent with the reality of court politics, which was marked by dissension, but it hints at limits on such fractious disputes. ... Unanimity was the implicit way for boiars to prevent and resolve political conflicts." (149)

There are no historical records such as modern meeting minutes attesting to the actual decision-making process for either boiars or council elders.[382] However, both groups were part of the same Eastern Orthodox culture which has no tradition of "majority rule": the pattern is rather rule by consensus, and schism or elimination of opponents when universal agreement cannot be reached.

Consensus on any given issue in such an environment may occasionally come about spontaneously, but in general a leader is required who can use persuasion and manipulation to create consensus where it was not or bolster it when it is weak.[383] Forging a consensus takes skill and effort, and there is no reason why the person best able and most inclined to work at that must necessarily be the grand prince or the igumen. We have very clear evidence of this in the tsarist government after the death of Ivan IV. Ivan's son Fedor succeeded him, and if one reads the documents produced during Fedor's reign they all

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[382] Actually one might argue that meeting minutes of a modern political body would not leave a very accurate picture of the actual decision-making process, much of which goes on behind the scenes or is deliberately left out of the official record. In the case of Volokolamsk, the closest one gets is the instance cited in the previous chapter when the elders appear to have gone to bat for their constituency against an igumen in the dispute with Daniil over private ownership of books and icons. The fact that the aggrieved monks in that case addressed their written complaint to council elder Iona Golova suggests they may have had the council or a contingent from it on their side. Interestingly enough, however, the system apparently did not work in that case as Iosif intended, for the council of elders was recruited to defend the monks against an igumen who was attempting to implement strict observance of a provision of Iosif's Rule, not abrogate it. Unfortunately, even in that case we have no clear evidence about how that dispute was resolved.

[383] The previous chapter offers some comment from self-categorization theory on the difficult question of what exactly constitutes persuasiveness; however, the theorists themselves recognize that , "the definition of persuasiveness is a central unresolved issue for persuasive arguments theory." (Turner et al 1987, 149). I speak of both "persuasion and manipulation" to recognize the effectiveness of methods of "persuading" commonly practiced in politics to the present day. A person may meet one-on-one with key individuals to form the basis for a consensus in his preferred direction before a meeting begins; he may trade his support on someone else's issue for the other's support on his issue; etc. There are many ways both above-board and to one degree or another under-handed which can be used to influence consensus. It is important, however, not to project Western majority-rule political culture into sixteenth century Russia. In a consensus-based culture people develop habits that facilitate consensus: when it becomes clear which direction a group is going in, the others quickly fall into line even if their inclination is not in that direction. In the West people tend to stand fast with their inclination and get outvoted, an attitude that makes consensus in a group of any size extremely difficult.

attribute every significant governmental decree and action to him personally. Yet historians unanimously assume that it was not Fedor but the boiar Boris Godunov who was in reality running the government during this period. Boris was able to become so powerful in part because of a marriage connection to the tsar's family (his sister married Fedor), but in this consensus system he also had to be – and was – a master politician. Even with the kinship advantage it took a great deal of political maneuvering on Godunov's part, including the neutralizing of opponents, for him to reach the point of virtually unquestioned supremacy.[384] Thanks to that, and thanks to an apparent disinterest in political maneuvering on the part of Fedor,[385] he assumed the reins of state while retaining the title only of boiar.[386]

Misail Beznin

A similar situation obtained at Volokolamsk in the last decade of the sixteenth century: a council elder's power overshadowed that of the igumen. This episode in the monastery's history is cited by nearly every Soviet historian who has ever written on monasteries or peasants as an example showing how cruel and heartless monasteries were to their peasants, and what a crucial role monasteries played in the process of enserfment.[387] In brief, a man tonsured for political reasons took complete control of managing the monastery's estate and treated the peasants so badly that many revolted, after which he himself left for another monastery and things returned to normal. This scenario raises an important question: how does one consider something as typical of monasteries that was clearly a one-time event done by somebody who did not want to be a monk in the first place? That leads in turn to a more fundamental question: which actions taken by a monastery – or indeed any institution – can be considered the personal actions of individual leaders, and

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[384]See Crummey 1991, 206-207.

[385]One sees in print insupportable statements such as Riasanovsky's (1984, 155) stating matter-of-factly that Fedor was "extremely limited in intelligence and ability." Judging "intelligence" of living people is tricky enough, and doing so in the case someone who lived centuries ago and took no standard tests is questionable at best. It is much safer to assume that the man was simply not interested in politics – he did what was needed of someone in his office and left the difficult work of forging consensus one way or another to those more interested in that kind of work.

[386]This is not to suggest Godunov could have done anything else with his title under the circumstances, but rather that he effectively governed without being called tsar or being recognized as tsar: Godunov exercised authority as a tsar without the title and while someone else did have the title.

[387]See, for example, Tikhomirov 1938, 160; Shchepetov 1946, 103-104; Koretskii 1970, 32, 274-285; Zimin 1977, 159-60, 165. Zimin presents this episode as "one of the clearest witnesses to the sharpening of class struggle in the monastery estates" (160).

which ones can properly be considered characteristic of the monastery as a monastery? Iosifov did some charitable things too, and if one can write off the Beznin affair as atypical, perhaps those too should be written off as well. After recounting the Beznin affair in detail, and suggesting that as a function of Iosifov political culture it really was to some extent representative of Iosifov's behavior as an institution, I will return to this question about institutional charity.

Before coming to Volokolamsk, Mikhail Andreevich Beznin was a prominent figure in Muscovite politics of the second half of the sixteenth century. He was already a junior boiar in 1550,[388] and served as a military commander (*golova*) when Russian forces were gathered to defend against the expected attack of the Crimean Khan in 1558. In 1563 he became a member of Ivan IV's court and remained a key military servitor close to the tsar throughout during the *oprichnina* years (through the early 1570s). His biographer, V. B. Kobrin, recounts Beznin's role in the 1563 siege of Polotsk as follows:

> In 1563 we meet him among the participants in the siege of Polotsk in the capacity of *esaul*. The Leadership of the Lithuanian garrison entered into negotiations with the Russian army. The Polotsk *pisar'* Lukash and the tsarist commander (*voevoda*) Ivan Cheremisinov were arguing about the conditions for surrender of the city. The matter was moving slowly. And suddenly into the scene steps Mikhail Beznin. He rides on horseback up to the slowly conversing Lukash and Cheremisinov and demands that they put an end to the negotiations: "The troops are tired of sitting around with folded arms," he says. "Why weary the tsar's forces by doing nothing?" Cheremisinov sharply turns away the un-requested advisor, but the deed had been done: the necessary psychological pressure on Lukash had been exerted. Probably, both Beznin's intervention and Cheremisinov's reaction had been prepared earlier.[389]

Starting that same year Mikhail was put to work in diplomatic as well as military missions and took part himself in other negotiations with Lithuanian ambassadors. During the *oprichnina* years he fought his way to the uppermost ranks of Ivan IV's court, along the way becoming tutor to the *tsarevich* (crown prince) and ultimately earning the title *dumnyi dvorianin* (court noble; the closest level to boiar one could get without being born into a

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[388]According to V. B. Kobrin (1965, 214), his name appears in a 1550 copy of the *Tysiachnaia kniga*, a list of 1,000 court servitors placed on land around Moscow. See next note on Kobrin's use of the Nirbok pseudonym.

[389]Kobrin 1965, 214. Kobrin's article offers the most information about Beznin's pre-monastic career but unfortunately contains no citations to the sources at all. For more information see Kobrin 1960, 50-51; Dmitrieva 1991b, 19-22; Zimin 1977, 157-160; Koretskii 1977; Waugh 1979.

boiar clan). His climb up the ranks was facilitated by numerous *mestnichestvo* suits (attempts to get court or military appointments more important than someone else by arguing that precedent of past service or one's position in one's clan called for it). In this litigation Beznin managed to turn even the rare loss into a win: in 1582 after losing one of his suits he threatened to leave the service and tonsure himself into a monastery, after which Ivan IV personally re-opened the case and pronounced Beznin the winner.

By the early 1580s Beznin was participating in diplomatic missions abroad, and in 1584 he served again as a military commander (*voevoda*), putting down a revolt in Moscow. The last reference to him in the sources as a layman has him participating in a campaign to Novgorod in January, 1586. Some time between then and August of the same year he was tonsured in the Iosifov monastery, this time apparently the victim of political infighting he could not turn to his benefit. Beznin was a partisan of the Shuiskii clan which lost its battle for supremacy against Boris Godunov after Ivan IV died in 1584. He evidently found tonsure preferable to whatever form of retaliation he would otherwise have had to suffer at the hands of Godunov.

Probably in his late 50s at the time, Beznin was not ready for a contemplative retirement. Accustomed to acting as a political and military leader, he quickly put his people and organizational skills to work in his new environment. Within a few years he had literally taken over direction of the monastery's economic affairs and was universally recognized as having authority over the steward, the treasurer, and the entire council of elders though he officially was but a council member himself.[390] He held this extraordinary

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[390]The earliest record of his extraordinary level of authority is in the inventory of monastery possessions (everything from pots and pans to livestock) and monastery books undertaken in response to a decree issued in the name of Tsar Fedor Ivanovich. These come from December, 1590 and January, 1591. In these documents even the steward reports to Beznin as one would normally expect him to report only to the igumen; see Man'kov 1976, 1:8; Dmitrieva 1991d, 42. Over the following five years or so a number of decrees issued by him have survived, many ascribed plainly to his authority. A 1591 order changing peasants from rent (*obrok*) to corvee (*barshchina*) begins with: "by the oversight and by the order (*po dozoru i po prikazu*) of Misail Beznin ..." (Man'kov 1978, 112). A 1594 order stipulating how grain should be milled begins "By the blessing of igumen Vasian and by decree (*po prigovoru*) of starets Misail Beznin and all the council elders" (Man'kov 1978, 166). Some documents give a purely formal primacy of place to the igumen, just as government decrees during the administration of Godunov continued to cite the authority of Tsar Fedor Ivanovich: "Behold I, igumen Ioasaf, having conferred with starets Misail Beznin and with the council elders, [their names and titles follow] ..." (AFZkh, 391). Numerous documents from this period attest to Beznin's authority over other startsy though he is never called steward or igumen, for example this account book dated 8/24/1592: "A receipt (*pamiat'*) of the village (*posel'nii*) starets Nifont Golodnoi. By order (*po prikazu*) of starets Misail Beznin I copied (*perepisal*) for my area (*prikaz*) [records of] threshing, milling, and sowing monastery rye (Man'kov 1976, 1:110). Some later documents refer back to this entire period using the phrase *pri Misaile Beznine* (during the tenure of Misail Beznin). The preposition *pri* is only used with people whose tenure is so important that it

amount of political power from 1590 through 1595 or 1596, a period spanning several igumens (Levkei Akishev, Ioasaf Lukovnikovskii, Vasian, Gelasii). During this period there is no record of independent actions taken by igumens Ioasaf (1591-1592), Vasian (1593-95), or Gelasii (1595-99); they appear to have limited their involvement in monastery life to strictly "spiritual" matters. And even in spiritual affairs one finds evidence of Beznin's involvement.[391] The fact that Levkei Akishev was demoted from igumen to council elder in 1591 right around the beginning of Beznin's reign suggests that the former may not have welcomed Beznin's rise to power and so became a victim of Beznin's intrigues.

Beznin undertook a series of reforms, the intentions of which are clear: he wanted to bring order to aspects of the monastery's operations that were poorly regulated, and to establish new ways of doing business that would increase the monastery's income from its properties. One of his first orders of business was to standardize the fees which the monastery's servitors in the villages could exact from peasants. The junior and senior bailiffs collected a wide variety of fees from the local population, some of which they kept for themselves and some of which they passed on to the monastery coffers. They operated for the most part with little or no direct supervision and so could often manage to exact excess fees and pocket the extra. They functioned in their assigned areas not only as rent and tax collector but also as the local court of appeal, police, judge, and jury – so there was much room for abuse.

In 1592 Beznin sent out a decree (*ustavnaia gramota*) to all the outlying areas under monastery control, establishing standard amounts for the various fees and taxes collected by the monastery's servitors. One example of an exaction that until then could vary widely from one junior bailiff to the next was called a *prazdnik* (literally: holiday) because it was collected on certain feast days. Up to Beznin's time some junior bailiffs collected it once

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defines a period. It is sometimes used with a treasurer's name in order to date a donation, but Beznin was never treasurer, so his importance in effect had to be greater than the treasurer's. When used as a period marker Beznin's name usually appears alongside the igumen's, which attests to his equal-to-the-igumen status (*pri igumene Vas'iane i pri startse Misaile Beznine*; GIM 418, 67, 67v., 69v., 70). Sometimes donations are not just dated this way but are actually said to have been made *to* him as *the* representative of the monastery along with the igumen: "... *dal prechistoi Bogoroditse v dom, v Osifov monastyr', igumenu Galas'e da startsu Misailu Bezninu s brat'ieiu*" (GIM 418, 69v.). This is highly unusual; the customary form includes only the igumen's name followed by "with the brotherhood."

[391]For example, when the heretic Vasilii Kuritsyn sent to Iosifov as to a prison asks permission to keep certain books in his cell it is both Misail Beznin and igumen Ioasaf who are recorded as granting that permission (Iosif 1881, 247; Stroev 1891, 21).

a year, some twice, and some three times a year. Beznin standardized it at three times yearly, specified the eligible holidays, stipulated the amount to be collected, and defined how much the bailiff could keep versus what he had to forward to the monastery treasury:

> As for prazdnik collections (*prazdnichnye poshliny*): for Christmas three *den'gi*, for Easter and St. Peter's day the same. The junior bailiff (*kliuchnik*) keeps one *den'ga* for each *prazdnik*.[392]

The decree set forth a standard schedule for the full range of fees collected by the monastery's servitors, including some that were a kind of income tax, others that were fees for legal proceedings and others that were taxes on commercial transactions:

> As for bread, they are to give the senior bailiff (*prikazchik*) one *osmina* of rye per *vyt'*, one *osmina* of barley per *vyt'*, and one *chetvert'* of oats per *vyt'*.[393] And the junior bailiff is to get half. ... As for judicial fees (*A z sudy*), one *altyn* per ruble [i.e., 3%] is to be collected for matters worth one ruble. If a matter is worth more than a ruble the same calculation applies, and nothing above that is to be collected. And if anyone sells a horse, he [i.e., the senior bailiff] is to get from each side 2 *dengi*. And if anyone sells a horse outside the region (*za volost'iu*) or buys one, if he is the seller he pays 2 *dengi*, and if he is the buyer he pays 1 *denga*. And if anyone buys a horse or a cow or sells one, and does not notify our senior bailiff, our senior bailiff will assess a fine of two *altyn* [i.e., 12 *dengi*] on him (*nash prikashchik ego v tom ytiazhet, ino na nego pro tamozhia dva altyna*).

Beznin's decree also ensured that senior bailiff incomes would be fairly divided when taxable events affected more than one of them at the same time:

> As for marriage taxes, if the marriage takes place in our region, each side is to pay one *altyn*; or if it happens that someone marries from one village to the village of another senior bailiff, then one senior bailiff is to get 4 *dengi* for the groom and [he is to get] pirogi. And the other is to get the same from the bride.

The decree is not a one-sided attempt to squeeze the population for all it is worth; in fact, it makes some attempt to be fair not only to the monastery and its servitors but also to the peasants. The legal fees section quoted above stipulates clearly that "nothing above" the newly set schedule "is to be collected." Further on it specifies penalties for monastery servitors and even monks in administrative jobs who do not fulfill their responsibilities to the peasants they oversee:

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[392] This decree along with a number of related materials was in a book that Shchepetov had access to but has since been lost according to Zimin (1977, 34). Shchepetov (1946, 115-16) quotes it at length, and this and the subsequent extracts are all as quoted by him.

[393] *Osmina* and *chetvert'* are measures of grain and *vyt'* a measure of land.

> And if any one of our peasants suffers a loss from people from another region and calls the *posel'skii* (village [elder]) to go with him [to bring suit there], the *posel'skii* shall go with him. And if the *posel'skii* does not go with him, the *posel'skii* himself shall pay double the amount lost.

Any decree of this nature would be a dead letter without some form of enforcement to back it up, and Beznin fully intended that it would be implemented faithfully. So he concluded it with a severe warning to the bailiffs that they must live up to their responsibilities and adhere to the stipulated schedule of fees or suffer consequences. Here again the purpose is to protect the peasants against the greed or laziness of the monastery's representatives:

> And if for any [peasant] our senior bailiff does not obey this document, he shall pay us twice and repay [whatever was collected] to the peasants. And we will punish him at the monastery according to the monastery's tradition.

Greedy bailiffs could cause economic losses for the monastery: when they collected too much they were pocketing the extra and causing resentment among the peasantry that could adversely affect their productivity and might even incite some to leave for greener pastures elsewhere. Like any landowner, the monastery needed peasants to work the land in order to earn an income from its property, and limits on their freedom of movement had not yet been fully established. The degree of resentment possible among a mistreated population had been demonstrated in 1589, just a few years before this decree was issued: one monastery servitor had been killed by the local peasants and the home of another had been burned to the ground.[394] It was hardly in the monastery's best interests to allow its servitors to inspire this kind of behavior, and Beznin took decisive action to prevent it.

At the same time Beznin moved in other directions that were more ambiguous. One of his decrees unilaterally changed the way peasants paid the monastery for the use of its land, from money rent (*obrok*) to corvee (*barshchina*). They were also ordered to begin cultivating land they had not previously been tilling in order to deliver more grain to their landlord. Depending on the productivity of the land, they were ordered to pay half or one third of the crop, with only "a few of the very worst" plots payable at a rate of one fifth.[395]

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[394]See Shchepetov 1946, 116. It is difficult to judge whether such acts of resistance by peasants were frequent or infrequent; we usually find out about them only by accident when some aspect of what they have done affects the income or expense books. Given the long-term lack of oversight over monastery servitors and the resultant potential for abuse, it seems likely that scattered incidents of this nature will have occurred for as long as the monastery owned and administered inhabited lands.

[395]See Man'kov 1978, 112-13.

The reasoning behind the change from cash to in-kind rent payment is never explained by Beznin himself, and historians are not unanimous in their interpretations. Shchepetov (1946, 102) argued that it was intended to maximize the monastery's profits. He calculated the value of the in-kind payments at contemporary grain prices, compared it to the money rent rates that had formerly been charged, and figured that the rent-to-corvée decree alone caused the monastery's income from agricultural operations to increase approximately three- or four-fold. More recently, however, Evgeniia Kolycheva (1987, 95) has argued that all monasteries were switching to corvee during the 1590s, induced (*prinuzhdat'*) to do so by the government as a method of increasing tax income after it canceled monastery tax immunities in the 1580s. Her data come mainly from Trinity-Sergius and Kirillo-Belozersk rather than Volokolamsk, but Iosifov fits the pattern. It may be that both monastery and tsar stood to gain from the new arrangement, and in any case it was Beznin who gave the order for the Iosifov estate.

The inventive Beznin found yet another way to increase the monastery's income, one both innovative and ingenious and which does not appear to have been duplicated at any other monastery: he initiated a program of lending peasants money "for livestock increase" (*na zhivotinnyi priplod*). The loans were designated for the purchase of livestock; the additional animals would then enable the peasants to pay higher rents to the monastery (in effect interest on the loan). For each *vyt'* (plot of land) 3 rubles were earmarked to purchase four cows at .5 ruble each, five sheep at .1 ruble each, and five pigs at .1 ruble each. Beznin figured the monastery's share of the income generated by the additional livestock should be .95 ruble per year (the figure was based on the value of a pood of butter from the four cows, a piglet from the five pigs, and a lamb from the five sheep, but the interest was to be paid in cash). Thus, the interest on the loan worked out to around 32% – sufficient to return the original principal amount in three years, after which the monastery would enjoy clear "profit" (*pribyl'*) forever (*vo veki*). Each loan was to be recorded in a deed (*kabala*), and there was no expectation that the principal would ever be repaid until and unless the peasant

left Iosifov's estate.[396] Meanwhile the livestock would continue to be productive, the peasant would pay based on that productivity, and the "interest" would continue to come in.

Beznin conceived of his program as a win-win proposition: "The peasants will be greatly productive and the monastery will make great profits (*Krest'ianom budet promysly velikie, i monastyriu budut pribyli velikiia*)."[397] Later the loan program was extended to townsmen as well, in which case the money was not for livestock but so they could make money by trade (*raztorgovattsa*). It is not difficult to see that this was hardly a great deal from the peasant's perspective. Three rubles was a large sum, and additional livestock would entail both extra work, extra expense (they would have to be fed) and extra risks (they could fall sick and die, leaving a large loan outstanding with no resources to pay it). One must also wonder how easy it would be to go out and find animals worth buying for the predicted price. Or to sell dairy products at the predicted price. And so a key component contributing to the success of Beznin's program was that participation was compulsory.

Money was to be loaned to every peasant deemed prosperous enough to be able to take on additional livestock (*kotorye mozhno bylo verit'*). This meant mainly peasants who already had some, but even peasants without livestock were to be loaned money if a wealthier neighbor could be found to act as surety for them. Beznin's decrees connected with the program insist stridently that the peasants themselves liked the arrangement, but their coercive character alone renders such assertions suspect:

> And the village elders (*posel'skim startsam*) and the senior bailiffs are to resolutely ensure that to whichever peasants it is possible to lend money, all of them are lent [money] and none are missed. (Shchepetov 1946, 104)
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> As for any peasant does not want to borrow money, who has been taught by those evil-doers who detest authority and would destroy the monastery (*gosudarskikh nedobrokhotov i monastyrskikh razoritelei*) ... elder Anisim and the senior bailiffs are to immediately send [such a person] in fetters to the monastery to elder Misail. And Misail will make an example of that person and will teach that peasant how he should live, and how with that [monastery financial] assistance he can make great profits for himself; and [Misail] will examine him to find out who taught him such

[396]Peasants could choose on their own initiative to pay back the principal, but it could take a long time to accumulate that much money. Ten years later there were still peasants paying off deeds (*kabaly*) from "the Beznin distribution" (*razdacha startsa Misaila Beznina*; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 336). And no doubt many took much longer; 1607 just happens to be the latest year for which income books have survived.

[397]Qtd. in Shchepetov 1946, 105. See the similar quote on p.104, where he even predicts an annual income of 600 rubles from the program.

> things. ... As for peasants who refuse to take money according to the agreement, those peasants are refusing to attend to God's business and do not want to see profit for themselves either from their own righteous labor, or from monastery assistance. ... They [in effect] want to be thieves and evildoers as they were before, and to steal, with horrible and evil machinations, with theft and robbery and murder and sorcery. (105)

Beznin met with objections to this program even within the monastery among elders who feared he was going to far. He responded to his detractors in some of his decrees:

> As for those ignorant ones who grumbled and complained, some out of envy and others out of hatred, who said that the treasury's money would be lost and the peasants would be driven away – the money has not been lost, and the peasants have not run away, and in fact they are glad that they are given financial assistance. As for those who criticized and grumbled, may God forgive them.
>
> ... this money was not given to a failure and was not lost, not like the salt money, where they lost 2000 rubles; this money will not be lost.
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> ... this was not done out of greed for myself, nor to attain honor, it was all done for God's sake. (105)

There is no cause for thinking any of Beznin's statements disingenuous. It is quite plausible that he neither sought nor achieved personal gain from his actions, i.e., that he really was acting in the monastery's interest. And that he – and many if not all of his peers – saw advancing the monastery's economic well-being as a divinely sanctioned mission. In other words, he truly acted "for God's sake," but that meant first and foremost "for the monastery's financial benefit," rather than "for the good of the peasants." He can hardly have been the only elder to think this way. Some of the others did raise some arguments against his program on an ethical basis (hence his insistence that the peasants did actually *want* the loans), but his main defense of his program is economic. He mainly defends himself against those who say his practices will backfire, causing the monastery to lose money.

One can well imagine that large numbers of Volokolamsk peasants will have been highly dissatisfied with their ecclesiastical landlord's behavior in the first half of the 1590s. For the early part of this period only indirect evidence of opposition to Beznin's program has been preserved (in his own decrees' attempt to defend their validity and in their severe

penalties for disobedience).[398] The lack of direct evidence does not mean resistance was virtually non-existent; it merely reflects the fact that the monastery's meticulous record-keeping practices were designed for its own benefit, not to ensure that peasant complaints and hostile actions would be written down and permanently preserved. Only when peasant actions had a direct impact on the monastery treasury would they get preserved for future generations to examine. This did happen in winter 1594 through spring 1595.

In order to record the receipt of money from a number of fines levied against rebellious peasants and monastery servitors over the period 10/21/1594 through 3/15/1595, a document was added to the income and expense books. This too is written from Beznin's viewpoint (perhaps by Beznin himself) but reflects serious opposition to his policies from within the council of elders as well as from peasants. It begins as follows:

> In the year 7103 (1594) on October 21, Andrei Iakovlich Izmailov and under-secretary *(pod'iachei)* Kazarin Petrov arrived from the tsar *(ot gosudaria)* to inquire into and investigate all of the monastery's affairs an account of the false petition of the former steward, the monk (*chernets*) Antonii Lopotinskii. And that monk Antonii arrived with Andrei at the Iosifov monastery. And while Andrei was in the Iosifov monastery, during that time by the instigation of Antonii the monastery peasants started to ignore the monastery senior and junior bailiffs, and they stopped doing any of the monastery's work – [they stopped] milling grain and bringing it into the monastery, cultivating malt (?-*solodov rostiti*), and paying the monastery's tribute.[399]

It is a reflection of the seriousness of the division among the council of elders that one of them would travel to Moscow to seek the tsar's personal intervention into internal monastery affairs. It hardly seems likely that steward Antonii traveled to Moscow entirely on his own initiative as the sole council member dissatisfied with Beznin's program. On the other hand, it does seem likely that Antonii and possibly other anti-Beznin monks were in contact with peasants and led them to believe that the tsar's emissaries would bring about a change in the monastery leadership or at least its policies. In this it seems they miscalculated. The document continues by noting that the tsar's emissaries supported Beznin:

[398]On this basis even Zimin observes that "the innovative actions of Beznin called forth dissatisfaction also among the conservative milieu of the monks" (1977, 160).

[399]All citations from this document are from Man'kov 1978, 162-67. Evidence of the document's partisan character may be seen in the fact that it calls Antonii's petition "false" (*lozhnyi*) and denigrates Antonii himself by using the term *chernets* with "steward" rather than the more usual and honorific *starets*.

> And elder Misail Beznin and the steward, and the treasurer, and the council elders explained about this to Andrei and Kazarin. And Andrei and Kazarin ordered the peasants to do all of the monastery's work. And they ordered that the peasants be punished (*smiriati*) for their disobedience, and that fines be exacted from them.

This naturally led to disappointment and greater disaffection among the peasants. All of the village elders had been called in to the monastery for the investigation, and on November 22 – the very day after the investigators' departure – they were sent back out to their villages with the intention that business as usual would resume. But it did not:

> And when Andrei and Kazarin left the monastery the peasants began to disobey even more, and they began to beat the senior and junior bailiffs, and they stopped doing the monastery's work, and stopped paying rents, and began to hold back the wine (*vina pochali derzhati*), and cut wood in the monastery's forbidden forests. And the poorer (*prozhitochnye*) peasants began to steal and to teach everyone to steal.

All of a sudden after this we hear that the problem was resolved by Beznin assessing fines; however everything in the text up to this point describes a situation that cannot have been resolved by mere demands for more money. One can only surmise that the difference between the end of the sentence quoted above and the beginning of the next one, quoted below, there was some serious military action that the record-keeping monk did not see fit to mention:

> And starets Misail ordered that fines be exacted from them. And from then the peasants stopped stealing and started to obey in everything. And here are the names of the peasants who paid fines to the monastery ...

What follows is in fact the raison d'etre of the document: to record the receipt of all these fines. No cash income to the monastery could go unrecorded, and something as unusual as substantial amounts of fine income had to be explained. Thus everything up to this point was merely a prologue to explain the receipt of this money; in fact, if Beznin had not decided to resort to fines, we might never even have heard about the whole affair. More than a dozen peasants paid very stiff fines of 5 rubles apiece. Even a few monastery servitors who were probably working as bailiffs got fined, and they were hit with the very high figure of 50 rubles.[400] At least one other person specifically identified as a senior bailiff was fined, and

[400] Neither is explicitly identified here as *sluga* or *prikazchik*, but for Tonko (Faddei) Gavrilov there are other references to him working for the monastery in the estate management books and even in book inscriptions dating back to 1579 (Tikhomirov 1938, 156; GIM 418, 60v.; Dianova et al 1991, 213). Likewise Ivan Lapshin has travel expenses paid for him going back at least to 1588 (Man'kov 1987, 1:9).

one priest was fined, both supposedly for failing to inform Beznin about the burglary of a church.

Beznin won this battle. And Antonii Lopotinskii, the sole council elder whose open opposition to Beznin is recorded, after this disappears entirely from monastery records. So it seems that the former *oprichnik* successfully defeated or neutralized his opposition within the monastery leadership just as he did so many times in his *mestnichestvo* suits. Nevertheless somewhere along the line he must have miscalculated, for after 1596 his name too disappears from the monastery records, and in 1598 he surfaces as a monk of the Trinity-Sergius monastery.[401] One may well imagine that the affair recounted above left Beznin politically weaker; many of the other council elders were probably not altogether pleased with his treatment of Lopotinskii or the affair's outcome. The last mention of Beznin in Iosifov documents is in a 1598 petition to the tsar that complains about a neighboring landowner encroaching on Iosifov's land. It explains that the encroachment began in 1596 at a time when "among us in the monastery because of our sins (*po grekhom*) there was hostility (*vrazhda*) with Misail Beznin."

Beznin's forced lending program was his own invention, and its unpopularity eventually led to his downfall, so the program itself in all its details can hardly be considered typical of the entire history of Iosifov's estate management practices. On the other hand, his beneficial innovations were also atypical. The sure retribution he instituted for any negligent, abusive, or over-collecting bailiffs was as unique to his program as the forced lending. There is no evidence for such firm penalties for overcharging before his time, and it is extremely important to notice that his threats of punishment specified that he himself would personally administer the punishment. In other words, before Beznin and after him the bailiffs most likely did not have to answer to anyone nearly so resolute about ensuring their good behavior, and as a result any so inclined could run roughshod over their peasants with relative impunity. However, one thing about Beznin's entire program was indeed typical: the interest in maximizing profit. And Josephite political culture with its empowerment of the council of elders helped push both Beznin and that interest to the fore in the overall government of the monastery.

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[401]Kobrin 1965, 216.

Where did Beznin's extraordinary amount of power come from? Certainly he came to Iosifov with high social status, but there were also many others of his rank who became Iosifov monks, and none of them became nearly as influential. And while he may have been highly ranked, he was tonsured as a political refugee which would have compromised his prestige somewhat. In addition, the relative unimportance of social status is indicated by the fact that the next council member who came to comparable prominence was Moisei Nepliuev, a former peasant.[402] There is no hint that Beznin achieved dominance by eliminating opponents the way Boris Godunov did. Levkei Akishev went from igumen to council elder in 1591 near the outset of Beznin's reign, but that could be coincidence and in any case Akishev stayed on as council elder. What mattered most in Beznin's political success was most likely not his social status or his ability to eliminate opponents and rivals, but rather his ability to persuade – his ability to forge a consensus. The sort of man who fought his way up the ranks over all competitors to attain the highest military and court positions under Ivan IV was a forceful personality accustomed to diplomacy as well as political intrigues. But it is difficult to imagine even such a man successfully herding twelve others (including the igumen) into a position most of them did not care for. In the language of self-categorization theory, the process of forging a consensus is called group polarization, and what facilitates polarization is the common conception that the argued point is already the presumptive position of the group:

> The direction of effective influence within the group (who successfully influences whom) is a function of the relative persuasiveness of the members, which is based on the degree to which their response (their arguments, position, attributes, experience, role, etc.) is perceived as prototypical of the initial distribution of responses of the group as a whole, i.e., the degree of relative consensual support for a member. (Turner et al 1987, 74)

The key to Beznin's success was his ability to frame what he was doing in the context of what everyone in the group already knew needed to be done. He was persuasive and thus

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[402]Nepliuev joined the council in 1581 and took a leading position akin to Beznin's after 1596. In official monastery records after 1600 Nepliuev's name appears along with or in place of the igumen's just as Beznin's did earlier. For example, "... by order of elder Moisei and the council elders ..." (dated 1607; Bibikov 1936, 19). See also Bibikov 1936, 21; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 357, 365; Zimin 1947, 360, 370. Gurii Stupishin, member of a well-known landowning clan that sent many members to Volokolamsk, is another whose name sometimes appears in this position of honor; the *zapisnaia kniga* dates a donation by noting that it was given "during the tenure of (*pri*) igumen Nil, and *pri* Gurii Stupishin, and *pri* steward starets Mitrofan, and *pri* treasurer starets Iosif Moskvitin, and *pri* all the council elders" (GIM 418, 72).

influential to a large degree because his arguments were all based on economics and everyone agreed that the monastery needed to maximize its profits.[403] He was not trying to change Iosif's traditions, he was defending them – for the maintenance of cenobitic life required money. This is the sense in which the Beznin episode does attest to typical institutional behavior: monasteries including Iosifov were primarily profit-seeking institutions.[404] They rarely went to Beznin-like excesses, but nor were they benevolent landlords seeking justice and economic well-being for their peasants. Their great wealth often allowed them to treat peasants relatively well compared to less wealthy landlords, but that too can be explained as self-serving since it would attract more peasants to their land. Getting or keeping peasants in order to make land productive was a constant concern especially in the late sixteenth century when economic conditions left many central Russian areas underpopulated. Even Beznin when he defended his policies had to claim that they would not drive away peasants.

Institutional Charity

The primary interest of Iosifov as an institution in its economic self-interest can be highlighted by comparing that to its relative lack of interest in charitable expenditures. Iosif himself did claim that monastic landownership was needed to fund works of charity such as feeding the hungry, and certainly there is empirical evidence that monasteries including Iosifov did engage in such work. Also, from the adoption of Christianity to Peter the Great's time, Russian law when it mentioned poor relief at all made it a church responsibility (Lindenmeyr 1996, 26). Poor relief requires economic resources and monasteries were church institutions, so it was quite plausible for some sixteenth century monastics as well as modern scholars to argue that monasteries accumulated their vast reserves of land,

[403] Also, there was only one former peasant on the council during the Beznin years (Moisei Nepliuev) and probably not many among the rank and file, so there were few who could personally sympathize with the peasants' plight, not enough to build a consensus against him.

[404] Additional evidence supporting this view will be presented below in the next section.

villages, and cash mainly in order to finance social service.[405] But both prescriptive and descriptive monastic sources tell a different story.[406]

Iosif's Rule says not a word about institutional charity. The entire long document is throughout very narrowly focused on traditions intended to ensure or facilitate the spiritual welfare of the monks. It is the primary responsibility of the igumen to see to the salvation of his flock, and the council of elders is at once part of the flock and shares in that responsibility. The concluding remark in the Rule's introduction introduces the table of contents after succinctly stating the intent of the rest of the document:

> If the righteous shall scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear? Therefore, from now on let us be concerned about the evangelical commandments, the patristic writings, *and the following traditions*, which are here written down with the testimony of the Divine Writings, namely: ..." (Goldfrank 2000, 166; emphasis added).

The Rule glosses over other vital aspects of a great monastery's day-to-day operations precisely because they are not directly relevant to the brothers' spiritual welfare. A lone clause about how to judge disputes among peasants is the exception that proves the rule: it

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[405]As noted above, Soviet authors see this claim as pure hypocrisy. Post-Soviet Russians tend to accept it because they see monasteries in a positive light, as defenders of authentic Russian national culture opposed to Western materialism. Sinitsyna (2002b, 143-6) accepts as self-evident the proposition that charity was a fundamental element of monastic life and argues that Russian society today should endorse monastic "non-possession" rather than Western avarice as the spur to economic progress. Kolycheva (2002, 105) presents Beznin's lending as an example of monastic beneficence, wherein the monastery's large stock of vacant land afforded it an opportunity to give peasants an incentive ("*pobuzhdat*") to make use of the land by buying additional livestock. She does not mention the coercive character of the program. Orthodox theologians and authors writing for a popular Orthodox audience also tend to present monastic wealth as devoted to charitable work. Georges Florovsky (1979, 20), a prominent Russian Orthodox theologian, states that Iosif received donations of villages "so that he might share and divide their proceeds among the lower classes and the poor." In Florovsky's view, one of the defining differences between the Josephites and their opponents who rejected monastic landownership was the fact that the former "continued to work in the world" (22). For a very strong emphasis on the charitable side of Byzantine monasticism, see Constantelos 1968.

[406]Western scholars are more inconsistent about how charitable they believe Russian monasteries were, but in any case they do not explain the relationship between these apparently conflicting behaviors of charity and self-serving economic exploitation of dependent peasants. Mirskii (1942, 145) states matter-of-factly, "For everywhere except in the north the sixteenth century was a period of rapid enserfment. At first its principle form was growing indebtedness, mainly to the monasteries." Pipes (1974, 226) observes on the one hand that "Monasteries were among the first landlords to petition the crown for charters fixing peasants to the soil," but also observes that "Volokolamsk had property and yet it was not corrupt. Joseph's innovations showed that it was possible to combine ownership of land with the ascetic habits demanded by the church, that wealth did not necessarily lead to the abdication of moral responsibilities, as the Transvolga Elders were charging" (231-2). Florinsky (1953, 166) also takes Iosif's arguments at face value: "The services rendered to the autocracy by the higher ecclesiastical hierarchy were not unselfish, although, according to Joseph's teaching, the wealth of the monasteries was to be devoted exclusively to the relief of the poor." For an account of the greedy side of Byzantine monasticism, see Charanis 1948 and 1971.

is included not in order to make sure the peasants are judged fairly but in order to ensure that the temptations of the outside world [407] are kept away from most monks:

> The monastery's junior bailiffs and senior bailiffs[408] shall judge the peasants in the villages. When there is an affair they cannot settle, they shall set a time before dinner on a Saturday for them to appear at the monastery. If anyone comes to the monastery for any affair, except on Saturday, he shall be immediately sent away. The monastery's peasants shall come to the monastery on Saturdays for all business, and they shall wait in an outbuilding and not come into the monastery. When the peasants meet with the elders who have been assigned to administer justice in the case, they shall go to the outbuilding and listen to them carefully. Whenever the matter is ordinary, the elders shall adjudicate and immediately dismiss it. Whenever the cases are extraordinary, the elders shall inform the igumen or the steward. The igumen shall deliberate with the steward and the council brothers and then send those elders back to the outbuilding. They will inform the peasants concerning the affair, and immediately dismiss them from the outbuilding, and forbid them to go into the monastery. (287-88)

Notice that while there are two levels of judicial authority, this paragraph is not about an appeals process. It gives no indication of how a case is determined to be "ordinary" versus "extraordinary" – one must assume that the judging elders themselves will decide what to refer upwards. If the elder in charge decides a case is ordinary, it is summarily "dismissed," not open to appeal. Moreover, the peasant is not allowed to argue his case personally to the igumen and steward: the elder whose judgment the peasant did not accept is granted the function of presenting the peasant's case to the higher authorities! And then whatever the igumen decides is final. Clearly the author of this procedure had as his primary goal the protection of the monastic community from the outside world. He gave no thought to protecting the peasant from abuse of authority by authoritative members of that community. And if he did not say anything else about the extremely complex job of managing vast agricultural lands and peasants as well as a community that contained within it all the features of a small city – it is because he simply was not interested in economic affairs.

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[407]For example, outsiders may be females or young, beardless males (treated as similar to females in the rule); they may bring in alcoholic beverages; they may be noisy and upset the prayerful calm of the cloister, and so forth.

[408]For consistency with my usage I am changing Goldfrank's "bailiff" for *kliuchnik* to "junior bailiff" and his "steward" for *prikazchik* to "senior bailiff."

The same lack of interest in specifying rules or even principles of conduct in dealings with peasants is seen in one other clause which on its surface seems to be generous toward them.

> The monastery's judges and police officers shall take their fees from the peasants, whom they have judged, at one half of what is written in the Grand Prince's Judicial Code. (288)

The brevity of this clause shows that it is not a topic the Rule's author is particularly interested in or concerned about. As a practical matter, the tsar's *Sudebnik* cannot possibly have served as a comprehensive standard for the monastery's fees. There are numerous kinds of collections exacted by monastery servitors that have no counterpart at all in the *Sudebnik*; as a matter of fact only a few of the bailiff's collections are established by this document.[409] Iosif himself knew that his institution's representatives collected far more than judicial fees, yet he did not add a clause for any of the others. There is nothing here about land rental rates (*obrok*), nothing about corvee (*barshchina*), nothing about the bailiff's *prazdnik* collections, nothing about other fees of various sorts such as livestock sales taxes. Also, in the monastery's case it is essential to specify how much of a servitor's collection he gets to pocket versus how much goes to the monastery treasury, and nothing corresponding to that division can be found in the *Sudebnik*. Finally, while the entire text of the Rule is throughout oriented toward setting up a system and guidelines that will keep people on the straight and narrow despite their natural tendency to go off in other directions, there is nothing at all here to ensure that this clause will be followed, not even a simple exhortation against theft or fraud (such exhortations appear frequently in regard to monastery property).[410] Taking all this into account, one would be hard-pressed indeed to argue that monastery peasants and workers were necessarily or consistently better off than their counterparts serving secular lords. In both cases the direct overlords were mostly secular employees who had much to gain by acting abusively and were not held in check by a consistent and effective policing structure.

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[409] For discussions of these judicial fees which normally were due to the prince but could be delegated by the prince to ecclesiastical landlords, see Kashtanov 1959; Dewey 1956; 1964; 1971.

[410] A number of examples are given in the previous chapter.

The Rule is not interested in any one else's welfare other than its own community's members. Even the extensive effort at strengthening the council of elders is done on behalf of the rank and file monks since the council is supposed to defend traditions that facilitate their eternal salvation. From all this it is no great leap to realize what the monks themselves realized: all of this magnificent structure of cenobitic traditions is totally dependent on the institutional wealth that pays for the necessities of life, everything from buildings to books to food. Any significant unnecessary expenditure or decrease in income would open the monastery to greater risk of insolvency – not an unrealistic thought in the uncertain sixteenth century – and that would militate against the core purpose of advancing the monks' welfare. Any shortage of money could effectively abrogate the Rule, since monasteries in dire financial straits might become de facto idiorrythmic in order to allow monks to fend for themselves.[411] One individual in a position of power, such as the igumen, could choose to disregard the risks and spend money unnecessarily, as for charitable purposes, but getting an entire council to agree to that would be another matter. This would be true especially at Iosifov, where the Rule makes clear that one of the council's basic functions is to prevent the igumen from harming the community. Excessive spending could certainly be understood as harming the community, and the powerful council would be a force for conservatism against that.

The previous chapter presented evidence that this interpretation of the monastic mindset is not just theory: monks did take seriously the prospect of institutional penury and were very reluctant to undertake unnecessary expenditures. This is why they opposed Iosif's decision to leave when Fedor was harassing the monastery (VMCh, 476), opposed his efforts to feed the starving during a famine (VMCh, 482), and cut back on the patronal feast day alms distribution after Iosif died and the princes stopped paying for it (Nevostruev 1865c, 175). It is also why they responded to market conditions in their management of the

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[411]See Bryer's (1979, 239) discussion of precisely this move toward idiorrythmism resulting from hard times for Greek monasteries toward the end of the Byzantine empire and under the Turks. As he explains, "It is easy to be a poor monk in a rich house, but what happens when the house is poor?" Actually Iosif himself in his Rule acknowledges that monastic non-possession depends on institutional wealth: "Indeed, if it was to laymen that the Apostle said: 'Having food and clothing, let us be content; but they who desire to be rich will fall into temptations and the snares of demons,' then how much more proper is it for monks not to desire riches but to love non-possession and Christ-like poverty. It is not easy for those who are not in a cenobium, where we have security regarding our most basic needs, to exercise this virtue." (Goldfrank 2000, 192)

monastery's business operations. Iosifov used landless peasants as wage laborers to till some of its lands, and when the labor supply increased it took advantage of the situation like any other employer to reduce wages. Shchepetov (1946, 103) observes that while the prices of goods were increasing in the 1580s and 1590s, the wages paid by the monastery to its *detenyshi* were not only decreased from an average of .75 ruble per year in 1580 to .45 ruble per year in 1592, but also several allowances for expenses were abolished.[412] This is not a Iosifov-specific phenomenon; all monasteries responded to local market conditions in setting wages, rents, and prices.[413] Monasteries in general, not just Iosifov, followed universal practices designed to protect landlords' interests: they secured loans with written deeds, they wrote family members into those deeds as well as the main borrower, they secured wages paid in advance by signing up people to act as sureties, and so forth. In general monasteries acted as market-driven, for-profit institutions not fundamentally different from secular landowners in their ordinary business dealings.

What, then, of the view of Iosifov or other monasteries as charitable institutions? It has been very much exaggerated by those historians who accepted Iosif's argument that monastic wealth was intended for poor relief. Surveying the history of Volokolamsk, one sees significant charitable expenses being initiated and defended – often against stiff opposition – by the igumen. There is very little cause for seeing any monastic charity as truly institutionally based: it was fundamentally a matter of the personal piety of the igumen. The monastery *as an institution* effectively tended to minimize such expenditures: official ideology stressed that the institution's purpose was the monks' welfare, the monks were very conscious of whatever affected their corporate wealth, and the political structure gave them a strong voice limiting the igumen's freedom of action. Even if one extends the idea of "charity" to religious services such as commemoration of the dead the same picture obtains. Iosifov decreed a strict price schedule for those services: it was not in the business of providing commemoration to people who could not pay for it.

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[412]From a range of 120-180 dengi in 1580 to around 80-100 dengi in 1592. See also on the same subject Petrov 1960, 170.

[413]See Kolycheva's (1987, 82) finding that levels of monastic exploitation depended on local norms. See also Koretskii's (1970, 35) report that peasant rents were consistently being standardized and raised by all monasteries throughout the 1580s and 1590s. For example, in 1593 the Kiril-Belozersk monastery issued a fee-standardization decree remarkably like Beznin's in scope and intention (Nikol'skii 1897-1910, 2:62ff.).

It is true that a general monastic miserliness is not a uniquely Josephite or even Russian phenomenon. Western as well as Eastern monasteries are known for protecting their economic self-interest.[414] And equating the protection of monastic assets with God's interests is a universal phenomenon among Western as well as Eastern monks.[415] And as far as charity in particular is concerned, it is nearly as marginal in the Rule of St. Benedict as it is in the Rule of Iosif.[416] But the Josephite strong council tended to make institutional charity even *less* a part of monastic life than it might otherwise have been under some igumens because it made monks and council members more likely to express their objections to unnecessary expenses, and more likely to succeed in putting the brakes on such expenses.[417]

It is worth observing also that although many individual monastic leaders did lead their institutions into charitable activities as Iosif himself did, they may not have been more munificent than wealthy laymen. All shared the same Russian Orthodox culture with its moral imperative to help the needy. Charitable functions never turn up as state responsibilities in medieval Russian law, but princes and tsars were among the most generous donors to charity. In the Stoglav church council record Ivan IV is quoted as saying, "Alms and food – bread and salt, and money, and clothing, are distributed to almshouses (*bogadelnym izbam*) in all cities every year from our treasury." (Emchenko 2000, 257) In the same text Ivan confirms his own understanding that taking care of the poor is the prince's responsibility as well the hierarch's (*sviatitel'*).[418] So whether one looks

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[414]See especially the quotations from Ludo Milis 1992 in chapter 1.

[415]Most studies of Western monasticism can point to similar phenomena. Besides Milis, see Emma Mason (1996, xii), who in discussing Westminster's Abbey's famed ability to forge charters, writes "The monks of Westminster, far from seeing anything morally wrong in this activity, would hold it to be an essential adjunct to the maximizing of returns on their property, a duty which was owed by the custodians of the lands of St. Peter."

[416]"The tiny place these people [i.e., the poor] occupied in this Rule, together with the ritualized form in which monastic ideals were traditionally cast, made 'works of mercy' in the sense of social commitment highly marginal." (Milis 1992, 54)

[417]Certainly some individual council members will have shown an interest in spending money on charity as Iosif himself did (and on that basis could argue that their position reflected true Josephite traditions), but the evidence indicates such individuals were a small minority. Consequently, their political influence will have been minimal – even if such a person occupied the igumen's office.

[418]Iosif too in one of his letters argues that it is the prince's responsibility to care for the poor (Zimin and Lur'e 1959, 235). See also Vasian Sanin's Life of Pafnutii which contains one vision of Grand Prince Ivan Kalita where he is in paradise on account of his extreme generosity, and another of the Lithuanian ruler Vitovt in hell because he gathered wealth that he kept for himself (Kadlubovskii 1899, 133, 140, 141).

at "the state" or "the church," charity in Russia was the job of individuals, not institutions. This is precisely what Adele Lindenmeyr (1996, 8-12) concludes in her book about charity in Russia: the fundamental Russian Orthodox attitude toward charity was a disinclination to institutionalize it.

Iosif himself did take seriously his personal duty to help the needy, and his personal charisma and prestige as founder overrode any objections to his largesse. But that was not his legacy. Instead, his legacy was a political structure that stressed deliberation, discernment, and the right and duty to challenge authority. Indeed, if one can point with confidence to any aspect of his legacy that truly did see wide distribution, this is it, because Iosif's Rule was propagated to monasteries throughout Russia in the sixteenth century.[419] The Schism resulting from the Nikonian reforms in the middle of the following century is sometimes attributed to Josephite "ritualism" by those who consider rituals to be unimportant.[420] But as has been seen, Josephites were for the most part not very "ritualist" in the sense of valuing forms over substance. They carefully chose forms based on their substance. If Iosif played a role in facilitating the Schism, he did so in a manner exactly the opposite of the common interpretation. It was his Rule that told monks everywhere to stand up to authoritative figures whom they were convinced were perverting genuine traditions. Nikon's reforms did indeed change genuine long-standing traditions, and monks spoke up. They went far beyond Iosif's image of respectful speech to the superior, but for 150 years they had been learning well that their duty was to challenge misbehaving leaders rather than to offer them "blind obedience."[421]

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[419]Gonneau (1993, 374) in his study of Trinity-Sergius monastery attributes much more power to the council of elders later in the sixteenth century. He argues that the requirement of compromise between abbot and influential monks guaranteed the cohesion of the brotherhood over time as different abbots came and went, and was one of the causes of the monastery's prosperity. Some of this may have been due to Josephite influence. Iosif did not invent the idea of council members standing up to igumens, but he did emphasize it more strongly than it had been before.

[420]A split in the Russian church in the middle of the seventeenth century was prompted by a number of reforms that centered mainly around revisions to liturgical books. Riasanovsky's (1984, 200-1) interpretation is typical: "Even more rewarding as an explanation of the *raskol* has been the emphasis on the ritualism and formalism of Muscovite culture. ... As we have noted, the Russian Church had developed especially in the direction of religious ceremony, ritualism, and formalism ... in Muscovy religious content in certain respects lagged behind religious form. The *raskol* can thus be considered a tribute to the hold that Muscovite culture had on the people, and as time made apparent, to its staying power. It also marked the dead end of that culture." Florinsky (1953, 287) goes farther in his interpretation of the schism: "Religious practices were reduced to the superstitious repetition of traditional formulas whose magic power was believed to be the greater the less one understood what they meant."

[421]Many who stress "ritualism" as characteristic of Russian Orthodoxy also stress "blind obedience": Florinsky (1953, 166, 287) is a good example. See additional examples in the Introduction.

Conclusion

This study has called into question some commonly accepted views of "Josephism." Neither the Iosifov brotherhood as a whole, nor the council of elders appears to have been dominated by a landholding elite. High social class did not automatically translate to high monastic status. And rather than a rigidly hierarchical political structure we see rule by consensus and a strong council vis-a-vis the igumen. One might expect that such findings would reflect an overall understanding incompatible with Soviet scholars' interpretations, yet such is not entirely the case.

Aleksandr Zimin's view of the brotherhood as being made up of peasants, with landowning elites in the council of elders grinding them under their heels, may certainly be rejected out of hand. Likewise, Mikhail Tikhomirov's earlier view that the entire brotherhood came from the landowning class is far from reality. However, Tikhomirov was not so far off the mark insofar as my findings strongly suggest that most of the monks were in fact a social elite, just not a landholding elite. One finds a common assumption throughout both Russian and Western historiography that elites were landowners and everyone else was a great mass of commoners, but this view does not accord with the Iosifov data. Very many, perhaps the largest single group, of the Iosifov monks were in fact what I have called servitors – *slugi* – men who worked for a living but nevertheless occupied high-ranking positions. They acted as administrators for secular and ecclesiastical landlords, positions that placed them socially very much a class above the common peasant.

Josephites were apparently to a large extent elites – but by and large not landholding elites, and not "elitist." There is solid evidence that high social class outside the abbey walls did not automatically translate into high status within the walls. What mattered as much or more in determining social status within the brotherhood was how one measured up to standards of Orthodox spirituality. Here again, the Soviet view that monks were men whose only interest in religious culture was as a tool of exploitation is obviously false – but only because it is one-sided. It would also be one-sided to ignore economic motivations for tonsure and assert that monks were strictly interested in a spiritual quest. For all the official

glorification of ascetic endeavor, the monks of Iosifov were very much by and large ordinary men as interested in economic security and a comfortable life as laymen would be. The "spiritual athletes" among them were a minority. The rest did take seriously Orthodox religious culture, but not in a way that would sharply distinguish them from their countrymen outside the cloister walls.

In light of this understanding it is also of interest to consider the Soviet scholars' assertion that the monks ran their monastery exactly as secular landlords did. My findings fully support that conclusion: there is no cause for any belief that monks were either more or less benevolent than any other landlords (except insofar as particularly wealthy monasteries could use that wealth to give breaks that would attract more peasants to their land). However, where Soviets say that this behavior reflects the fact that the men who ran the monastery *were* (before tonsure) landlords like all the rest, I conclude that it reflects the fact that they *were* (ipso facto as members of a landowning institution) landlords like all the rest.

Monastery self-government is another area in which at least one Soviet scholar – Aleksandr Zimin – accurately depicts one aspect of monastic reality despite a theoretical framework antithetical to understanding religious people or institutions. In general Soviets see a rigidly hierarchical structure of monastic society, and Zimin does endorse this in his conception of a radical differentiation between council elders and rank and file monks. Yet in his review of the monastery leadership ranks he implicitly assumes that the council of elders was the real guiding force of Iosifov, since he attempts to identify as many council members as he can while ignoring the igumens. It is probably going too far to reduce the igumen to insignificance, but in regard to land management practices, Zimin's view that it was really the council which mattered seems accurate. Of course what he failed to realize was that in the rule-by-consensus, strong-council system of Iosifov, the council must be seen as the voice of the brotherhood, not as a separate and distinct overlord.

Although the single most significant effect Iosif Sanin and his monastery had on the Russian religious world was arguably to strengthen the power of the council of elders, he is most remembered as the premier *possessor* – defender of monastic land ownership. This contrasts with his own intention in 1479 which was to establish a strictly cenobitic

monastery founded on the principle of *non-possession*, or absolutely no private property for individual monks. The intention was that everyone in his monastery would live a common life and possess all things in common. He realistically understood "perfect non-possession" as the kind of goal that one can never fully reach but must always strive for. It was a goal that remained foremost in his mind to his dying day, his vision of it enshrined in his last will and testament, also known as his Rule. Yet from the very beginning he also took actions that tended to undermine the community's ability to work toward that goal. By initiating the ownership of land in his new monastery and the endless march toward accumulating more and more of it, he led his institution in a direction that inexorably drew it farther and farther away from its original raison d'etre. One might also argue that turning liturgical commemoration into a for-profit business had a similar effect.[422]

It is not immediately obvious how Iosif could sincerely believe that the monastery as an institution could escape the corrupting influence of private property that he so insistently warned individual monks against. He well knew the degree to which each and every monk was in fact an integral part of everything the monastery did. As the social leveling and bonding effect of Eastern Orthodox spirituality helped forge the community into a truly united entity, and as more and more monks had to devote their time to more and more land management responsibilities, each member of the community necessarily came to think and act as a landowner. Moreover, in order to fulfill their work responsibilities many or most of the monks had to live much of their lives outside the cloister walls in an environment where monastic "non-possession" was absolutely impossible. They had to handle and manage their own money and possessions like anyone else. They were for all practical purposes indistinguishable from their counterparts who did similar work for secular landlords.

So the realities of land ownership transformed the character of the institution itself. Ultimately what we see throughout the sixteenth century is not so much a monastery that happens to own land, but rather a landowner that happens to be constituted as a religious

[422]The practice of treating commemoration as a commodity by setting and charging firm prices for various specific services appears to be one of the few uniquely Josephite innovations. Not only did it originate with Iosif, it seems to have ended for Russia in general around 1610, or about the same time that the Poles occupied the Volokolamsk monastery (Steindorff 1995a, 437).

community. As an institution the monastery did do some things that may not have been as typical of contemporary secular landlords. It did on occasion feed the hungry, distribute alms, take care of the poor in its infirmary, and so forth. But the secular wealthy were expected to – and did – contribute large sums to charitable endeavors too, and in fact many of the monastery's own poor-relief operations were directly financed by secular grandees' donations. The monastery's institutional "mission" was *not* to serve the surrounding society, it was to facilitate the monks' spiritual welfare. Peasants, workers, trading partners – all were very much "outsiders" to the monastic community. The wealth needed to allow the monastery to accomplish its primary mission and to ensure its permanence had to be drawn from such people and preserved against any encroachment by them. The monks in charge of managing Iosifov's business affairs had a sacred duty to safeguard and help build up monastery assets. Everything Iosif did was for God's sake just as everything Misail Beznin did was for God's sake. Yet many of those efforts on God's behalf tended to undermine the most basic principle of cenobitic life that was supposed to draw monks closer to God.

None of this was in any way unique to the Iosifov monastery. Indeed, this study has presented Iosif Sanin and his monastery more as a reflection of their social, religious, and political environment than as an influence on that environment. Accordingly, I am convinced it is valid to speak of "Josephites" only in the simple sense in which I have used the term; that is, to mean men directly connected with the Iosifov monastery. And I have found no valid basis for considering that these men or any part of them represented a distinct "movement" or "party" or ideological system of some sort which would warrant the use of a term like "Josephism." Nearly twenty years ago Donald Ostrowski argued that it was nineteenth century historians who first created the very concept of warring church "parties" originating in the sixteenth century, one of which was founded by Iosif Sanin. Ostrowski found no credible evidence for such parties and concluded that "the concept of Church parties in sixteenth-century Muscovy is not useful for interpreting the source testimony, and can safely be dropped from the historiography." (1986, 379) Two decades later the fact that the concept has yet to be dropped is reflected in the title of this dissertation. However, the evidence I have presented should serve not to invest the same concept with different content,

but rather to sow the seeds of doubt in the very existence of anything that one might identify by the word "Josephism."

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Appendix: The Monks of Volokolamsk in Name Order

The following list includes regular monks and those identified as deathbed tonsures; it does not include those whose monastic status was deemed doubtful. The cases of deathbed tonsure are marked by an asterisk before the name. The name itself for each person is the one most often encountered in monastic sources, and after that in parentheses is additional identifying data. This includes: (1) alternate names (see the list of abbreviations for types of names below); (2) titles by which the person is known in the sources; (3) dates for which the person is attested in various positions and/or is known to have died. The dates should not be taken as exact: very often the sources permit only a rough approximation of time, and their intention in this list is only to assist in identifying an individual, for instance in differentiating an Ivan who lived around 1500 from another Ivan who lived around 1600. Below each name is an indication of the person's original social status. Those servitors and landowners who were determined to be such solely on the basis of their name are marked by adding "name" in parentheses. Finally there is a list of references to the individual in the sources.

The alternate names are identified by prefixing a code indicating the type of name and a colon: "w:" = the person's name "in the world" if the primary name is his tonsured name; "m:" = the person's name as a monk if the primary name is his pre-tonsure name; "n:" = a nickname; "aka:" = "also known as" – used when it is impossible to tell which name is the monastic one and which is the lay, or calendar name. Titles are based on the translations laid out in chapter 3. Council elders are all identified as such, but if a person has been a treasurer or a steward the words "council elder" are not appended since that can be taken for granted. Since all are monks, the word "monk" is used only to specify that a person was an ordinary monk for some period before becoming an officer of some sort. Finally, a "<" before a date means the person is attested before that year, possibly long before it.

Afanasii Bol'shoi Volochanin (igumen at Spirovo <1571)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 44, 53, 62; GIM 418, 38v.

Afanasii Temnyi Staryi (priest 1545-67)
Status: clergy
References: AFZKh, 274; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 102; Dianova et al 1991, 144, 154, 194; Dmitrieva 1991d, 49, 63, 95; GIM 418, 12.

Afanasii Vorotynets (elder 1540-55)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 151; Dmitrieva 1991c, 28, 38; Dmitrieva 1991d, 73.

Afanasii Vysokii (steward 1515-25)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 67, 78; Pokrovskii 1971, 121; Zimin 1977, 119.

*Afanasii Konstantinov syn El'chaninov (m:Iosif)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 16, 60, 127, 140; GIM 419, 1:32v.; Steindorff 1998, 48.

Agafon (tonsured 1582)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1980, 203.

Akakii (archimandrite, bishop Tver', d.1567)
Status: clergy
References: AI, 1:411; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 102; Dianova et al 1991, 148; Dmitrieva 1991c, 24, 25, 36; Dmitrieva 1991d, 46, 50; GIM 419, 1:72; Leonid 1863, 5; Steindorff 1998, 108; Zimin 1977, 309.

Akakii (w:Aleksei, tonsured 1568)
Status: servitor
References: GIM 418, 25.

Akatii (elder 1574-76)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1980, 81, 96.

Aleksei Malyi (elder 1551-57)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 260; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 38, 45, 49, 50, 52, 54, 59, 65, 70.

Aleksei Stupishin (son of Vasilii Stupishin, elder 1540-50, archimandrite Simonov 1550-56)

Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 151, 152; Dianova et al 1991, 388; Dmitrieva 1991c, 26, 33, 38; Dmitrieva 1991d, 44, 45, 53, 59, 61, 66, 70, 77, 78, 94; Iosif 1881, 8; Leonid 1863, 6; Steindorff 1998, 124; Zimin 1977, 160, 308.

Aleksei Vasil'ev syn (n:Lapa, m:Anikii, 1563-78)
Status: peasant
References: GIM 418, 28v., 32, 47v.

Alimei (elder 1578)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 51.

Andrei Mokhov (servitor 1573-82, tonsured 1582)
Status: servitor
References: GIM 418, 39; Man'kov 1980, 4, 13, 37, 200; Zimin 1977, 164.

Andrei (disciple of Kornilii Novgorodets, 1591)
Status: unknown
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 68.

*Andrei Ivanovich Staritskii (m:Evgenii)
Status: noble
References: Leonid 1863, 8; Steindorff 1998, 78, 298.

*Andrei Vasil'evich Karamyshev (m:Arsenii)
Status: noble
References: GIM 419, 1:51v.

Anfilofii Turkov (elder 1573-80)
Status: servitor
References: Man'kov 1978, 196, 200, 204; Man'kov 1980, 9, 11, 26, 30, 43, 72, 153, 177.

Anisim Riazanets (under-treasurer 1588-1591)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1987, 1:29; Shchepetov 1946, 97, 105.

Anisim Staryi (1576)
Status: peasant
References: Man'kov 1980, 102.

Antonii Akulov (elder 1592-94)
Status: servitor

References: Man'kov 1976, 1:43, 1:89, 1:116, 1:155, 2:224, 2:256, 2:271, 2:296, 2:323; Man'kov 1978, 29, 120, 125, 140, 148, 157, 285; Shchepetov 1946, 107, 114.

Antonii Lopotinskii (steward 1592-94)
Status: unknown
References: Grekov 1935, 77; Grekov 1940, 96; Man'kov 1978, 137, 162.

Antonii Ponyrka (n:Bogdan, <1591)
Status: servitor
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 111; Dianova et al 1991, 238; Dmitrieva 1991d, 64, 66, 68.

Antonii Rykov (ponomar' 1575)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 17v.; Man'kov 1980, 91, 93.

Antonii Vshivka (elder 1574)
Status: unknown
References: Man'kov 1980, 66.

Antonii (under-treasurer 1574)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1980, 75.

*Antonii Andreevich Golenin
Status: noble
References: GIM 419, 1:63v.; Steindorff 1998, 200, 236.

Anufrei Isakov (disciple of Dionisii Zvenigorodskii, elder <1591)
Status: unknown
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 85.

Anufrei Slepoi (elder 1600)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 70v.

Aron (elder)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova et al 1991, 145.

Arsenii Golenin (w:Andrei Andreevich, council elder 1515-25)
Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 41; Belokurov 1903, 26ff., 26; Buganov 1966, 24, 34, 35, 39; DDG, 71; Dmitrieva 1991c, 24, 26, 28; Dmitrieva 1991d, 55; GIM 419, 1:27;

Iosif 1881, 134ff.; Leonid 1863, 5; Leonid 1872, 13; Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 92; Pokrovskii 1971, 121; Steindorff 1998, 84, 134, 222; VMCh, 489; Zimin 1977, 112; Zimin and Lur'e 1959, 297.

Arsenii Lukovnikovskii (1555)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 109; Dianova et al 1991, 367, 372; Dmitrieva 1991c, 38; Dmitrieva 1991d, 82, 85, 87.

Arsenii Nevezhin (w:Andrei Daniilovich Kvashnin, 1515)
Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 42; Dmitrieva 1991c, 35; GIM 419, 1:28v.; Nevostruev 1865c, 176ff.; Steindorff 1998, 108; Titov 1906a, 23; VMCh, 495ff.; Zimin 1977, 113.

Arsenii Ostashkovets (elder)
Status: unknown-low
References: Zimin 1977, 164.

Arsenii Rzhevskii (treasurer, steward 1555-75)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 260, 340; Dianova et al 1991, 186; Dmitrieva 1991d, 62, 66; GIM 418, 20; Man'kov 1980, 6, 30, 33, 91, 108, 109, 115; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 58; Titov 1906b, 101; Zimin 1977, 162.

Arsenii Tuchin (council elder 1587-94)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 391; GIM 418, 64; Man'kov 1976, 1:62, 1:84, 2:244; Man'kov 1978, 70, 93, 96, 254; Man'kov 1980, 248, 251; Man'kov 1987, 1:14; Shchepetov 1946, 112ff.; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 161.

Arsenii (igumen 1605-23)
Status: tradesman
References: AAE, 2:112; AFZKh, 417; Bibikov 1936, 19; GIM 418, 71v.; Stroev 1990, 182; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 333, 336, 348, 353, 355, 356, 361, 374, 379; Zimin 1947, 360, 375.

Arsenii (miller elder 1573-81)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1980, 54, 80, 218, 223.

Arsenii Grigorievich Pleshcheev (treasurer <1545-57)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 210, 215; Dmitrieva 1991c, 26; Dmitrieva 1991d, 50, 52, 67, 69, 75, 76, 77, 79, 84, 90, 91, 92; GIM 418, 26v.; GIM 419, 95; Iosif 1881,

29; Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 226, 456; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 46; Titov 1906a, 168; Zimin 1977, 162.

Arsenii Semenov syn (w:Artemii, priest 1602)
Status: clergy
References: GIM 418, 71; Zimin 1977, 163.

Artemii Iazykov (elder 1574)
Status: landowner (name)
References: Man'kov 1978, 202; Man'kov 1980, 69.

Avramii Kutuzov (w:Boris Vasil'evich, prince, 1515)
Status: noble
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 108; Dianova et al 1991, 152, 398; Dmitrieva 1991c, 24, 26, 28, 32, 33; Dmitrieva 1991d, 49, 54, 60, 78, 81; GIM 419, 1:24; Iosif 1881, 7; Leonid 1863, 4; Novosel'skii and Pushkarev 1977, 2:133; Steindorff 1998, 70; Stroev 1891, 123; VMCh, 455.

Bogolep Okorokov (w:Boris Ivanov, treasurer 1568-81)
Status: servitor
References: AFZKh, 96, 293, 320, 323, 324, 329, 345; GIM 418, 39, 39v., 46v.; Man'kov 1978, 199, 212; Man'kov 1980, 18, 25, 83, 85, 97, 100, 101, 103, 107, 110, 132, 182, 187, 194; RIB, 32:477.

*Boris Aleksandrov syn Stupishin (m:Bogolep)
Status: landowner
References: Chernov 1998, 138; GIM 419, 1:59v., 1:61.

*Burts Erygin (n:Prokhor)
Status: landowner
References: GIM 419, 1:61v.

Daniil Riazanets (igumen 1515-22, metropolitan 1522-43, d.1577)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 24, 30, 33, 36; Dmitrieva 1991d, 43, 45, 61, 72, 82; GIM 419, 1:43v.; Iosif 1881, 107; Kloss 1974d, 161; Kloss 1980, 1ff.; Leonid 1863, 7; Sheremetev 1899, 9; Steindorff 1998, 44, 158, 228; Stroev 1891, 60; Stroev 1990, 182; VMCh, 491; Zhmakin 1881b, 1:1ff.; Zimin 1977, 164.

Daniil Zhuzhelitsa (aka:Zhukov, council elder 1573-82)
Status: servitor
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 63, 71, 93, 97; GIM 418, 22v.; Man'kov 1978, 221; Man'kov 1980, 5, 16, 20, 37, 46, 63, 66, 74, 81, 85, 90, 103, 105, 112, 123, 124, 132, 172, 178, 182, 197, 217, 224.

Daniil (1567)
Status: peasant
References: GIM 418, 35.

Daniil (w:Dementii, servitor of Ivan Vasil'evich Golovnenkov, 1583)
Status: servitor
References: GIM 418, 56.

Daniil (elder 1606)
Status: unknown
References: Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 375.

*Daniil Fomin syn Bernova (m:David)
Status: landowner (name)
References: GIM 419, 1:59.

David Kurbatov (treasurer 1549-69)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 215, 216, 218, 254, 265, 274; GIM 418, 13v., 49; GIM 419, 136v.; Steindorff 1998, 78; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 66, 68, 71.

David Vypovskoi (:Dmitrii, 1515)
Status: noble
References: VMCh, 498.

David (1500)
Status: unknown
References: Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 88.

*Davyd Ivanov syn Bartenev (m:Danilo)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 222, 227, 231, 302; GIM 419, 1:67.

Demid Maksimov syn (n:Pozniak Borodin, 1565)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 35v.

Diomid Rzhevitin (w:Dionisii?, elder, 1587-88)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 52, 57, 68, 73, 75, 90, 91, 95; GIM 418, 65; Man'kov 1980, 243; Titov 1906b, 111.

Dionisii Gorbatyi (disciple of Dionisii Zvenigorodskii, elder 1555-59)
Status: unknown

References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 38; Dmitrieva 1991d, 48, 68; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 59, 65, 70, 76.

Dionisii Gushcha (elder 1573-74)
Status: unknown
References: Man'kov 1980, 9, 19, 21, 22, 27, 61, 70.

Dionisii Izmailov (elder 1569-70)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 29v., 32v.

Dionisii Zanin (elder 1583)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 56v.

Dionisii Zvenigorodskii (w:Daniil, n:Lupa, elder <1528-38, d.1538)
Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 142; AI, 1:534; Belokurov 1903, 30; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 105; Dianova et al 1991, 207, 364, 366, 400; Dmitrieva 1991c, 31, 35, 38; Dmitrieva 1991d, 62, 73, 80, 82, 83, 85; Druzhinin 1909, 28ff., 52ff.; Iosif 1881, 79, 314; Kazakova 1970, 59ff.; Lur'e 1960, 298, 313ff., 414, 432, 464; Moiseeva 1958, 25ff.; Sheremetev 1899, 8, 11; Zhmakin 1881a, 185ff.; Zhmakin 1881b, 1:677ff., 1:682, 1:686; Zimin 1977, 114; Zimin and Lur'e 1959, 367ff.

*Dionisii (w:Dmitrii, archpriest Moscow Bogoroditskii)
Status: clergy
References: Steindorff 1998, 302.

Dionisii Ivanovich Nemoi Obolenskii (w:Dmitrii, 1563-66)
Status: noble
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 110; Dianova et al 1991, 393, 402; Dmitrieva 1991c, 40; Dmitrieva 1991d, 55, 56, 58, 59, 71, 74, 77, 83, 86, 89; GIM 418, 9; Iosif 1881, 274; Leonid 1863, 3; RIB, 32:446; Steindorff 1998, 48, 236; Stroev 1891, 48.

*Dmitrii Aleksandrov (m:Dionisii)
Status: landowner (name)
References: GIM 419, 1:63.

*Dmitrii Bel'skii (m:Zosima)
Status: noble
References: GIM 419, 1:66v.

Dmitrii Klushin (elder 1573)

Status: clergy
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 107; Dianova et al 1991, 271; Man'kov 1980, 43.

*Dmitrii Nashchekin (m:Dionisii)
Status: landowner (name)
References: GIM 419, 1:50v.; Steindorff 1998, 128.

*Dmitrii Nebogatyi (m:Dem'ian)
Status: noble
References: GIM 419, 1:32.

*Dmitrii Davidov syn Kurchev (n:Istoma, m:Dionisii)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 233, 248; GIM 419, 1:57v.; Leonid 1863, 8; Steindorff 1998, 262.

*Dmitrii Fedorovich Khovanskii (m:Dionisii)
Status: noble
References: Leonid 1863, 3; Steindorff 1998, 46.

*Dmitrii Fedorovich Paletskii (m:Dionisii)
Status: noble
References: Steindorff 1998, 28.

Dorofei Kartsov (treasurer 1566-69)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 20, 29v.

Dorofei Klushin (elder 1606-07)
Status: unknown
References: Man'kov 1976, 3:517; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 333, 334.

Dosifei Mozhaia (elder 1569)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 31.

Dosifei Toporkov (disciple of Iosif Sanin, elder 1479-1543?)
Status: landowner
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 114; Dianova et al 1991, 198, 249, 301; Dmitrieva 1991a, 7; Dmitrieva 1991c, 28, 29, 31, 33, 36, 41; Dmitrieva 1991d, 60, 75, 87; Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 321, 323; Pliguzov 1984b, 185; Stroev 1891, 101, 111.

Efrem Lenkov (n:Zhuk, d.1571)

Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 94; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 108; Dianova et al 1991, 298, 337ff.; Dmitrieva 1991c, 26; Dmitrieva 1991d, 53, 71, 94; Iosif 1881, 99ff.; Stroev 1891, 205; Zimin 1977, 162.

Efrem Malyi (elder 1563)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 16v.

Efrem Nashchekin (treasurer 1585-1607)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 391, 393; Bibikov 1936, 15; GIM 418, 61v., 67; Man'kov 1978, 67, 86, 238; Man'kov 1980, 250, 252, 254, 263; Man'kov 1987, 1:5, 1:9; Shchepetov 1946, 96, 110; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 352, 365; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 161; Zimin 1947, 360; Zimin 1977, 161.

Efrem (archimandrite Fedorovskoi, 1568)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 23v.

Efrosim (council elder 1516)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 72; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 105; Dianova et al 1991, 150; Dmitrieva 1991c, 25, 26, 35; Dmitrieva 1991d, 53, 83.

*Elisei Mizhuev (w:Olferii/Alferei)
Status: noble
References: Chernov 1998, 90; Steindorff 1998, 82.

Epifanii Lenkov (elder 1545-1573?)
Status: noble
References: Dianova et al 1991, 365; Dmitrieva 1991c, 32; Dmitrieva 1991d, 61, 80; Man'kov 1980, 50; Zimin 1977, 162.

Epifanii (1500)
Status: unknown
References: Belokurov 1903, 30; Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 88; Zimin 1977, 114.

Evfimii Turkov (w:Elizar Ivanovich, monk 1551, treasurer 1563, igumen 1572, elder 1573, igumen 1575-87, d.1587[?])
Status: servitor
References: AFZKh, 356; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 115; Dianova et al 1991, 304; Dmitrieva 1991c, 29, 31, 33, 41; Dmitrieva 1991d, 61, 64, 68, 70, 71, 73, 74, 82, 84, 90, 94, 96, 97; GIM 418, 16v., 23v., 43v., 44, 63; Iosif 1881,

18ff., 46, 79, 144, 220, 273; Kloss 1974d, 162; Leonid 1863, 1; Man'kov 1980, 20, 32, 67, 85, 93, 94, 102, 105, 109, 119, 127, 143, 145, 156, 159, 174, 175, 178, 184, 185, 187, 203, 206, 212, 214, 216, 218, 229, 230, 252; Man'kov 1987, 1:15, 1:16, 1:23; Steindorff 1998, 316; Stroev 1891, 76, 82, 83, 90, 111, 117, 230; Stroev 1990, 182; Zimin 1963g, 136; Zimin 1978, 79.

Evfimii Volynskii (w:Elevferie, 1500)
Status: noble
References: Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 87; Zimin 1977, 117.

Evstratii (elder, 1567-68)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 21v., 36v.

*Fedor Detenka (m:Fegnost)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 419, 1:34.

Fedor Karpov (m:Faddei, 1588)
Status: tradesman
References: GIM 418, 66v.

Fedor Leliushinskii (1580)
Status: peasant
References: Man'kov 1980, 150.

*Fedor (w:Feodosii, Ostashkovo d'iak)
Status: servitor
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 44.

Fedor Filippov Sokolovskii
Status: servitor
References: Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 332; Zimin 1977, 164.

*Fedor Kuritsa Turkov (m:Feodosii)
Status: servitor
References: GIM 419, 1:45v.

Fedor Vasil'ev syn Panteleeva (1569-77)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 364; GIM 418, 28.

Fedorit Rzhevskii (elder 1563-73)
Status: landowner (name)

References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 41; Dmitrieva 1991d, 49, 54, 87; GIM 418, 17; Man'kov 1980, 95; Zimin 1977, 162.

Fedorit Sheremetev (w:Fedor Vasil'evich, elder 1589-90)
Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 299, 383, 387, 419.

Fedorit Stupishin (elder <1545)
Status: landowner (name)
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 114; Dianova et al 1991, 205; Dmitrieva 1991c, 26, 29; Dmitrieva 1991d, 65, 77; Zimin 1977, 161.

Fegnost Lenkov (w:Fedor?, elder 1532-64)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 122, 218; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 108; Dianova et al 1991, 190, 388; Dmitrieva 1991c, 29, 30, 35, 36, 39; Dmitrieva 1991d, 61, 87, 90; GIM 419, 1:72; Stroev 1891, 62; Zimin 1963b, 134ff.; Zimin 1977, 117, 161ff.

Fegnost Rugotin (igumen Selizharovskii, monk <1545-1551)
Status: servitor (name)
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 111; Dianova et al 1991, 167, 261; Dmitrieva 1991c, 26, 27, 36; Dmitrieva 1991d, 52, 57, 87, 89.

Fegnost (w:Skriaba, 1500)
Status: unknown
References: Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 88.

Feodorit Smolev (disciple of Gerasim Lenkov, early 16th c.)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 113; Dianova et al 1991, 227; Kloss 1974d, 162.

Feodorit (w:Sudok, elder 1599)
Status: servitor
References: GIM 418, 68v.; Man'kov 1976, 3:442, 3:465; Zimin 1977, 164.

Feodosii Anufreev (elder 1606-07)
Status: servitor
References: Bibikov 1936, 15; Man'kov 1978, 165; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 351, 352, 373.

Feodosii Gravoronov (elder 1574-81)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1980, 64, 190.

Feodosii Gus' (village elder 1592)
Status: unknown
References: Shchepetov 1946, 109.

*Feodosii Kutuzov (aka:Star'ka Semenov syn)
Status: landowner (name)
References: GIM 419, 1:44v.; Leonid 1863, 4; Steindorff 1998, 50.

Feodosii Lukovnikovskii (disciple of Fotii Staryi, elder 1568, d.1570/71)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 109; Dianova et al 1991, 230, 373; Dmitrieva 1991d, 63, 65, 68, 73, 77, 85, 87, 99; Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 226.

Feodosii Pleshcheev (elder 1568-69)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 340; Kloss 1974d, 162; Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 456; Zimin 1977, 162.

Feodosii Pushkin (treasurer 1566-69)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 340; GIM 418, 20v.; Zimin 1977, 162.

*Feodosii Riabchikov (ded of Feodosii Andreevich)
Status: noble
References: GIM 419, 1:62; Steindorff 1998, 202.

Feodosii Shestoper (elder 1582)
Status: unknown
References: Man'kov 1980, 200.

Feodosii Sokolovskii (elder 1587-92)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1976, 1:46, 1:74, 1:105, 1:141, 1:177, 3:449, 3:465, 3:516; Man'kov 1978, 117, 127, 137, 237; Man'kov 1980, 249, 260; Man'kov 1987, 1:9; Shchepetov 1946, 107.

*Feodosii Strashnyi (w:Foma)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 419, 1:40; Leonid 1863, 6; Steindorff 1998, 202.

Feodosii Zvenigorodskii (council elder 1489-1507)
Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 36; Iosif 1881, 132; Zimin 1977, 117.

Feodosii (monk <1539, archimandrite Novospasskii 1539-42, archbishop Novgorod 1542-50)
Status: unknown
References: AI, 1:411; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 115; Dianova et al 1991, 248, 304; Dmitrieva 1991c, 24, 27, 35, 36; Dmitrieva 1991d, 44, 46, 52, 53, 74, 75, 76, 81, 87, 93; Iosif 1881, 7, 140, 145; Kloss 1974d, 162; Leonid 1863, 6; Steindorff 1998, 124, 316; Stroev 1891, 55, 189; Zimin 1977, 308ff.

Feodosii (steward 1526-27)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 100.

Feodosii (under-treasurer, 1606)
Status: unknown
References: Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 357.

Feodosii Andreevich Riabchikov (w:Fedor, <1545)
Status: noble
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 112; Dianova et al 1991, 146; Dmitrieva 1991c, 25; Dmitrieva 1991d, 49; GIM 419, 1:62; Steindorff 1998, 256, 298.

Feodosii Matveev syn Zinov'iev (w:Fedor, 1566)
Status: peasant
References: GIM 418, 13v., 48v.; GIM 419, 1:53v.

Feofan Svinka (w:Fedor, elder <1545-55)
Status: unknown
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 27, 38; Steindorff 1998, 222.

*Feofan Fomin Ostashkovets (w:Grigorii)
Status: unknown
References: Leonid 1863, 2; Steindorff 1998, 36.

Feoktist Buzharovka (elder 1591)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 115; Dianova et al 1991, 228; Dmitrieva 1991d, 48, 62, 65, 77.

Feoktist Kryloshenin (elder 1507)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 37.

Ferapont Stupishin (elder <1545)
Status: landowner (name)

References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 26, 31; Dmitrieva 1991d, 54, 73, 93; Iosif 1881, 16; Kloss 1974d, 162.

*Filip Mikhailov syn Lovchii
Status: unknown
References: GIM 419, 1:35; Leonid 1863, 7; Steindorff 1998, 232.

Filofei Derzhavin (council elder 1490-1507)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 37; Dianova et al 1991, 388.

Filofei Polev (w:Fedor Sadyr' Ivanov-syn Gavrilov, kelar, treasurer 1530-61)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 118, 181, 196, 206, 236, 246, 247, 252, 254, 259, 283, 316; GIM 418, 9, 18v.; GIM 419, 53; Novosel'skii and Pushkarev 1977, 2:181; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 16, 40, 43, 46; Titov 1906a, 172; Zimin 1977, 154.

Filofei (treasurer 1572)
Status: unknown
References: Shchepetov 1946, 110ff.; Titov 1906b, 96.

Foma Shmoilov (elder, 1545-59?)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 116; Dianova et al 1991, 368; Dmitrieva 1991c, 29, 33, 34, 35; Dmitrieva 1991d, 65, 83, 84, 85; Iosif 1881, 177; Kloss 1974d, 162; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 13, 76.

Fotii Anichkov (disciple of Ignatii Zaitsev)
Status: clergy
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 115; Dianova et al 1991, 135.

Fotii Staryi (w:Fedor, disciple of Kasian Bosoi, elder <1519-54)
Status: servitor
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 115; Dianova et al 1991, 183, 203, 378, 388; Dmitrieva 1991a, 4; Dmitrieva 1991c, 25, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34; Dmitrieva 1991d, 47, 55, 62, 63, 65, 66, 71, 82, 83, 86, 87, 94; Filaret 1884, 148; Fotii 1862, 189ff.; Iankovskii 1876, 202; Iosif 1881, 109, 190, 209; Kloss 1974d, 162; Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 223, 332; Stroev 1882, 287ff.; Stroev 1891, 50, 66, 68ff., 176; VMCh, 477; Zhmakin 1881b, 1:124; Zimin 1977, 116ff.

Fotii (w:Filip, 1579)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1980, 142.

Galakhtion Tetry (igumen 1551-58, igumen Novospasskii 1558-65, bishop Krutitsa 1565-68, d.1568)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 233; AI, 1:411; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 104; Dianova et al 1991, 143, 195, 299; Dmitrieva 1991c, 24, 26, 36; Dmitrieva 1991d, 43, 49, 52, 91, 94; Iosif 1881, 47; Leonid 1863, 8; Steindorff 1998, 306; Stroev 1990, 182; Zimin 1977, 308.

Gavriil Bel'skii (1560)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 103; Dianova et al 1991, 289; Dmitrieva 1991d, 92.

Gavriil Chemes'ev (elder <1545)
Status: unknown
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 25, 34; Dmitrieva 1991d, 73, 83; Iosif 1881, 202.

Gavriil Rzhevitin (treasurer 1606-09)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 417, 427; Bibikov 1936, 15, 16, 19, 21; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 333, 347, 348, 350, 351, 352, 353, 356, 357, 358, 362, 365, 375, 378; Zimin 1947, 360, 363, 370, 373, 374, 377, 382.

Gavriil (disciple of igumen <1545)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 25, 31, 36.

Gelasii Ostashkovets (elder 1581-88)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 62; Man'kov 1980, 195, 200; Man'kov 1987, 1:17.

Gelasii Sukolenov (treasurer 1515-24)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 67, 68, 72, 77, 81, 90; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 104; Dianova et al 1991, 348, 376; Dmitrieva 1991a, 7; Dmitrieva 1991c, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35; Dmitrieva 1991d, 43, 44, 50, 52, 66, 73, 78, 82, 84; Iosif 1881, 4; Kloss 1974d, 161; Pokrovskii 1971, 121; Stroev 1891, 1; VMCh, 489; Zimin 1977, 119.

Gelasii (igumen 1567)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 40.

Gelasii (igumen 1595-99)
Status: unknown-low

References: Amvrosii 1807-1815, 6:977; GIM 418, 69, 69v., 70; Stroev 1990, 182.

Genadii Mikulinets (priest-monk 1556)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 38; Dmitrieva 1991d, 48, 62.

Genadii (steward 1607-10)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 428; Bibikov 1936, 13; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 341, 348, 350; Zimin 1947, 368, 372.

Gerasim Anufreev (council elder 1605)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 417.

Gerasim Chernyi (disciple of Iosif Sanin, council elder 1479-1510)
Status: unknown
References: Belokurov 1903, 31; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 104, 116; Dianova et al 1991, 178, 280, 346; Dmitrieva 1991c, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35; Dmitrieva 1991d, 43, 44, 52, 58, 59, 61, 63, 66, 67, 70, 72, 73, 76, 81; Iosif 1881, 16, 287, 309; Kloss 1974d, 161; Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 214; Stroev 1891, 37, 61, 172, 199; VMCh, 462, 463.

Gerasim Kurtsov (council elder 1511)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 53.

Gerasim Lenkov (council elder 1517-1522, igumen 1522, sobornyi 1522-59)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 81, 83, 122, 158, 167, 216; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 108; Dianova et al 1991, 227, 388, 389; Dmitrieva 1991c, 41; Pokrovskii 1971, 121; Stroev 1990, 182; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 159; Zhmakin 1881b, 1:127; Zimin 1977, 117, 161.

Gerasim Markov (elder 1588-89)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 65; Man'kov 1978, 95, 103, 251; Man'kov 1980, 243, 244; Man'kov 1987, 1:14.

Gerasim Neledin'skii (council elder 1588-91)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 391, 436; Dmitrieva 1991d, 55; Man'kov 1980, 244; Man'kov 1987, 1:9; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 161.

Gerasim Ostashkovets (council elder 1606-07)

Status: servitor
References: Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 336, 337, 339, 341, 347, 350, 355, 356.

Gerasim Riazanets (elder 1543)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 419, 1:48v.; Zimin 1977, 164.

Gerasim Runtsev
Status: unknown
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 111; Dianova et al 1991, 142; Dmitrieva 1991d, 48.

*Gerasim Sobakin (w:Grigorii Semenov syn)
Status: landowner (name)
References: GIM 419, 1:25; Steindorff 1998, 226.

Gerasim Zamytskii (archimandrite Simonov 1520-1526, d.1526)
Status: landowner (name)
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 27, 28; Dmitrieva 1991d, 43, 44, 55, 56, 58, 60, 61; Iosif 1881, 5, 16; Kloss 1974d, 161; Stroev 1891, 1, 61; Zimin 1977, 308.

German Cheglokov (w:Grigorii Iakovlevich; treasurer 1574-91)
Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 296, 309, 391, 436; GIM 418, 43v., 45, 57v.; Man'kov 1976, 1:8; Man'kov 1978, 206; Man'kov 1980, 63, 85, 108, 110, 111, 113, 120, 122, 132, 134, 142, 160, 182, 235, 241, 243, 244, 254; Man'kov 1987, 1:9, 1:22; RIB, 32:477; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 161.

German El'chaninov (elder)
Status: landowner (name)
References: Zimin 1977, 162.

German Polev (w:Grigorii Sadyrev, treasurer 1554, archimandrite 1551-53, 1555-64, archbishop Kazan' 1564-68, metropolitan 1568, d.1568)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 118, 246, 247, 252; AI, 1:411; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 112; Dianova et al 1991, 165, 272; Dmitrieva 1991c, 24, 27; Dmitrieva 1991d, 44, 57, 65, 67; Leonid 1872, 14; Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 332; SKKDR, 2:152ff.; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 51, 52, 54; Zimin 1977, 155, 309.

German Slepushkin (council elder 1540)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 158, 370; Dmitrieva 1991d, 63; GIM 419, 1:60; Zimin 1977, 119.

German Ivanov syn Bukhvostov (elder 1583)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 56.

Gerontii Rakitin (steward 1507-25)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 30, 37, 72, 77, 236, 246, 302; Iosif 1881, 134ff.; Leonid 1872, 13; Pokrovskii 1971, 121; Steindorff 1998, 34; VMCh, 489; Zimin 1977, 117; Zimin and Lur'e 1959, 297.

Gerontii Verevkin (n:Nezgovor, elder 1607)
Status: unknown-low
References: Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 333, 355.

Gerontii (w:Iur'ia, elder 1568-74)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 36; Man'kov 1980, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 17, 36, 47, 52, 59.

Gerontii (elder <1545-1559)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 28; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 38, 44, 65, 76.

Gerontii Il'inov syn Skuratov Bel'skii (w:Grigorii; 1581)
Status: landowner
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 75; GIM 418, 45; Man'kov 1980, 189.

Gridia Bobrov (elder 1555)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 260.

Gridia Koniashinskii (elder 1555)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 260.

*Grigorii Chemes'ev (m:German)
Status: landowner (name)
References: Leonid 1863, 8; Steindorff 1998, 258.

Grigorii Demidov (1584)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 60.

*Grigorii Fomin (m:Gurii)
Status: landowner
References: GIM 419, 1:41v.

Grigorii Mamon (m:German)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 419, 1:34v.

*Grigorii Vasil'ev syn Oplechiuev (aka:Zhiukov-Oplechiuev, m:Gerontii)
Status: landowner
References: GIM 419, 1:58.

Gurii Lapshin (aka:Volotskii, 1573)
Status: unknown
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 63; GIM 418, 41; Man'kov 1980, 3.

Gurii Rugotin (w:Grigorii Grigoriev syn, igumen 1543-51, igumen Selizharov 1551-55, arkheipiskop Kazan' 1555-63, d.1563)
Status: servitor
References: AFZKh, 171, 232; AI, 1:411; Dianova et al 1991, 165; Dmitrieva 1991c, 29, 30, 31, 35; Dmitrieva 1991d, 61, 81; GIM 418, 15v.; Iosif 1881, 18ff.; Leonid 1863, 4; Steindorff 1998, 78; Stroev 1990, 182; Zimin 1977, 155, 309.

Gurii Staryi (steward 1479-1532)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 22, 28, 29, 30, 31, 36, 37, 44, 49, 60, 61, 67, 68, 72, 77, 78, 122; Dmitrieva 1991c, 28, 31; Pokrovskii 1971, 121; VMCh, 489; Zimin 1977, 119.

Gurii Stupishin (steward 1566-1606)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 405, 408, 413, 417; Dmitrieva 1991d, 67; GIM 418, 44v., 63v., 70, 71, 71v., 72; Man'kov 1978, 48; Man'kov 1980, 2, 5, 13, 23, 26, 28, 30, 37, 54, 69, 73, 85, 89, 96, 103, 105, 118, 120, 127, 129, 132, 145, 165, 169, 174, 175, 215, 220, 227, 241; Shchepetov 1946, 96; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 345, 365, 377, 378; Titov 1906b, 110; Zimin 1977, 160.

Gurii Usov (council elder 1575-82)
Status: landowner (name)
References: Man'kov 1980, 85, 86, 88, 89, 94, 110, 116, 132, 142, 144, 182, 197, 217, 223, 226, 230.

Gurii Zabolotskii (bishop Smolensk)
Status: noble
References: AI, 1:411; Steindorff 1998, 60; Stroev 1990, 150; Zimin 1977, 162, 308, 309.

Iakim Artem'ev (elder 1567)

Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 21.

Iakim Shevelev (elder 1573-79)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 43v.; Man'kov 1980, 1, 3, 10, 14, 25, 26, 27, 30, 33, 35, 48, 57, 74, 81, 125, 129, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 169, 172, 173.

Iakim Voronin (elder 1573)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 39v.; Man'kov 1980, 27.

Iakov Sokolov (elder 1592)
Status: unknown
References: Man'kov 1976, 1:39, 1:74, 1:86, 1:123, 1:160, 2:230, 3:437, 3:465; Man'kov 1978, 121, 126, 141, 285; Shchepetöv 1946, 107, 114.

Ieremiia (archbishop Kazan')
Status: unknown-low
References: AI, 1:411; Dmitrieva 1991d, 64; Iosif 1881, 144; Zimin 1977, 309.

Iev Balandin (treasurer <1573-75)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 103; Dianova et al 1991, 284; Dmitrieva 1991d, 88; Man'kov 1980, 16, 56, 90; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 120.

Iev Bolotov (elder 1574-84)
Status: unknown
References: Man'kov 1978, 48; Man'kov 1980, 81, 120, 122, 124, 126, 127, 129, 140, 141; Shchepetov 1946, 97.

Iev Luchanin (elder 1581)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 52v.; Man'kov 1980, 193; Zimin 1977, 164.

Iev Mechev (:Ivan Vasiliev syn, steward 1568-81)
Status: landowner
References: Man'kov 1980, 6, 18, 23, 50, 68, 81, 85, 90, 109, 132, 193, 217; Titov 1906a, 317; Zimin 1977, 162.

Iev Novgorodets (disciple of Sergei, <1591)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 64.

Iev Borisov syn Lopata (w:Ivan)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 17v.

Ignatii Elizarov (treasurer, 1558-66)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 287; Dmitrieva 1991c, 39; GIM 418, 13v., 49; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 62, 70; Titov 1906a, 257.

Ignatii Golovin (igumen Chervenbovskii, elder 1588)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 105; Dianova et al 1991, 322; Dmitrieva 1991c, 39; Iosif 1881, 169; Man'kov 1978, 68; Man'kov 1980, 263; Man'kov 1987, 1:17.

Ignatii Ogoreltsev (council elder 1506-07)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 37; Dmitrieva 1991d, 61; VMCh, 477.

*Ignatii Rakitin
Status: landowner
References: GIM 419, 1:36; Leonid 1863, 5; Steindorff 1998, 98.

Ignatii Shapochnik (treasurer 1554-59)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 57; GIM 418, 13v., 15; GIM 419, 78v., 130v.; Zimin 1977, 164.

Ignatii Zaitsev (w:Isak, steward, treasurer 1540-72)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 158, 212, 213, 287, 296; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 105; Dianova et al 1991, 135, 306, 313; Dmitrieva 1991d, 68, 77, 91; GIM 418, 10, 13v., 15v., 16, 26v., 44v.; GIM 419, 1:56v.; Iosif 1881, 28; Kloss 1974d, 162; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 36, 39, 50, 51, 54, 76, 77.

Ignatii (1582)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1980, 198.

*Il'ia Glazatyi (w:Ignatii)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 49; GIM 419, 1:31; Leonid 1863, 8; Steindorff 1998, 260.

Il'ia Nikitin (council elder 1606-07)

Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 417; Bibikov 1936, 12; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 340, 379; Zimin 1947, 369.

Il'ia Shershnev (treasurer 1542-56)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 181, 316; Dianova et al 1991, 137; Dmitrieva 1991c, 25, 38; Dmitrieva 1991d, 60; GIM 418, 6; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 22, 25, 28; Titov 1906a, 187.

Il'ia Maliutin brat Skuratov-syn Bel'skii (elder 1573-76)
Status: noble
References: GIM 418, 41v., 45; Man'kov 1980, 10, 119.

Ilarion Vysokii (steward, treasurer 1534-40)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 142, 151, 152; Dianova et al 1991, 388; Sheremetev 1899, 11.

Ilinarkh (w:Il'ia, 1500)
Status: unknown
References: Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 86.

Ilinarkh (w:Ivan, 1588)
Status: tradesman
References: Man'kov 1980, 242.

Ilinarkh (servitor of Ivan Petrovich Shuiskii, elder 1588)
Status: servitor
References: GIM 418, 65; Man'kov 1980, 244; Zimin 1977, 163.

Ilinarkh Vasil'ev syn Mizhiueva (disciple of Gerasim Lenkov, deacon 1566-69)
Status: clergy
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 41; Dmitrieva 1991d, 46, 61, 87; GIM 418, 27; Iosif 1881, 21.

Innokentii (elder 1479ff.)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 7.

*Ioann Bartenev
Status: landowner (name)
References: GIM 419, 1:67.

*Ioann Kasha (m:Ignatii)
Status: noble

References: GIM 419, 1:50.

*Ioann Larev (m:Iona)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 419, 1:61v.

*Ioann Iur'ev syn Sinitsyn (m:Iev)
Status: landowner
References: GIM 419, 1:37v.; Steindorff 1998, 98.

*Ioann Vasil'evich Shuiskii (m:Iosif)
Status: noble
References: GIM 419, 1:52v.; Leonid 1863, 7; Steindorff 1998, 222.

Ioasaf Lukovnikovskii (igumen 1591-92)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 436; Dmitrieva 1991d, 42, 50, 66, 69, 70, 73, 84, 87, 98; GIM 418, 68; Iosif 1881, 240; Man'kov 1976, 1:48; Stroev 1891, 19; Stroev 1990, 182; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 161.

Ioasaf Luzhenoi (elder 1592)
Status: unknown
References: Man'kov 1978, 135.

Ioasaf Stupishin (steward 1546-48)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 196, 205; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 113; Dianova et al 1991, 324, 362; Dmitrieva 1991d, 85, 88; Zimin 1977, 161.

Ioasaf Telitsa (igumen Kaliazinskii, 1517-22)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 106; Dianova et al 1991, 395; Dmitrieva 1991c, 24, 26, 29, 32; Dmitrieva 1991d, 45, 53, 76, 80; Iosif 1881, 8.

Ioasaf Zhavoronok (w:Ivan, 1540)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 5.

Ioasaf Dmitriev syn (w:Ivan)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova et al 1991, 385.

Iona Burtsov (w:Ivan, 1569)
Status: landowner (name)

References: GIM 418, 27v.

Iona Golova (aka:Iona Pushechnikov, council elder 1500-25)
Status: servitor
References: AFZKh, 36, 37, 39, 49, 72, 77; Belokurov 1903, 29; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 111; Dianova et al 1991, 139, 190, 291, 388; Dmitrieva 1991c, 26, 28, 36; Dmitrieva 1991d, 46, 48, 54, 60, 63, 85, 92, 94; Iankovskii 1876, 201ff.; Iosif 1881, 134ff.; Leonid 1872, 13; Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 214, 448; Pokrovskii 1971, 121; VMCh, 477, 486ff., 489; Zhmakin 1881b, 3:55ff.; Zimin 1977, 114; Zimin and Lur'e 1959, 297.

Iona Ivashev (treasurer 1599-1607)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 223; GIM 418, 70; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 351.

Iona Koidashev (elder 1592-1607)
Status: unknown
References: Man'kov 1978, 284; Shchepetov 1946, 109; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 343, 346, 348, 349, 350, 352, 355, 358, 365, 381.

*Iona Morozov (w:Iakov)
Status: unknown
References: Leonid 1863, 2; Steindorff 1998, 32.

Iona Osorin (council elder 1563-76)
Status: landowner (name)
References: GIM 418, 18v.; Man'kov 1978, 209; Man'kov 1980, 7, 8, 12, 25, 32, 38, 57, 58, 59, 63, 72, 74, 82, 85, 89, 97, 113.

Iona (steward 1547)
Status: unknown
References: Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 13.

*Iona Timofeev Khludenev (w:Ignatii, ca.1540?)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 159, 160; Leonid 1863, 7; Steindorff 1998, 256.

Iosif Amanov (elder 1573-76)
Status: unknown
References: Man'kov 1980, 38, 81, 96.

Iosif Bulychev (1591)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova et al 1991, 276.

Iosif Golovnin (w:Ioann, treasurer 1548)
Status: servitor
References: AFZKh, 178, 179, 205; GIM 419, 1:64v.; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 18.

Iosif Korovin (w:Ivan Andreevich Kutuzov-Korovin, steward, treasurer 1549-66)
Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 213, 245, 270, 282; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 108; Dianova et al 1991, 402; Dmitrieva 1991c, 29; GIM 418, 19, 20; GIM 419, 131v.; Sheremetev 1899, 14; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 46, 47; Titov 1906a, 268; Zimin 1977, 162.

Iosif Lystsev (council elder 1549-50)
Status: servitor
References: AFZKh, 215, 216; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 76; Titov 1906a, 310.

Iosif Molvianinov (council elder 1562-66)
Status: servitor
References: AFZKh, 295; GIM 418, 20; GIM 419, 1:70v.; Zimin 1977, 163.

Iosif Moskvitin (w:Ivan Fokin syn, treasurer 1605-06)
Status: tradesman
References: AFZKh, 416, 417; GIM 418, 71; Zimin 1947, 358, 359, 360.

Iosif Sanin (igumen 1479-1515)
Status: landowner

Iosif Savinskii (elder 1594)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1976, 3:402; Man'kov 1978, 173.

Iosif Slizov (elder 1600)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 70v.

Iosif (scribe <1545, some refs could be to Iosif Sanin)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 106; Dianova et al 1991, 129; Dmitrieva 1991c, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 35.

Iosif (disciple of Trifon Stupishin)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 37; Dmitrieva 1991d, 78, 88.

Iosif Grigor'ev syn Pashin (w:Ivan, elder 1582-1607)

Status: servitor
References: GIM 418, 55; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 333; Zimin 1977, 163.

*Iosif Ivanovich Umnyi Kolychev (w:Ivan)
Status: noble
References: GIM 418, 16.

Ipatei (elder <1545)
Status: unknown
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 26.

Ipatii Grigor'ev (elder)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 104; Dianova et al 1991, 246.

Irodion Serkov Lystsev (elder <1545-68)
Status: servitor
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 26, 27, 40; Dmitrieva 1991d, 52, 62; Titov 1906a, 310.

Isaia Boroda (from Novgorod Iur'ev monastery, elder 1569-73)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 41; Dmitrieva 1991d, 87; Iosif 1881, 20; Man'kov 1980, 4.

Isaia Klepik (elder, d.1587)
Status: unknown
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 90; Man'kov 1980, 240.

Isaia Rtishchev (w:Isidor, "Vasil'ev-syn Aleksandrova", disciple of Fotii Staryi, monk 1532-55, treasurer of archbishop Kazan' 1555ff.)
Status: landowner
References: GIM 418, 14; GIM 419, 1:44v.; Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 225, 455.

Isak Khvorostinin (w:Ivan Konstantinov-syn, 1567-71)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 12; GIM 418, 23, 41.

Isak Sadykov (elder 1573-79
Status: landowner (name)
References: Man'kov 1980, 20, 49, 64, 168.

Isak Sumin (scribe, disciple of Epifanii Lenkov, 1567)
Status: unknown

References: Dianova et al 1991, 365; Dmitrieva 1991d, 77, 80; GIM 418, 21v.; Kloss 1974d, 162.

*Iurchak Tolbuzin (m:Genadii)
Status: landowner (name)
References: GIM 419, 1:49.

Ivan Kasha
Status: tradesman
References: Zimin 1977, 164.

Ivan Posokha (council elder 1555-56)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 260.

*Ivan Rudnyi (n:Karp, aka:Semenov syn Sur'min)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 419, 1:30; Steindorff 1998, 226.

*Ivan Sheremetev (m:Iev, n:Bol'shoi)
Status: landowner (name)
References: Steindorff 1998, 96.

Ivan Turkov (m:Iakov, 1587)
Status: servitor
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 64; GIM 418, 64v.

*Ivan Andreevich Khovanskii Kosoi
Status: noble
References: GIM 419, 1:54; Leonid 1863, 4; Steindorff 1998, 56, 120, 136.

*Ivan Borisovich Volotskii
Status: noble
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 26; GIM 419, 1:22; Steindorff 1998, 70, 220.

*Ivan Burtsov syn Erygin (m:Iosif)
Status: landowner
References: GIM 419, 1:61v.

Ivan Dmitreev syn (son of priest Lukovnikovo)
Status: clergy
References: GIM 418, 57v.

*Ivan Gavrilov syn Marinin (m:Iona, aka:Ioann, 1500)
Status: landowner

References: AFZKh, 10, 11; GIM 419, 1:35v., 1:36v.; Steindorff 1998, 98.

*Ivan Il'ich Pushkin
Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 362, 367.

*Ivan Ivanovich Khovanskii Zherd (m:Iosif)
Status: noble
References: Steindorff 1998, 56, 62.

*Ivan Ivanovich Kubenskii
Status: noble
References: Dianova et al 1991, 183; GIM 419, 1:42v.; Steindorff 1998, 238, 262.

*Ivan Matveev syn Rzhevskii (m:Iona, 1507-40)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 40, 68, 72, 90, 142, 151, 152, 305.

*Ivan Pavlov syn Klokachev (n:Guba, m:Iona, 1515)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 75, 81, 155; GIM 419, 1:29v., 1:62v.

*Ivan Stepanovich Povadin
Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 173; Leonid 1863, 7; Steindorff 1998, 218.

Izmail Snazin (council elder 1563-91)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 391, 436; GIM 418, 17, 20, 68; Man'kov 1980, 85, 104, 132, 144, 182, 229, 241; Man'kov 1987, 1:9; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 161.

Izosima Ivanov syn Kushnikov (elder Bogoradnyi 1573)
Status: unknown
References: Man'kov 1978, 196.

Kallist Staryi (council elder 1479-1504, igumen Savvino-Storozhevskii 1505-07, sobornyi 1508-1516)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 10, 72; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 107; Dianova et al 1991, 347; Dmitrieva 1991c, 29; Dmitrieva 1991d, 62, 73; VMCh, 489.

Kasian Bosoi (w:Kuz'ma, council elder <1507-32)
Status: servitor
References: AFZKh, 36, 37, 39, 49, 72; Belokurov 1903, 31; DAI, 365; Dianova et al 1991, 203; Iankovskii 1876, 201ff.; Kudriavtsev 1961, 177ff.; Leonid

1863, 3, 5; Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 213, 215, 217, 453; Pokrovskii 1971, 121; Steindorff 1998, 38, 120; Titov 1906a, 173; VMCh, 486ff.; Zimin 1963b, 133ff.; Zimin 1977, 116; Zimin and Lur'e 1959, 104ff., 239, 297.

*Kasian Khvorostinin (w:Konstantin)
Status: landowner (name)
References: GIM 419, 1:31v.; Steindorff 1998, 226.

Kasian Klishan (council elder 1526-28)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 100, 106.

Kasian Vysotskii (elder 1553-57)
Status: tradesman
References: Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 44, 50, 54, 59, 65.

Khristofor (steward 1588-1590)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 384.

Kipriian Nashchekin (elder 1590)
Status: landowner (name)
References: GIM 418, 68.

*Kipriian Odoevets (elder)
Status: unknown-low
References: Leonid 1863, 6; Steindorff 1998, 134; Zimin 1977, 164.

Kipriian Ostashkovets (elder <1591)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 64.

Kirill Vozmin (w:Koz'ma, 1599)
Status: peasant
References: GIM 418, 68v.

Kirill Zagrebin (elder 1574-79)
Status: unknown
References: Man'kov 1980, 66, 81, 132, 138, 140, 143.

Kirill (elder 1553)
Status: unknown-low
References: Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 45.

Kornilii Iazykov (steward, treasurer 1560-69)

Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 340; GIM 418, 20, 21v., 22, 24v., 25v.

Kornilii Shevelov (elder 1553)
Status: tradesman
References: Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 44.

Kornilii Lobanov syn (w:Sherap, 1572)
Status: servitor
References: GIM 418, 34.

*Kuz'ma Golovlenkov (m:Konstantin)
Status: landowner (name)
References: GIM 419, 1:42v., 1:45.

Kuz'ma Shchegolev (council elder 1555-56)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 260.

Kuz'ma Iakovlev syn Kovezina (1567)
Status: peasant
References: GIM 418, 40.

*Kuz'ma Vasil'ev syn Lapshin (1547)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 206; Zimin 1977, 162.

Laptev (librarian 1545)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 24; Dmitrieva 1991d, 42.

Larivon (steward 1541-42)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 167.

Lavrentii (1553)
Status: clergy
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 36.

Lavrentii Novgorodets (disciple of Gelasii Sukolenov)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 108; Dmitrieva 1991c, 35; Dmitrieva 1991d, 94; GIM 418, 36.

*Lavrentii Rzhevskii (w:Leontii, n:Deviatyi)

Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 106, 280, 292, 311; Leonid 1863, 7; Steindorff 1998, 218.

Lavrentii (igumen 1566-68, archbishop Kazan' 1568-74, d.1574)
Status: unknown-low
References: AI, 1:411; Amvrosii 1807-1815, 6:977; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 108; Dianova et al 1991, 346; Dmitrieva 1991d, 42, 45, 52, 57, 58, 64, 73, 77, 88, 93, 95, 96; GIM 418, 20, 22, 24v., 28v., 33v., 62; Iosif 1881, 11, 19; Laks 1997, 71; Sadikov 1941, 229; Steindorff 1998, 200, 260; Stroev 1891, 38, 79, 99; Stroev 1990, 182.

Lavrentii (treasurer 1548)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 10v.; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 21, 22, 23.

Lavrentii (disciple Guriia Stupishina, elder 1579-1606)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 71v.; Man'kov 1978, 273; Man'kov 1980, 145; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 368.

Lazar' (1582)
Status: peasant
References: Man'kov 1980, 197.

Leonid Markelov (w:Leontii Markelov-syn Rudnev, steward 1606-12)
Status: servitor
References: AFZKh, 417, 427, 431; Bibikov 1936, 12, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 108; Dianova et al 1991, 214, 323; Stroev 1891, 62; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 340, 351, 357, 361, 365, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380; Zimin 1947, 360, 370.

Leonid Nedoveskov (council elder 1582-91)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 391, 436; Man'kov 1978, 107ff., 234; Man'kov 1987, 1:9, 1:22; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 161.

Leonid Protas'ev (igumen 1563-66, 68-73, bishop Riazan' 1573-86)
Status: unknown
References: AI, 1:410; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 108; Dianova et al 1991, 146, 283, 304; Dmitrieva 1991c, 26, 39, 40; Dmitrieva 1991d, 45, 49, 52, 58, 60, 66, 87, 88, 93; GIM 418, 16, 17, 25, 29v., 35v.; Iosif 1881, 13ff., 20, 207, 212; Man'kov 1980, 6; RIB, 32:446; Sheremetev 1899, 13; Steindorff 1998, 228, 306; Stroev 1891, 39, 76, 83; Stroev 1990, 182.

Leonid Tolbuzin (w:Leontii Ivanovich, treasurer <1545-64)

Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 142, 235, 236, 242, 281, 288, 292, 293, 297, 298, 305, 321, 327, 329, 336, 363, 364, 365, 373, 376; Dmitrieva 1991c, 29; Dmitrieva 1991d, 61; GIM 418, 14v.; GIM 419, 100v.; Man'kov 1980, 2, 11, 68; RIB, 32:446; Sheremetev 1899, 14; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 51, 54, 55, 57, 59; Zimin 1977, 162.

Leonid (elder 1579-82)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1980, 133, 134, 139, 160, 165, 172, 182, 184, 186, 192, 194, 201, 216.

Leontii Rzhevitin (elder 1573-88)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1980, 39, 42, 83, 123, 209, 211, 212, 241, 250, 255.

Leontii (treasurer 1601)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 70v.

Levkei Akishev (elder 1582-87, igumen 1587-91, council elder 1591-?)
Status: clergy
References: AFZKh, 391; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 108; Dianova et al 1991, 153, 231, 293; Dmitrieva 1991d, 50, 54, 60, 66, 69, 90, 94, 95, 99; GIM 418, 52v., 62, 70v.; Iosif 1881, 25, 139; Man'kov 1980, 242, 243ff., 244; Man'kov 1987, 1:30; Stroev 1990, 182; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 161.

Levkei (chernyi deacon, 1576-1605)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 48, 66, 90, 93, 97; GIM 418, 45; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 339.

Levkei (igumen 1527)
Status: unknown
References: Iosif 1881, 7.

Login Lobkov (w:Nechai, <1581)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 51v.

Luka Lenkov (1532)
Status: landowner
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 28; Dmitrieva 1991d, 67; Zimin 1963b, 134ff.; Zimin 1977, 161.

Luka Rykov (scribe, elder <1591)
Status: unknown
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 54, 56, 58, 74, 83; Kloss 1974d, 162.

Makarii Mechev (w:Mikhail Tarasov syn, elder 1577-78)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 366; Zimin 1977, 162.

*Makarii Olad'e
Status: unknown
References: Steindorff 1998, 108.

Makarii Platov (under-treasurer 1581)
Status: unknown
References: Man'kov 1980, 212, 215, 220.

Makarii Rostopchin (elder 1573-1607)
Status: landowner (name)
References: Man'kov 1980, 5; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 354; Zimin 1977, 162.

Makarii Rzhevskii (council elder 1566-94)
Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 305, 321; Dmitrieva 1991d, 44, 89, 92; GIM 418, 20, 21; Man'kov 1976, 1:37, 1:79, 1:92, 1:123, 1:169, 2:214, 2:252, 2:283, 2:308, 3:379; Man'kov 1978, 118, 137, 143, 153, 165, 171; Shchepetov 1946, 97, 107; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 58, 63, 68, 74; Titov 1906a, 332; Zimin 1977, 162.

Makarii Zaitsev (council elder 1566-89)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 20, 61v.; Man'kov 1978, 103, 206; Man'kov 1980, 23, 30, 35, 46, 73, 80, 100, 108, 121, 124, 151, 169, 211, 212, 227, 241, 252, 265; Man'kov 1987, 1:31.

Makarii Borisovich Borozdin (w:Fedor, <1545)
Status: landowner
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 29, 35; Leonid 1863, 7; Novosel'skii and Pushkarev 1977, 157; Steindorff 1998, 220, 264.

Maksim Novgorodets (disciple of Vasian Toporkov, <1591)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 69.

Maksim (brat Feraponta, elder <1591)
Status: unknown

References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 89.

*Maliuta Lukianovich Skuratov syn Bel'skii (w:Grigorii)
Status: noble
References: GIM 418, 34, 37; Leonid 1863, 2; Sheremetev 1899, 9; Steindorff 1998, 36, 42, 96, 202, 228.

Mark Bostov (disciple of Evfimii Turkov, 1585)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 103; Dianova et al 1991, 205.

Mark Levkeinskii (d.1565)
Status: servitor
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 109; Dianova et al 1991, 291, 372; Dmitrieva 1991c, 39; Dmitrieva 1991d, 75, 82, 86, 92, 94; GIM 419, 1:56v.

Mark Malyi (elder 1553-59)
Status: unknown-low
References: Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 50, 54, 76.

Mark (servitor of Andrei Karpov, elder)
Status: servitor
References: Titov 1906a, 171.

Markel (priest-monk, <1545)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 109; Dianova et al 1991, 212, 249; Dmitrieva 1991c, 29; Stroev 1891, 100.

Marko (w:Rakita, 1540)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 5v.

Martem'ian Protas'ev (elder 1569-72)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 31v.; Titov 1906a, 344.

Martemian Staryi (elder <1545)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 29; Dmitrieva 1991d, 60.

Martyn Rykov (elder 1563-64)
Status: unknown
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 54, 83; GIM 418, 18v.; Iosif 1881, 164.

*Matfei Golovlenkov
Status: landowner (name)
References: Leonid 1863, 7; Steindorff 1998, 232.

*Matvei Shkilia (w:Makarii)
Status: servitor
References: Steindorff 1998, 80.

Matvei Malekhov syn (1569)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 31.

Menshik Sokolov (1565)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 35v.

Mikhail Lavrov syn Anufreevskii (elder 1551)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 10v.

Misail Beznin (w:Mikhail Andreevich, council elder 1590-1596)
Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 274, 391, 393, 403; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 119; Dmitrieva 1991b, 19; Dmitrieva 1991d, 42, 61; GIM 418, 67, 67v., 69v., 70; Grekov 1935, 77ff., 79; Grekov 1940, 96ff.; Iosif 1881, 247; Kobrin [Nirbok] 1965, 214ff.; Kobrin 1960, 51ff.; Koretskii 1970, 272ff.; Man'kov 1976, 1:8, 1:48, 1:110; Man'kov 1978, 112, 114, 123, 162, 166; Stroev 1891, 21; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 336; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 161; Zimin 1977, 157ff.

Misail Khripunov (steward 1594-95)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 69; Man'kov 1976, 2:188, 2:262, 2:274, 2:300; Man'kov 1978, 150, 158.

Misail Khvorostinin (w:Mikhail, elder 1573)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 342; Dmitrieva 1991d, 93; Man'kov 1980, 43.

Misail Pinaev (elder 1573-74)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 214, 224, 231, 302, 356; Man'kov 1980, 32, 69.

Misail Telegin (council elder 1588-91)
Status: landowner (name)

References: AFZKh, 384; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 114; Dianova et al 1991, 219.

Misail (deacon, librarian, 1582)
Status: clergy
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 97.

Misail (w:Mikhail, 1602)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 71.

Misail (elder 1549-53)
Status: unknown-low
References: Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 27, 45, 50, 65.

Misail (priest-monk 1571)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 109; Dianova et al 1991, 179; Dmitrieva 1991d, 63; Stroev 1891, 61.

*Misail Andreev syn Elinarkhov
Status: unknown
References: GIM 419, 1:64.

Mitrofan (steward 1606)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 415, 417; GIM 418, 71v.

Mitrofan (librarian 1571-72)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 119; Dianova et al 1991, 179, 230, 256; Dmitrieva 1991d, 68, 98; Iosif 1881, 288.

Moisei Kolmak (deacon, 1588)
Status: clergy
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 89, 90; GIM 418, 62; Iosif 1881, 31; Kloss 1974d, 162; Stroev 1891, 77.

Moisei Nepliuev (w:Miron Pavlov-syn, n:Posnik, steward 1581-1607)
Status: peasant
References: AFZKh, 417; Bibikov 1936, 16, 17, 19, 21; GIM 418, 43v., 56v., 60, 70, 71v., 72; Man'kov 1978, 39, 43, 235, 273; Man'kov 1980, 98, 182, 183, 184, 185, 195, 198, 205, 216, 218, 220, 227, 234, 241, 243, 246, 249, 256, 262, 263, 265; Man'kov 1987, 1:9, 1:11, 1:17, 1:19; Tikhomirov and Floria

1966, 335, 340, 342, 344, 345, 346, 349, 350, 352, 356, 357, 359, 365, 377, 378; Titov 1906b, 108; Zimin 1947, 360, 361, 370, 375.

*Moisei Vasil'ev syn Pushkina (w:Fedor)
Status: landowner (name)
References: GIM 418, 10.

Neofit Grek (elder 1602)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 95.

Nestor (elder <1545)
Status: unknown
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 30.

Nifont Golodnoi (elder 1588-94)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1976, 1:50, 1:82, 1:96, 1:110, 1:151, 2:204, 2:247, 2:277, 2:323, 3:392; Man'kov 1978, 67, 68, 118, 124, 137, 145, 152, 169; Man'kov 1987, 1:39, 1:46; Shchepetov 1946, 97, 107.

Nifont Golyshkin (elder 1577-80)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 47; Man'kov 1980, 26, 60, 134, 150, 151.

Nifont Kormilitsyn (igumen 1522-43, archimandrite Novospasskii 1543-54, bishop Krutitsa 1554-58 d.1558)
Status: unknown
References: AI, 1:411; DAI, 365; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 110; Dianova et al 1991, 163, 395; Dmitrieva 1991c, 30, 32, 36, 38, 39; Dmitrieva 1991d, 59, 66, 67, 74, 76, 77, 82, 88; Iosif 1881, 65, 195, 277; Kloss 1974d, 162; Leonid 1863, 6; Mukhanov 1866, 582, 592; Sheremetev 1899, 11; Steindorff 1998, 122; Stroev 1891, 13, 93; Stroev 1990, 182; Zimin 1963b, 132; Zimin 1977, 308.

Nikandro (1500)
Status: unknown
References: Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 88.

Nikandro Ivanov syn Turkov (council elder 1573-88)
Status: servitor
References: AFZKh, 436; GIM 418, 66; Man'kov 1978, 76, 233; Man'kov 1980, 4, 81, 132, 137, 141, 151, 158, 175, 182, 186, 192, 202, 213, 217, 218, 258; Man'kov 1987, 1:9, 1:15.

Nikanor (elder 1550)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 110; Dianova et al 1991, 210.

Nikifor Morin (w:Nikita Fedorov syn, treasurer 1573-93)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 386, 390, 391, 393, 436; Dmitrieva 1991d, 64, 66, 91; GIM 418, 33v., 42, 48v.; Man'kov 1978, 1, 21, 28, 53, 57, 65, 72, 78, 91, 190, 224, 235, 238, 249, 256, 263; Man'kov 1980, 1, 21, 23, 25, 34, 40, 42, 61, 74, 83, 85, 92, 105, 106, 107, 114, 123, 132, 150, 168, 175, 182, 205, 213, 217, 224, 234, 238, 247, 250; Man'kov 1987, 1:9, 1:10; Shchepetov 1946, 96; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 161; Zimin 1977, 162.

Nikifor Teriaev (elder 1550)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 114; Dianova et al 1991, 322, 388; Dmitrieva 1991d, 55, 77, 91.

Nikita Fedorov Lapshin (m:Nikodim, scribe, <1591)
Status: servitor
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 75; Iosif 1881, 144.

Nikita Vasil'ev syn Ushakova (1539-67)
Status: servitor
References: AFZKh, 150, 324; GIM 418, 7.

*Nikita Vasil'evich Obolenskii Khromoi (m:Nil)
Status: noble
References: GIM 419, 1:28.

Nikodim (miller elder 1579-1607)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1980, 133; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 333.

Nikolai Poles (1514)
Status: unknown
References: Stroev 1891, 130.

Nikon Bibikov (elder 1550)
Status: landowner (name)
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 103; Dianova et al 1991, 242, 380; Dmitrieva 1991d, 65.

Nikon (disciple of Dionisii Zvenigorodskii)
Status: unknown-low

References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 110; Dianova et al 1991, 207.

*Nikula Voronin (m:Nil)
Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 49; GIM 419, 1:31; Leonid 1863, 4; Steindorff 1998, 50.

Nil Polev (w:Nikifor, council elder 1507-30?)
Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 37; Belokurov 1903, 30; DDG, 71; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 111; Dmitrieva 1991c, 25, 29, 31, 33, 34; Dmitrieva 1991d, 47, 50, 65, 72, 74, 79, 80, 81; Filaret 1884, 137ff.; Iosif 1881, 6ff., 134ff., 277; Kazakova 1970, 59ff.; Leonid 1863, 6; Leonid 1872, 2, 12ff., 13; Lur'e 1960, 432ff.; Moiseeva 1958, 24ff.; Sheremetev 1899, 8; Steindorff 1998, 200; Stroev 1882, 219; Stroev 1891, 90, 122, 167; Zhmakin 1881a, 185ff.; Zimin 1977, 113; Zimin and Lur'e 1959, 297, 367ff.

*Nil Ul'ianin (d.<1566)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 417, 6v.; Steindorff 1998, 34.

Nil (igumen 1587?, 1602-04)
Status: unknown-low
References: AAE, 1:102; GIM 418, 72; Stroev 1990, 182.

*Olad'ia Andreev syn Klimentiev (m:Makarii)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 2, 14, 18; GIM 419, 1:29.

*Olferii Vasil'evich Mizhuev (m:Elisei)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova et al 1991, 163; Leonid 1863, 5.

Pafnutii Ruzhenin (elder 1563-64)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 18v.; Zimin 1977, 164.

Pafnutii Rykov (aka:Pakhomii, disciple of igumen Lavrentii, librarian, elder 1572-74)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 110; Dianova et al 1991, 350, 356; Dmitrieva 1991c, 35; Dmitrieva 1991d, 42, 64, 66, 68, 79, 80, 81, 86, 87, 89, 96; GIM 418, 44; Man'kov 1978, 194; Man'kov 1980, 12; Stroev 1891, 149.

Pafnutii (steward 1600)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 404.

Pafnutii (priest, igumen Spirovo, 1564)
Status: clergy
References: GIM 418, 17v.

Pafnutii (disciple of Pamva <1545)
Status: unknown
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 27.

*Pafnutii Andreevich Kutuzov Korovin
Status: landowner
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 36; Dmitrieva 1991d, 78; GIM 419, 99; Zimin 1977, 162.

Paisii Khutynets (elder <1591)
Status: unknown
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 60, 67.

Paisii Michiurin (elder, treasurer 1573-96)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 352, 391, 436; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 109; Dianova et al 1991, 285, 327; Dmitrieva 1991d, 53, 54, 64, 70, 75, 77, 98; GIM 418, 68; Iosif 1881, 2, 6; Man'kov 1976, 1:34; Man'kov 1978, 97, 114, 129; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 161.

Paisii (librarian 1545)
Status: unknown
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 24; Kloss 1974d, 162.

Paisii (zhivoscribe, 1484)
Status: unknown-low
References: Pliguzov 1984b, 185.

Pamva Vlas'ev (w:Pavel)
Status: servitor
References: GIM 419, 1:122; Zimin 1977, 163.

Pamva Zubatoi (treasurer 1540-42)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 151, 152, 158, 167.

Paphnutii Stepanov syn Oboburov (w:Boris, 1500)
Status: noble
References: DDG, 77; Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 90; Zimin 1977, 113.

*Parfenii Semenov syn Iazykov (m:Protasii)

Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 150, 324, 433.

Pavel Golova (1500)
Status: unknown
References: DDG, 88; Zimin 1977, 114; Zimin and Lur'e 1959, 216.

Pavel Machekhin (elder 1599)
Status: unknown
References: Man'kov 1976, 3:429, 3:465.

Pavel Savinskii (elder <1545)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 30.

Pavel Esipov syn Tiutchev (w:Petr, council elder 1490?-1511)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 16, 29, 30, 36, 37, 39, 49; Chernov 1998, 317; Zimin 1977, 114.

*Petr Klokachev
Status: landowner
References: GIM 419, 1:38v.

*Petr Mikhailovich Shcheniatev (w:Pimen)
Status: noble
References: Steindorff 1998, 8, 108.

Pimen Buegorodets (elder 1556-59)
Status: unknown-low
References: Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 58, 63, 75.

Pimen Sadykov (igumen 1558-61, igumen Ugreshskii 1562-72?)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 269, 270, 283; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 110; Dianova et al 1991, 199, 289, 353; Dmitrieva 1991c, 32, 41; Dmitrieva 1991d, 45, 60, 78, 87; GIM 418, 17; GIM 419, 151; Iosif 1881, 21; Stroev 1891, 64, 102; Stroev 1990, 182; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 71, 74; Zimin 1977, 163, 309.

Polikarp (elder 1607)
Status: unknown-low
References: Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 333, 363.

Polomon (elder 1553)

Status: unknown-low
References: Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 45.

Ponar'ia (1545)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 11.

Rafail Pavlov (w:Rodion, 1596)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova et al 1991, 276.

Rodion Iosifov syn (>1566)
Status: peasant
References: GIM 418, 20v.

Roman Gubin (elder 1569)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 30v.

Roman Usolets (treasurer 1592-95)
Status: unknown
References: Man'kov 1978, 142, 164, 185, 186.

Sava Cheklevskii
Status: peasant
References: Zimin 1977, 164.

Sava Chernevskii (1581)
Status: peasant
References: Man'kov 1980, 195.

Sava Chernyi (treasurer 1532-33, archimandrite Simonov 1543-44, bishop Krutitsa 1544-54, d.1554)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 124, 125, 316; Dianova et al 1991, 388; Dmitrieva 1991c, 24, 25, 29, 36; Dmitrieva 1991d, 65, 78, 87; GIM 418, 30v.; Iosif 1881, 21; Kloss 1974d, 162; Leonid 1863, 6; Steindorff 1998, 120; Stroev 1891, 101; Stroev 1990, 150, 1034; Zimin 1977, 308.

Sava Novgorodets (elder 1500)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 112; Dianova et al 1991, 258; Dmitrieva 1991d, 88; Stroev 1891, 103; Zimin 1977, 164.

Sava Rzhevitin (under-treasurer 1573-88)

Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 68; Man'kov 1980, 26, 30, 55, 59, 63, 83, 129, 209, 250, 255; Man'kov 1987, 1:24ff., 1:29; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 120.

Sava Slepushkin (steward 1516-33, bishop Smolensk)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 72, 77, 78, 83, 90, 106, 122, 124, 125; AI, 1:411; GIM 411, 1; Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 216; Pokrovskii 1971, 121.

Sava (w:Stepan, 1602)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 71; Zimin 1977, 164.

*Sava Pavlov syn Klokacheva (w:Samoilo, n:Nechiai)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 75; GIM 419, 1:38v.; Leonid 1863, 3; Steindorff 1998, 42.

Savatei Litvinovskii (elder 1583-1606)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 59v.; Man'kov 1980, 235; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 376.

Savatei Stupishin (council elder 1605-06)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 417; Zimin 1977, 161.

Savatei (disciple of Afanasii Vorotynets, 1555)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 38; Dmitrieva 1991d, 51, 73.

*Savatei Rodionov syn Pareeva (w:Sava)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 58.

Selivan (steward 1484-1526)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 68, 72, 77, 78, 81, 83, 96; Pokrovskii 1971, 121; VMCh, 468, 489; Zimin 1977, 119.

Semeika Boskov (1581)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1980, 203.

*Semen (m:Serapion, archpriest Arkhangel'skii)
Status: clergy
References: GIM 419, 1:28, 1:66v.

Semen Iurinskii (1572)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 34v.

Semen Polev (uncle of German Polev)
Status: landowner
References: Leonid 1872, 14; Zimin 1977, 155.

Semen Pustynnik (scribe, elder 1490?-1541?)
Status: clergy
References: AFZKh, 22; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 112; Dianova et al 1991, 137, 224, 227, 229, 344, 358, 388; Dmitrieva 1991a, 7; Dmitrieva 1991c, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35, 38, 39, 40; Dmitrieva 1991d, 46, 49, 50, 51, 55, 59, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 71, 74, 78, 80, 84, 88, 91, 93, 95; Iosif 1881, 19, 91; Stroev 1891, 2, 60.

*Semen Rostopchin (w:Stefan)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 139; GIM 419, 1:46.

Semen Sholokhov (1550)
Status: peasant
References: GIM 418, 9v.

*Semen Sobakin (m:Serapion)
Status: landowner (name)
References: GIM 419, 25.

Semen Stremoukhov (archimandrite Spaso-Androniev <1509, bishop Suzdal' 1509-15, d.1515)
Status: landowner (name)
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 112; Dianova et al 1991, 341; Dmitrieva 1991c, 25, 26, 28, 31, 38; Dmitrieva 1991d, 45, 50, 60, 72; Stroev 1891, 146; Stroev 1990, 655; Zimin 1977, 309.

Semen Stupishin (elder 1573-1600)
Status: landowner (name)
References: Man'kov 1976, 3:516; Man'kov 1980, 11.

Semen Voronova (council elder 1555-56)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 260; GIM 418, 12v.; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 27, 30, 38.

Semen (bishop Krutitsa 1580-82)
Status: unknown-low

References: AI, 1:411; Dmitrieva 1991d, 75, 89, 97; Stroev 1990, 1035.

Semen (m:Simon, archpriest, d.1582)
Status: clergy
References: Dianova et al 1991, 274; Dmitrieva 1991d, 51, 64, 97; Iosif 1881, 9, 20; Stroev 1891, 73; Zimin 1977, 163.

Semen (scribe, priest-monk, 1502)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 112; Dianova et al 1991, 167.

*Semen Andreev syn Tolbuzin
Status: landowner
References: GIM 419, 1:39v.

*Semen Daniilov syn Golovlenkov (n:Nesyt)
Status: landowner (name)
References: GIM 417, 6v.; GIM 419, 1:26v., 1:56v.

*Semen Ivanovich Mikulinskii (m:Sergei, d.1562)
Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 301; Leonid 1863, 1; Steindorff 1998, 4.

Serapion Khvostov (elder 1594)
Status: unknown
References: Man'kov 1976, 2:196, 2:260, 2:266, 2:349, 3:410, 3:465; Man'kov 1978, 146, 159, 170; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 366.

Serapion Opurin (treasurer 1551-62)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 295; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 32, 35, 36, 40, 73, 74, 76.

Serapion Polev (elder <1545)
Status: landowner (name)
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 111; Dianova et al 1991, 177ff., 381, 406; Dmitrieva 1991c, 25, 29, 30, 32; Dmitrieva 1991d, 60, 69, 79; Kloss 1974d, 162; Leonid 1872, 14.

Serapion Spirov (elder 1599)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1976, 3:433.

*Serapion Voinitskii (w:Semen)
Status: landowner
References: Steindorff 1998, 60.

Serapion Elizarov syn (n:Shishel w:Samoila 1582)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 55v.

*Serapion Fedorovich Sitskii (w:Semen 1582)
Status: noble
References: Steindorff 1998, 118.

Sergei Kudriuk (<1545-1556, d.1556)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova et al 1991, 388; Dmitrieva 1991c, 29, 38.

Sergei Ostashkovets (w:Stepan Gavrilov, treasurer 1581-1607)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 417; GIM 418, 69, 70, 72; Man'kov 1978, 165, 185; Man'kov 1980, 190; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 339, 346, 347, 350, 369, 375; Titov 1906b, 113, 114, 115; Zimin 1977, 164.

Sergei archpriestov (librarian 1585)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 102, 119; Dianova et al 1991, 205; Dmitrieva 1991d, 97.

*Sergei Rzhevitin (w:Semen Demidov)
Status: unknown
References: Leonid 1863, 8; Steindorff 1998, 298.

Sergei (majordomo elder 1573-76)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 33, 36v.; Man'kov 1978, 194, 197, 202, 203, 207, 210; Man'kov 1980, 25, 27, 77, 123; Steindorff 1998, 72.

Sergei (igumen from Rzheva)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 44v.

Sevastiian Lazarev (elder)
Status: landowner (name)
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 29; Dmitrieva 1991d, 86.

Shevriga Vasil'ev (servitor, elder 1574-89)
Status: servitor
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 64; Man'kov 1978, 95; Man'kov 1980, 20.

Sidor (elder 1540-48)

Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 3v.; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 24, 38.

Siluan Pokoshkin (elder 1573-85)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 61v.; Man'kov 1978, 191; Man'kov 1980, 47, 54, 70, 230.

Silvestr Kapustin (w:Stefan Matfeev syn, 1544-48)
Status: servitor
References: AFZKh, 182, 186, 192, 203; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 107; Dianova et al 1991, 223, 289; Dmitrieva 1991d, 65, 68, 84, 93; GIM 418, 24v., 43; Iosif 1881, 36.

*Silvestr Oboburov
Status: landowner
References: Leonid 1863, 8; Steindorff 1998, 298.

Simeon Mikulinets (1500)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 112; Dianova et al 1991, 366, 368, 388; Dmitrieva 1991c, 25, 29, 30, 34; Dmitrieva 1991d, 50, 85.

Simeon (disciple of Alekseii Stupishin, elder)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 53, 69, 93.

*Skurat Bel'skii (w:Leonid)
Status: landowner
References: Leonid 1863, 2; Steindorff 1998, 42.

Sofron (1582)
Status: peasant
References: Man'kov 1980, 201; Zimin 1977, 164.

*Solomonida Grigor'eva zhena Zvenigorodskii
Status: noble
References: Leonid 1863, 4; Steindorff 1998, 54.

*Stepan Sheremetev (w:Semen)
Status: landowner (name)
References: Leonid 1863, 3; Steindorff 1998, 42.

Suri (1581)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1980, 185.

*Taras Mechev (m:Semen)
Status: landowner
References: GIM 419, 1:38v.

Tikhon Khvorostinin (council elder 1558-72, igumen Ugreshskii 1572-73, igumen 1573-75, archbishop Kazan' 1575-76, d.1576)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 275, 282, 295, 296, 342; AI, 1:411; Dianova et al 1991, 388; Dmitrieva 1991d, 42, 70; GIM 418, 18v., 23v., 24v., 33v., 37, 41, 42; Leonid 1863, 8; Man'kov 1980, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 20, 35, 37, 41, 67, 69, 72, 81, 84; Steindorff 1998, 238, 260; Stroev 1990, 182; Titov 1906a, 339, 340, 342; Titov 1906b, 93, 100; Zimin 1977, 161.

Tikhon Kolotskii (elder 1545)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 11v.

Tikhon Lenkov (w:Timofei, treasurer 1525-35)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 142; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 108; Dianova et al 1991, 197; Dmitrieva 1991c, 24, 28, 33; Dmitrieva 1991d, 62; Pokrovskii 1971, 121; Zimin 1963b, 131, 133, 134ff.; Zimin 1977, 117, 161ff.

Tikhon Rybalov (elder 1582)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 54.

Tikhon Rzhevskii (council elder 1587-91)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 391, 436; Man'kov 1976, 3:446, 3:458, 3:516; Man'kov 1978, 53, 68, 71, 76, 93, 107, 108, 110ff.; Man'kov 1980, 252; Man'kov 1987, 1:11, 1:16; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 355, 357; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 161; Zimin 1977, 162.

*Tikhon Stremoukhov (w:Timofei Grigor'ev syn)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 105, 232, 302; GIM 419, 1:42; Steindorff 1998, 204.

Tikhon Zvorykin (treasurer 1507-30)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 28, 30, 36, 37, 39, 44, 49, 53, 58, 61, 83, 86; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 105; Dianova et al 1991, 134, 208, 345, 360, 363; Dmitrieva 1991a, 7; Dmitrieva 1991c, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34; Dmitrieva 1991d, 47, 51, 67, 77, 79, 80, 82; Kloss 1974d, 162; Leonid 1863, 3; Mukhanov 1866, 199; Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 215; RIB,

32:169ff.; Steindorff 1998, 38; Titov 1906a, 95; Zimin 1963b, 133ff.; Zimin 1977, 118ff.

Timofei Chemesov (son of German, steward, treasurer 1562-71)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 295, 340; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 116; Dianova et al 1991, 232, 391; Dmitrieva 1991d, 65, 86, 90; GIM 418, 20, 22, 32v.; Steindorff 1998, 258; Stroev 1891, 199; Titov 1906a, 216; Titov 1906b, 95.

Timofei Iosifov (elder <1550-59)
Status: unknown-low
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 114; Dianova et al 1991, 345; Dmitrieva 1991d, 80; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 38, 76.

Timofei Neprovskii (elder 1581)
Status: unknown
References: Man'kov 1980, 215.

*Timofei Trostenskoi (m:Trifon)
Status: noble
References: GIM 419, 1:64v.

Timofei (steward 1507-25)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 28, 29, 31, 39, 49, 72, 77; Pokrovskii 1971, 121; Zimin 1977, 119.

Timon (1554)
Status: servitor
References: GIM 418, 12v.

Tit Glukhov (elder 1549-1556)
Status: unknown
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 37; Dmitrieva 1991d, 87; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 27, 45.

Tret'iak Melent'ev (1607)
Status: peasant
References: GIM 418, 72v.

Trifon Bibikov (elder 1588)
Status: landowner (name)
References: Man'kov 1978, 67; Man'kov 1987, 1:17.

Trifon Stupishin (son of Vasilii Stupishin, elder1533-54, igumen Pesnoshskii, arkhmandrit Simonov, bishop, archbishop, d.1566)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 124, 125, 158, 167; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 113; Dianova et al 1991, 149, 360, 388, 396; Dmitrieva 1991c, 40; Dmitrieva 1991d, 43, 53, 59, 61, 75, 84, 94; GIM 417, 6; GIM 418, 12v.; Leonid 1863, 2; Steindorff 1998, 34, 108, 112; Stroev 1891, 109; Titov 1906a, 168, 188; Zimin 1977, 160, 308.

Trifon (priest Spirovo)
Status: clergy
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 114; Dianova et al 1991, 338.

Ufimii Iakov (ecclesiarch, 1573)
Status: unknown
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 42.

Varlam Belkovskii (igumen 1587)
Status: clergy
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 67; GIM 418, 38v., 64v.; Man'kov 1980, 197; Stroev 1990, 182.

Varlam Chemesov (aka:Staryi, steward 1479-1515)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 6, 7, 8, 10, 22; Dianova et al 1991, 212; VMCh, 489.

Varlam Dvinianin (p:Paratai, disciple of Evfimii Turkov)
Status: clergy
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 84; Iosif 1881, 8, 273; Stroev 1891, 6.

Varlam Krivoshein (elder <1545)
Status: unknown
References: Dmitrieva 1991a, 7; Dmitrieva 1991c, 25, 26, 28, 31; Dmitrieva 1991d, 50, 53, 78, 88.

Varlam Pestrik (council elder 1507-16)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 36, 37, 72; Dmitrieva 1991c, 36; Dmitrieva 1991d, 46; Zimin 1977, 119.

Varlam Puzyrev (elder 1574-81)
Status: landowner (name)
References: Man'kov 1980, 83, 203.

Varlam Ryshkov (steward 1575)

Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 66v.

Varlam Vorotynets (treasurer 1568-73)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 418, 30, 33v.; Man'kov 1980, 10, 37; Zimin 1977, 164.

Varlam Zosimenskii (council elder 1605)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 417.

Varlam (elder 1606-07)
Status: unknown-low
References: Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 339, 382; Zimin 1947, 374, 376.

*Varlam Davydov syn Bibikov
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 104.

Varsunofii Boltin (treasurer 1527-28)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 106.

Varsunofii Dichkov (council elder 1550)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 212.

Varsunofii Krenitsyn (elder 1587-88)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 383; GIM 418, 64; Man'kov 1978, 237; Man'kov 1980, 249, 252, 260; Man'kov 1987, 1:9; Shchepetov 1946, 96.

Varsunofii Levashev (council elder 1566-69)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 340; GIM 418, 20; Zimin 1977, 162.

Varsunofii Lukovnikovskii (elder 1588-94)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1976, 2:291, 3:364; Man'kov 1978, 95, 96, 168, 245, 254; Man'kov 1980, 265; Man'kov 1987, 1:14; Shchepetov 1946, 114; Zimin 1977, 164.

Vasian Asin/Osin (elder, 1582)
Status: unknown
References: Man'kov 1978, 234; Man'kov 1980, 224, 227.

Vasian Bel'skii (treasurer 1573-79)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 41v., 42v., 46v., 48; Man'kov 1980, 4, 5, 12, 16, 51, 57, 58, 89, 137, 144; Titov 1906b, 101.

Vasian Gobislov (w:Vasilii Fedorov syn, elder, 1552-61)
Status: servitor
References: AFZKh, 139; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 104; Dianova et al 1991, 182, 195ff.; Dmitrieva 1991c, 39; Dmitrieva 1991d, 61, 86, 90; Stroev 1891, 61, 63.

Vasian Klushin (w:Vasilii Ivanovich, elder 1574)
Status: noble
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 102; Dmitrieva 1991d, 64, 96; GIM 419, 143v.; Steindorff 1998, 80; Zimin 1977, 162.

Vasian Korelianin (elder)
Status: unknown-low
References: Zimin 1977, 164.

Vasian Koshka (disciple of Fotii Staryi, steward 1520-49, 63-68)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 103; Dianova et al 1991, 306; Dmitrieva 1991c, 40; Dmitrieva 1991d, 72, 74, 84, 85, 86, 94; Filaret 1884, 149; Iosif 1881, 157, 182; Kudriavtsev 1961, 177ff.; Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 216, 226, 332, 453; Zimin 1963b, 132.

Vasian Kutuzov Kondratovskii Malyi (w:Vasilii, elder 1560)
Status: landowner
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 39; Leonid 1863, 7; Steindorff 1998, 240ff.; Zimin 1977, 162.

*Vasian Mizhuev (w:Vasilii Konstantinov syn)
Status: landowner
References: Chernov 1998, 90; Steindorff 1998, 112.

Vasian Patrikeev (w:Vasilii Ivanovich, n:Kosoi, b.1470, d.>1531)
Status: noble
References: Zimin 1963b, 131.

Vasian Rakitin (steward 1507)
Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 36, 37, 236, 252, 302; Zimin 1977, 117.

Vasian Retkinskii (w:Pozniak, 1569)

Status: servitor
References: GIM 418, 32v.

Vasian Rybolov (elder 1573-81)
Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1978, 195; Man'kov 1980, 27, 30, 39, 211.

Vasian Sanin (disciple of Pafnutii of Borovsk, archbishop Rostov 1506-15, archimandrite Simonov 1502-06)
Status: landowner
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 112; Dianova et al 1991, 263; Dmitrieva 1991c, 28, 36; Dmitrieva 1991d, 60, 71, 87, 88; GIM 419, 1:30; Iosif 1881, 20; Kadlubovskii 1899, 131; Kloss 1974d, 161; Leonid 1863, 8; Ol'shevskaia and Travnikov 1999, 85; Pliguzov 1984b, 185; Steindorff 1998, 302; Stroev 1891, 101, 104, 111; VMCh, 489.

Vasian Shemiakin (w:Vasilii, 1572)
Status: noble
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 116; Dianova et al 1991, 256; Dmitrieva 1991d, 88.

*Vasian Sheremetev
Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 387.

*Vasian Slepushkin
Status: unknown
References: GIM 419, 1:60.

*Vasian Stupishin
Status: landowner
References: Leonid 1863, 8; Steindorff 1998, 124ff., 258.

Vasian Temkin (elder 1575-94)
Status: landowner (name)
References: Man'kov 1976, 1:32, 1:50, 1:66, 1:100, 1:136, 1:160, 2:258, 2:288, 2:323, 3:372; Man'kov 1978, 48, 118, 127, 137, 147, 155, 171, 197, 210, 234; Man'kov 1980, 176, 182, 185, 192, 201, 202; Shchepetov 1946, 107.

Vasian Toporkov (bishop Kolomna 1525-42 d.>1553)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AI, 1:411; Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 114; Dianova et al 1991, 201; Dmitrieva 1991c, 28, 29, 32; Dmitrieva 1991d, 60, 69.

Vasian Uglechenin (elder 1579)

Status: unknown-low
References: Man'kov 1980, 137, 142.

Vasian Ushakov Ovchinnikov (w:Vasilii, elder 1581-84)
Status: servitor
References: GIM 418, 60v.; Steindorff 1998, 36; Zimin 1977, 164.

Vasian Voloskovskii (w:Vasilii Grigor'ev-syn, 1587)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 57; Man'kov 1980, 239.

Vasian (igumen 1593-95, 1599-1601)
Status: unknown-low
References: AAE, 2:63; Dmitrieva 1991d, 77; GIM 418, 67; Man'kov 1978, 166; RIB, 32:703ff.; Shchepetov 1946, 105; Stroev 1990, 182.

Vasian (steward 1549-50)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 10; Zimin 1977, 309.

Vasian Golovin syn Oboburov (council elder 1559-60)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 279.

Vasilii Bobenskoi (council elder 1555-56)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 260.

Vasilii Kuritsyn (1590)
Status: unknown
References: Dianova et al 1991, 399; Feoktistov 1995, 333; Iosif 1881, 240, 246; Stroev 1891, 19, 163.

*Vasilii Sergiev (m:Varsonofiia)
Status: unknown-low
References: GIM 419, 1:48v.

*Vasilii Alekseevich Pushkin (m:Vasian)
Status: landowner (name)
References: GIM 419, 1:28, 1:53v.; Leonid 1863, 7; Steindorff 1998, 222ff.; Zimin 1977, 162.

Vasilii Iosifov syn Vereshchagin (1574-1603)
Status: servitor
References: GIM 418, 72; Man'kov 1980, 23.

*Vasilii Stefanov syn Rostopchin (m:Varlam)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 138, 139; GIM 419, 1:46; Steindorff 1998, 226.

*Vasilii Stefanovich Pushkin (m:Vasian)
Status: noble
References: AFZKh, 362.

Vavila deacon (igumen 1562-73)
Status: clergy
References: AFZKh, 286; Amvrosii 1807-1815, 977; Iosif 1881, 220; Man'kov 1980, 1; Stroev 1990, 182; Zimin 1977, 163.

Ven'iamin Perfir'ev (elder 1605-07)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 417; Tikhomirov and Floria 1966, 355.

Venedikt Kapylov (w:Vasilii, 1592)
Status: unknown
References: GIM 418, 67.

Venedikt Zazirkin (steward, treasurer 1573-91)
Status: landowner (name)
References: AFZKh, 391, 436; Dianova et al 1991, 257; GIM 418, 60; Man'kov 1978, 15, 215; Man'kov 1980, 4, 5, 9, 11, 25, 38, 48, 64, 68, 73, 77, 85, 95, 103, 124, 128, 132, 158, 170, 173, 182, 207, 218, 220, 227, 228, 230, 262; Man'kov 1987, 1:11; Shchepetov 1946, 109; Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 161.

Veniamin Chapchikov (council elder 1567-76)
Status: unknown
References: AFZKh, 339, 340; Dmitrieva 1991c, 41; Dmitrieva 1991d, 60, 68, 85; GIM 418, 21v., 23v., 33v.; Man'kov 1980, 96, 128; Steindorff 1998, 96; Titov 1906a, 311; Titov 1906b, 91, 96.

Veniamin Ilinarkhov (elder 1567-69)
Status: unknown
References: Dmitrieva 1991c, 25, 28, 33; Dmitrieva 1991d, 60, 81, 93; GIM 418, 15, 20, 21v., 25v., 28v.

Veniamin Kovsh (elder 1573-74)
Status: unknown
References: Man'kov 1980, 14, 21.

*Vladimir Zvenigorodskii

Status: unknown
References: Sheremetev 1899, 8.

*Vladimir Andreevich Gorodetskii (m:Iakinf, prince)
Status: noble
References: Leonid 1863, 3; Steindorff 1998, 40.

Vlasii (elder 1553)
Status: unknown-low
References: Tikhomirov and Zimin 1948, 53, 54, 59, 63, 65.

Zakhar Frolov (1602)
Status: peasant
References: GIM 418, 71; Zimin 1977, 164.

Zakharei Bestuzhev (aka:Zinovii 1571)
Status: noble
References: Dianova and Kostiukhina 1991, 103; Dianova et al 1991, 368; Dmitrieva 1991d, 85; Stroev 1891, 204.

Zinovii Glinskii (steward 1569)
Status: unknown
References: Dmitrieva 1991d, 51; GIM 418, 25v., 31v.

Zosima (steward 1524-44)
Status: unknown-low
References: AFZKh, 90, 151, 152, 181; Dmitrieva 1991c, 24, 28, 30, 35; Pokrovskii 1971, 121.

Zosima Stefanov syn Rostopchin (council elder 1507)
Status: landowner
References: AFZKh, 36, 37, 138, 139; GIM 419, 1:33, 1:46; Zimin 1977, 118; Zimin and Lur'e 1959, 227

Vita

Tom Dykstra was born in Lansing, Michigan. He grew up in Anchorage, Alaska, where he earned an Associate degree in Computer Information Systems. After moving to Seattle in 1980, he completed his Bachelor of Arts in Russian Language and Literature at the University of Washington, then earned a Master of Divinity at St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary in Crestwood, NY, in 1988. In 1996 he earned his Master of Arts in International Studies at the University of Washington, and in 2004 a Doctor of Philosophy in History, also at the U.W. He currently lives in Bellevue, Washington, with his wife Karen and children Tony and Zoe.