Secularizing Tendencies in Medieval Russian Hagiography of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

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Abstract

Abstract of Thesis

This thesis seeks to demonstrate the extent to which secularizing tendencies are present in Russian *vitae* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to examine what role these tendencies play in the evolution of sacred life-writing and also consider how they reflect changing perceptions of and attitudes towards sanctity. By the later medieval period, Russian hagiographical writing had evolved beyond the primarily edificatory goals of the early Russian Orthodox Church, and had become a more varied and sophisticated literary medium used to great effect by the hagiographer to present a political, legal, socio-cultural or ideological message which was distinctly secular in nature. Despite the continuing ideological constraints of the Church, hagiographers succeeded in manipulating and refashioning the established patterns of traditional rhetorical *vitae* in order to express more powerfully an opinion on a variety of non-ecclesiastical affairs.

Several native Russian *vitae* dating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are analysed in detail to demonstrate the development of this tendency in hagiography. The four main chapters of the thesis focus upon different groups of hagiographical works which demonstrate clear evidence of secularizing tendencies: first, *vitae* composed in northern Russia during the sixteenth century; secondly, works influenced structurally and thematically by oral tradition largely pre-Christian in origin; thirdly, *vitae* devoted to female protagonists; and finally, seventeenth-century autohagiography. An examination of the relevant historical and socio-political events of the period helps place the *vitae* chosen for detailed analysis in a wider critical context than simply that of literary genre. Each chapter also includes a section on the contextual hagiographical background which determines the extent to which earlier works of Russian hagiography acted as models or inspiration for the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *vitae*. 
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Dedication

For my father and my husband,
for their love, support and faith in me
### Glossary

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<td><strong>ChOIDR</strong></td>
<td>Chtenie v Obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>GIM</strong></td>
<td>Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii muzei (Moscow)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>GPB</strong></td>
<td>Gosudarstvennaya publichnaia biblioteka imeni M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina (now the Russian National Library)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>IpORIAS</strong></td>
<td>Izvestiia po russkomu iazyku i slovesnosti Rossiiskoi Akademii nauk</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>IRLI</strong></td>
<td>Institut russkoi literatury Rossiiskoi Akademii nauk (Pushkinskii Dom)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>OLDP</strong></td>
<td>Obshchestvo liubitelei drevnei pis’mennosti</td>
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<td><strong>PDP</strong></td>
<td>Pamiatniki drevnei pis’mennosti</td>
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<td><strong>PL</strong></td>
<td>Pamiatniki starinnoi russkoi literatury</td>
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<td><strong>PLDR</strong></td>
<td>Pamiatniki literatury Drevnei Rusi</td>
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<td><strong>PO</strong></td>
<td>Pravoslavnoe obozrenie</td>
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<td><strong>PS</strong></td>
<td>Pravoslavnyi sobesednik</td>
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<td><strong>PSRL</strong></td>
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<td><strong>SEEJ</strong></td>
<td>Slavic and East European Journal</td>
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<td><strong>SEER</strong></td>
<td>Slavonic and East European Review</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SKiK</strong></td>
<td>Slovar’ knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TODL</strong></td>
<td>Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury Instituta russkoi literatury (Pushkinskogo Doma) Rossiiskoi Akademii nauk</td>
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Introduction

Hagiography has been called a 'living literary form', a description which accurately reflects the continual dynamic processes of change which affect hagiographical works. For much of the twentieth century the critical history of Russian hagiography did not, however, share such dynamism, although within the past twenty-five years the pace and extent of serious scholarly research and analysis of this richly diverse form of writing has considerably accelerated. 2


2 V. O. Kliuchevskii's Dreverusskie zhitiia sviatykh kak istoricheskii istochnik (Moscow, 1871; facsimile edition, Moscow, 1988) and N. P. Barsukov's Istochniki russkoi agiografii (St Petersburg, 1882) can be said to have founded scholarly criticism of hagiography in Russia, followed by A. P. Kadlubovskii's Ocherki po istorii drevnerusskoi literatury zhitiih sviatykh (Warsaw, 1902). In the early twentieth century the Bollandist Hippolyte Delehaye produced many detailed analyses of hagiography, including The Legends of the Saints: an Introduction to Hagiography, translated from the French by V. M. Crawford, London, 1907; 'La méthode historique et l'hagiographie', Bulletins de l'Académie royale de Belgique, 16, 1930, pp. 218-31; and 'L'Anicenne Hagiographie byzantine, origine, sources d'inspiration, formation des genres', Byzantium, 10, 1935, pp. 379-80.


Likhachev's later more general histories of Russian literature contain much that is useful for the study of hagiography (Velikoe nasledie: klassicheskie proizvedeniia literatury Drevnei Pusi, Moscow, 1975; Istoriiia russkoi literatury X-XVII vekov, ed., Moscow, 1980; and Velikiy put': standovlenie russkoi literatury XI-XVII vekov, Moscow, 1987). Jostein Bortnes has produced several enlightening works, including Visions of Glory: Studies in Early Russian Hagiography, Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey, 1988; and 'Hagiographical Transformation in the Old Russian Lives of Saints', Scando-Slavica, 30, 1984, pp. 5-12. Several interesting contributions also appear in Medieval Russian Culture: Volume I, eds H. Birnbaum and M. S. Flier, California Slavic Studies, XII, Berkeley, California, 1984, such as Riccardo Picchio's 'The Impact of Ecclesiastic Culture on Old Russian Literary Techniques', pp. 247-79; and Norman Ingham's 'The Martyred Prince and the Question of Slavic Cultural Continuity in the Early Middle Ages', pp. 31-53.
Introduction

This thesis explores a neglected aspect of hagiography; it seeks to demonstrate the extent to which secularizing tendencies are present in Russian vitae of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to examine what role these tendencies play in the evolution of sacred life-writing and also consider how they reflect changing perceptions of and attitudes towards sanctity. In intention, didactic vitae could serve a number of the Orthodox Church’s goals beyond the presentation of a moral example for emulation. It seems clear that in certain of the earlier Russian


Style and structure of hagiographical works have been examined in, notably, Faith C. M. Kitch’s The Literary Style of Epifanij Premudryj ‘Pletenije Sloves’ (Munich, 1976), and also Julia Allisandratos’ Medieval Slavic and Patristic Eulogies (Studia Historica et Philologica, no. 14, Florence, 1982).

Particular areas of interest in recent years have focused upon, inter alia, the princely saints (see Norman Ingham, ‘Genre Characteristics of the Kievan Lives of Princes in Slavic and European Perspective’, American Contributions to the Ninth International Congress of Slavists, Kiev, September 1983. Volume II, ed. P. Debreczeny, Kiev, 1983, pp. 223-38; Marvin Kantor, Medieval Slavic Lives of Saints and Princes, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1983; and Gail Lenhoff, The Martyred Princes Boris and Gleb: a Socio-Cultural Study of the Cult and the Texts, Columbus, Ohio, 1989), as well as the concept of ‘autohagiography’ (see, for example, Archpriest Avvakum: the Life, Written by Himself, with the study of V. V. Vinogradov. Translations, annotations, commentary and a historical introduction by Kenneth N. Brostrom, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1979; and E. V. Krushel’nitskaia, Avtobiografiia i zhitie v drevnerusskoi literature, St Petersburg, 1996).


Within the last ten years several published series of texts and reference material have increased the accessibility of hagiographical material for research and analysis. The most significant series include Pamiatniki literatury Drevnej Rusi, 12 vols, Moscow, 1978-1994, eds D. S. Likhachev and L. A. Dmitriev; and the ongoing ‘Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, English Translations’. Another notable series is the ‘Novye imena v nauke’ (including the Zhitiie Iulianii Lazarevskoi (Povest’ ob Ul’ianii Osoro tnoi), ed. R. P. Dmitrieva, with textual research and preparation by T. P. Rudi, St Petersburg, 1996; and E. V. Krushel’nitskaia, Avtobiografiia i zhitie v drevnerusskoi literature, St Petersburg, 1996). The reference series Slovar’ knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevnej Rusi, begun in Leningrad, 1987, and edited by D. S. Likhachev so far includes six volumes. The Department of Old Russian Literature in Pushkin House continues to publish invaluable and varied material in the series Trudy otdela drevnerusskoi literatury.
vitae there were goals other than mere emulation (such as the political messages found in the Skazanie o Borise i Glebe and Nestor’s Chztenie i zhitii i o pogublenii blazhenniu strastoterpts Borisa i Gleba, as well as Metropolitan Kiprian’s fourteenth-century Zhite mitropolita Petra, essentially an apologia for its author), but by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries these aims had expanded well beyond what had been discernible previously. Hagiographers developed a greater tendency to manipulate and refashion the established patterns of traditional rhetorical vitae in order to express opinions on a variety of non-ecclesiastical affairs. The choice of the later medieval period is deliberate, illustrating that this era did not come to a sudden end with the policies and reforms of Peter the Great, but rather had been slowly responding to and absorbing secular influences since at least the sixteenth century.

Although the medieval era always experienced areas of crossover between religious and secular world-views, the Muscovite period saw the intrusion into vitae of many more issues of a profane nature than previously. Incidences of secular influence in medieval Russian hagiographical writing have been noted by scholars (see below), but no-one has as yet attempted to determine whether there are common features to all the seemingly disparate examples and, if such common features exist, whether they are static or evolutionary. This thesis contends that hagiography was a suitably flexible form of composition to be able to absorb and reflect such changes within the evolving secular world without overly detracting from its primary function of religious edification.

Change in this respect does not automatically mean that the essence of hagiography was different or that its fundamental goals had been altered, but rather that the choice, presentation and emphasis of material was different. Reflecting the changing nature and demands of society, yet upholding the original religious edificatory function of hagiography, authors of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century vitae understood the need to portray man in a dynamic context and, accordingly, produced works significantly different from those of their predecessors in terms of content, style and structure.

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4 ‘Zhite mitropolita Petra’ in Velikie Minei Chet‘i, I. Dekabr’ dni 18-20, St Petersburg, 1910, cols 1,620-46.
An examination of secularizing tendencies in sacred life-writing may seem perverse or irreverent. The secular and sacred worlds, however, are not opposites (see below) and the many areas of crossover include ecclesiastical literature, in this case hagiography, which is written by people who are to varying degrees influenced by the secular world and thus are not totally insulated from it. Despite focusing on secular influences, this thesis does not seek to diminish the spiritual value of these sacred works, merely to establish the importance of interaction between ecclesiastical and secular worlds and how this is reflected in a certain category of literary works. Thus, no irreverence is implied.

The first step in establishing the interaction between sacred and secular in a literary context is defining what is meant by hagiography and secularization. The term hagiography is used in both Western and Eastern Christian literature to describe works whose primary aims 'are to depict biographically the grounds for a holy man's sainthood and to inspire believers to respond to his example'.

Generally designed to be read out in church on the saint's festival day and to monks during communal meals, the basic function of hagiography is Christian edification using the lives of the saints to illustrate the ideal model of Christian virtue (the life of Christ incarnate) and emulation of this model. The primary concern of hagiography is the encounter of the human and the holy. The saint embodies divine presence in the world and enacts divine agency. In its turn, hagiography tells the story of the saint as a means for revealing God's truth and purpose.

Thus, the saints follow an imitatio Christi role, either in imitation of Christ's deeds on earth or else His Passion, and attain spiritual salvation in the Kingdom of God. The faithful are in turn enjoined to imitate the pious lives of the saints. Although in the early centuries of Christianity, canonization was not necessarily one of the ultimate goals of the hagiographer, the written life story of the holy man did eventually come to play a crucial role in the official recognition of his sanctity.

Vitae were commonly gathered in collections, the most important being the Prolog, reading menologies (chet 'i minei) and paterikons (pateriki). The Prolog,
translated (yet different) from the Greek Synaxarion, contains concise versions of the lives of all the Orthodox saints, including native Russian additions, designed to be read at matins on the saint's feast day. Reading menologies, from the Greek menaiia, are collections of longer vitae (rasprostranennye zhitiia), arranged according to the Orthodox calendar beginning in September and ending in August and meant for private reading and contemplation. Such readings would involve individuals or small groups, but would not take place as part of a church service. The most notable Russian menologies are Muscovite Metropolitan Makarii's sixteenth-century Minei Cheti and the late seventeenth-century work of Dmitrii Rostovskii. The Greek paterikon were widely known in Kievan Russia where their translations were in use before the end of the eleventh century. Russian additions to these paterikons, and later native Russian compilations, comprise short stories mostly from the lives of monks, often featuring fantastical elements alongside accounts of their piety and asceticism. Most well-known are the thirteenth-century Kievo-pecherskii paterik and the sixteenth-century Volokolamskii paterik. This thesis focuses upon vitae commonly found in reading menologies meant for contemplation by individuals or groups outside of a church service, as the expanded narrative of these works often includes the most interesting details vis-à-vis secular influences.

It is important to recognize the many different forms of Russian hagiographical writing which critics tend to categorize by one of two methods; first, according to the religious function of the work within the Orthodox liturgy, or secondly, according to the nature of the subject-matter. The first of these methods is straightforward, creating distinct groups for shorter versions of vitae such as the service (sluzhba) and the liturgical reading (chtenie), and for more detailed alternatives such as the eulogy (pokhvala) or passion (strast'). The second category, connected to the nature of the subject-matter and how the hagiographer used the material available to him, is more complex. Depending on which particular events or qualities of his subject's life he wished to emphasize (for example, the subject's spiritual ascesis, his life accomplishments, or martyrdom), he could chose to present his material either more or less through the conventions of rhetoric which determined, for example, how certain types of episode were presented and what episodes were appropriate for the life story of a saint. The use of topoi, stylistic and

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9 See ibid.

structural commonplaces, further helped to form the distinctive basis of a *vita*. The rhetorical conventions which shaped the structural and stylistic patterns of high-style Byzantine (and later Russian) hagiography, already in place by the ninth century,\(^{11}\) had sprung from a mixture of Classical Greek rhetoric and the Bible, and provided a very useful manner of abstracting and idealizing the subject of veneration. Although *vitae* do not uniformly follow one set pattern of compositional rhetoric, some authors lacking either the skill or inclination to adhere entirely to rhetorical patterns,\(^{12}\) all hagiographers were affected to some degree by these conventions. The resulting wide variety of *vitae*, ranging from those which employ an abundance of formal high-style rhetoric and set formulae to those which include a minimum, help to create the heterogeneous character of hagiography and allow it to perform diverse functions. To complicate matters further, passages conforming to hagiographical characteristics are also found in non-hagiographical works such as the chronicles and Metropolitan Ilarion's *Slovo o zakone i blagodati* (Sermon on Law and Grace), which makes the drawing of firm lines of distinction between hagiographical and non-hagiographical works even harder.

Hagiography is sometimes misleadingly referred to as 'saints' biographies', or 'sacred biography'.\(^{13}\) Although a more detailed distinction is made below, it is important to state immediately that hagiography and biography are fundamentally distinguishable in nature, function and form, and, although distinctions can be blurred, the two terms must not be considered interchangeable. Secularizing tendencies may at times cause various features of *vitae* to appear closer to biography than to hagiography, as will be shown in this thesis, yet hagiographical works do not become biographical under such influences. Throughout centuries of literary change and evolution, hagiography maintains its independent status.

'To speak of hagiography *in globo* is a treacherously imprecise business',\(^{14}\) and concise definitions should not obscure the wider complexity of the term.

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\(^{12}\) Paul Hollingsworth emphasizes the importance of this selective process in hagiographical writing, claiming that 'in few other literary categories was the gravitational pull of tradition so strong' (Hollingsworth, *Hagiography*, p. xix).


\(^{14}\) Lawrence S. Cunningham, 'Hagiography and Imagination', *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 18, 1985, 1, pp. 79-87 (hereafter Cunningham, 'Hagiography and Imagination') (9).
Gordon Hall Gerould stresses the lack of defining absolutes in hagiography, describing it as

a biographical narrative, of whatever origin circumstances may dictate, written in whatever medium may be convenient, concerned as to substance with the life, death, and miracles of some person accounted worthy to be considered a leader in the cause of righteousness; and, whether fictitious or historically true, calculated to glorify the memory of its subject.\footnote{Gordon Hall Gerould, \textit{Saint's Legends}, Boston, Massachusetts, 1916, p. 41.}

Faced with this huge body of writing there have been various critical approaches, none of which is entirely satisfactory. Numerous indeterminate descriptions indicate the extent to which the evolution of hagiography is dependent upon many factors ranging from authorial approach and choice and presentation of material, to the perceived function of the work as well as individual localized conditions. In the critical history of specifically Russian hagiography, for example, the above distinctions are often blurred. Ideologically opposed to religious edification, Soviet scholarship produced many analyses which play down the spiritual value of vitae; Vladimir Kuskov, for example, offered a definition of hagiography as a form of entertainment, ‘an obvious example of the practical application of abstract Christian dogma cloaked in an entertaining form [...] The \textit{vita} combines an entertaining narrative with didactic and panegyric elements’.\footnote{Vladimir Kuskov, \textit{A History of Old Russian Literature}, Moscow, 1980, p. 44.} Even the less ideologically tempered definitions from pre-Revolutionary Russian scholars followed a limited critical approach, based primarily on historiography, as for instance V. O. Kliuchevskii whose determination to extract historical data from vitae led him to conclude that hagiography merely comprised a series of ‘nравственный paradigm’.\footnote{V. O. Kliuchevskii, \textit{Drevnerusskie zhitiia sviatykh kak istoricheskii istochnik}, Moscow, 1988; facsimile of 1871 Moscow edition (hereafter Kliuchevskii, \textit{Drevnerusskie zhitiia}) p. 432.}

\textbf{Amidst} many diverse approaches to the aims of hagiography, it is impossible to provide one definitive explanation of the term. The same is true of the generic classification of hagiography, about which much scholarly debate has been generated. Lawrence Cunningham states that after Athanasius composed his \textit{Life of Anthony} in the fourth century, hagiography steadily grew into

an unwieldy mass, the dimensions of which still resist total comprehension. The general rubric for that literature is ‘Lives of the Saints’, but under that innocent description (which suggests...
biography) there is a tangled skein of folklore, fantasy, half digested facts, elements of mythology, and some rare instances of genuine literature.\textsuperscript{18}

Attempts have nevertheless been made in the past to categorize hagiographical works according to genre systems, in the same way as Byzantine literature is divisible into genres. Dmitrij Čizevskij, for example, stated that ‘even more than in the writings of later periods and of our own time, the composition, the stylistic peculiarities, and even to some degree the contents of a work of literature are determined by the genre to which it belongs’.\textsuperscript{19} Rudolf Jagoditsch developed this idea further and claimed that all Russian literary genres were part of a genre-system, consciously adhered to by all authors.\textsuperscript{20} Such insistence on universally applying conventional generic systems strongly indicates adherence to the view that the form of a literary work dictates the function of that work. The major problem with this approach is that there are various types of works which, as seen above, can be described as hagiography yet do not easily fall into one or another generic classification, let alone a genre-system.

Likhachev originally did much to reverse this limiting approach, championing the idea of function as a determinant of the form of a literary work. His theory of ‘literaturnyi etiket’ suggests that medieval Russian authors were indeed at least aware of a literary concept now termed genre, and consciously followed certain conventions according to the intended function of the work.\textsuperscript{21} Likhachev adds, however, that the concept of ‘etiketnost” cannot be applied unreservedly to all works of medieval literature as almost every work includes features which do not comply with the conventions. Thus, although recognizing the limitations of this system in one way, Likhachev importantly brought to wider debate the notion of function as a determinant of form, now accepted by many scholars including, for example, Alexandra Hennessey Olsen who describes hagiography as ‘a curiously amorphous genre which may be defined only by subject-matter, not by form or style’.\textsuperscript{22} Critics have continued to refine their approach to generic classification and now seldom attempt to place all hagiographical works in neatly labelled categories. Børtnes, for example, stresses that hagiography does not

\textsuperscript{18} Cunningham, ‘Hagiography and Imagination’, p. 79.
\textsuperscript{21} Likhachev, Istoriia, pp. 5 and 80-83.
\textsuperscript{22} Alexandra Hennessey Olsen, “‘De Historiis Sanctorum’: a Generic Study of Hagiography”, Genre, 13, 1980, 1, pp. 407-29 (hereafter Olsen, ‘De Historiis Sanctorum’).
Introduction

'refer to a single type of text or genre, but to a number of interrelated genres, all centred around a saintly hero', and Klaus-Dieter Seemann argues that if the terms 'genre' and 'genre-system' are applied to medieval Russian literature, they must be totally redefined and any association with a modern understanding erased.

The notion of genre as tenable at all in medieval Russian literature has more recently been challenged by scholars who suggest instead the term 'mode' (manner of representation) or 'kind'. Ingham, Seemann and Gail Lenhoff have contributed important critical discussion to this area. Also of note is the work of Riccardo Picchio, who analyses hagiography in a linguistic context, revealing a dynamic continuity of literary types and traditions, and François Halkin who refers to hagiographical works as 'les best-sellers' of their time, discussing the breadth of scope, subject, authorial background and far-reaching influence of hagiography, while stressing all the time the one common thread behind its composition: 'le souci de glorifier les saints en edifiant les lecteurs'. Ingham sums up the main problem: 'the assumptions we make about the nature and relative importance of genre profoundly affect how we perceive individual works and the medieval literature as a whole – possibly whether we see it as a "literature" at all'. In short, how can works as diverse as found in hagiography be summarily categorized within set generic patterns without imposing an artificial anachronistic understanding of the

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24 Klaus-Dieter Seemann, 'Genres and the Alterity of Old Russian Literature', translated from the German by Norman Ingham, SEEJ, 31, 1987, 2, pp. 246-58 (hereafter Seemann, 'Genres and Alterity').
28 Ingham, 'Genre-Theory', p. 234.
literature? As noted above, hagiography is a highly heterogeneous form of literature where there is no compositional norm. Medieval hagiographers certainly drew upon a considerable pool of topoi, for example, yet there was no obligation to include every topos or group of topoi, nor to use them in the same manner as previous hagiographers. Such relative freedom of choice allowed the hagiographer to apply however many or few rhetorical elements as he wished. Thus, despite the conventions, attempts to measure Russian vitae against a finite standard, one flawless hagiographical model, prove meaningless. Comparison can only be made through the evaluation of innovative use of the conventions by any one hagiographer at a specific time and for a specific function. Remembering also that not every work which displays hagiographical features can be said to belong to the wider corpus of hagiography, the problems of applying the concept of genre at all to Russian hagiography become even clearer and the notion of replacing generic definition with that of 'mode' or 'kind' appears to be a practical starting point for further analysis.

In this way various scholars have sought to analyse vitae either through generic definitions, linguistic patterning or else grouping together into 'modes' or 'kinds'. Lenhoff, however, goes further in the breadth of her analysis, and, in search of a unifying principle for hagiographical writing, she has established the concept of 'generic markers' (mutual elements running through sufficient texts to create a uniform pattern which distinguishes one literary category from another). She accepts neither structural nor linguistic patterning as sufficient generic markers to establish vitae as an independent literary genre, but rather proposes that 'the identity of a vita is contingent upon its subject matter and not upon a set of verbal conventions', an approach which subscribes to the notion that function dictates form. Warning of the unstable nature of medieval literary texts, she also suggests that 'their genesis and the shape they assume depend upon extra-literary cultural systems and subsystems'.

This leads to the crux of Lenhoff's argument, that recognizable literary categories arose to fulfill the needs of a particular cultural system, in this case that of the Orthodox faith. Analysing texts as products of a far broader cultural system

29 Some scholars do, however, support the idea of a hagiographical norm. Julia Alissandratos, for example, examined 'structural norms' to establish links between authorial choice of topoi and historical circumstances in Slavonic hagiography; see Julia Alissandratos, Medieval Slavic and Patristic Eulogies, Studia Historica et Philologica, no. 14, Florence, 1982 (hereafter Alissandratos, Patristic Eulogies).
31 Lenhoff, 'Protogenres', pp. 50-52 and id., 'Medieval Narrative Typology', pp. 116-17.
rather than within the limiting confines of strictly literary generic theories is similar to the methods of the critics of the German *Formgeschichte Schule* and their *Sitz im Leben* theories. Introduced by the Old Testament scholar H. Dunkel and applied to New Testament studies, *Formgeschichte* criticism developed out of a synthesis of linguistic and structural analysis of texts together with the study of sources to establish the function of the text in its original historical setting. Thus, Lenhoff superimposes a lattice-work of 'lateral and vertical bonds' upon different literary categories. The 'lateral bonds' comprise features relating to other verbal texts and generic models within systems which most often fulfill a literary function, but which may also arise to fulfill a social or a purely aesthetic function. 'Vertical bonds' concern the relationship between a socio-cultural system and a literary category. They depend not so much on verbal conventions as on the conventions and functional categories of a particular cultural system, which 'requires a particular kind of text to fulfill a concrete function. The shape of the text is dictated by the nature of that function, which is extra-literary'.

Lenhoff's socio-cultural approach can thus be seen to offer the advantage of greater flexibility and freedom in literary critical analysis than traditionally found in the field. Neither constraining a text within traditional boundaries of one system or another, nor limiting the critic to a narrowly aesthetic or structural analysis, this approach appears to be a useful line of exploration into the multi-faceted body of *vitae*. Equally important to note, however, is the neglect of structural and stylistic concerns which, using Lenhoff's approach, play a less significant role in the literary analysis. The persistent appearance of identical or very similar structural patterns, *topoi* and stylistic motifs should not, however, be ignored simply because they, first, can occasionally be found in non-hagiographical literary genres, and secondly, are not used to the same degree in every hagiographical work. Hagiography has so far defied neat categorization, so overall a critical approach which lays equal emphasis upon the relation of hagiographical work to other texts and generic models, as upon extra-literary factors would seem to offer a broader scope in which to ascertain accurately the evolution and importance of secularizing tendencies. Thus the critical approach adopted in this thesis is to analyse several of the longer sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *vitae* (designed more for private contemplation than to be read as part of the church service), drawing where appropriate on Lenhoff's notion of vertical bonds and the methodological theories of the *Formgeschichte* critics to elucidate better the affect of secularizing influences upon these works, yet not

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relegating issues of structure and style to a position of lesser importance, as the
decision to adhere to or stray from the patterns of high-style rhetorical hagiography
can also be seen as a valuable gauge of secular influence.

Problems of definition also arise with the term secularization. Definitions
and set patterns of this process are by nature hard to assert as 'secularization is a
multi-faceted notion which does not lend itself readily to definitive quantitative
testing'. Some scholars believe secularization to be primarily the general decline of
religion and its influences, while others focus more upon the diminishing social
significance of religion, or label it 'the process by which religious symbols have lost
in importance'. Such general definitions are, however, too wide for the specific
context of this thesis. Here secularization is understood as the increasing inclusion
of non-spiritual and secular elements in sacred literature.

One important precept widely held by secularization theorists is that any
shift within a Christian context towards a secular society does not grow out of
rebellion against the image of God. Instead, the principal factors behind the
emergence of secularizing processes can include the dominance of state power over
ecclesiastical, the associated freeing of public life from religious ties, economic
factors, the spread of urbanization and growth of industry. Modernization is
often an integral part of secularizing processes, signifying social advancement, the
acceptance of modern needs and habits. Thus, it can be argued that we should
think less in terms of the decay of Christianity and more in terms of how

To what extent are these views applicable to sixteenth- and seventeenth-
century Muscovy? Robert Crummey's examination of Ivan IV's 'reformist intentions'
certainly suggests, on the one hand, that much of what Ivan did in the 1540-50s can
be seen as modernizing the country, although on the other hand, the later years of
the oprichina can be said to have negated all modernizing advances. The creation

33 Roy Wallis and Steve Bruce, 'Secularization: the Orthodox Model' in Religion and
Modernization. Sociologists and Historians Debate the Secularization Thesis, ed. Steve
Bruce, Oxford, 1992, pp. 8-30 (hereafter Wallis and Bruce, 'Orthodox Model') (9).
34 See, for example, P. Foster, 'Secularization in the English Context: Some
35 See, for example, B. R. Wilson, Religion in Secular Society, London, 1966, and
and Secular).
36 P. L. Berger, Modernisation and Religion, Dublin, 1981 (hereafter Berger,
38 Ibid., pp. 24-26. See also Wallis and Bruce, 'Orthodox Model', pp. 12-15.
39 Robert O. Crummey, 'Reform under Ivan IV: Gradualism and Terror' in Reform in
of new systems of local administration (the "zemskii sobor"), for example, the issuing of a new code of law (the 1550 "Sudebnik") and the 1556 'Decree on Service', the founding of chancelleries in Muscovy, the strengthening of his armies, and especially, the 1551 Stoglav, which aimed to impose discipline upon the Orthodox Church and active secular involvement concerning legal and land issues, could all be construed as a desire on the part of the secular state hierarchy to modernize and make more efficient systems of government. Sadly, the second half of Ivan’s rule suggests that his reformist advances were intended simply to create a system over which it was easier for him to maintain control. As David Martin notes, no unitary processes of secularization exist; it is neither a fixed process which can be equally applied to a wide variety of cases, nor is it irreversible.

Economic factors during the sixteenth century appear to have played an important role in the gradual secularization of society; E. I. Kolycheva notes that after a lethal combination of epidemics, bad harvests, wars, soaring state taxes and regular raids by nomadic peoples in the 1550-60s, a significant part of the rural population in Muscovy headed towards the urban centres for relief. Rapid and wide-spread urbanization, however, only made the situation worse and economic relief near impossible. After the terrible plague of the 1570s, the famines of the 1590s continued the trend of urbanization. Ruslan Skrynnikov also examines economic and political problems faced by Muscovy at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He challenges traditional assumptions that much of the discontent and instability was caused by external factors and instead lays greatest responsibility on internal problems such as famine and banditry.

Religious upheavals also contributed to the emergence of secularizing processes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The so-called 'heresies' of the 'Shearers' (strigolniki) and the Judaizers (zhidovstvuiushchie), and especially the struggles between the Possessors (iosifliane) and Non-Possessors (nestiazhateli) during the preceding century indicate the extent to which the Orthodox Church had already undergone periods of internal dissent. The end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries witnessed a Catholic Pretender, the invading

40 See Martin, Religious and Secular, p. 16.
Catholic armies, increasing Latin cultural influences (including secular ideas) arriving in Muscovy through Ukraine and, later in the seventeenth century, the devastation of the Schism. The Church's influence was compromised during periods of spiritual crisis as many of the faithful sought out alternative interpretations and practices of Orthodoxy, even those influenced by non-ecclesiastical thinking. Peter Berger stresses the individual's need for 'meaning' in a changing world: 'individuals need to interpret the reality in which they live in a meaningful way, in order to be able to feel that their own life is meaningful'. Traditionally in the medieval era, and especially during times of crisis or major socio-cultural transition, the Church offered appropriate guidance. Yet increasingly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Russia, the established Orthodox Church appeared to have difficulty in providing suitable unified direction.

One indication of both modernizing and secularizing influences on any society is the degree to which literacy has penetrated the public lay domain rather than being confined to ecclesiastical activity. Data regarding levels of general literacy earlier than the mid-seventeenth century in Russia are very scarce and the claims of Soviet scholars concerning high levels of literacy among laypeople and the existence of 'secular' reading material, especially during the seventeenth century, must be treated with great caution. Max Okenfuss describes Muscovy as a 'bookless wasteland' where an insignificant minority of elite individuals read only books directly related to 'the salvation of their souls'. Gary Marker, however, notes that in the mid-seventeenth century more laypeople than ever before were

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45 On the Church's lack of development and declining influence at the beginning of the seventeenth century, see Dukes, Russian Absolutism, pp. 81-83; J. L. H. Keep, 'The Régime of Filaret, 1619-1633', SEER, 38, 1960, pp. 334-60; and Bushkovitch, Religion and Society, pp. 51-53. On alternative practices of Orthodoxy, see Bushkovitch's study on the growth of interest in morality within an Orthodox context, in contrast to earlier emphasis on monasticism and miracles; ibid., p. 178.

46 Bushkovitch, Religion and Society, pp. 28-29.

47 Wallis and Bruce, 'Orthodox Model', p. 18.

48 See Okenfuss, Latin Humanism, pp. 32-33.

49 Ibid., pp. 26 and 31.
actively learning to read,\textsuperscript{50} and towards the end of the century the number of lay manuscript texts increased, commonly associated with merchant activity. Certainly, the awareness of literacy and its potential uses were understood by a growing number of lay folk even by the beginning of the seventeenth century, as witnessed by the \textit{Povest' ob Ul'ianii Osor'inoi}, the \textit{Pisanie o prestavlennii i o pogrebenii kniazia Mikhaila Vasil'evicha Shuiskogo, rekomago Skopina} and, later in the century, the \textit{Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi}, all of which were written by laymen and will be examined in this thesis. Thus, although we cannot speak of rapid growth in literacy in Muscovy at this time, there was certainly gradual progress.

At what points do the ecclesiastical and secular worlds overlap? The religious and secular worlds can neither be totally separated nor considered as diametrically opposed, but rather as interactive and mutually enhancing, as David Martin notes:

\begin{quote}
The religious and the secular are in one way opposites but in another they are intertwined. There is almost nothing regarded as religious which cannot also be secular, and almost no characteristics appearing in secular contexts which do not also appear in religious ones.\textsuperscript{51}
\end{quote}

By contrast to the modern industrial age, the medieval era saw little absolute differentiation between religious and secular which is one reason why scholarly debate about secularization has focused strongly on the later period from which it is less complex to extract theoretical hypotheses. The sixteenth and especially seventeenth centuries in Muscovy, however, were a time of great innovation which often made clearer the distinction between secular and ecclesiastical worlds. Quite apart from Ivan IV's 'reformist intentions' and the widespread urbanization mentioned above, for example, the mid-sixteenth century witnessed innovative expansion of trade with foreign nations such as England and Holland which led more foreigners to Muscovy, bringing new socio-cultural and commercial experiences.\textsuperscript{52} Printing presses were first used in Muscovy in the second half of the sixteenth century (although, being strictly confined to ecclesiastical use, these had


\textsuperscript{52} See Walther Kirchner, \textit{Commercial Relations between Russia and Europe, 1400-1800}, Bloomington, Indiana, 1966, and Billington, \textit{The Icon}, Chapter Two, \textit{passim}. 
little immediate bearing on the wider population until the mid-seventeenth century when the printing of reading primers increased\(^{53}\)). Even the tempestuous events of the Times of Troubles brought new ideas and influences from Catholic Poland.\(^{54}\) Bushkovitch lists several individuals and small groups responsible for innovative cultural and religious thinking in the seventeenth century, including Prince Ivan Andreevich Khvorostinin and the ‘Printing Office Poets’.\(^{55}\)

What is the impact of the above socio-political, economic and cultural factors on the evolution of hagiography? The changes and development seen in the composition of *vita* during the Muscovite period are not always radical on their own, yet when placed in context and understood as part of the overall evolution of hagiography, their wide-ranging importance becomes clear. Many specific aspects of hagiography underwent varying degrees of change and this thesis examines the most significant. Authorial motive, for example, is an important aspect to consider. In contrast to earlier hagiographers, how do the apparent intentions of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors differ? Do they write, as formerly, with the main goal of glorifying their subject, or do secular influences encourage them to widen the scope of their work and include, or even focus on, issues of a non-ecclesiastical nature?

In connection with this, changing perceptions of sanctity must also be examined, on the part of both author and reader, to establish whether the intrusion of secular influences alters the fundamental goals of hagiography, as expounded by the author or received by the reader. As Peter Delooz points out, ‘saints are saints both for other people and by other people, namely for those who initiate and promote a saint and by those who accept and sanction the claim to sanctity’.\(^{56}\) Authors’ attitudes towards their readers, the kind of readers a text seems to imply, and the role readers play in the interpretation of the text are all areas for deliberation.\(^{57}\) One important innovative aspect of the *vita* chosen for analysis here is that they were all likely, or indeed intended, to appeal to a wider reading audience than simply monks, suggesting that hagiography was moving out of its traditional monastic setting into the everyday secular world. Possible reasons for

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\(^{54}\) Ibid., pp. 45-79.


this development as well as the impact it had will be examined as an integral part of changing perceptions of sanctity.

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century portrayal of the protagonist is another area which must be carefully considered. How do changes of authorial intention affect the depiction of the subject? In some instances, the inclusion of ordinary lay folk as subjects of reverence means that for the first time the hagiographer has to present Christian actions in the secular world as the subject of a vita. What prompts the author at this time to present a lay person for veneration rather than a member of the clergy, and what is the reader's response to a lay protagonist who shares the same everyday secular environment as the reader? Taking into consideration that the first translated Christian vitae to be brought from Byzantium to Rus' were devoted to distant saintly protagonists with whom the medieval Russian reader may well have had difficulty in identifying,\(^58\) the creation over the centuries of native Russian saints, both on a national and local level, is bound to have affected reader response. Further complications arise in the seventeenth century with the appearance of a new type of author-protagonist, the 'autohagiographer', who introduces a level of authorial subjectivity previously unseen in hagiography, at the same time forcing re-examination of reader-subject-author relations.

Another question to be asked is what impact these changes had on aspects such as structure, narrative style and literary technique. These aspects will be considered as an important area affected by varying and changing authorial intentions; how the desired function of the work determines authorial treatment of style, structure and so forth, and how this helps to mould the overall form of the vita. Connected to this, how does the author present his innovative material without sacrificing the hagiographical import, in a form which ordinary folk will understand and accept? Traditionally, high-style rhetorical hagiography preserved the Christian concept of the logos (words are divinely marked elevated symbols of truth), even though this created serious problems of comprehension for many people. According to Riccardo Picchio, such conservatism also had a limiting effect on the thematic range of Russian medieval writers;\(^59\) denied the linguistic opportunity to express less-than-ecclesiastical concepts, literature was slow to evolve beyond set parameters. How does the influence of secular material in vitae affect the pace of literary evolution in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

\(^{58}\) There are, of course, exceptions to this, such as the very popular and familiar Saints Nicholas, George, and Alexis Man of God.

\(^{59}\) Riccardo Picchio, 'The Impact of Ecclesiastic Culture on Old Russian Literary Techniques' in \textit{Medieval Russian Culture}, eds H. Birnbaum and M. S. Flier, California Slavic Studies, XII, Berkeley, California, 1984, pp. 263-65.
Does the hagiographer actively use secular elements to render his work more comprehensible to ordinary folk?

The function and treatment of time in hagiography also began in the Muscovite period to be represented differently. In conventional rhetorical hagiography, the author would structure his work according to the universal Christian calendar, so that the significance of the saint’s life was placed in the context of Christian eternity. Whereas reference to historical events was limited in early Russian hagiography, generally used only in specific instances and by a minority of hagiographers, a contemporary time-frame was simply not an option. Hagiographers very often relied upon the device of epic distance in order to place the protagonist on a level of magnified virtue. Such a state, however, is problematic in the presentation of a layperson as a saintly model because of the different manner of idealization within a familiar secular context, as noted above. Thus, consideration must be given to the implications for epic distance when the subject portrayed is a layperson, or when the author and subject are one and the same. It has to be asked to what extent conventional hagiographical devices remain in place, and, in the case of change, how the author presents his material in a new way reflecting the influence of contemporary time and secular history.

In the above it is suggested that, while all aspects of change certainly did not apply to every *vita* composed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they are certainly present in a sufficiently large number of *vitae* to be able to distinguish patterns of change directly linked with the growing intrusion of secular influences into hagiographical writing.

It is at this point appropriate to return to the discussion of hagiography versus biography. Critics of medieval Russian literature have long been aware of the close association of the religious and secular (and in the Soviet period heavy emphasis was placed on secular predominance). Likhachev was the first to note the importance of studying the balance of ecclesiastical and secular elements in early Russian literature, a challenge taken up by several scholars who attempted to define a separate genre of secular biography within the wider corpus of *vitae*. The written lives of the saints seemed a logical starting point for their examination as, in the words of Norman Ingham, "life-writing is one of the principal areas in which a secular trend could be expected to assert itself, in view of the predictable need of a

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rising state to record the lives of its leading figures'\textsuperscript{61} Čizevskij, for example, defended works such as, \textit{inter alia}, the \textit{Zhitie Aleksandra Nevskogo} and the \textit{Slovo o zhitii i o prestavlenii velikogo kniazia Dmitriia Ivanovicha, tsaria Rus'skago} as belonging to a genre of secular biography.\textsuperscript{62} John Fennell, A. Stender-Peterson and Serge A. Zenkovsky all supported the notion of an autonomous genre of secular biography.\textsuperscript{63} Not one of these scholars, however, has been able to argue convincingly that such a genre existed independently of hagiography. As Henrik Birnbaum notes, the prime textual examples used by this group, 'though glorifying secular rulers, have retained the stylistic and compositional devices of hagiography'. Such \textit{vitae} as those of Aleksandr Nevskii and Dmitrii Donskoi, far from constituting secular biography, are merely a 'textbook example of cross-genre intertextuality'.\textsuperscript{64} Likewise, Ingham fails to find 'a distinct, functioning category of biography in early Russian literature'.\textsuperscript{65} Failure to establish a distinct category of secular biography unconnected to hagiography once again indicates the variety and flexibility of the latter.

One of the most relevant questions spawned by this debate is that of the connection between biography and hagiography, which are too often considered as secular and ecclesiastical variants of the same literary mode. Paul Alexander, speaking of the 'death' of the tradition of secular biography in Byzantium in the fourth and fifth centuries, claims that when biography 'was far gone in years, perhaps already moribund, it had engendered a progeny which was to perpetuate the memory of the parent all through the Middle Ages: this was hagiography'.\textsuperscript{66} Such a view is simplistic, however, for, while biography and hagiography do share the common goal of recording life-stories, albeit not always for similar reasons, hagiography did not simply perpetuate the memory of biography but rather blossomed into a rich literary tradition in its own right with distinct qualities and differences emerging between these two forms of writing. Ingham puts forward,

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{62} Čizevskij, 'Question of Genres', and id., \textit{History}.
\item \textsuperscript{64} Henrik Birnbaum, 'Orality, Literacy, and Literature in Old Rus‖', \textit{Die Welt der Slaven}, 30, 1985, 1, pp. 161-96 (178).
\item \textsuperscript{65} Ingham, 'Secular Biography', p. 197.
\item \textsuperscript{66} Paul Alexander, 'Secular Biography at Byzantium', \textit{Speculum}, 15, 1940, pp. 194-209 (hereafter Alexander, 'Secular Biography') (194).
\end{itemize}

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perhaps more accurately, the notion of a broken cycle, calling Byzantine hagiography an interruption in the history of the biographical genre: 'the story of the revival of biography from the ninth century on is, therefore, in essence that of the freeing of life-writing from pious commonplaces and miraculous tales and returning it to factual narratives about individual lives'.

Definitions of the generic differences between rhetorical hagiography and the art of biography suggest that there are several distinguishing elements which determine how a work may most accurately be classified. The etymology of the term 'biography' is self-explanatory: bios - life, and gra'pho - to write, which together constitute the written account of any person's life regardless of particular qualities, vices or actions. The biographer often chooses his material according to his desired aims; crudely put, a work designed to inspire emulation prompts the biographer to emphasize positive aspects of the available material, while the biography of an anti-hero encourages selection and emphasis of negative features. Biography normally adheres to a chronological narrative and tends to have a longer integrated story than hagiographical works. Focus is placed on the individual and his worldly achievements in biography. If, however, the individual is not the focal point, then the work moves closer to historical narrative than biographical: the historian discusses the lives of individuals only if they play a role in a larger historical context, whereas the biographer concentrates strictly on the individual, the history of the period serving merely as a background to this depiction.

The etymological definition of hagiography (hagios - holy/saint, and gra'pho - to write), on the other hand, requires more complex clarification. Religious edification is the main aim of hagiography and vitae do not rely so much upon chronological narrative to relate the life-story as upon the presentation of ideal saintly Christian attributes. The focus is again on the individual, but, unlike biography, hagiography conventionally cleanses him of personal identity and minimizes his individual characteristics in favour of an abstract embodiment of Christian virtues, an imitatio Christi in various forms, from which, over time, there emerge common prototypes of a hagiographical protagonist. The worldly aspects of

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67 Ingham, 'Secular Biography', pp. 181-82.
69 Ingham, 'Secular Biography', p. 185. See also id., 'The Litany of Saints in "Molitva sv. Troice"', Studies Presented to Professor Jakobson by his Students, ed. C. E. Gribble, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1968, p. 185. Biographical and historical narrative can diverge even further over the question of authorial interpretation, objective and subjective viewpoints.
70 See Kliuchevskii, Drevnerusskie zhitiia, p. 436.
the subject's life-story as well as most references to politico-historical events are usually avoided in traditional hagiography (although one cannot always rule out an element of polemizing or, albeit less often, of apologia pro vita sua), and the period of his life-span is usually relevant only in the context of the universal Christian calendar. Boyer sees the hagiographical hero in terms of the epic mode, governed by the two main laws of simplification and enlargement. He believes that the vita 'wants to exalt a great collective feeling, a religious feeling. The hero is the incarnation of the ideal of a human group by the simple fact that he performs an action that is both extraordinary and exemplary. His proper name is the expression of a social model'.

This idea supports the analysis of hagiographical texts in a wider cultural context, rather than an exclusively literary context. Finally, the presence of historical truth is ideally suppressed in hagiography, for although hagiographers did sometimes make reference to historical truth and time, epic idealization of their protagonists is not achieved by surrounding them with either chronological or topographical detail (although they often are in those vitae not necessarily intended as formal high-style rhetorical vitae, in which the abstract ideal is most vigorously pursued).

Drawing such lines of distinction between biography and hagiography is important in practical terms of analysis, especially as several Russian hagiographical works appear to fall on the borderline between the two, leading to confusion. For example, some of the earliest Russian saints were laypeople, princes and grand-princes of Rus' and the principalities; collectively termed the kniazheskie zhitiia; some scholars define these vitae, as noted above, as 'secular biographies'. The late thirteenth-century Zhitiie Aleksandra Nevskogo is one such work. The first native Russian vita dedicated to a lay subject, it combines the stylistic techniques of the chronicles and the voinskie povesti in a hagiographical framework that includes

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72 There are naturally exceptions to these outlines of biography and hagiography; for example, when encomiastic literature is expanded by way of narrative, it can border on biography (see Kantor, Slavic Lives, p. 3, Ingham, 'Secular Biography', p. 190, and Julia Alissandratos, 'Narrative Patterning in the Seventeenth-Century Old Believer Lives of Bojarynya Morozova and Gregory Neronov' in Gattung und Narration in den älteren slavischen Literaturen, ed. Klaus-Dieter Seeman, Wiesbaden, 1987, pp. 29-46).

few conventional hagiographical *topoi*. The descriptions of epic military battles and Nevskii's later journey to the Tatar Horde at Sarai fill the narrative and where hagiographical features do appear they are often crudely tacked onto military or annalistic passages. The focus of the work is on the individual, but it emphasizes secular military valour far more than Christian virtue, and the *vita* is placed in a finite historical context, both of which tend towards a definition of the work as biographical. Yet the author's intention was clearly to venerate a great warrior who saved the Orthodox people from both the Swedes and the Teutonic Knights. Held up and idealized as defender of the faith (despite collaboration with the Tatars, about which the author of the *vita* mentions nothing), Nevskii was clearly an important candidate for canonization by the Orthodox Church, which swings the definition of the work back towards hagiography. So, is this a biographical or hagiographical work? In his analysis of the traditions of Byzantine life-writing, Paul Alexander suggests two descriptive terms to differentiate between works which lie on the borderline of biography and hagiography: first, 'semi-secular hagiography', where the *vita* does not include miracles, and secondly, 'semi-secular biography', or the life of a layman which includes minimal use of religious motifs. The *Zhitie Aleksandra Nevskogo* can be said to fall into the category of 'semi-secular biography'. Thus we see how potential confusion has arisen from the times of the earliest *vitae* which venerate a lay protagonist not necessarily for purely religious reasons, and how Paul Alexander's terms can assist in the understanding and analysis of hagiographical works which fall on the bio-hagiographical borderline.

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75 For example, 'Kнязь же Александр вскоре и вверже гряд их из основания, а самих изъяви и овъх с собою поведе, а иных, помиловавъ, отпусти, бъ бо милостивъ паче мъры', and 'Князь же Александра возвратился с победою, хвалы и славы имя своего творца' ("Zhitie Aleksandra Nevskogo" in PLDR: XIII vek, eds L. A. Dmitriev and D. S. Likhachev, Moscow, 1981, pp. 426-39 and 602-06 [hereafter 'Zhitie Aleksandra Nevskogo'] [432]).


77 Alexander, 'Secular Biography', pp. 204-05.

The kniazheskie zhitiia are not the only cases of laypeople being canonized, although they do form the only group of works associated by subject-matter. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, very interesting isolated cases of this type of veneration re-appear in, for example, the Zhitiie Varlaama Vazhskogo, the Povest ' ob Ul'ianii Osor'inoi and the Pisanie o prestavlenii i o pogrebenii kniazia Mikhaila Vasil'evicha Shuiskogo, rekomago Skopina. All three of these works provide a different reason for reverence of a layperson and have prompted the question of whether they constitute biography or hagiography: Varlaam was a rich boiar whose life did not revolve around the Church and who was tonsured only very late in life, Ul'ianiia was a highly religious woman who never took the veil, and Mikhail was, like Nevskii, a warrior-defender of the Orthodox people of Muscovy who died in suspicious circumstances. Although Varlaam has been canonized and Ul'ianiia is officially recognized for local veneration, Mikhail has achieved neither of these levels of ecclesiastical recognition. Analysis of his life-story is included in this thesis to illustrate how secular influences in the later medieval period began to affect not only popular perceptions of sanctity, but also the perception of worthiness; what kind of person was deemed worthy of emulation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for what reasons, and how important was the ecclesiastical or lay status of this person? The intentions of the authors of these works will be examined to establish why they believed their subjects to be worthy of veneration.

The structure of this thesis is designed to tackle various aspects of the secularization question. Following the introduction, the four main chapters of the thesis focus upon different groups of hagiographical works which demonstrate clear evidence of such tendencies: first, vitae composed in northern Russia during the sixteenth century; secondly, works influenced structurally and thematically by oral tradition largely pre-Christian in origin; thirdly, vitae devoted to female protagonists; and finally, seventeenth-century autohagiography. An examination of the relevant historical and socio-political events of the period helps to place the vitae chosen for detailed analysis in a wider critical context than simply that of literary genre. Each chapter also includes a section on relevant pre-sixteenth century Russian vitae in order, first, to determine the extent to which earlier works may have acted as models or inspiration, and secondly, for comparative purposes in determining the character and evolution of secularizing tendencies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Chapter One considers in detail the distinctive characteristics of three lesser-known sixteenth-century vitae which originate in the northern Russian territories, the Zhitiie Varlaama Vazhskogo, the Zhitiie Stefana Komel'skogo and the Zhitiie Trifona.
Pechengskogo. Often either seeking a life of solitary spiritual contemplation or else spurred on by missionary goals, a growing number of monks in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries moved from the established monasteries in the urban areas to the rural lands of the north. Their presence regularly attracted other monks and laypeople to settle around them and, in order to provide for the spiritual needs of these communities, churches would be built, commonly followed by monasteries and towns. The vitae under examination are all devoted to founders of such monasteries.

As will be seen, the hagiographers of these vitae chose to portray their protagonists in a significantly different manner from those who had recorded the vitae of pre-sixteenth century hermits and missionaries who similarly settled in the wilderness. Both the focus and seeming intentions of the sixteenth-century hagiographers are at variance with those of high-style rhetorical hagiography of the past. The protagonist, for example, often markedly departs from the model of his saintly predecessors: as a consequence, the nature of his deeds (podvig) and his position as an unquestionable moral exemplum are sometimes unfamiliar. The concept of the ‘ideal Christian life’ was never static, and these three vitae illustrate to some extent how environment and population could influence local perception and authorial portrayal of sanctity.

Adapting their composition in this way and choosing not to adhere to the conventions of high-style rhetorical hagiography, furthermore allowed the authors to express important statements which were not necessarily connected to the sanctity of their protagonist but rather to issues of a more socio-political nature. As such, Chapter One illustrates the interaction between ecclesiastical and secular worlds, how hagiographical composition could be used as an authoritative vehicle through which to voice the author’s point of view on secular influences and how the latter affected the focus and presentation of the available material.

Chapter Two examines the function and development of hagiographical hybrids with the aim of elucidating the importance of this type of composition in the overall evolution of vitae. The incorporation of oral elements into sacred writing is evident from the earliest literary records in Rus’, but the considerable differences in the way authors of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century hybrids of this kind chose to use their material has been only cursorily examined. Three works of this period are scrutinized, the Povest’ o Merkurii Smolenskom, the Zhite Antoniia Rimlianina and the Pisanie o prestavlenii i o pogrebenii kniazia Mikhaila Vasil’evicha Shuiskogo, rekomago Skopina, showing how, while not overly detracting from the didactic
purposes of the Orthodox Church, such works did much to advance a more secular understanding of, approach and response to the art of life-writing.

Many structural and thematic features clearly identify these three works with past vitae, yet many other elements mark them out. As will be seen, the sustained use of oral themes and motifs, for example, differs significantly from how these features were used by earlier hagiographers. The familiar heroes and situations of the oral tradition are presented by the authors in a different, more effective way in order to win the trust, understanding and empathy of the reader. Such trust, in turn, may have assisted the acceptance also of non-ecclesiastical issues raised in the works.

Within the wide corpus of Russian vitae, those devoted to female saintly protagonists form a distinct minority. Prior to the early seventeenth century, hagiographical portrayals of women tended either to focus on their legendary activities and pre-Christian values to the clear detriment of an Orthodox imitatio Marii ideal, or else to depict their lives and deeds only in the limited environment of a convent. Chapter Three examines the impact of two powerful vitae with female subjects from the seventeenth century which break decisively with these moulds, the Povest’ ob Ul’ianii Osor’inoi and the Povest’ o boiar’ine Morozovoi. Influences of the secular world upon the religious experiences of the protagonists are seen in the concept of attaining salvation and even sanctity through adherence to a pious Christian life in the secular world. Changing perceptions of sanctity not only on a spiritual but also a practical level are reflected in the depiction of these saintly women. Furthermore, the fact that these vitae were composed by laymen meant not only that the authorial perception of sanctity differed from the usual monastic view (laymen not being exposed to the same ecclesiastical environment on an everyday basis as the clergy), but also that the treatment and presentation of the author’s material was innovative.

It will be argued that significant developments in literary composition are also present in these vitae, most importantly a movement away from the stereotypical ideal Christian character depictions of earlier high-style rhetorical hagiography in which the individual traits of the protagonist were not considered relevant for ecclesiastical edification and thus not included. Reflecting the needs of an increasingly sophisticated reader in the seventeenth-century, however, far more individualistic characterization was developed and even augmented with elements of psychological reasoning and motivation, so far virtually unheard of in hagiographical writing.
Chapter Four investigates the secularizing tendencies found in three seventeenth-century works categorized here as autohagiography, a term applied to vitae composed, in part or whole, by the main protagonist of the text. The Zhitie Eleazara Anzerskogo, napisannoe im samim, the Zhitie Epifania and the Zhitie protopopa Avvakuma, im samim napisannoe belong exclusively neither to the wider categories of Russian hagiographical works, nor to the genre of autobiography, and represent a major step in the evolution of hagiography.

Great socio-political change in the middle and second half of the seventeenth century, a time of overwhelming turbulence in the Russian Orthodox Church as well as the cusp of the medieval and early modern eras in Russia, accelerated the pace of secularizing tendencies in the ecclesiastical, political and social arenas just as much as in the literary. More than any other work examined in this thesis, these autohagiographies highlight the most important changes in religious practice and attitudes during this time and how these factors were reflected in literature.

While autohagiography clearly shares many of the characteristics of earlier hagiography and adheres to many of the conventions, the nature of this type of composition is essentially different. One of the corollaries of shifting from the traditional third-person hagiographer to a first-person narrator is the great potential for subjective authorial analysis, not to mention control over presentation and manipulation of the available material. Consideration will also be given to the changes seen in the identity of the author when using first-person narrative, and how such changes relate to the reader’s perception of the author-protagonist figure.

Another crucial development to be examined is the intention of the author: does an autohagiographer put himself forward as a candidate for canonization? If so, what are the resulting implications concerning humility, and if not, what type of emulatory model does he offer his reader? Furthermore, the three vitae under examination in this chapter focus strongly on the layman’s world and the authors’ use of narrative to communicate with a wider secular audience will be investigated. Such factors once again illustrate the growing pace of secularizing tendencies in literary composition at this time in Muscovy, the way in which the Church no longer enjoyed monopolistic literary control and how authors were increasingly ready to use edificatory sacred literature to promote ecclesiastical dissent.

In short, this thesis aims to show, using detailed analysis of several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century vitae, that the evolution of Russian hagiography was intricately linked to secularizing tendencies of the period, and seeks to explain how this is reflected in changing perceptions of and attitudes towards sanctity.
Throughout this thesis I have used terms which are not immediately self-explanatory, yet which reflect most accurately the given concept. Such terms include 'reader-audience'. Although for reasons of clarity the Introduction refers only to the 'reader', the main body of the thesis uses the term 'reader-audience' which I consider a necessary compromise given the fact that the works examined here would most likely have been read aloud to groups just as frequently, or even more often, as read in private by an individual. 'Reader-audience' furthermore reflects the authors' aims, as mentioned above, of reaching a wider and more diverse audience than simply monasteries. The term also allows for fluctuations in levels of literacy about which very few definitive statements can be made as the relevant data are scarce and unreliable.

The term 'hybrid' also appears, especially in Chapter Two. A hybrid is here defined as a literary work which combines more than one mode of writing and/or type of source material, often considered incongruous (such as ecclesiastical and secular elements). Thus, for example, hagiographical works heavily influenced by the oral tradition are referred to as 'orally influenced hagiographical hybrids'. Some vitae are only lightly influenced by such incongruous sources, and others much more so, although they are all referred to as hybrids in this study. Another type of hybrid is examined in Chapter Four, where two different modes of writing, essentially autobiographical and hagiographical, are found in vitae written by the protagonist. Bearing in mind the difficulties of generic definition detailed above, the term hybrid is an, albeit imperfect, indicator of combined literary modes and/or source material.
Editorial Statement

This thesis uses the Library of Congress transliteration system. The letter ‘ъ’ has been preserved according to the published texts used. Russian proper names have been uniformly transliterated, but Greek and Latin names have been given in an anglicized form.

Place names have been transliterated where no accepted English version is available. With two exceptions, names of monasteries and convents are given in a translated form (for example, the *Kievo-Pecherskii monastyr* is rendered as the Kievan Caves Monastery). The first exception is for monasteries named after a saint, in which case they retain the transliterated Russian form of the name (for instance, the *antonievskii monastyr* is referred to as the St Antonii Monastery), and the second for those commonly known by their Russian names (such as the Novodevichii Convent).

In the case of articles, individual chapters, and texts published as part of longer works cited in the footnotes, inclusive page numbers are given in the first instance and are followed by a page number in brackets when a specific reference is being made (for example, Jostein Børtnes, *The Literature of Old Russia, 988-1730* in *The Cambridge History of Russian Literature*, ed. Charles A. Moser, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 1-44 [39]).
It is frequently noted that the sixteenth-century vitae which originate in the northern Russian territories are markedly different from other groups or collections of hagiographical texts to have come out of Muscovy. The distinctive characteristics of this group are rooted in the fluctuations of socio-political history over more than three centuries, and the influence of these vitae upon the evolution of hagiography is substantial. This chapter will focus on three of the lesser known vitae from the north, chosen as typical examples in terms of creative literary development in hagiographical writing at this time, the Zhitie Varlaama Vazhskogo, the Zhitie Stefana Komet'skogo and the Zhitie Trifona Pechengskogo.

The late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries saw increasing numbers of monks seeking a life of contemplation and devotion to God in the sparsely populated rural lands of the north, thus repeating the trends of the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Their solitary lives were often interrupted, however, by the arrival of fellow monks and, inevitably, the founding of a monastery as the community grew in numbers. The vitae under scrutiny are dedicated to the founders of such monasteries.

Compared with the conventions of high-style rhetorical hagiography of the past, there is a significant difference in the focus and seeming intentions of the hagiographers who faced the task of composing vitae for these pioneering founders: first, the subject of reverence may be unusual, not immediately similar to his saintly predecessors from high-style hagiography, and the nature of his deeds (podvig) and his position as an unquestionable moral exemplum is sometimes far removed from tradition. Secondly, the authors of the northern vitae tend more easily than previous hagiographers to make reference to socio-historical factors and detail, not hesitating to chronicle the concrete aspects of everyday life. And thirdly, these vitae are written in an accessible manner, using vocabulary often more akin to story-telling than ecclesiastical didacticism and largely without rhetorical flourish, perhaps reflecting the needs of the local, mostly uneducated, population. To this end, they build up a convincing picture of life in northern Russia in the sixteenth century, the hardships endured and the practicalities which were all important for survival.

Several sixteenth-century northern Russian *vitae* include some of these differences, yet none so clearly as the three examined here in detail.

A question which must be addressed before looking at the texts, however, is what exactly led to such a sustained and large-scale exodus from Muscovy to the north during the late fifteenth and much of the sixteenth centuries? What drove the clergy so far from the settled areas which provided security and routine in the established monasteries? A brief survey of the major events of these centuries will address this issue and also attempt to ascertain how the concept of the 'ideal Christian life' was adapted to the new northern environment.

*The Historical Context*

Great importance was laid on territorial expansionism in the fourteenth century and early military successes saw the annexation by Muscovy of Pereiaslav’ , Kolomna and Mozhaisk, followed later by Tver’, Suzdal’ and Nizhnii-Novgorod. With good connecting waterways, Muscovy flourished through trade with these annexed lands and continued its settlement of outlying areas, gathering in Iaroslavl’, Perm’, Rostov, and Viatka in the fifteenth century and, finally, Pskov’ and Smolensk and Nizhnii-Novgorod in the sixteenth (some not without resistance). The Church proved to be one of the greatest and most effective consolidating agents during the period of expansionism. Missionaries travelled to newly-annexed territories and even hermits who sought spiritual isolation in the wilderness were probably aware by the early fifteenth century that their presence frequently led to the formation of a monastery.

The monks who participated in the exodus from urban areas may have been trying to escape the worldliness of the older urban monasteries, seeking fresh fields in the wilderness of the north and east. Another reason for leaving the city monasteries – and one which does not necessarily conflict with the above – was the spread of Hesychast thought in Rus’, probably from the beginning of the fifteenth

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2 For example, the *Zhitie Adriana Poshekhonskogo*, *Zhitie Arseniia Konewskogo*, *Zhitie Aleksandra Svirskogo*, and the *Zhitie Aleksandra Oshevenskogo*. For initial analysis of these works, see Dmitriev, *Zhitinye povesti*, and id., *Zhanr*, pp. 181-202.

3 A concrete, sometimes even fortified, base and symbol of Muscovy's authority, monasteries *in situ* often made government of these distant areas easier; see Billington, *The Icon*, p. 50.

century. With its roots in traditional Byzantine mysticism, Hesychasm taught that outward expressions of ritual in worship were not as valuable as an inner ability to bring oneself closer to God through a mystical form of communication including a constant contemplation of the Divine through meditative prayer. Such demands clashed with and eventually led to a minimizing of the social role of monasteries, active charity and contact with laypeople. In order to practise Hesychast ideals many monks and groups of Christians moved northwards to benefit from the calm and relative freedom provided by the unpopulated lands. Janet Martin suggests that people were also trying to avoid the plague which, 'interpreted to be manifestations of the wrath of God, may well have reinforced the attraction of religious figures to the eremitic life [...] far removed from densely populated [...] and disease-ridden towns'.

The spread and growth of monasteries led to some of the hardest-fought struggles between Church and State over landholding and tenure. In the early fifteenth century, as many of the monasteries which had begun as eremitic grew into larger cenobitic communities, they began to accumulate considerable material wealth and consequently influence, a trend led by the renamed St Sergii Trinity Monastery which consolidated a system of wealth-acquisition already in haphazard use for two centuries.

In all cases the tempo of acquisition was essentially the same – a steady pace throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, culminating in unprecedentedly rapid gains in the latter decades of the reign of Ivan IV late in the sixteenth. The fact that the monasteries came to control a disproportionately large share of society's primary economic resource posed serious problems of both a moral and a political nature.

During the sixteenth century, 'the number of monasteries doubled, from approximately 100 to not less than 200', which further aggravated tensions

7 Postulants brought money or property to the Church, land was purchased from impoverished nobles, and others donated money or land in exchange for prayers for their souls; see V. O. Kluchevsky, A History of Russia, 5 vols, London, 1911-31, (hereafter Kluchevsky, History of Russia), 2, 1912, pp. 173-79.
8 Crummey, Formation, p. 122.
between Church and State over the latter's belief that the Church did not contribute enough to the State coffers despite receiving handsome revenues from its landholdings. The State appeared incapable of introducing effective measures to halt this growth, however, and only the decisions of the 1580 Church Council put an end to expansion of monastic landholding by forbidding any further acquisition of land and discontinuing tax exemption for ecclesiastical lands in 1584.

The moral side to the problem is clear: increasing status as a rich and powerful institution encouraged distraction from the Church's primary purposes. With some degree of overstatement, Alexander Yanov describes the condition of the Church in the late fifteenth century: 'Greed consumed discipline: corruption, its spiritual goals. It was a successful usurer, entrepreneur, and landowner, but had ceased to be a pastor of the people and the intellectual leadership of the nation'.

Despite the typical view point that the Church had ceased entirely to act as pastor of the people (but rather a matter of to what degree), serious problems had undoubtedly arisen. The days of cooperation between the Russian State and Church after the 1439 Ferrara-Florentine Council, when the Church hierarchy reluctantly accepted greater dependence on secular authority, appeared to have come to an end. Furthermore, the vision of Muscovy claiming its role as the Third Rome after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, when Church and State had again worked in unison to promote themselves as legitimate guardians of the true Orthodox faith, had crumbled and Church-State relations deteriorated sufficiently to suggest that Filofei's predictions were no more than another tarnished dream.


On account of Vasilii II's sanctioning of the election of Iona as Metropolitan in 1448, an action which implicitly emancipated the Russian Church from the supervision of Constantinople and rendered it autocephalous 'in fact if not theory'; see Crummey, Formation, p. 134.


establishing a self-identity for Muscovy as a great new vehicle of faith and hope may even have contributed to the gradual eclipse of ecclesiastical wealth and power.

The first Rome bequeathed to Christendom law, order and discipline, and proclaimed the universality of the Church [...] The second Rome – Constantinople – offered intellectual leadership [...] The third Rome, Moscow, expressed the conviction that the entire corporate life of a nation should be inspired by the Holy Spirit.¹⁴

Yet so long as the State and Church squabbled over issues of tax and landholding, neither could provide a suitable vehicle for this inspiration, whether through teaching or example.

Loss of faith in the integrity of the established Church and its clergy was inevitable and many influential ‘heretical’ alternatives gained considerable popularity during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries such as the Shearers (strigolniki) in Novgorod in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and, during the reign of Ivan III, the Judaizers (zhidovstvuushchie).¹⁵ The latter’s condemnation of ecclesiastical landholding and their advocacy that Church properties be secularized turned out to be the prelude to a more severe split within the church, the clashes at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries between the Possessors (iosifliane) and the Non-Possessors (nestiazhateli).¹⁶ Conventional historiography suggests that Ivan III was dealt the unenviable task of having to choose which faction to support at the 1503 Church Council.¹⁷ The fact that the Possessors supported the authority of the Muscovite princes and accepted it in the administration of the Church was a key factor: Ivan decreed that the State would lend its support to decisions taken by the Possessors, but only on condition that the latter continue to support the policies of the Muscovite secular authorities.¹⁸ Many

¹⁴ Zernov, Eastern Christendom, p. 141.
¹⁵ The strigolniki protested against ecclesiastical simony and the Judaizers refused to acknowledge Orthodox rituals, icons and saints, the Trinity and the divinity of Christ, believing rather in the Law of Moses and claiming reason superior to blind faith; see David Goldfrank, ‘Pre-Enlightenment Utopianism in Russian History’, Russian History, 11, 1984, 2-3, pp. 123-47 (128-29).
¹⁶ See ibid., pp. 129-31; see also Billington, Icon, pp. 60-64, and Kluchevsky, History of Russia, 2, pp. 189-95.
¹⁷ However, for an interesting alternative hypothesis, see Yanov, Origins, Chapter Five, ‘Josephites and Non-Acquirers’, pp. 147-82.
¹⁸ In fact the Church exceeded this obligation by creating a considerable number of native Russian saints during the sixteenth century, and accepting a fabricated genealogical proposal connecting the Muscovite princes with the great figures and legacy of Rome. See Dukes, Russian Absolutism, p. 62.
argue that the long-term effect on the Church as a result of this battle was negative: ‘Russia’s cultural development became one-sided, ritualism was over-emphasized, learning neglected, dependence on the State increased, and the appreciation of freedom lost’.\(^{19}\)

Ultimately, this controversy was over control, power and wealth. Although many historians argue that contention between the two groups has been greatly exaggerated, we should be careful not to understate the significance of these issues on Church-State relations. The Church had effectively ceded much of its independence to the State, leaving landholding its only bargaining weapon for the future. When Ivan IV assumed the throne of Muscovy in 1533 and the title of tsar in 1547, determined to consolidate his position as both secular and ecclesiastical leader, the Church experienced further decline after the reforms of the 1547, 1548 and 1551 Church Councils. These reforms attempted to stem corruption, revise ecclesiastical books and icon painting, and to introduce a secular authority to eliminate abuses of ecclesiastical revenues and curtail acquisition of land by the Church. The reforms largely failed, however, because of the greed, ignorance and manoeuvering of many in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Ivan then dealt with the Church as he dealt with any other enemy or disobedient servant; he crushed all dissent ruthlessly.\(^{20}\) The Church was beginning to pay the price for too close an alliance with and dependence upon secular authorities. Ivan’s actions did little to slow down general moral decline, encouraging instead fear as well as cultural and spiritual stagnation.

Thus we see a long period of spiritual struggle and uncertainty with both laypeople and clergy being pulled between various allegiances and ideologies, both secular and ecclesiastical. It is little wonder that many wished to escape the confusion of the larger established monasteries and so struck out into the wilderness. Furthermore, it is not unreasonable to suppose that many of those who did leave the settled areas went in search of a place where they would find the spiritual freedom to practise whatever form of faith they desired. Clearly, the influences of Hesychasm and the Non-Possessors were more in line with this kind of search than the officially supported religion of the Possessors, and this is confirmed by references to the Jesus Prayer in one of the texts examined below (see Chapter One, note 126).

\(^{19}\) Zernov, *Eastern Christendom*, p. 143.

\(^{20}\) For example, Metropolitan Filip’s murder in 1569 indicated how the clergy would be dealt with if they criticized tsarist policy or overstepped the limited bounds of ecclesiastical authority.
It has already been noted that the hagiographers who recorded the lives of the founders of the northern monasteries appear to have approached their task in a different manner from their many predecessors who produced high-style rhetorical vitae. One may safely assume that throughout the medieval period in Russia most people were not sufficiently sophisticated to appreciate highly rhetorical vitae, yet the fact that so many Muscovite hagiographies adhere to this pattern and style strongly indicates how little their authors felt it necessary to appeal to ordinary folk. In the case of the northern vitae, however, it is likely that factors such as isolation or a political impulse (or both) may well have prompted the hagiographer to reject the stylistic and compositional norms of the high-style rhetorical vita and to present their material in a more easily understandable manner. As a corollary, in order to express accurately and effectively the immediate circumstances and to convince a local, largely peasant audience, they would have had to adapt the complex set formulae of conventional rhetorical hagiography. The author had to consider first, how the local population perceived sanctity and secondly, how best to reflect this in a literary composition. The concept of function dictating the form of any given text approaches the Sitz im Leben theory of the Formgeschichte critics whereby the text is analysed in a broader context of the prevailing cultural system rather than merely within the limiting confines of literary generic classification. The function of the work within any given society reflects how that society viewed and received the image of a saint. Consequently, it is important to analyse the texts below in light of these changing circumstances and ideals.

There is little doubt that life in the north was difficult, full of novelties which few literary narratives had so far needed to describe. Taken as a distinct group, the northern Russian vitae show a different approach to hagiographical narrative, as well as a different authorial focus, one not always purely ecclesiastical, compared to previous Russian vitae. The subject of the work and the ideals he embodies is furthermore portrayed in an innovative manner, often appearing closer to the protagonists of historical narrative than those of hagiography.

The Texts

Zhitie Varlaama Vazhskogo

Varlaam of Vaga (also known as Varlaam of Pinega or Shenkur) was the founder of a monastery, several churches and small towns in the northern area of Zavoloch’e region, at the confluence of the rivers Vaga and Pinega. He died in 1462 in the
monastery, but it was not until 1589 that Iona, a priest at the St Antonii Monastery at Sia and later abbot of the monastery at Gliushitsa, wrote his vita. Iona spent a winter at the monastery on the Vaga, copying notes about the saint's life story and talking to people who claimed miraculous healings at his tomb. The earliest extant versions of the vita are late sixteenth-century manuscripts: ROBIL, Undol collection, No. 291; and St Sergii Trinity Monastery, No. 677. The latter manuscript was published in Pravoslavnoe obozrenie in the nineteenth century with a foreword by A. Grigorovich, and this version will be used here. As there was a period of 117 years between Varlaam's death and Iona's composition, it should also be noted that this vita is based to some extent upon local legends about Varlaam (Iona's information came not only from written notes about Varlaam, which may themselves have been based upon legend, but also from oral sources).

Zhite Stefana Komel’skogo
Stefan was the founder of the St Nicholas Monastery on the banks of Lake Komela, at the mouth of the River Komela (approximately thirty-five versts south of Vologda). He died on 12 June 1542 as an old man and abbot of the monastery he had founded. The earliest version of this anonymous vita dates from no later than the end of the sixteenth century: the only posthumous miracle tells of the rescue of a merchant (who knew Stefan personally) from a storm on the lake. This vita has not so far been studied: even Kliuchevskii did not include it in his seminal Drevnerusskie zhitiiia svyatikh. Loparev published the vita in 1892, listing four versions (of which he obtained access to only two). He used the version from the collection of N. S. Tikhonravov as the basis, adding some variant readings from the seventeenth-century manuscript in the collection of the Obshchestvo liubitelei drevnei pis’mennosti (GLB, Q.CXCVIII). Loparev knew of two other manuscripts: one in the Tsar’s collection, subsequently in the possession of Count A. S. Uvarov and now in ROGIM; and the other, another seventeenth-century manuscript, in the private collection of Iakovlev. The National Library in St Petersburg holds one further manuscript, ROGPB, Q-I-1200. The fullest and earliest manuscript is that published by Loparev and this is the version used in this study.

21 ‘Zhite prepodobnogo Varlaama Vazhskogo’ in Pravoslavnoe obozrenie, June, Moscow, 1887 (hereafter ‘Zhite Varlaama Vazhskogo’), pp. 1-47.
Northern Russian Vitas

Zhitie Trifona Pechengskogo

Trifon was the founder of the Pechenga Trinity Monastery (circa 1533) in the extreme northern Murmansk region. He was born in the small town of Torzhk near Novgorod in 1495 and died on 15 December 1583. The anonymous author of this *vita* tells us in a foreword to the earliest extant text that it replaces a destroyed original:

[...]

He laments that the *vita* that has come down to us (GPB, Solovki collection, No. 188) is a composite work, put together by collating notes made by those who still remembered Trifon after the devastating attack on the monastery, and thus cannot convey all the marvellous works carried out by Trifon ‘какъ просветитель лопарей и какъ пустынножитель’. The most probable time of composition is the early seventeenth century, during the reign of Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich, when in 1619 the monastery was moved for reasons of safety to a site near the fortified town of Kola (an event recorded at the end of the *vita*). The composition of Trifon’s *vita* may well have been undertaken as part of this restoration process. It is also possible, however, that the text was compiled slightly earlier and additions made in or after 1619. The *vita* was published in the 1859 collection of *Pravoslavnyi sobesednik* and this text will be used here. The few other manuscript copies are all later versions.

The Contextual Hagiographical Background

The above saints were not the first to head into the great Russian wilderness; the hermit and missionary movements away from urban monasteries began in the mid-fourteenth century with such figures as Sergii of Radonezh, followed later by others,

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24 GIM, Barsov collection, No. 116 and the Vygolek library, No. 53 (both eighteenth-century); IRLI, Manuscript repository, Peretts collection, No. 223 (eighteenth-century); and in the Karelian collection, IRLI, No. 136 (twentieth-century).
including Stefan of Perm’ and Kirill of Belozersk in the early fifteenth. Sergii and Kirill are both said to have been called by a spiritual imperative to the wilderness where they devoted their lives to contemplative prayer until the local monastic community grew and they founded their monasteries. Stefan of Perm’, on the other hand, did not go to the north-eastern Perm’ region to get away from people but rather on a mission to convert the pagan Komi. Although Stefan of Perm’ did not found a monastery, he was responsible for the establishment of the Permian church, which can be seen to some degree as analogous: instead of monastic brethren, laypeople gathered to learn about and worship God. These saints’ vitae were composed by Epifanii Premudryi (Stefan of Perm’ and Sergii) and Pakhomii Logofet (Kirill and a re-working of Epifanii’s vita of Sergii).

These vitae recount the hardships of life in the wilderness as described by Sergii’s brother, ‘житие скръбно, житие жестко, отсюду теснота, отсюду недостатки, ни имущим ниоткуда ни яства, ни пити, ни прочих, яже на потребу [... ] и не бъ мимоходящаго, ни постшашщаго, но окру́г мѣста того съ всѣ страны всѣ лѣсь, всѣ пустыня’, as well as danger from wild animals such as bears and wolves, or the fire started by Kirill to clear brushwood and which rapidly gets out of control almost killing him. Hostile native populations also terrorize the saints, especially Stefan of Perm’, often threatening to kill them. We are told of the saints’ podvig and how Sergii and Kirill came to found their

25 In order to avoid confusion between Stefan of Perm’ and Stefan Komel’skogo, the former will without exception be referred to in this thesis as Stefan of Perm’, and Stefan Komel’skogo simply as Stefan.
26 V. Druzhinin, Zhitie sv. Stefana episkopa permskogo, St Petersburg, 1897, reprinted with an introduction by D. Čičevskij, The Hague, 1959 (hereafter ‘Zhitiie Stefan Permskogo’).
27 ‘Zhitiie Sergiia Radonezhskogo’ in PLDR: XIV-seredina XV veka, eds L. A. Dmitriev and D. S. Likhachev, Moscow, 1981, pp. 258-429 and 570-79 (hereafter ‘Zhitiie Sergiia’); Epifanii’s original text has not survived and this published text is a compilation of versions produced by Pakhomii Logofet (see ibid., p. 572).
29 ‘Zhitiie Sergiia’, p. 296.
30 Ibid., p. 306.
31 ‘Zhitiie Kirilla’, p. 78.
33 Interestingly, the Jesus prayer, practised by Hesychasts and Non-Possessors, features in Kirill’s vita; see ‘Zhitiie Kirilla’, p. 130. Likewise, Sergii stresses the benefits of continual prayer, silence (Gr. hesychia, silence) and reads books in order to ‘сокровенными мыслями подвиза умь свой на влежение вечных благъ съкровищъ’ (‘Zhitiie Sergiia’, p. 314), all of which reflect Hesychast and Non-Possessor practices. Emphasis is put upon the concept of ‘divine light’ and miraculous events are associated
monasteries, introducing in both cases a strict ustav. Budovnits minimizes the spiritual nature of these hermits, preferring to stress their monasteries' acquisition of wealth and property and to blame them for exploitation of the local villagers and landowners. This typical Soviet approach, although useful for its questioning of conventional religious assumptions, fails to accept that fourteenth-century religious revivals in Muscovy brought a genuine desire to re-assess spiritual goals and practices, to promote humility and unworldliness. The initial growth of large monastic communities outside urban centres should not simply be seen as a deliberate colonization process, but rather as one of the natural consequences of a desire to propagate a more ascetic and contemplative Orthodoxy as seen, for example, in Hesychast practices.

The vitae present harmoniously structured narratives which mostly follow the topoi and framework of rhetorical hagiography. They do not, however, lack individual colour: for example, the account of Stefan of Perm’s linguistic innovations in order for the Komi to read the holy texts in their native language, as well as the long tale of his debate with the shaman Pam; the tale of the bear which lived alongside Sergii for many years; and the vivid description of Kirill’s youth as a layman. All three also include a political dimension, for example, Epifanii’s anti-Muscovite barbs concerning Moscow’s treatment of the Komi people and brutal control of the Rostov territories which brought much hardship to local princes and landowners, although this does not prevent Epifanii from ultimately ‘representing Moscow as the spiritual and political centre of the Russian Church’. Indeed, Sergii is shown to be a supporter of the Muscovite princes’ policies of centralization, meeting with and lending support to Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich (later ‘Donskoii’) before the battle of Kulikovo. And in Pakhomii’s work we find several passages on the unacceptability of monastic

with fire and light. It is also possible, however, that these elements were added by Pakhomii and were not part of Epifanii’s original composition. See Bertnes, Visions, pp. 83-87.

35 I. U. Budovnits, Monastyri na Rusi i bor’ba s nimi krestian v XIV-XVI vekakh (po “zhitiam sviatykh”), Moscow, 1966 (hereafter Budovnits, Monastyri), pp. 130-31 (Stefan), 77-110 (Sergii) and 165-71 (Kirill).
37 Ibid., pp. 39-52.
42 Bertnes, Visions, p. 138.
landowning which, as stated above, was a politically significant topic during the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{44}

In terms of narrative style, Epifanii and Pakhomii are rightly judged to have made considerable contributions to the hagiographical mode. Elaboration and stylistic embellishment is an important feature of the \textit{Zhitie Stefana Permskogo}, producing a long and richly worded narrative which reflects the intellectual prowess and aims of the author.\textsuperscript{45} Although Pakhomii's work is less elaborate, his composition still contains an abundance of Biblical quotations, rhetoric, epithets, traditional hagiographical \textit{topoi} and eulogies, and the eagerness of both authors to display their knowledge of the Holy Books further points to their desire to create an ornamental spiritual testament of words to their three subjects. On the other hand, it should be noted that all three \textit{vitae}, despite stylistic elaboration, were composed with clarity of language and expression which at times reflects secular interests. The \textit{Zhitie Sergiia Radonezhskogo}, for example, tells how a rich man was accused by his poor neighbour of theft: 'Сей насильство сироте сътвори от създствующих ему сицево: отъять венъ, питомый на пишу себѣ, и цѣму не вдасть ему, тако и заклати повелѣ его',\textsuperscript{46} while Kirill's \textit{vita} tells of how the saint explains a man's illness: 'та болѣзнь не от приличая прииде ему, но замѣже прелюбодѣйствова сна стражеть'.\textsuperscript{47} Epifanii's topographical description of the rivers which lead from the Komi lands and his factual details of various pagan idols likewise illustrate a desire to inform his reader-audience not only about Stefan of Perm's religious deeds but related areas of interest as well.\textsuperscript{48}

For all their similarity to the sixteenth-century northern \textit{vitae}, however, they are fundamentally different; the primary motivation of Epifanii and Pakhomii is rooted in the literary and spiritual essentials of hagiographical writing, and less in the mundane politics of landowning and acquisition of wealth which we will see in the sixteenth-century works. In the case of Pakhomii, it is especially clear that, for all his Non-Possessor rhetoric, reality and fact were not the most important ingredients of his work, as we know from other sources that Kirill's supposed refusal to accept land offered to the monastery is far from the truth.\textsuperscript{49} Pakhomii is

\textsuperscript{44} 'Zhitie Kirilla', pp. 112-14 and 138-40. The \textit{vita} also tells us, however, that after Kirill's death gifts of property and land rights were no longer refused by the monastery; see ibid., pp. 114 and 158.


\textsuperscript{46} 'Zhitie Sergiia', p. 400.

\textsuperscript{47} 'Zhitie Kirilla', p. 124.

\textsuperscript{48} 'Zhitie Stefana Permskogo', pp. 9 and 36-37.

\textsuperscript{49} See, especially, the findings of A. I. Kopanev and N. Nikol’skii cited in Budovnits, \textit{Monastyri}, pp. 166-69.
more concerned with the spiritual portrait and miracle-working of the monastery's founder. By contrast, stylistically, the sixteenth-century texts ignore most of the textual ornamentation, Biblical quotation and stylistic devices found in these earlier vitae; as demonstrated below, the later hagiographers write in a consistently more realistic manner, reflecting everyday life and language, in an apparent desire to reflect a different perception of sanctity and to communicate effectively with their audience.

Thus we see that, although many similar problems faced in the sixteenth century by the men who headed into the northern wilderness were shared by the hermits and missionaries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the representation of their lives is approached in a different manner and with different priorities. Without doubt, however, there are passages of structural and thematic crossover and reference will be made to the earlier vitae where appropriate.

Unusual Heroes

Several of the unusual features of the northern vitae are exemplified in the works chosen for analysis: unusual subjects such as Varlaam of Vaga as well as descriptions of puzzling missions apparently contradicting traditional ecclesiastical principle, such as in the Zhitie Trifona Pechengskogo. Similarly, there are texts which devote much of the narrative to a subject other than that indicated in the title and thus ‘neglect’ the primary didactic function of hagiography, the teaching of Christian ideals and practice through the exemplum of an extraordinarily pious individual, as in the case of Stefan of Komela.

One of the main results of these changes is a shift in the focus of what exemplary role the protagonist is meant to play; in other words, the men who travelled north very often appear to have taken with them a different vision of spiritual and moral ideals than those who remained in the Muscovite urban monasteries. So what did they envisage that prompted their initial decision to leave the cities? What did they hope to find in the wilderness; personal salvation or fulfilment of some other ambition? Were they trying to imitate the path of the early Christian hermits who spent their lives in prayer and contemplation in the wilderness, following the example of Christ's own retreat; or was this an attempt to create a new moral ideal? On the other hand, it is not unreasonable to suggest that spiritual need may not always have been the major consideration. As we will see,
the saints discussed in this chapter appear to have been revered on the basis of somewhat different criteria from that applied to earlier native Russian saints.

Of all the saints under examination in this chapter, perhaps none has a more uncommon claim to sanctity than Varlaam of Vaga, who lived a secular life until only six years before his death, taking the tonsure 'в глубокой старости'⁵⁰ in the monastery that he had founded some years earlier. Budovnits suggests that even this late entry into the clergy demanded little sacrifice on his part as the monastery was a stone's throw from the town where he left his wife and daughters ('постоянно же место то яко дваши строили отъ града')⁵¹. For the majority of his life, Varlaam lived as the wealthy, respected and secular boiar, the posadnik Vasilii Stepanovich Svoezemtsev from Novgorod.⁵² He inherited lands from his father and grandfather in the Zavoloch'e area,⁵³ and, probably seeking to increase his fortune, he dispatched a group of loyal servants to the region 'строители и промышлять жребием его'.⁵⁴ Varlaam himself also visited Zavoloch'e and was favourably impressed: 'назираше строение рабъ своихъ, и любя место то'.⁵⁵

Embarking upon a large-scale building scheme, he invested much time and money in these estates; at the confluence of the rivers Pinega and Vaga he founded a small town (Pinezha) to which, in the course of time, he moved with his family from Novgorod. On the opposite side of the River Pinega to the town, he had a monastery built together with a church dedicated to St John the Theologian and several more churches and towns were constructed in the ensuing years. Iona claims that Varlaam used up all his wealth building and lavishly furnishing these churches with icons, Holy Books and so forth.⁵⁶

Iona often assures his reader that Varlaam carried out these great endeavours 'спасения ради души своей',⁵⁷ and that he was an extraordinarily

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⁵⁰ 'Zhitie Varlaama', p. 19.
⁵¹ Ibid., p. 17.
⁵² Although for the majority of his life Varlaam bore the name Vasilii, I shall refer to him as Varlaam throughout this chapter for the sake of clarity.
⁵³ 'изъ роду бьше и изо отчества сему Василию посаднику Заволочие именуемо бьше... ', 'Zhitie Varlaama', pp. 12-13; see also A. Grigorievich, 'Foreword', p. iv.
⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 13. Janet Martin notes that Novgorodian colonization of this area had been under way since the first half of the twelfth century, although the larger landowners, commonly Novgorodian boiars, became powerful financial influences only in the fourteenth century. By the fifteenth century 'boyar estates were well established throughout the Novgorodian North'; see Janet Martin, Treasure of the Land of Darkness; The Fur Trade and its Significance for Medieval Russia, Cambridge, 1986 (hereafter Martin, Land of Darkness), pp. 68-71 and 213, note 56.
⁵⁵ 'Zhitie Varlaama', p. 13.
⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 17.
⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 18; see also p. 17.
pious man. Traditional hagiographical *topoi* are used to describe his childhood and early life: he was ‘отъ славныхъ родителей’,\(^{58}\) and he lived ‘по обычая своему благочестно, благими дѣлы украшай душу свою’, following a strictly moral lifestyle, giving alms to the poor, and spending all night in prayer ‘на вся праздники господския и святыхъ памяти’.\(^{59}\) He is, on three occasions, referred to as Abraham, indicating his perceived role as founding father of the northern Zavoloch’e community.\(^{60}\) Later, when ‘Василий’ is tonsured and takes the monastic name Varlaam, he continues his exemplary lifestyle, regardless of the position and status he enjoyed during his lay years:

Также яко совершенъ инокъ пребыва въ обители своей, подвигая на диавола крѣпко, постомъ и молитвами угождающи Богови; смиреніемъ же и повиновениемъ всѣхъ преодолѣваше. Сего ради минаяшися бьты яко единъ отъ убогихъ, а не яко начальникъ мѣсту сему и властеленъ великому Ковургаду.\(^{61}\)

That Varlaam was an exceptionally modest man is again stressed later in the *vita*: Iona explains that his sanctity was foreseen by no-one as ‘Мняху бо святаго яко простолюдина а не едінаго отъ святыхъ’,\(^{62}\) and it is only when, ninety years after his death, his tomb is opened during a great flood, and his body and monk’s habit are found to be uncorrupted that the brethren recognize his sanctity.\(^{63}\) After this discovery, Varlaam appears in a vision to the Abbot Paisi, reproaching the latter over his unwillingness to give help to the needy during a period of severe famine. This leads the hagiographer into twenty-four tales of miracles worked by Varlaam, filling as many pages again as the story of his life.

Iona does his best to convey a suitably saint-like impression of Varlaam’s piety and worth throughout the *vita*, yet he does not manage to cover completely the tracks of Varlaam’s secular life as Vasili the rich *boiar*, which in turn poses interesting questions about Varlaam’s life and deeds in the north, and also the reasons for his canonization. One of the most important qualifications for any claim to sanctity is the subject’s *podvig*, the deeds which prove beyond doubt that he dedicated his life to God and the Orthodox Church, and that these deeds were performed with true humility. Varlaam’s outward signs of dedication to the Church seem to be clear: his generosity in the building of the churches and monastery which,
we are told, left him penniless, and, in Iona’s depiction, his piety and spirituality. Such deeds alone, however, were insufficient to qualify Varlaam for sanctity and instead the hagiographer relied on his posthumous podvig, the fact that his body was found to be uncorrupted after ninety years in the grave and that many healing miracles are linked to Varlaam (see below). Yet when Varlaam’s less obvious intentions in moving north are examined, the picture becomes less clear. Iona suggests, on the one hand, that Varlaam left Novgorod to escape the corruption of city life, yet, on the other, admits that the reasons may have been ‘многих ради нашествий ратных бывающих Новограду’. 64 Novgorod is further implicated in a later reference to the ‘многомятежие мира сего’. 65 Varlaam may well have left Novgorod to escape the political instability, with Muscovy embarking on its campaigns against the city, and the heresies of the strigolniki and the zhidoustvuiushche having taken their toll and contributed to an atmosphere of suspicion. He may also have moved in an effort to protect and increase his wealth. It is important to note that Varlaam’s primary objective in the north was to build a town, before any of the churches or the monastery. This, as we will see below, differs significantly from the normal pattern of monk travelling north and founding a monastery, around which a town gradually grows up, as, for example, with Sergii of Radonezh and Kirill of Belozersk.

Varlaam quite possibly sensed a potentially enormous new source of wealth. The wild northern territories at that time presented a great attraction to entrepreneurial pioneers: animal furs, excellent fishing and salt production – all these are goods which brought high profit to those prepared to take the risk. 66 Furthermore, the geographical location of the town Pinezha, on the confluence of the rivers Vaga and Pinega, allowed for excellent access to the White Sea and beyond.

Several details in the vita support the idea that Varlaam was essentially a rich merchant who built up his own territory where he reigned supreme. Notably, the town is built on a hilltop, suggesting a defensive look-out position. It is furthermore not inconceivable that Varlaam built the fortified monastery to protect not only the people, but also his own trading interests. When choosing the location for the monastery, the most important consideration is Varlaam’s anxiety about the

64 Ibid., p. 13.
65 Ibid., p. 18.
66 Animal furs were the most important and valuable; see Martin, Land of Darkness, Chapter Three on the fur trade in and around Novgorod, and Chapter Six on the economic significance of the fur trade for Novgorod. Martin also comments on the political ramifications of the fur trade for relations between Novgorod and Muscovy, see ibid., pp. 130-40.
‘strength’ or ‘weakness’ of the location, despite the fact that God is, according to Iona, directing Varlaam in his search: ‘На томъ убо мѣстѣ земля не крѣпка есть. Мѣсто убо сіе падко есть’.67 Another detail supporting this notion is the unusual unit of measurement cited above to describe the distance of a stone’s throw between the town and the monastery (see above, page 49).

We know that Varlaam provided for the monks: ‘Устроивъ же общежитіе даде блаженный и окрестныя вести близъ монастыря онаго. и имѣнія много инокомъ на пропитаніе и граматами вѣчно утвердил’.68 This provision was not, however, without conditions, laid down legally by Varlaam. The monastery remained the property of Varlaam during his lifetime and on his death passed to his son. Varlaam also stipulated in his will that ‘every year, on the anniversary of his death, the brethren should provide a substantial meal for all such poor persons as were in the habit of attending the church of the monastery on festival days’,69 ensuring that his memory would not fade. The official deeds of the monastery reveal that the abbot during Varlaam’s life was little more than a hireling dependent upon his master: ‘А пойдет имянен проще из монастыря, ино ему дать сует церцам’.70 Varlaam did not, on the other hand, fully absorb the monastery into his larger estates and the monastery’s activity was likewise forbidden to interfere with Varlaam’s own business affairs; for example, the monastery was not permitted to hire the seasonal workers and share-croppers who came to work principally for Varlaam’s secular estates.

Thus, it would appear that Varlaam did indeed have an important second agenda when he left Novgorod for the north; he did not intend to retreat into religious contemplation, but rather to exploit the virgin lands for material profit and develop his own lucrative ‘kingdom’. He is certainly portrayed as a pious Christian who used his great fortunes to develop a religious centre, but only after the town had been built. It may be argued that this testifies to changing criteria used by the hagiographer to evaluate the sanctity of an individual: although it is likely that most people would have forgotten Varlaam’s secular activities ninety years after his death, the hagiographer nonetheless chose to portray him primarily through his secular deeds. In turn, this decision indicates changing moral attitudes and ideals on a wider scale. Although Varlaam neither practised saintly asceticism nor took

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67 Varlaam’s words: ‘Zhitie Varlaama’, p. 17.
68 Ibid.
69 See Kluchevsky, History of Russia, 2, p. 161.
70 See Budovnits, Monastyri, p. 199, note 140. Kluchevskii suggests that this was normal practice for what he describes as ‘secular’ monasteries; see Kluchevsky, History of Russia, 2, pp. 162-63.
the tonsure until late in life, he did found a prosperous town and a well-tended monastery, bringing a place of worship, work and security to local people and providing them with ample reason for gratitude. When his relics were discovered to be uncorrupted, local reverence was a natural progression. Furthermore, we know that Varlaam developed his secular estates as well as the churches and monastery, so, in this case at least, the traditionally Soviet accusation that the Orthodox Church took away the local population's freedom in trade and farming as it colonized the north is not applicable; indeed, the reverse is true in that Varlaam provided the choice of working either on the Church or secular estates.

It is highly likely that the monastery was eager to have Varlaam canonized in order to protect their land and consolidate their own position in a legal sense. The vita was composed in 1589 when Iona visited the monastery and was forced to spend a winter there on account of harsh weather. Iona's arrival at the monastery followed hard on the heels of Ivan IV's effective measures of 1584 to restrict the ever-increasing ecclesiastical landholdings and tax privileges. As the monastery was originally founded by a layman and appears to have had no official gramota from the secular authorities concerning its land (but rather a contract only with Varlaam), it may have feared it was a vulnerable target for confiscation. Iona was provided with details about Varlaam's family origins and landholdings which would have played an important role in establishing the land rights of the monastery after Varlaam's death, and which would also have been granted an air of ecclesiastical authority by its inclusion in a vita.

The spiritual status and security of the monastery would be rapidly elevated if it could provide the Orthodox Church with a new native saint. Bushkovitch notes the decline in influence of the older monasteries during the sixteenth century and states that 'the most visible example of change in the character of religious experience [...] was the swift and tremendous increase in the popularity of miracles'. 71 Officially sanctioned by the Orthodox Church, miracle cults arose principally in rural areas and attracted greater attention if the monastery boasted relics of the saint or his grave where people could offer prayers as in the case of Varlaam, Stefan and Trifon (and this probably explains further why the hagiographer put so much emphasis on Varlaam's posthumous saintly deeds). 72 Such cults probably also appealed to the local population both in terms of support

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71 Bushkovitch, Religion and Society, p. 100.
72 Miracle cults helped to promote the reputation of a monastery, to win over land and popular opinion to the monastery. This sometimes led to rivalry between monasteries which competed for superiority in effectiveness of miracles (see ibid., pp. 114-15).
for an establishment directly involved in their lives and as a source of local patriotism and pride (see Miracles below). As many as 150 saints were either fully canonized or else granted status of local reverence in the second half of the sixteenth century, approximately seventy of whom were founders (and their disciples) of monasteries. It is interesting to note the opinion that in this period 'канонизация критериев и требование чудотворений как бы ослабляются'. However, the idea of criteria for sanctity becoming somehow less demanding ignores the changing nature of belief systems and their relationship to the believer within an evolving social context. Perceptions of what constitutes sanctity likewise change over the course of time and the faith of a sixteenth-century Russian Christian, for example, would have been markedly different from one of the twelfth century.

Thus it can be argued that this vita was composed at least in part in response to the needs of the local community and evolving perceptions of piety: despite having led a secular life, probably as a successful businessman, Varlaam was the original benefactor of the area and had brought to it the town, churches, monastery and great wealth. Furthermore, many miracles were said to have occurred at his graveside. In this light the reasons for local reverence of Varlaam become clear, as does the encouragement given to Iona more than 100 years after his death to compose an official vita.

If there is ambiguity surrounding the reasons for Varlaam's canonization, those for the monastery founded by Stefan on the banks of Lake Komela are clear. Their main objective is to glorify their monastery – as well as probably to re-state its legal position – and the surrounding lands, to the detriment of a clear picture of Stefan's individual saintly deeds.

Rarely has a vita been so sparse in detail about the origins and deeds of the saintly protagonist in its effort to convey the value of the monastery as the Zhitie Stefano Komi! "skogo. In striking contrast to the details given of Varlaam's family, political position and ancestral landholdings, the author of Stefan's vita opens the section headed 'начало о святом' with a rambling introduction, notable for the author's admission of ignorance about biographical detail:

Слышах убо о святом Стефане отъ нѣхъ, яко рожденіе имый и воспитаніе во области волоцкой, веси же и села не познахомъ, но нарцвсвъ слышахомъ, яко отецъ его живаше у

73 Bushkovitch notes that cults attracted not only a popular following, but also many from the landholding classes (ibid., p. 127).
74 See Kanonizatsiia sviatykh, ed. Metropolitan Iuvenalii, Moscow, 1988, pp. 21-22.
In this way, Stefan's hagiographer breaks with traditional practice whereby, if the author did not know the relevant facts, he would fabricate them according to traditional formulae or else omit them altogether. The deficiency of this hagiographer's knowledge is palpable and he admits at the end of the exordium that 'malu rîčь слышахь o немь'. Later he voices vagueness in a manner untypical for hagiography, for example, 'Сего же не вЪмы, въ каь времена и лêта прииade святый вЬ пустыню и колио лêть потрудися; мнê яко много лêть потрудися и много знаменя во имя Христово'. Such use of the verb mnit' is unusual in vitae; the author is, after all, meant to be persuading his audience to follow the exemplary life led by the saint in question and not offering suppositious information. Doubt of any kind was necessarily alien to the presentation of saintly biography. In terms of traditional hagiography, he thus undermines his credibility as hagiographer by first admitting uncertainty, and secondly by using few of the traditional clichéd phrases to fill in the knowledge gap and hence to reassure his audience. For example, no mention is made of humble and pious origins, distinguished by signs of outstanding religious potential as a child. Clearly he is aware that he ought to be following some degree of convention; for instance, he knows that he ought to mention the fact that Stefan's parents were at the very least pious, yet he merely ponders the idea that his father may have been pious. He is unwilling to assert conviction which leads to a general failure in didactic effectiveness. Hagiography, even in the advanced stages of its development in the sixteenth century, was not an exercise in subjective interpretation; the audience is supposed to be instructed in the truth of events. In its final form, Stefan's vita creates a radical rearrangement of the narrative position of the author vis-à-vis the subject and reader-audience: no longer does the former offer a definitive spiritual model, but instead merely the suggestion of spiritual value.

Such an approach illustrates what can happen when a mode of literature modelled upon recognized patterns and topos is taken to the extremes of anonymity. Although the hagiographer was expected to 'pad out' with set formulae a text for which he had only scant original material, in this case the padding-out process is too transparent to be effective and the author simply appears to the audience as

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75 'Zhitie Stefana Komel'skogo', p. 6.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid., p. 16.
incapable of producing even a catalogue of traditional pious features and events. Stefan's author does appear to be conscious of the problem for he reminds the audience that 'многа бысть в Руси нестроений и мятежъ', and that several monasteries in the Vologda region were destroyed; he suggests that material collected about Stefan's deeds may have been lost during these tempestuous times. In this light it is possible to suggest that the author, in the absence of sufficient ecclesiastical source material, felt he had to adopt a genuinely historical approach to his work and that truthfulness on his part, admitting his ignorance, was more important than adherence to traditional hagiographical formulae. In turn, this strongly suggests a move towards a more secular perspective and effort on the author's part, a desire to instruct his audience using fact instead of abstract exempla. One result of this would be a more realistic, less formulaic portrait of his subject.

The remainder of the section 'начало о святомъ' skims over a couple more traditional topos ('Сей же отрокъ извыче божественного писанія и разсмотривъ святу святаго сего и не изволи жить въ мирѣ семь; и идѣ во еднѣ отъ монастырей') and gives an impression of almost indecent haste to cover the events of Stefan's life up to the point when he arrives in the north. We hear phrases such as mnoga leta and mnogoe vremia as Stefan wanders from one monastery to the next, seeking the place he believes God will indicate that he should build his own monastery.

However, having safely brought Stefan to the shores of Lake Komela, the author's tone, not to mention his powers of narration, is suddenly transformed from one rather detached to more convincingly involved in the subject-matter. With the account of the genesis of the monastery as a functioning entity, his detailed involvement increases: Stefan's vision of the Mother of God and St Nicholas who instruct him to build a monastery where he has put up his small shelter; the gathering of brethren around Stefan who are said to be concerned that there is no church nearby; the brethren's discussion about the building of a church and the choice of Stefan as their leader; and Stefan's subsequent visit to Moscow to seek permission and the blessing of the authorities for the project. Already the story of

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78 Ibid.
79 Ibid., p. 6.
80 Ibid., pp. 8-9.
81 Ibid., p. 11.
82 Ibid., pp. 12-14.
Stefan’s own podvig is receding into the background and the future church taking over the primary focus of the hagiographer.

The account of the journey to Moscow comprises the longest section of the vita, largely because of the emphasis on the process of receiving a legal gramota from the authorities, confirming the rights of the monastery in perpetuity. Interestingly Stefan goes to Moscow before starting work on the building; he was probably already aware that it would be a contentious issue with the local population. We hear earlier in the vita about the ‘эларнрвыхъ человѣчѣбъ, не пакости творябу многи святому’:83 the locals object to Stefan fishing in the lake and use violence to prevent him from casting his lines. Budovnits puts forward the not unreasonable suggestion that Stefan was fishing not only for himself, something unlikely to have so angered the local population, but rather for a large community which had already grown up around Stefan’s original and solitary cell. This notion is supported by the description of Stefan’s companions on his travels to Moscow: ‘стѣфанъ помѣ въ собою единою отъ брати, а другаго отъ мирскихъ трудящихся съ нимъ’.84 Laypeople working for the assembled brethren indicates a large collective, against which protests from the local fishermen are understandable.85

Stefan clearly recognized the necessity of gaining control of land and water rights from the Moscow authorities for the future of the monastery and phrased his petition accordingly. An obvious contradiction emerges in the vita, demonstrating deviousness on Stefan’s part. Returning briefly to Stefan’s arrival in the Komela district, the author describes the location beside the lake as ‘мѣсто равно [...] древеса бо сосны превеликѣ, ели убо и березникъ’, going on to mention nearby settlements;86 yet when petitioning Grand Prince Vasilii III and the Metropolitan Daniil for the gramota, Stefan twice tells them that it is ‘мѣстцо пустынно, точию лѣсъ великий, и блаты непроходимы, и мхи’,87 a substantially less inviting description than the first, and ignoring the presence of a local population. Vasilii III and Daniil are convinced, however, and Stefan returns in triumph with the legal rights not only to the land but also, of equal importance, to the lake and all fishing in it, thus assuring the brethren of future provision and produce to sell.

83 Ibid., pp. 10-11.
84 Ibid., p. 12.
85 See Budovnits, Monastyri, pp. 309-10.
86 ‘Zhitie Stefana Komel’skogo’, pp. 7 and 10.
87 Ibid., p. 13.
Thus we see how, just as in the case of Varlaam, a second agenda becomes clear; the *vita* of Stefan is used not so much to glorify the exemplary life and deeds of this monk and abbot, but rather to ratify the existence and all-important legal rights of the monastery he built. In places the text can be seen as a straightforward history of the monastery, so far has Stefan’s *podvig* fallen from sight. It thus becomes difficult for the audience to view Stefan as a separate entity from the monastery and the composition of this *vita* may be seen not only as a testament to Stefan as founder of the monastery, but also partly as a matter of expediency, lest the monastery encounter problems with its landholdings and rights. With rare exceptions, earlier *vitae* did not tend to stress such issues, the tensions that arose between ecclesiastical and secular hierarchies, and this late appearance instead reflects the very real difficulties faced by the Church in the sixteenth-century concerning landholding and acquisition of wealth.

The *Zhitie Trifona Pechengskogo* is another work which belies the traditional purpose of hagiography to celebrate the life of a saintly individual. It too focuses on the building of a monastery, although it is not this aspect which overshadows the deeds of the saint. Rather, it is the mission itself and the hostile environment that all too often detract from Trifon’s *podvig* because of the way the author chooses to represent the facts.

In the *Zhitie Trifona* we find similarities to the *vitae* of Varlaam and Stefan: for example, as in Varlaam’s case, Trifon remains a layman until approximately 1533 when he is tonsured at the age of 38; furthermore, he is said to engage the local population in some kind of trade when he first arrives – ‘начать якобы творити бесды о куплях’; and, like Stefan, he organizes the legal documentation for his monastery before starting to build as he too experiences hostility from the local population. Trifon’s hagiographer portrays him as a supremely pious layman: he was a humble child who obeyed his parents and imitated their piety; he is said to love the wilderness and is instructed by Christ’s voice to sow the seeds of Christian teaching in the wilds, where the people have not yet been enlightened, despite the fact that he considers himself inadequate, ‘незд жда есмь и мало книжен’; and,

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88 For example, Metropolitan Kiprian’s late fourteenth-century *Zhitie mitropolita Petra*, which stresses the independence of the Orthodox Church from secular interference and the right of the Church not to become embroiled in internecine secular feuding (the *vita* is published in Metropolitan Makarii’s *Velikie Minei Cheti*, 1. Dekabr’ dni 18-20, Moscow, 1910, cols 1,620-46). See Kliuchevskii, *Drevnerusskie zhitiia*, pp. 82-88, and Bertnes, *Visions*, pp. 116-26.
89 ‘*Zhitie Trifona Pechengskogo*’, p. 99.
90 Ibid., p. 97.
as if in justification of Trifon being a layman, the author describes him ‘еще прежде иначёства чистым сердцем, истинный инок духом умыслы’.

Yet, just as in the account of Stefan’s early life, such topoi of piety appear less and less as the central narrative is carried away by descriptions of the native Laplanders, Trifon’s attempts to convert them and his daily struggles against the inhospitable climate and terrain.

Following these standard hagiographical expressions of piety, Trifon embarks on his journey to the very north of the Murmansk region. Here he encounters the Laplanders who he describes as ‘живающе в невысок и в самом потаньском идолоби’. The author chooses to present Trifon’s trading activities in a manner that differs from that in V-eraam’s vita, suggesting that Trifon only ‘предтендировал’ to be a merchant in order to become closer to the Laplanders, but that his real aim was conversion of the pagans. There follow several pages of vivid description about Trifon’s sometimes life-threatening struggles with the Laplanders who are hostile to his attempts to enlighten them and react violently against him.

Stefan of Perm experienced almost identical hostility, according to Epifaniy’s vita, which perhaps suggests some degree of influence of the latter upon the Zhitiye Trifona Pechengskogo:

Исперва убо сии Стефанъ много зла пострада от невърныхъ пермянъ, от некрещенныхъ; озлобление, роптание, хухание [...]
помощеніе и пакость [...] овогда убити его хотяще; иногда же оступиша его оба полы вокруга около его ословы и с великими урзы.

Stefan of Perm requires a relatively long period to break down this hostility and develop a trusting relationship with the Komi people, something he does by patiently talking with them and gradually convincing them of the value of Orthodoxy, allowing them to reason out the justifications for and against their pagan faith. Trifon’s hagiographer describes an initially similar conversion process of the Laplanders and how Trifon finally manages to break their solidarity and convert some of them. At this point, however, the majority expel him from the area. Determined to continue his mission, he returns to Novgorod and procures a gramota from the archbishop for the building of a church on the river Pechenga. Three years

91 Ibid., p. 98.
92 Ibid.
93 ‘Zhitiye Stefana Permskogo’, pp. 19-20. Kirill is likewise said to suffer attacks by a hostile local population; see, for example, ‘Zhitiye Kirilla’, p. 80.
later, when the church is completed, Trifon finds a priest, Iliia, in the nearby town of Kola who tonsures him and blesses the new church. The *vita* suggests that this is all it takes not only to subdue the native hostility and persuade them to convert to Orthodoxy, but also to hand over their lands to the Church:

It is likely that Iliia also tonsured many of the natives as monks for this amount of property to have been 'donated' to the church. Furthermore, people request services such as prayers for the deceased, for their own good health and 'имяна ихъ въ синодики писати'. With this huge influx of wealth, it is hardly surprising that the monastery began to grow in size.

The *vita* omits to mention that Trifon's monastery was situated on a lucrative trade-route as well as rich fishing waters, both of which the clergy used to their advantage. We hear of foreigners arriving by ship, 'и отъ тамо блискихъ странъ отъ лютерскія и кальвинскія ереси', who had clearly come in a trading capacity, although the *vita* claims it is for reasons of piety. Budovnits notes that the diaries left behind by the Dutch sea-merchant Simon Van-Salingen tell us that Trifon was particularly active in attracting trade from foreign ships, and that he controlled vast areas of salmon waters around the northern shores, thus dominating trade with the local population. An official protest was lodged by the King of Denmark to the effect that the monastery monopolized trade, although this did nothing to stop its growth.

The rest of the *vita* comprises short tales of what Trifon had to do for the financial upkeep of the monastery and the occasional problems which arose. At the end the hagiographer includes a description of the sacking of the monastery by the

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95 'Zhitie Trifona Pechenskogo', p. 102.
96 Ibid., p. 103.
97 Ibid.
98 Budovnits, *Monastyri*, p. 268. This is consistent with what Janet Martin tells us about trade between Novgorod and west European countries; 'Novgorod, encouraged to conduct foreign commerce that would bring silver into the Russian lands, focused its fur export on the west, and ceased contributing to the flow of fur southward and eastward'; see Martin, *Land of Darkness*, p. 86. It is very likely that Trifon also traded in high-cost furs and so enjoyed good profits.
Swedes in 1589, the slaughter of the monks and layworkers, and the destruction of the monastery buildings.

Thus we have the tale of another enterprising merchant whose vita claims that his intentions were of a purely missionary nature, yet which also describes the appropriation of lands from the natives and seizure of trading and fishing rights. The vivid descriptions of life in the wilderness and of the Laplanders detract from the hagiographer's attempts to render this life-story in saintly colours: we hear, for example, how he wandered 'въ той непроходной дальней стране б' едны пришлень людьми и безкровно, по лесамъ и по горамъ и въ пропастехъ земныхъ, сношень съ людьми', how he often had to hide in the mountains and rocky ravines to avoid the Laplanders' hostility, and how he had to chase a bear attracted by the smell of bread-making from inside his cell. Passages describing the Laplanders' customs and territory are likewise lively and detailed (see below, pages 72-73). The author often shows a greater interest in the narrative than in Trifon's deeds and chooses consistently to lay the emphasis more upon the adventurous and even historical elements of the vita, rather than upon the didactic. Once again we see a distinct change of focus in a northern vita: Trifon's podvig, just as Stefan of Perm's, recedes into the background, leaving only rare moments of exceptionally pious deeds.

As with Varlaam and Stefan, a changing perception of what constitutes sanctity becomes apparent in Trifon's vita, one which takes into account the environment, the local populations, their needs and the difficulties of co-existence. A new prototype saint was emerging in the north, different from Sergii of Radonezh and Kirill of Belozersk and more in the mould of Stefan of Perm, where a strict monastic life was no longer necessary and the new prototype moved much more freely between the spiritual life of the Church and the secular world outside, maintaining an active involvement in both spheres. Far from the abstract depictions of the protagonist found in high-style rhetorical vitae, the authors of these northern works show in a more realistic manner how their subjects adapted to the conditions of the north and sought, for whatever reason, to build up their monasteries as far and as securely as possible. The sixteenth-century vitae tell of monasteries which were established close to populated areas in the north rather than of communities forming around truly isolated hermits, and of the subsequent development of the area, focusing on secular issues such as opportunities for work.

100 'Zhitie Trifona Pechengskogo', pp. 97-98.
101 Ibid., p. 100.
102 Ibid., pp. 106-07.
and security as well as the establishment of the Orthodox Church. In such alien and hostile climes, far from the more sophisticated central areas of Muscovy, it was natural that perceptions of piety were also adapted to reflect the life, needs and customs of society. Local people, for example, would understandably have supported and taken pride in accounts of miraculous activities linked to the founders of these monasteries, events which in time would have encouraged local veneration of the founder. As seen above, the hagiographers tried hard to reflect these changing ideals in their texts, while still preserving and working within as traditional a context of piety as possible: although these saintly protagonists did not perhaps focus solely on the purest of Christian endeavour, they did play a vital role in the establishment of the Orthodox Church in the north for which they were understandably deemed worthy of veneration.

Structure

The most interesting structural shift in the vitae examined here is a consistent move by the authors away from slavish adherence to the traditional divisions of exordium, central narrative and conclusio of the high-style vita, instead allowing the needs of their texts to dominate and direct the style and structure, the weight and emphasis of the work. Although divergence from the traditional structure is also found in earlier non-high-style Russian and Greek vitae (for example, hagiographical works of a more legendary nature) the authors of the northern vitae consistently choose the less rhetorical, less bookish model. Making this choice strongly suggests that they were becoming more aware of literary options which complemented the function of their work and how best to manipulate and mould the form and shape of the text. Deciding individually on an appropriate format indicates a level of personal authorial judgement and responsibility seldom previously encountered in sacred writing in Russia, one closer to the approach taken by authors of secular biography.

The Zhitie Varlaama Vazhskogo is an interesting example of a vita which follows the basic tripartite structure only to a moderate degree. In a comparatively lengthy exordium, Iona repeats conventional rhetoric on the fallibility of humankind and the need to follow the example of the Orthodox saints. This, he states, is his reason for writing. Replete with Biblical quotations, the tone of the exordium is strongly didactic. He uses traditional humility topoi and identifies his sources for the work, emphasizing their reliability as witnesses or bearers of information. The
central narrative section consists firstly of a repetitious account of Varlaam's early forays into Zavoloch'e. There then follows an account of the divine singing he hears one night while praying, and how he understands this as a sign that he must honour this sacred place with churches and a monastery. Descriptions of subsequent building work occupy the greater bulk of this section. From this, Iona rapidly passes into a description of the tonsuring of Varlaam, his ideal – albeit brief – life as a monk, his death and the subsequent discovery of his sanctity. The twenty-four miracle tales are then recounted and finally a long authorial justification of how Iona came to compose this vita, and a short prayer.

The longest section of the narrative is devoted to the founding of the town of Pinezha and the churches and monastery. This is hardly surprising given the notion, discussed above, that a large part of Varlaam's religious podvig can be considered his investment of enormous sums of money in their construction. It is tempting to suggest that Iona makes as much as possible of these endeavours in order to avoid mentioning the purely secular activities in which Varlaam was involved, such as exploiting the area of its natural resources and acquiring a fortune through trade. Furthermore, by focusing intently upon the construction of the monastery (which is told in far greater detail than that of the town), Iona subtly encourages his audience not to question either the legal rights of the monastery or Varlaam's secular life. If one removes from the text all sections directly concerning Varlaam and his ascesis, the bulk of the narrative shell remains. Iona thus structured his text in a way that heightens the importance of Varlaam's monastery: purportedly recounting the life and deeds of the founder-saint, while actually placing the emphasis squarely on the enduring religious value of the monastery he built.

Likewise, the Zhitiie Stefana Komel'skogo is structured around the building and blossoming of the monastery, in a manner suggesting that one main purpose of this work is to confirm the sanctity (and legal rights) of the monastery. A generalized exordium reminds the audience of the goodness of the Orthodox saints before a brief humility topos. As mentioned above, the origins and early life of Stefan are dealt with rapidly and the majority of the central narrative is devoted to descriptions of the church and monastery building. Whatever deeds of Stefan are mentioned here, whether of a legal or practical nature, are almost always directly related to the building project. Stefan's deathbed instruction likewise warns the brethren 'строение же монастырское держите яко при моем животъ бысть [...] монастырь сей и по моемъ представлении не оскудеть, но паче
Two miracle stories end the vita; conclusio, eulogy and prayer are all absent.

Thus, we see how the hagiographer neglects Stefan as the central point of focus in the structure of his work. As demonstrated above, the author appears anxious to include as much information as possible about the legal rights of the monastery, which is further reflected in the way the structure is allowed to deviate from the standard hagiographical framework. It is almost as if the author loses interest in Stefan once the monastery has been completed. As a result, the structure remains untidy and unfinished.

The most interesting work in terms of structure is the Zhitie Trifona Pechengskogo, which we know to be a substitute for the original work lost in the attack against the monastery. The hagiographer was able to choose carefully, from the sources and material available to him, what exactly he wished to stress and what he considered of secondary importance. The vita falls into two parts: the first is well-ordered and, following an elegantly composed exordium, recounts Trifon’s journey to Pechenga, his early encounters with the Laplanders, subsequent struggles and expulsion from the area, his procurement of the gramota from Novgorod, the building of the monastery, and, finally, his triumphant return to Pechenga where he builds the monastery and garners great riches from local people and foreign traders. The first part ends with a short eulogy to Trifon’s piety and a prayer. The second part consists of a disjointed and nonchronological collection of eight episodes: a journey to Moscow for financial aid, in which Trifon appears to the Tsar in a vision, an account of wild animals threatening the monastery cattle and deer, the bringing of millstones to the monastery for the bakery, a journey by Trifon to Novgorod again for financial assistance, the tale of Trifon’s death, his deathbed instruction and speech by the abbot, how Trifon appears in a dream to Tsar Fedor Ivanovich and saves him from impending death, the tale of the destruction of the monastery by the Swedes and its later reconstruction, and, finally, a short passage of praise to Trifon and thanks from the author that he has been able to collect Trifon’s life-story in one account.

Although these eight episodes are of interest in the workings of the monastery and certainly include many standard hagiographical features and topoi,

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103 'Zhitie Stefana Komel’skogo’, p. 18.
104 The author’s afterword to the text states that ‘у некоторых ко святому по вере, в малых книжечках и в писанках кратких соблюдаюсь’ (‘Zhitie Trifona Pechengskogo’, Introduction, p. 93), and that these were used for his re-construction of the vita.
the author clearly did not value them as much as the original tale of Trifon's arrival in Pechenga and the conversion of the Laplanders. The first part is written with greater adherence to hagiographical convention and literary effectiveness and includes an exordium, complete with humility topos and Biblical quotations, passages of lyricism, as well as detailed information and realistic detail (see Narrative Technique and Style below). Furthermore, the audience is presented with a coherent chronological account. By contrast, it seems likely that the author simply copied down the eight episodes of the second part as he found them in the 'little books' comprising his source material. Little attempt is made to integrate them into a structured whole, giving the text a jarring effect. Furthermore, the vague chronology renders the shorter episodes (about the millstones and wild animals) even more dislocated.

It is, of course, impossible to know for sure whether the author simply ran out of time (or interest?) when composing this vita and so was unable to work on the second part as thoroughly and with such enthusiasm as he did on the first. I would suggest, however, that this is not the case: as the vita includes a lengthy and detailed account of the attack by the Swedes in the second part, it is unlikely that a lack of time was the issue. Rather, the author is simply betraying his primary focus and interest, the more adventurous exploits in the vita, including Trifon's missionary work and the devastating sacking of the monastery.

To sum up, although several familiar elements of hagiographical structure are found in these works, the authors appear to have taken into consideration the function, form and reception of their work and to have actively chosen a less traditional, less rhetorical structure accordingly. Where they do follow a traditional structure, it is always only in part, not sustained throughout. This constitutes authorial freedom and judgement, a rarity in medieval Russian literature, and indicates a more secular process of composition than previously, allowing the author to emphasize those parts of the text which he considers the most important. This, in turn, gives us some basis upon which certain conclusions can be drawn regarding his basic motivation for composition.

Narrative Technique and Style

As seen above, the northern vitae do indeed differ significantly from traditional patterns of Russian hagiography in their choice of subject and structural framework. The differences in narrative technique and style are equally distinct. Many
innovative features contribute to the impression that the author caters to the audience’s growing interest and desire to hear more about aspects not entirely ecclesiastical in nature, such as the saint’s environment, the everyday routine in and around the monastery, and more of the exciting and unknown elements of life outside of Muscovy. In cases where the author’s narrative has been affected, consciously or unconsciously, by at least some of these factors, we see how the resulting text can begin to wander from traditional patterns of hagiography towards the art of historical biography and story-telling. Dmitriev points out that

С самого начала и на всем протяжении бытия агиографического жанра в древней Руси [...] в этом церковно-
религиозном по своему назначению жанре происходит борьба двух тенденций: с одной стороны, агиограф стремится к строгому
соблюдению жанровых канонов, с другой — он испытывает
влияние реальной жизни, иных литературных жанров, устного
tворчества, и влияние это разрушает жанровые каноны,
противоречит им.105

While these tendencies are evident to varying degrees in many earlier non-high-style vitae, life in the northern wilderness certainly provided enormous opportunity for novel adaptation of traditional hagiographical patterns, thus increasing the richness and variety of the vita as a whole.

To put this into context, these vitae were composed only about three decades after Metropolitan Makarii had completed his Velikie Minei Chet’i in 1552, which comprised re-workings of older Russian hagiography in an elevated rhetorical style. Rather than aiming for greater accessibility, Makarii preferred a policy of embellishment which loaded the text down with extra prayers, eulogies and miracle stories, but which also often eclipsed the real subject-matter.106 The style adopted by the northern hagiographers was different: clear accessible language rather than lofty rhetorical didacticism which, in turn, allowed the audience to follow the ‘story’ with more ease.

One highly effective element in these narratives is the sense of re-created realia: describing local conditions and people, the authors present their audience with fascinating glimpses of life in the north, for example, how the Laplanders arranged the buildings in their settlements,107 the ever-present dangers of

105 Dmitriev, Zhitiinye povesti, p. 7.
107 ‘Zhitiie Trifona Pechengskogo’, p. 98.
flooding, and how the variety of workers needed to build, decorate and maintain a church is found far from the urban centres. Not only does this give an ethnographic flavour to the vitae, but at the same time the reader-audience is presented with characters and situations with which they can identify. This, in turn, increases the probable effect of any given text upon the audience: self-identification stimulates curiosity and attention.

The Zhitie Varlaama is the most traditional text of the three as regards narrative and style. There are two possible reasons for this: first, a hagiographer glorifying a man who was a monk for only six years at the end of his life may well attempt to couch the work in conservative hagiographical narrative style to compensate for his understandably sparse material. The task of describing Varlaam’s secular life is rendered far easier, and Iona possibly believed it would also be more convincing, by employing traditional clichés and stylistic formulae. A rhetorical exordium extols the supremacy of God, declaring that man must follow the example of the saints. Later in the narrative, as indicated already, Iona uses many conventional formulae to express Varlaam’s piety: for example, ‘благими дълы украшая душу свою. милостынями яже къ нищимъ сокровище [...] кротокъ и тихъ бяше душево’. He includes long prayers in the narrative, and references to Varlaam as a new Abraham (see above) as well as Job. Iona’s continual use of hagiographical stereotypes can be seen as an attempt to detract from Varlaam’s lay status.

The second reason behind Iona’s relatively formal approach to this vita may lie in the fact that he was not from a local monastery; in the exordium and again in the conclusio he mixes the traditional authorial humility topos with an unusually involved and detailed explanation as to why he is writing the vita:

Ору́діемъ нькоимъ отъ отецъ обители Пресвятія Троицы послану ми бывшу на Вагу глаголемую, и тамо ору́діемъ тымъ по заповѣданію отецъ задержану ми бывшу, яко и озимѣти ми тамо. И сего ради законы винамъ вре’ма довольнѣ пребы’ти во святѣ обители сей. 

While at the monastery, Iona was asked by the brethren if he would undertake the composition of Varlaam’s vita, and, as a relative stranger to the monastery, this

110 ‘Zhitie Varlaama Vazhskogo’, p. 13; see also pp. 14, 18 and 19.
111 See, for example, ibid., pp. 14-15.
112 Ibid., p. 17.
113 Ibid., p. 46.
meant he was reliant upon tales from others as source material. As a less personalized text with more emphasis upon general feats of piety and standard hagiographical formulae would have been sufficient in this case, a formal hagiographical style significantly facilitated composition.

This is not to say that Iona was incapable of writing in a more expressive style. In a couple of the miracle stories he recounts the terror of storms and floods with a verve missing from the main narrative of the text. For example:

Во единъ убо отъ дній совокупишася облащи водніи и изыде туча велия и возшумѣвши бури вѣтренией, изъ нихъ же возгрѣмѣвша громи сильніи и молніи огненіи и дожду убо идущу велико з’ѣло, вѣтру же шумно дышашу, грънуша убо громи сильніи и молніи жгуши, порази дщерь ону человѣка сего и верже къ долѣ [...].

Although the miracle stories will be examined in more detail in a later section, it should be noted here that Iona may well have been told of these miracles by the people concerned. The vast majority of the miraculous events concern laypeople whose lack of ecclesiastical training and thus naturally expressive language and excitement Iona may have conveyed as he wrote.

The *Zhitie Stefana Komel’skogo* is, in comparison, a far less conventional text. As we have seen, one of the main purposes of this *vita* is to glorify the monastery and in so doing, the author recounts the process of planning and building in the finest detail. We are told the exact siting of the building, trees being cut down ‘даже до озера’.

Stressing this point was obviously important considering the problems encountered earlier with the local population anxious to protect access to fishing in the lake. Stefan sends out for craftsmen and woodworkers who are paid for their labours: ‘да приидутъ въ пустыню и возмутъ мѣду трудовѣ своихъ’. Three bells are brought by God-loving Christians, and an icon painter called Gurei (who, according to the *vita*, had previously worked at the Andronikov Monastery in

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114 Ibid., p. 29.
115 ‘Zhitie Stefana Komel’skogo’, p. 15.
116 Ibid. Budovnits claims the fact that these workers had to be paid indicates bad relations between Stefan and the locals; usually good Christians would donate their labour to the cause without payment, see Budovnits, *Monastyri*, p. 310. However, it can be argued that the author is simply relating the truth rather than using an accepted pious formula. Presenting a truthful account such as this further advances the suggestion that the authors of these *vitae* were more interested in a factual historical approach to their work, which in turn reflects an increased awareness of different types of literary composition.
Northern Russian Vitae

Moscow) arrives to decorate the church, and a cellarer, paymaster and sexton are appointed.

Very different from the descriptions in earlier hagiography about the construction of monasteries, these details allow a fascinating insight into the realia of the task. Previously it was common to be told that God provided for the brethren and sent them whatever they needed; here, however, we are shown how Stefan himself sends out word to surrounding villages that paid work is available at the monastery. Furthermore, those who come bring food for the brethren and money for the building works. Thus, the reality behind some of the accepted features of earlier works is exposed and the audience is presented with an absorbing and novel tale of how a community in the north really functioned, how a monastery could grow from nothing to a large-scale communal unit, providing employment for craftsmen and labourers and a focal point of worship for the local population.

It is not only in concrete actions such as building that the author focuses on realia. The descriptions of the local people who harass Stefan while he is still a hermit are equally lively and realistic:

The bawdiness of these fishermen is almost tangible; their attempt to drive Stefan out or at the very least stop him from fishing in their lake is described in a lifelike manner, as is their violence when Stefan does not cooperate. As seen above, Stefan of Perm' suffered hostility from the Komi people, yet, for all the vividness of Epifanii’s descriptions, the impact of the attackers in the Zhitie Stefana Komel'skogo is more direct, more realistic. The use of psychological tormenting in the form of laughter at and taunting of Stefan of Komela, the singing of ‘devilish songs’, creates a different impression from that of merely threats of physical beatings; the author

117 ‘Zhitie Stefana Komel'skogo’, p. 16.
118 Ibid.
119 An early example of this is the Zhitie Feodosiia Pecherskogo in which Feodosii routinely assures the monks that they must not be anxious about provisions for the future as God will provide. Often the brethren is miraculously provided with flour for bread, wine for Holy Communion, oil for the lamps and so forth. See ‘Zhitie Feodosiia Pecherskogo’ in PLDR: XI-nachalo XII veka, eds L. A. Dmitriev and D. S. Likhachev, Moscow, 1978, pp. 304-91 and 456-59 (hereafter ‘Zhitie Feodosiia Pecherskogo’).
120 ‘Zhitie Stefana Komel'skogo’, p. 11.
121 See note 32 above. Pakhomii also describes how locals try to burn down Kirill’s cell in an attempt to drive him out; see ‘Zhitie Kirilla’, pp. 80-82.
illustrates that the 'evil-intentioned people' are aware of what will offend Stefan's values as an Orthodox Christian and that they do not hesitate to use this as a means of trying to drive him out of the area. This type of psychological rationale is hitherto uncommon in hagiography. Although it is normal to find demons tormenting the saint in the wilderness, they are not normally identified as humans, as is clearly the case here, but rather with devilish forces. Neither is the demons' motivation usually clarified, yet here the author explains more or less directly that the fishermen object to Stefan's presence as a threat to their fishing livelihood.\footnote{122 'Zhitie Stefana Komel'skogo', p. 11.}

The author's use of direct speech and dialogue further reinforces the sense of realia. Direct speech is a traditional feature of oral narrative, but is also used elsewhere as a literary device to forward the action at a greater pace than third-person narration\footnote{123 See Kitch, Literary Style, pp. 67-68.}, as well as to stress the validity of the account by forming a type of emotional integration between narrator and audience. Bortnes notes that the composition of audiences changed over time\footnote{124 Bortnes, Visions, p. 153.}, and the sixteenth-century hagiographer would certainly have been addressing a larger and more diverse group of people rather than a closed monastic community. Use of direct speech and dialogue, so typical of oral narrative, undoubtedly helped a less educated audience to understand the story and characters more clearly, and also to believe more readily the narrator: if the latter repeats the original words of the character using direct speech, he strengthens his role as go-between from protagonist to audience and it is less likely that his tale or sources will be questioned. \footnote{125 'Zhitie Stefana Komel'skogo', p. 10.}

Throughout the Zhitie Stefana Komel'skogo, quite apart from the saint's prayers and deathbed instruction, there are examples of dialogue which would previously have been absent from a hagiographical work. In his early days at Lake Komela, for example, Stefan meets 'два мужа христиана и добронравна сердцем, льсяне имьше промышль, бь бо ходиша по пустыни зв'рина ради добытка',\footnote{126 Interestingly, Stefan and the two men greet each other by saying the Jesus Prayer strongly suggesting that either Stefan or the author may have been influenced by Non-Possessor ideology. Stefan is the only case in the three texts under examination who does not appear to have been attracted to the north by hopes of personal financial gain.} with whom he engages in conversation.\footnote{126} He asks the men if they know of any nearby settlements and they offer to take him to one. Although not extraordinary, this minor detail would hardly have warranted mention in most earlier hagiographies as it is irrelevant to the description of the subject's sanctity (and, typically, any}
necessary direction would be supplied by divine powers). Likewise, when the brethren must elect a leader, the author presents this in direct speech: ‘Отче Стефане, ты первые весть, Богом наставляемый, прииде в си пустыню, ты убо и первый наставник намъ буди, иного, развѣ тебя, не имамъ избрать’. Although it would be usual for a hagiographer to use reported speech here, direct speech possesses greater dramatic impact. The most lengthy dialogue exchange is between Stefan, Metropolitan Daniil and Grand Prince Vasilii Ivanovich, during Stefan’s journey to Moscow. The cross-examination of Stefan by these illustrious figures is given as present-tense dialogue which continues for over a page of the printed text. Judging by the space and attention these conversations receive, it seems that the legal standing and rights of the monastery were indeed foremost in the mind of the author.

Use of direct speech and dialogue is not an innovative feature in sixteenth-century hagiography; Epifanii made much use of monologue, dialogue and direct speech in the Zhitie Stefana Permskogo and also often in the Zhitie Sergia Radonezhskogo. Stefan of Perm’’s lengthy conversations with the Komi people in his efforts to convert them, and his debate with Pam the shaman helps, inter alia, to illustrate to the audience the real interaction between Stefan of Perm’ and the Komi. Most importantly, ‘dialogue in the Life furnishes a picture of the behaviour and attitudes of the Permians that is remarkable in a vita. Not only do they express their attitude to Moscow, but also their changing view of Stefan of Perm’ and hence to Christianity’. On the other hand, while Epifanii’s word-weaving tends to diminish the direct dramatic, if not emotional, impact of the dialogue in Zhitie Stefana Permskogo, Stefan of Komela’s hagiographer uses crisper dialogue to great immediate effect. Sustained use of informal realia and dialogue allows the audience to relate more closely to the events depicted. The craftsmen who are paid for their work during construction of the monastery, the fishermen who sing ‘devilish songs’, the fact that the characters talk to one another and explain what they believe and/or what they need are all elements which help to feed the curiosity of the audience and maintain its interest in a portrayal of social intercourse. In contrast to formal rhetorical hagiographies, the audience hears of adventures and excitement in

128 Epifanii’s use of monologue and dialogue is examined in detail in Kitch, Literary Style, pp. 67-74.
129 Ibid., p. 70.
130 For example, the dialogue between the shaman and Stefan is long and at times repetitious, thus reducing the immediate dramatic impression on the reader-audience of what should be a fast and furious argument (see ‘Zhite Stefana Permskogo’, pp. 39-50).
a manner that emphasizes rather than plays down the drama and realism. In short, Stefan of Komela’s hagiographer appears to have understood the need to communicate with his audience, to hold their attention, and successfully adapted his narrative technique and style to this end.

The Zhitie Trifona Pechengskogo is a fascinating mixture of traditional and unconventional features regarding narrative and use of language. It was clearly composed by a well-educated knizhnik for there are many Biblical quotations, allusions and laments, the latter most notably at the beginning of the episode in the second part describing the destruction of the monastery:

Всём году и времени всякую въщь подсоленной, время плакать и рыдать, глаголеть премудрый Соломонъ. Друзи Иови видѣша любимица своего оструплена, возопиша гласомъ велиимъ и восплакашеся зело [...]

The author goes on to mention, among others, the Prophet Jeremiah lamenting for the destruction of Jerusalem, the mourning for Lazarus by those who loved him, and even ‘Марія Магдалина сладкаго Иисуса плакаше теплѣ’.

Earlier, he includes a passage about the Biblical history of creation, as Trifon attempts to convert the Laplanders. Yet this hagiographer as well was obviously touched by the ‘influences of real life’, and produced a text which, to an even greater extent than the Zhitie Stefana Komel’skogo, conveys a sense of the daily struggles of the men who chose to settle in the north.

The most vividly drawn portraits are of the Laplanders. The author offers detailed ethnographic information when recording the state in which Trifon found them on his arrival:

Тоеже земли вышепомянутый народъ лопарский, живуще въ нечисти и въ самомъ поганскомъ идолоборствіи, яко затри дивии, почитаху вѣсовъ, а кланяяхуся дѣлу рукъ человеческихъ и боготворяаху гады и нощные нятопоры, и иные полушете животныя; а идяку всѣое нечисто и скверно; а жилиша своё имаху по гористымъ и латнымъ и непроходимымъ местомъ разстояны 

Although naturally described from a strictly Christian viewpoint which is hostile to the native population’s beliefs, this passage provides interesting ethnographic details (the references, for example, to unclean food and where their homes were

132 Ibid., p. 117.
133 Ibid., p. 99.
134 Ibid., p. 98.
The focus of the description of real people instead of abstract demons who torment the saintly protagonist, makes it all the more appealing.\textsuperscript{135}

The author recounts not only the customs of the Laplanders, but also their reaction to Trifon's attempts to teach them about Christ. Once again, the Laplanders' temperament is not described in generous terms: народа же, омраченный неведением [...] не исповеданный дьякою ему пакости; за власы торгаху и о землю мятагу, и бияху, и плаху, называюще незнаема странника, и юроду.\textsuperscript{136} The author relishes his descriptions and loses no opportunity to condemn the Laplanders un-Christian behaviour. Their violence may, however, also be viewed in another light: we know that Stefan aroused the fury of the local people in Komela for threatening their livelihood by over-fishing the lake, and it is not unreasonable to suggest that by the end of the sixteenth century the native northern populations were beginning to understand the likely consequences of missionary activity. Stefan of Perm' had likewise earlier witnessed the shaman reminding the Komi people that little good had come out of Muscovy, only oppression, taxes and demands for tribute.\textsuperscript{137} Such anxieties may well have contributed to attempts to drive out both Stefan of Perm' and Trifon.

As in the case of Stefan of Komela, Trifon's biographer uses direct speech and dialogue to enhance further the reality of the situations he is describing. Trifon's initial conversation with the voice of Christ, when he is directed to travel north and enlighten the pagans, is presented at a reflective, calm and measured pace, reflecting the solemnity of the occasion.\textsuperscript{138} By contrast, the words of the Laplanders are brutal and sharp: for example, 'зубы смертадаху нельно кричаще: возмемь и распнемь его.'\textsuperscript{139} Such passages also illustrate how the presentation of dialogue has progressed from earlier hagiography and now has a more immediate dramatic impact. When contrasted with a similar account in Epifaniy's Zhitiye Stefana Permskogo, for example, the rhetorical flourish and repetition of the latter are clearly seen to hinder dramatic effect:

\textit{Иногда же пакы, къ единъ от днис, отртоша раба божиа уединясься, наидоша на нь множеств о перми невтерных же и не крещенных, и аки со убйством устремиаася на нь, и, нападающе,}

\textsuperscript{135} The same is applicable to 'Zhitiye Stefana Permskogo': see, for example, the passages describing a pagan festival and practices of the Permians, 'Zhitiye Stefana Permskogo', pp. 36-37; the Komi's adverse reaction to those amongst them who convert to Christianity, ibid., pp. 30-31; and the trial by fire and ice, ibid., pp. 51-54.

\textsuperscript{136} 'Zhitiye Trifona Pechengskogo', p. 99.

\textsuperscript{137} 'Zhitiye Stefana Permskogo', p. 40.

\textsuperscript{138} 'Zhitiye Trifona Pechengskogo', pp. 96-97.

\textsuperscript{139} Ibid.
Interestingly, a solid passage of dialogue is used to show that some of the Laplanders have reacted positively to Trifon's words. Responding to threats to crucify Trifon, these Laplanders reply: 'не имамы въ немъ вины; глаголетъ намъ о добрѣ, возвышаетъ царстви Божиим, смерть нашу нарицаетъ сомѣ'. They eventually persuade the hostile faction merely to expel Trifon from their midst. This argument is presented as dialogue throughout and illustrates the Laplanders' process of reasoning. As well as representing the reality of the situation, this example indicates how conversion of a whole community was a long and complex process. Once again, we can see an advance on the Zhitie Stefana Permskogo: whereas Epifanii describes Stefan of Perm's efforts as enlightenment using lengthy and at times complex rhetorical ecclesiastical language, Trifon's hagiographer conveys a similar situation in far more concise and realistic images, focusing more on the discussions between the Laplanders who are convinced by Trifon's arguments and those who remain faithful to their pagan beliefs. Very possibly, the acceptance or rejection of Christian teaching would have depended equally on the teacher and pupil; it is likely that community consensus was vital for successful conversion.

The Laplanders prove not to be the only enemy: in the tale of the destruction of the monastery the Swedish army likewise affords the author opportunity to describe their brutality in realistic detail:

This passage is worth citing in full as it conveys some of the terror and bloodshed of the incident in a graphic quality rare in earlier hagiography. The kniazheskie zhitiia, full of clichés and set expressions for actions of war, pale in comparison to

140 'Zhitie Stefana Permskogo', p. 25.
142 Stefan of Perm also receives support and protection from the first Komi converts who debate in a reasoned manner with Pam on the merits of Christianity; see 'Zhitie Stefana Permskogo', pp. 41-42.
143 'Zhitie Trifona Pechengskogo', p. 118.
this description. The author further describes what happened to those who carried on praying: ‘и то видьша окаянным, яко ничтоже имъ о казнѣ повѣдывающе, паче разъявившися, мечами преподобныхъ въ части разстыкаша, и храмы Божія оскверниша и отрабиша, и съ постѣченными преподобныхъ телесы сожгина’. He even lists the number of slain monks, deacons and laypeople. Such deliberate use of graphic detail and dramatic action suggests that he wanted this scene to create a lasting impression on his audience.

Another interesting feature of this vita is geographical accuracy and detail. Whereas hagiographers have usually been content to reserve exact locations and measurements for monasteries or local towns, Trifon’s author provides realistic topographical and demographical references. For example, Trifon is said to arrive at

This type of topographical detail is again reminiscent of Epifanii’s Zhitie Stefana Permskogo in which he lists the indigenous peoples before describing exhaustively the rivers which lead from the Komi lands:

Børtnes refers to this as a literary device of ‘concretionary distributio’, noting that Epifanii uses it to ultimately negate or dematerialize each component part. Trifon’s hagiographer, on the other hand, does not follow Epifanii’s tendency to list so

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144 The Zhitie Aleksandra Nevskogo, for example, uses epic hyperbole and descriptions of violence (see ‘Zhitie Aleksandra Nevskogo’, pp. 430-34), and the Skazanie o Borise i Glebe has pathos and some real-life detail (see, for instance, ‘Skazanie o Borise i Glebe’, especially pp. 282-86 and 290-92), although neither of these works approaches the realistic horror described in Trifon’s vita.

145 Zhitie Trifona Pechengskogo’, p. 118.

146 Ibid., p. 97.


148 Børtnes, Visions, p. 145. Distributio is defined as ‘the breaking down of a composite concept or object into its component parts [...] based on the principle of contiguity’ (ibid).
many various peoples and places that it renders the description more abstract, and instead supplies only information directly relevant to Trifon’s surroundings. As a consequence, the Laplanders, far from being negated or dematerialized, actually become less of a fantastical concept in the audience’s mind; concrete directions to these far-off lands reinforce the credibility of their existence and, by extension, their unfamiliar customs and lifestyles. Thus we also learn that the Laplanders live ‘единь отъ другаго версты по сту и больши. А всей той земли въ долину стадий пять сотъ, а поперекъ мало меньше’. 149 When Trifon needs a priest to bless the church he has built, he goes off ‘въ волостьку колу, тогда бо та волостька малое имѣ поселеніе, изъ русскихъ мѣстъ новопришельцы, и воеводы не обрѣтаясь’.150 Such differences between Epifanii’s account and Trifon’s vita reveal a very different concept of their work on the part of the authors. Most importantly, in contrast to Epifanii, Trifon’s hagiographer moves away from the tendency towards abstraction and focuses instead on a concretization of similar features: this process reflects the influences of secularization in literature, the increasing inclusion of non-spiritual elements in hagiography.

Finally, one more unexpected area of detail for a hagiography is the physical description of the saint. Very occasionally in earlier hagiography reference is made to the appearance of the protagonist,151 although even this went against the conventional ideal of presenting the saint not as an individual, but rather as an impersonal embodiment of Christian virtue. After Trifon’s death, however, the author repeats the dates of Trifon’s birth and death (putting them into historical context by noting that this was during the reign of Tsar Ivan IV), at the same time painting a brief but vivid portrait: Возрастомь святый немалъ, натегъ, плотию крепокъ, мало плашивать, брадою седь’.152 Even if this resembles an iconographical portrait, it is still quite remarkable to find this type of detail in a hagiography. It is worth remembering, however, that Trifon died in 1583 and that this second version of his vita was probably composed only about thirty-five years afterwards: thus, it is likely that survivors of the Swedish attack on the monastery would have remembered him as an old man. Nonetheless, the inclusion of this type of physical description indicates a move towards more concretized biography. One may note

149  ‘Zhitie Trifona Pechengskogo’, p. 98.
150 Ibid., p. 102.
151 In general, the princely vitae used physical descriptions only to emphasize the saint’s warrior strength and qualities: for example, ‘и взоръ его паче иныхъ человекъ, и гласъ его — аки труба въ народѣ, лице же его — аки лице Иосифа [...] сила же бѣ его — часть отъ сили Самсонъ’ (‘Zhitie Aleksandra Nevskogo’, p. 426).
152 ‘Zhitie Trifona Pechengskogo’, p. 115.
also that many more of the audience at the beginning of the seventeenth century would have remembered the rule of Ivan IV, and mentioning the Tsar at this point would have increased further the appreciation that Trifon's life was neither very distant in time, nor was it another abstract hagiographical catalogue of Christian piety and virtue.

Thus we see how in his narrative style the author of Trifon's vita adapted traditional patterns of hagiography. He brought to his audience a realistic and exciting narrative, at times much closer to historical biography and story-telling than to hagiography, yet one which conveys also the basic Christian values necessary to hagiography. Even more than in the cases of Varlaam and Stefan, this work illustrates how a subtle yet effective shift in authorial emphasis, which resulted in a more immediate dramatic impact and realistic features being highlighted instead of played down as in the past, produced an accessible narrative style and innovative representation of subject-matter. The hagiographer was clearly enthusiastic to portray elements of realia in his work, which sometimes resulted in neglect of the saintly protagonist's podvig, yet often led, on the other hand, to fascinating historical and sociological accounts of life in the north. A process of self-identification allowed the audience to put more credence in the tales of these pious men and also possibly to remember better the narrative. Furthermore, these vitae are written in familiar and lively language, rather than the elevated and ornate styles common to Muscovite hagiography of the period, rendering them accessible and comprehensible to a wide audience.

The Treatment of Miracles

Throughout the evolution of hagiography, miracle accounts comprised one area where the author had greater literary freedom than in the main body of the vita. Despite miracles conforming overall to certain standard types, he was able to choose to incorporate material elsewhere deemed inappropriate (if it was available and the author so wished). It was common, for example, in healing miracles to give details of the name of the person, their town and the type of healing, but other than that the author could include whatever details he deemed appropriate, including everyday realia and mention of the emotions of the afflicted. The main goal was to illustrate divine power and love working through the saint.

Sometimes, however, this freedom could be taken to a point where the original purpose is obscured, as Dmitriev points out:
Although Dmitriev adheres to the Soviet principle of diminishing the spiritual value of a work in favour of realism, he is partially correct when referring to the northern lives, where prayers to the saint and the latter’s intercession as saviour in a particular situation sometimes appear as secondary to the authorial desire to ‘поведать о суровых буднях поморов’. The result is a lively narrative full of everyday details, with characters also portrayed more fully.

Bushkovitch’s remarks about the tremendous increase in popularity of miracles during the sixteenth century and their boost to the status, popularity and wealth of an associated monastery are worth bearing in mind here. Miracles tend to fall into two main categories: first, the major miraculous events witnessed and experienced by many, and secondly, those which happen to individuals, normally recorded at the end of vitae and often linked to miracle cults. Bushkovitch, in his examination of miracle cults in Russia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, argues convincingly that reactions to changes in ecclesiastical practices were just as acute (if more subtle) as reactions to major upheavals in the socio-political sphere, and there was a distinct shift in the sixteenth century from the first ‘public’ type of miracle to the latter individual healing miracle, ‘a step on the road from a more public to a more private and inward Orthodoxy’. The problems within the official Orthodox Church and its troubled relations with the State, the spiritual and moral confusion of the people, falling confidence in the public face and practices of the established Church and the subsequent search for alternatives (especially by those who adhered to the principles of the Non-Possessors) can be seen as supporting this notion. The growth of miracle cults continued until Nikon

154 Ibid.
155 See for example, the episodes in the Zhitiie Feodosiia Pecherskogo where the church is protected from a band of robbers by miraculous singing and then a vision which shows the church rising up in the air (‘Zhitiie Feodosiia Pecherskogo’, pp. 352-54); the passage describing a divine procession of angels and which states specifically that ‘сей не еднъ, ни дѣва видаста, ни мѣнои людии, видѣвше снѣя, съпова̀даux’ (ibid., p. 374); see also the miracle of the freed prisoners in Nestor’s ‘Chtenie i zhitii Borisa i Gleba’, p. 21.
156 This theme will be examined in more detail in Chapter Four, ‘Autohagiography’.
157 Bushkovitch, Religion and Society, p. 103.
was elected Metropolitan in the seventeenth century. He showed less tolerance for them than his predecessors, preferring to stress the moral values of the saint over his powers of healing, and soon demoted several national saints to the status of local reverence on the grounds of their having achieved sanctity only in this (to him) dubious manner.\textsuperscript{158}

The miracle tales at the end of the \textit{Zhite Varlaama Vazhskogo} combine two dramatic stories of northern life with accounts of innumerable healing miracles which serve to promote both Varlaam and the monastery. As mentioned above, Iona displays an uncharacteristic verve and dynamism in his narrative when describing floods from the two mighty rivers Vaga and Pinega. His excitement and sense of wonder is tangible also in the introduction to the second miracle tale concerning floods: 'Не забыты же вамъ потребно и о семь зло, зло бо мя есть приводить во удивленіе и сіе чудо великое'.\textsuperscript{159} Iona continues as if recounting a story of adventure and drama, free from all didactic religious intent:

\begin{quote}
Въ предреченный же волости на Химанемъ у церкви служа иерей Александръ именуемый. Случися убо ему сие бывает. Къкогда убо времени вешнему наставшу, зимному году минувшу, растаявши леди, потекоша воды, возшумтща рѣки. Въ то убо новолѣтное время по обычан своему многихъ водъ, а разлися вода всюду по лугамъ и по холмамъ, не точию же, но и обрѣтавшаяся веси потопляше зло.\textsuperscript{160}
\end{quote}

Thus the scene is set for ‘action’, playing on suspense to increase the atmosphere of impending doom. The description of the flood that follows, where ice traps a priest’s family in their home and rising water threatens to drown them, is told in graphic language, including the priest’s despair: ‘Топъ же онъ яко видить бдѣу свою смертноносную, на молитвѣ ста въ храмѣ [...] плачушу гороко’.\textsuperscript{161} In accordance with the demands of dramatic narrative, just as the situation seems hopeless, someone arrives with a wooden log which is used to lever the ice away and free the people. Interestingly the priest’s prayers themselves do not free them; Varlaam is responsible merely for sending someone to them in time. These two accounts must have elicited great local sympathy from a population regularly affected by seasonal flooding. Thus we see a more realistic type of miracle whereby there is a shift from a purely magical type of miracle to a manifestation of divine providence through a human agent; divine or saintly powers do not act alone but

\begin{footnotes}
\item[158] See ibid., pp. 90-91 and 123-26.
\item[159] ‘Zhite Varlaama Vazhskogo’, p. 40.
\item[160] Ibid.
\item[161] Ibid.
\end{footnotes}
rather in tandem with real-life forces. Such miracle accounts look forward to those given by Archpriest Avvakum.\textsuperscript{162}

The majority of the miracle tales in this \textit{vita}, however, are of healing, reflecting the popularity in rural areas of the miracle cults and the move away from the centralized Orthodox Church towards a more private form of faith. Local miracle tales must have meant more to a rural audience able to empathize with the events described, than those of great political or military significance; they would also have encouraged them to direct their spiritual energies most of all towards the local saint. In these tales the conventional pattern is followed and the person’s name, their town of origin and the ailment are all listed. Iona does, however, add more local detail in several cases and we learn, for example, of one Agripina’s fear when she suffered a burning sensation that caused her to lose her memory;\textsuperscript{163} also that the blind woman Makrina was brought to Varlaam’s grave by her husband Amvrosii;\textsuperscript{164} that the devil who visited a woman named Kapitolina when she was reaping corn came to her in human form with weapons, blazing eyes, threatening and cursing her;\textsuperscript{165} and of two unusual healings where Vladimir from Koshar had been able to eat only snow for 175 days, and another man who had suffered, in the tactful words of the author, from ‘\textit{водный недуг’}.\textsuperscript{166} One detail which supports the idea that the hagiographer copied down these accounts directly from oral sources, as mentioned above, is indicated by the statement in one tale that the Vazhestii area is also known as the Smetanina area;\textsuperscript{167} earlier, the author had told of a blind man from the Vazhestii area who had been cured at Varlaam’s grave, but without giving any alternative name for the area,\textsuperscript{168} suggesting that only the oral source for the later miracle tale had supplied this information which adds not only local specificity, but also real topographical detail. Oral sources clearly supplied Iona not only with much local information and detail, but also ensured variety and colour of expression. As mentioned above, such tales would have promoted not only Varlaam’s sanctification but also the monastery’s status as a powerful place of divine benediction, an influential and effective religious centre.

\textsuperscript{162} See, for example, Avvakum’s account of the ‘miracle’ when soup was brought to him in the Andronikov Monastery (see Chapter Four, note 151).
\textsuperscript{163} ‘Zhitie Varlaama Vazhskogo’, p. 28.
\textsuperscript{164} Ibid., p. 29.
\textsuperscript{165} Ibid., p. 31.
\textsuperscript{166} Ibid., pp. 32 and 41, respectively.
\textsuperscript{167} Ibid., p. 33.
\textsuperscript{168} Ibid., p. 24.
By contrast with the vita of Varlaam, the Zhitiie Stefana Komel’skogo includes only one miracle story, although he tells us that after an icon of Stefan is placed on his grave ‘оттоль начаша бывать много чудеса от гроба его святаго’.169 A Christian merchant from Novgorod, Gavriil, who knew Stefan personally and had spent many hours in conversation with him (as well as donating provisions to the monastery), is caught in a great storm on board ship on Lake Komela. Entreaties and prayers to God, the Mother of God and all the saints have no effect and the men on the ship fear for their lives. Only when Gavriil prays to Stefan for help does the situation improve: the sailors see a ‘старца святолепная и съдинами украшенна’ who tells them not to be afraid for God heard their prayers and sent him to save them.170 The sailors at first do not recognize the old man and Stefan must identify himself (‘а вь бо есмь Стефань, строитель святаго Николы монастыря, иже на езерѣ’171) before he disappears. The storm subsides and Gavriil rushes to the monastery to tell the brethren. As in the main narrative body of the vita, dialogue helps to re-create atmosphere and a sense of reality.

A familiar situation to many a merchant sailing with laden ships, the waterways and seas of northern Russia were often treacherous. There was always a real possibility of being caught in inclement weather while far from shore, thus putting at risk the entire cargo. The belief that sailors need protection at sea is an ancient theme in Russian oral tradition (best exemplified in the bylina ‘Sadko’ in which the merchant pours silver, gold and pearls into the sea as a sacrifice to Tsar Morskoi before finally sacrificing himself as well172) and this miracle can be seen as carrying on the tradition in a Christianized context. Such miracle accounts would not only have struck home with local people, but also emphasized the wildness of the country to those from further afield. The author’s linking of Stefan and the monastery with protection when afloat, especially using such dramatic narrative and attentive detail, would doubtless have increased Stefan’s popularity amongst local fishermen and traders. Furthermore, his choice (if indeed he really did know of others, as he claims above) of this one miracle is telling: Lake Komela was the primary source of contention with the local population and it was clearly a vital source of food for the monks. It is fitting that the only miracle should occur on the Lake, the original ‘provider’, as if to once again stress that it belongs to the

170 Ibid., p. 21.
171 Ibid.
monastery and is part of its sacred territory. In this way, the miracle account thus serves to promote monastery claims as much as glorify the saint.

Miracle tales in the Zhitie Trifona Pechengskogo are scarce and without exception occur in the second part comprising eight disjointed episodes. The first group of miracles is curative, carried out while Trifon is in Novgorod seeking alms for the monastery. They are described collectively and fleetingly, as if only in passing: 'Тамо же преподобный чюдес врачъ обрѣтесь, во славу Христову именіи, множество душевно и тѣлесно болѣящихъ исцѣляше; но по единому въ писаніи исцѣленіи его не обрѣтаемъ'. The main miracle tale tells how Trifon appears in a dream to Tsar Fedor Ivanovich while he is sleeping in a tent during a military campaign against the Swedes. Trifon, like Stefan having to identify himself, warns the Tsar to wake up and get out of his tent; as soon as the Tsar is outside, an enemy bombardment begins and a massive cannonball lands on the mattress where the Tsar had been lying. The Tsar is, naturally extremely grateful and expresses his appreciation by rewarding the monastery not only with many provisions, but also 'на все владѣніе даде царскіе милостивья грамоты'. Clearly a prestigious miracle tale for any monastery, to have saved the Tsar himself was clear proof of a powerful (not to mention patriotic) saint. This account was also lucrative, for the monastery received legal ownership 'на все владѣніе', doubtless further boosting the wealth and local influence of the Church. All in all, this miracle appears to be as much a political statement justifying land possession, perhaps in the face of criticism or legal problems, as praise of God’s powers of intervention and succour. Furthermore, the miracle clarifies the favoured position of the monastery with the secular Muscovite authorities (whose coffers would already have benefited from taxes on Trifon’s hugely successful trading ventures).

Thus we see a different approach on the part of the three hagiographers to miracle accounts: in the case of Varlaam, we are told graphically detailed stories rooted in reality as well as many tales of healings which enhance the spiritual status of the saint and encourage the formation of a miracle cult; but with Stefan and Trifon, the authors appear to have chosen the subject-matter of the miracles described in detail specifically to support one of the principal objectives of composition, justification of their respective monastery’s legal rights and holdings. For all the vividly described realistic features, however, the spiritual significance of the miracles should not be ignored; clearly the source of each tale firmly believed

173 'Zhitie Trifona Pechengskogo', p. 111.
that miraculous powers had brought about the events. The author simply chose a stylistic approach to his material which brought these events closer to his audience and thus rendered them more credible through recognition of familiar places and occurrences. The more convinced the people were of a local saint’s protection and the more fervently they promoted his image, perhaps encouraged at times by a faithful sense of local pride, the more the monastery stood to gain, both in terms of material revenue and spiritual status.

The Treatment of Time

In conventional rhetorical hagiography it was usual for the author to structure his work within the universal Christian calendar so that the full weight of the saint’s immortal significance be felt, that his life be understood in the context of Christian eternity. Likhachev refers to categories of closed and open time in hagiographical composition, which can be defined respectively as references made within a context of the subject’s lifetime, and those made to a wider time frame such as eternal Christian and Biblical time (for example, an account of Creation), atemporal Christian abstraction (such as the use of light to denote Christian allegory) and historical time (ranging from names and dates of rulers, other notable historical figures and events such as the Tatar invasion of Rus’). While Alissandratos notes the acceptability of historical time references being mixed with eternal Christian time in the introductions to many early Slavonic hagiographical works, and the relating of posthumous miracles in a specified historical time context was permissible, traditional canons required the rest of the vita to avoid such detail wherever possible. This requirement was not always strictly followed in native Russian hagiography — the princely vitae, for example, commonly tied down the greater part of the narrative to a specific time period and Nestor used certain types of historical temporal detail. Continual adaptations, as we have seen above, and the evolving non-static nature of hagiographical patterns maintained an often fluid approach to the framework and significance of time.

The authors of the northern vitae under analysis largely speaking do not observe the convention of universal Christian time, but rather place emphasis upon

175 See Likhachev, Poetika, pp. 129-60, 238 and 254-78.
176 See Alissandratos, Patristic Eulogies, p. 48.
177 Ibid., pp. 60-61.
178 Dmitriev, Zhitiinye povesti, p. 7.
a temporal definition much closer to that of reality. By constantly choosing to stress
the historical, geographical and social context of the works and to play up various
elements of real life previously unusual in hagiography, they bring the subject of the
_vita_ closer to the audience, allowing for identification through familiar situations
and locality. This destroys much of the epic distancing upon which earlier
hagiographers relied in order to present the life story of the saint without
compromising the desired image of non-individualized Christian ideals. Many
historical references are made which place the _vita_ in, for example, a political
context such as the troubles in Novgorod which were partly responsible for
Varlaam’s move to the north. In the _Zhitie Stefana Komel’skogo_, directly after the
most detailed description of the building of the church, we are told,

_Въ бо многа времена пропоide и многа бысть въ Русiи ненстроения и
мятежъ, паче же бысть многое нашествie отъ безбожныхъ Татарь
и отъ Черемисы на градъ Вологду […] великому князю Василю
Ивановичу преставляемся въ вѣчный покой, бояры же и
самовники и вси вельможи прияша самовластie и не радѣша о
церkvѣ._\(^{179}\)

The _Zhitie Trifona Pechengskogo_ makes considerably fewer historical references than
the other two _vita_, although it does place the attack of the Swedes against the
monastery during the reign of Tsar Fedor Ivanovich.\(^{180}\) Such use of historical context
helps the audience to contextualize the many passages of everyday realistic
description in all three _vita_, to equate them with their own experiences and/or
knowledge, which in turn adds to the process of identification and, ultimately, the
sense of _realia_. Furthermore, chronological accuracy and comparative simplicity
(with the exception of the second part of the _Zhitie Trifona Pechengskogo_) make the
works easier to relate to historical reality.

On the other hand, time does not lose its religious significance in these
works. Instead the spiritual temporal context, like many other features, is adapted
by the author and reflects his manner of communication with the audience. In his
examination of the generic development of the novel, Mikhail Bakhtin talks of the
novel being structured ‘not in the distanced image of the absolute past, but in the
zone of direct contact with inconclusive present-day reality. At its core lay personal
experience and free creative imagination’.\(^{181}\) A similar process could be said to have

\(^{179}\) ‘Zhitie Stefana Komel’skogo’ pp. 16-17.

\(^{180}\) ‘Zhitie Trifona Pechengskogo’, p. 117.

\(^{181}\) M. M. Bakhtin, ‘Epic and Novel: Toward a Methodology for the Study of the
Novel’ in _The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin_, ed. Michael Holquist,
occurred with the northern vitae where the hagiographers appear, for whatever reason, to have made conscious choices concerning their approach to and depiction of subject and situation, and to have expressed their material in detailed creative narrative. The fact that they all wrote within fifty years of the subject's death or recognition of sanctity means that the events of the vitae do not yet constitute 'absolute past', and there would have been some direct contact between the time of depicted events and the everyday reality of the audience, a fact of which the hagiographers would certainly have been aware as they gathered material for the miracle tales. Rather than actively attempt to distance the events of the vitae, they perhaps deliberately chose, especially in the case of Varlaam and Stefan, to preserve the temporal closeness of events to the audience and use this to link the latter with the eternal spiritual value of the churches and monasteries founded by the saints. The final result is that the temporal framework serves to tie together the present and past, the saintly protagonist and the audience, in spiritual continuity.

In this light it appears that the northern hagiographers took an approach not only different, but also relatively modern regarding the representation of time in these vitae. As people gradually sought a different kind of faith in the sixteenth century, as suggested above, a more personal and individualized expression of their faith, it may be suggested that direct and personal contact with spirituality in everyday life was a welcome feature found in the vita and one with which the audience could identify.

Conclusion

In conclusion, there is no doubt that the northern Russian vitae of the sixteenth century constitute an important step in the evolution of hagiographical literature. Compared to the vitae of Stefan of Perm', Sergii of Radonezh and Kirill of Belozersk, all of whom had also left the urban areas for a life in the northern wilderness, these sixteenth-century works convey very clearly the changes in selection of and attitude towards the subject-matter by the hagiographer, in representation of the saintly protagonist, as well as in narrative and linguistic style.

It is further obvious that the moral ideal of saintly virtue had changed substantially from the earliest hermits who sought total seclusion: the holy men examined followed the example of Stefan of Perm', whereby it was no longer obligatory for saints to display super-human feats of asceticism to receive recognition. Rather, everyday considerations were taken into account, such as the
development of an outlying (and possibly strategic) region, bringing wealth, trade and commerce, and the conversion of pagan peoples to Christianity. Pious men who fulfilled these conditions now appeared to be just as likely candidates for sanctity as those who entered a monastery in their youth.

Dmitriev claims that at this time 'изменились литературные вкусы, пробуждался большой интерес к местному, конкретному материалу';182 the hagiographers of the northern saints did indeed present their audiences with texts which held their attention and inspired emulation in a more sophisticated form than blind imitation of ascetic extremes. The authors drew a convincing portrait of real life in the north and developed characters and situations which would have been attractive to the audience, mixing an exciting narrative full of novelties with the identifiable routines of real people, yet all within an edifying context of piety. It is perhaps too simplistic to suggest, as Dmitriev does, that we have a change in literary tastes, but rather that a shift in the composition of the audience (as the earlier quotation from Børtnes suggests and which is implicit in Bushkovitch's work) explains the differences. A largely lay audience in a frontier area would surely have had little time for asceticism and much for the moral examples described here.

Furthermore, the authors often emphasized features which had previously played a secondary role in vitae, such as legal land and water rights of the monasteries. This demonstrates how hagiography continued not only to be used for basic political purposes, but also how the text was now commonly manipulated to express most expediently one of the primary objectives of composition. As medieval Russia approached the troubles and nascent social secularization of the seventeenth century, it is clear that Church-State relations had deteriorated to a point of distrust, fear and vulnerability on the side of the Church. In order to safeguard the future of the northern monasteries, as well as, hopefully, their financial income, hagiographical literature was used to great effect and lasting result; if a powerful saint was linked to a particular monastery, it was less likely that the monastery would suffer any deprivation or confiscation of land rights.

Overall, the northern Russian vitae can be seen as an important step, in terms of both content and literary style, on the path of secularization and modernization of hagiography which was to gain increasing momentum throughout the seventeenth century and culminate during the Great Schism of the Orthodox Church.

Use of Folklore in Hagiographical Hybrids

A considerable amount of research has been conducted into the treatment of folklore in Russian literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, yet the influences of oral and folk traditions brought to bear on pre-Petrine hagiographical literature have not been examined exhaustively. Apart from the work of Skripil', Dmitrieva, Dmitriev, Azbelev and Adrianova-Peretts, little of real significance has been produced. Even less attention has been paid to hagiographical works outside the mainstream, some of which offer interesting illustrations of the evolution and function of hagiographical hybrids. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for example, the incorporation of oral elements into certain hagiographical works produced a significantly different hybrid vita which was used primarily to promote specific political and/or legal viewpoints. This chapter will examine three works, the Povest' o Merkurii Smolenskom, the Zhitiie Antoniia Rimlianina and the Pisanie o prestavlenii i o pogrebenii kniazia Mikhaila Vasil'evicha Shuiskogo, rekomago Skopina, with the aim of demonstrating how, while not overly detracting from the edificatory purposes of hagiography, such works did much to advance a more secular understanding of, approach and response to the art of sacred life-writing.

As in Chapter One, structural and thematic features clearly identify these three works with past vitae, yet many elements also distinguish them from the larger hagiographical corpus. The sustained use of oral themes and motifs, for example, is characteristic of these works yet diverges from earlier ways of incorporating oral features into hagiographical writing. Furthermore, all three works are presented within a more secular context with a marked increase in the use of realia and detail, and, in two instances, a lay protagonist. Such differences not only mark the evolution of hagiography but also support the contention that, increasingly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the intentions of the hagiographer extended

1 On the Povest' o Petre i Fevronii muromskikh, see M. O. Skripil', 'Povest' o Petre i Fevronii muromskikh' v ee otoshenii k russkoj skazke', TODL, 7, pp. 129-67 (hereafter Skripil', 'Povest' o Petre i Fevronii'), and R. P. Dmitrieva, Povest' o Petre i Fevronii: podgotovka tekstov i issledovanie, Leningrad, 1979 (hereafter Dmitrieva, Povest' o Petre i Fevronii). On the 'legendary-biographical' tales from ancient Novgorod, see Dmitriev, Zhitiinye povesti. On various works dating from Kievian Rus' through to the seventeenth century, see Russkaia literatura i fol'klor (XI-XVIII vv.), ed. V. G. Bazanov, Leningrad, 1970, Chapters One-Four. And finally, see V. P. Adrianova-Peretts, Drevnerusskaia literatura i fol'klor, Leningrad, 1974, and id., Ocherki poeticheskogo stilia Drevnei Rusi, Moscow, 1947 (hereafter Adrianova-Peretts, Ocherki).
beyond traditional religious didacticism and a conscious attempt was made to use a hybrid form of hagiography for alternative aims.

To appreciate more fully the impact of the oral tradition upon hagiography and the development of this particular hybrid, in which various secularizing tendencies are evident, a brief analysis of the perception and practice of non-Christian beliefs in Muscovy will outline the origins and importance of oral traditions in an everyday Orthodox context. The aspects of oral tradition that principally influenced hagiography will also be discussed. One important factor to recognize, however, is that most of the folklore we have was recorded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which seriously hampers the discussion of oral elements in earlier Russian literature (although this is less of a problem for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries given the conservatism of folklore and the fact that the first recordings were made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). Nevertheless, any parallels suggested cannot be contemporary and it is not possible to document the precise character of folklore during even the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Historical and Cultural Context

Exactly why various folk elements were incorporated into *vitae* is a complex issue and best initially approached through an examination of some of the consequences of transplanting Christianity into Rus'. It would be wrong to suggest that the populace of Rus' lacked a belief system before the arrival of Orthodoxy; on the contrary, their ancient world view (at least among the élite) appears to have had a defined hierarchy of deities and constituted a functioning faith system, which, like many pagan religions, focused primarily on the strength and regenerative force of the earth. The imposition of any new faith system upon one which is already in place, despite all natural fluctuations and variables of the latter, is never a straightforward exercise and affects each case differently. Active opposition to the appearance of the Orthodox Church in Rus', for example, was not widespread, although 'passive resistance was tough and tenacious' and many elements of the

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pre-Christian belief system were retained. A similar process occurred to varying
degrees in every country where Christianity was grafted onto a pre-existing belief
system, but these beliefs seem, for whatever reason, to have survived more
stubbornly in Russia than in much of Western Europe and consequently are of
greater significance for an understanding of written literature. The documentation
we have about this early era comprises mostly negative comments of later Christian
authors, although their remarks illustrate to some extent how the people of Rus’
absorbed Christianity into their world-view, carrying over into the new elements
from the old which together combined to form a popular Russian understanding of
Christianity which was to last for centuries. Thus, what in name constitutes a
sharp break in the continuity of a nation’s belief system, the official
Christianization of Rus’, was not in practice as radical a change for most
individuals as it first appears.

Conversion to Christianity brought to Rus’ not only officially sanctioned
translations of ecclesiastical works, but also Christian folklore; legends of various
kinds and miracle tales found their way into popular story-telling and sometimes
into hagiographical writing. One important complicating factor in this process was
the presence of folkloric elements already in the Byzantine Orthodox tradition, both
of Christian legendary characters and of pre-Christian (for example, the legend of
St George). As a corollary, the Slavs received what is commonly termed by Russian
scholars dvoeverie, which mingled ancient pre-Christian traditions and folklore
with a Christian ideological viewpoint. Such a multifarious world-view was

4 George P. Fedotov, The Russian Religious Mind, Volume I. Christianity: the Tenth
to the Thirteenth Centuries, New York, 1960 (hereafter Fedotov, Russian Religious Mind),
pp. 3-8; see also D. Obolensky, ‘Popular Religion in Medieval Russia’ in The Byzantine
5 Francis Conte, ‘Paganism and Christianity in Russia: “Double” or “Triple” Faith?’
in The Christianization of Ancient Russia. A Millenium: 988-1988, ed. Yves Hamant,
6 See Pascal, La religion, Part One, passim; Ivanits, Russian Folk Belief, p. 4;
Fedotov, Russian Religious Mind, Chapter One, passim; and N. N. Veletskaia, ‘Forms of
Transformation of Pagan Symbolism in the Old Believer Tradition’ in Russian Traditional
Culture: Religion, Gender, and Customary Law, ed. Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer, Armonk,
7 See A. N. Pypin, ‘Russkie narodnye legendy (Po povodu izdaniia g-na Afanas’eva
180-202 (hereafter Pypin, ‘Narodnye legendy’) (186-87).
8 This term should be recognized as a simplified classification: Conte, for example,
suggests the term ‘third faith’ (Conte, ‘Paganism’), and T. A. Bernshtam proposes the more
useful mnogoverie in order to reflect the various belief systems (T. A. Bernshtam, ‘Russian
Folk Culture and Folk Religion’ in Russian Traditional Culture: Religion, Gender,
[hereafter Bernshtam, ‘Folk Culture’]).
facilitated by various factors: first, Orthodoxy originally grew up around the urban centres where monasteries were founded and supported by wealthy rulers and nobility. The rural-based peasant majority, living often far from these centres, was less likely to be affected by Christianization and, isolated from the ecclesiastical authorities, continued mostly undisturbed either to follow pre-Christian practices, or else to form a superficial understanding of Christian ideals and ritual. Secondly, the Orthodox Church appears to have had a significantly more tolerant attitude towards heterodox practices than, for example, the West European Catholic Church in its missionary zeal. In effect, this meant that pre-Christian rituals and beliefs did not necessarily inspire condemnation from the clergy. Bernshtam maintains (though it is not necessary to go that far) that the Church was even actively involved in perpetuating ancient practices, especially in smaller rural communities where ‘many church customs [...] sprang from popular forms and were organically incorporated into the people’s ritual life. Only at the centres did the church try to define a canonical ritual performance by “Christian law’’. Thirdly, the medieval era in Russia lasted much longer than in Western Europe, experiencing neither the intellectual and creative inspiration of the Renaissance, nor the effective ‘cleansing’ of religious life from the so-called darkness of superstition and pagan practices during the Reformation in the Western Christian Church.

Folkloric vitae had been popular in Byzantium and it was only to be expected that translations of works influenced by the oral tradition would likewise prove popular in Russia, perhaps even encouraging native imitation of such hybrid forms. It would be naive to assume, however, that all facets of oral tradition surfaced in hagiographical works. Among the vast areas of folk art, crafts, song and dance, only verbal folklore which can be divided into non-Christian and Christian narrative categories is relevant for this study. Specifically, religious legendy play an important role in the hybrids examined here, as do the volshebnye skazki (tales of the miraculous) and, to a lesser degree, the bytovye skazki (everyday

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9 Pascal claims that nowhere in the world was the resultant split between the religion of the elite and that of the peasants so great; Pascal, *La religion*, p. 9. Bernshtam also points out the large extent to which the apocrypha were used as a ‘transitional link’ for the dissemination of the faith alongside the officially approved ecclesiastical texts; Bernshtam, ‘Folk Culture’, pp. 38-43.

10 Ibid., p. 38.

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tales), as well as influences from the bylina tradition and folk laments. One interesting aspect of these influences is that the folk genres most commonly incorporated into hagiographical works are not those which most closely reflect real life such as, for example, the bytovye skazki, but rather those which present either heroic ideals or strong elements of the fantastic or supernatural. The selection of the latter features rather than the more mundane corresponds to the idealization in hagiography of the Christian saint who can work miracles. Thus, despite the non-hagiographical nature of the oral sources, the author used a corresponding type of material to blend into his hagiographical work. Although it would have been natural for the author to turn to corresponding types of idealized protagonist in an attempt to emphasize, for example, certain qualities of his subject, such use of corresponding types indicates also a willingness to extend the concept of the 'ideal person' beyond strictly religious parameters.

Corresponding types of idealized hero are found in many oral sources, including the narrative tales of which the dominant types (as defined by nineteenth-century scholars) are the volshebnye and the bytovye skazki. Folktales tend to contain generalized universal themes which may be found in the folk traditions of many countries but which are adapted in each case to suit the people and locality, a feature of many facets of oral tradition. Volshebnye skazki, certainly in many respects prehistoric, tend to share identical structures or, in Proppian terms, functions and comprise one main storyline (tale types are not generally joined up with each other to form more complex texts). Important characters include the idealized hero Ivan Tsarevich, the witch Baba Iaga, Kashchei the Immortal and a host of other ogres and dragons. Supernatural features are found in magic objects which help the hero win the day and magic devices such as flying carpets. Though such tales would appear to share nothing with hagiography, as we shall see, this is rather surprisingly not the case. The bytovye skazki are of later composition and frequently show two or more tale types strung together. They may have some Christian content and end usually with the victory of the underdog or of the cunning over the stupid. Tales recounting the exploits of the durak (simpleton) figure are common, while another well-known theme sees the devil trapped and forced to carry out man's commands. Although they adopt several characteristics from the volshebnye skazki (such as the character of the mudraia devitsa [Wise Maiden] who speaks in riddles, possesses supernatural talents and offers advice to the hero), the

12 The third group of tales about animals is not relevant to this study.
bytovye skazki inevitably present the given borrowed feature in a Christianized context and largely avoid the supernatural (devils apart). Elements of the bytovye skazki appear less in hagiographical writing of the later medieval period (although they are present in earlier vitae) which suggests an increasing tendency on the part of the author to depict an idealized hero according to a wider range of norms, rather than a purely Christian ideal placed in a mundane setting.

Another type of prose narrative to influence hagiographical works were the legendy, a little-researched type of short folk narrative with a strong element of the Christian miraculous or supernatural (any other type of legend is called a predanie in Russian) which commonly tells of the life of Christ, the saints and martyrs, and Christ’s wandering through the world with the apostles searching for virtuous Christian folk. Pypin suggests that pilgrims brought the legenda tradition to Rus’, recounting tales of what they had seen and heard, snippets of foreign stories, folklore and miracle tales (it is not incidental that the majority of the legendy involves some kind of journey or wandering), and that this material was embellished by popular imagination and adapted to fit a localized context. The legends were not designed for entertainment, but rather as explanations of incomprehensible events in terms ordinary people could grasp: ‘Легенда же, сообщая необыкновенный факт, стремится поучать; идеализируя своих героев, призывая подражать им, она утверждает их святость, подвижничество или героизм. Основная ее функция — дидактическая’. Although mostly set in credible environments and believed to contain absolute truth (which facilitated their use as sources), legendy are neither accurate nor reliable sources of factual information. On the other hand, they yield valuable information about social attitudes as well as illustrating how narrative develops from an original source and what course certain themes of narrative may follow.

16 For example, the creation legends (see folk narratives nos 1-4 in Ivanits, Russian Folk Belief, pp. 130-135), ‘Adam’s Note’ (ibid., pp. 136-37), ‘Why are those Hit by Lightning Saints?’ (ibid., pp. 154-55), and ‘Il’ia-prorok i Nikola’, Narodnye russkie legendy A. N. Afanaseva, with introduction and commentary by V. S. Kuznetsova, Novosibirsk, 1990, pp. 73-78.
18 See Pomerantseva, Mifologicheskie personazhi, p. 11.
Despite the Russian insistence on separating *legenda* from *predanie*, Christian legends themselves often incorporated motifs from other folk narrative genres as well as pre-Christian oral elements,\(^{19}\) and greater length of time between event and recording was likely to see more obviously fantastic folkloric elements (such as in the *Zhitie Antoniia Rimlianina* and *Zhitie Ioanna Novgorodskogo*) and less recognizable identification with the original source. Orally transmitted legends are important sources for *vitae*, especially the miracle tales, and the process of grafting native oral elements onto Russian hagiography was made much easier (if more complex for scholars) by the presence in translated Greek *vitae* of popular oral (*legendy*) elements. Likhachev describes the legends which apply to the saints as often standing ‘на грани жития и повести’,\(^{20}\) and commonly accepted, in part or whole, as *vitae*. He describes their formation: ‘ряд эпизодов жития какого-либо святого являются подчас самостоятельными, возникшими независимо от жития и лишь позже внесенными в него легендарно-историческими сказаниями’.\(^{21}\)

Oral verse genres also influenced hagiographical writing. The *byliny*, narrative verse epic folksongs, for example, recount the exploits of the traditional epic hero, the *bogatyr’, through a tripartite structure comprising stereotypical descriptions and circumstances as well as fixed epithets. Some elements of the oldest cycle of mythological *byliny* date back to the tenth and eleventh centuries, if not earlier, and their main heroes include Volkh Vseslavich and Sviatogor the giant. The latter is said to have breathed his incredible strength into Il’ia Muromets, one of the principle *bogatyr’* heroes of the younger Kievan *bylina* cycle which focuses on the court of Vladimir of Kiev. Many of these *byliny* begin with a feast at Vladimir’s palace wherein the guests and *bogatyri* boast and/or quarrel among themselves (although most fighting is against the enemy). The later Novgorod cycle of *byliny*, with its protagonists Sadko and Vasilii Buslaev, concentrates less on such acts of heroism, than on the trade and everyday affairs of the city. These *byliny* present elements from folktales as well as a more realistic picture of life. *Bylina* motifs from both the Kiev and Novgorod cycles are found in the hagiographical works analysed in this chapter, including heroic idealization, superhuman strength, courtly power struggles, and the more real-life context of Novgorod’s everyday affairs.

Laments (*prichitanii, pricheti* or *plachi*) pose a particular problem when it comes to distinguishing between folkloric and Christian elements, and thus also their influence upon hagiographical writing. One of the most universal socio-poetic

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\(^{19}\) See Pypin, ‘Narodnye legendy’, pp. 186-87.


\(^{21}\) Ibid.
traditions to be reflected in literature. Adrianova-Peretts suggests that laments found in medieval Russian literature are a 'прямое наследие традиции устных плачей, поддерживаемая в то же время в литературной среде теми образцами книжных плачей, с которыми древнерусский книжник познакомился через библейско-византийскую литературу'. Traditionally the task of wives mourning their dead husbands (although also performed by professional keeners), they range from heart-rending expressions of grief, the lament in its most subjective, impulsive form, to more formal sentiments, from the lyrical to rhetorical, from secular to ecclesiastical, although the aims were always basically identical. All types of lament comprise a varying degree of spontaneity, although ultimately based upon a familiar set of images and poetic devices that give them some degree of formality. Features of oral lament (commonly widows' laments) found in rhetorical hagiographical works tend to draw on the images of widow and children left alone and defenceless, their pleas for the deceased to respond, to return, and often include comparisons to natural elements such as the setting sun, wind and water. The impact of such hybrid laments can be very strong and they emphasize both 'sophistication as the repository of Orthodox wisdom and learning and [...] simplicity as a widow in distress. The use of the vernacular makes the learned kind of disposition and thoughts more immediate and easily perceptible'.

The composition of orally influenced hagiographical hybrids was facilitated by similarities in structural concept and patterning. Vladimir Propp, referred to above, studied the framework of the Russian skazka; analysing 100 volshebnye skazki as an organic whole, he came to the conclusion that all the tales, regardless of their seemingly individual protagonists and plots, displayed an identical sequence of functions and the same fundamental structure. P. D. Ukhov and A. P. Skaftymov examined repeated patterning of topoi and fixed epithets in byliny and concluded that, although byliny were subject to change as a result of continual oral

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23 Adrianova-Peretts, *Ocherki*, p. 135. It should be noted that this typically Soviet view is simplistic as it ignores the influences of the long Byzantine tradition of lament as well as Biblical lamentations.
24 See Andreev and Vinogradov, 'Russkie plachi', p. x.
26 See note 13.
transmission, they displayed clear compositional patterns (in part, if not in whole). Such studies indicate how oral tradition relied upon a system of structural and image-based patterning, in similar ways to hagiography. Propp also notes that images and motifs of the ancient pre-Christian era were often accepted into Christian culture in an appropriately Christianized form, which would certainly have rendered easier the task of composing a hybrid text: for example, 'the devil in the role of airborne carrier, the angel as provider of magic object, the test which resembles mortification'.

The immediate response of laypeople to folk elements in hagiographical works appears to have been positive; we know many of the affected works, such as the Povest o Petre i Fevronii Muromskikh and the Zhitie Ioanna Novgoroda, to have been popular and extensively reproduced. The newly baptized people of Rus' perhaps identified more readily with familiar folklore heroes of both pre-Christian and Christian times (both the supernatural characters of the volshebnye skazki and the ordinary Christian folk in the legendy) than with the rigorous life of the early Christian ascetics, and equally, the ancient ritual of lament may have been closer to them than lofty rhetorical eulogies. Understandable also is the attraction of tales of the fantastic including many supranatural motifs from a pre-Christian past such as dragons and dragon-slayers, magical objects and transportation. The resultant hybrid works, neither purely ecclesiastical, nor purely folkloric, played an important role in the evolution of Russian hagiographical writing: although the values and methods employed were often vastly different, hagiography and oral traditions did share some essential common goals, which included an attempt to explain or justify the inexplicable to the believer and the instilling of a system of ideals and norms, with Christian tradition more concerned with the former and oral tradition the latter.

This study seeks to examine the extent to which sixteenth- and seventeenth-century hagiographers consciously incorporated oral elements into their sacred writing in a manner different from earlier hagiographers, and to new ends, in order to captivate, stimulate and manipulate their reader-audience. The extent to which the hagiographer (or editor) may have employed oral features in a deliberate attempt to imply by analogy a secondary, not purely ecclesiastical, agenda will also be examined.

The Texts

Povest' o Merkurii Smolenskom

Merkurii of Smolensk was a legendary warrior hero said to have saved the city of Smolensk from the military advances of Batu in 1237-38. In fact, Batu never reached Smolensk and Dmitriev suggests that 'это было осмыслено, как проявление божественного заступничества и как результат эпического подвига богатыря'. Yet Merkurii was canonized by the Orthodox Church and his vita, commonly known as the Povest' o Merkurii Smolenskom, has come down to us in almost eighty variants, most often found in sixteenth-century menologies. The text used here is from Makarii's Velikie Minei Chet'.

The Povest' is preceded by a unique work detailing the same events: the Slovo o Merkurii Smolenskom, known also as the Zhulev or popular variant, composed probably no earlier than the second half of the fifteenth century (GIM, Synodal collection, No. 908, a seventeenth-century collection). Many scholars believe the Slovo to be a written version of the original legenda used in later recordings of the Povest'.

30 Early examples (c. 1530-50s) include GPB, Solovki collection, No. 507/526, and GIM, Sinodal collection, No. 988, 176. There are also fourteen known chronicle copies of the Povest'.
31 The published text is found in Pamiatniki slaviano-russkoi pis'mennosti. Velikie Minei Chet' i. Noiabr'; vypusk IX, chast' 2-ia, tetrad' 1, dni 23-25, Moscow, 1917, cols 3,297-3,306 (hereafter 'Povest' o Merkurii').
32 It is published as 'Slovo o Merkuriu Smolenskom' in PLDR: XIII vek, eds L. A. Dmitriev and D. S. Likhachev, Moscow, 1981, pp. 204-09 and 560-61 (hereafter 'Slovo o Merkurii').
33 See, for example, F. I. Buslaev, Istoricheskie ocherki russkoi narodnoi slovesnosti i iskusstva, 2 vols, St Petersburg, 1861 (hereafter Buslaev, Istoricheskie ocherki), 2, pp. 155-98. Dmitriev, however, suggests the Slovo may be based on an entry s.a. 1148 in the Nikonian Chronicle and the bylina 'Sukhman'. The Chronicle entry recounts how Dem'ian Kudenevich, described as a bogatyr', crushes the forces of Prince Gleb Iur'evich three times with only divine assistance. In the third battle Demian is wounded but manages to get back to the city from the battlefields before dying; see The Nikonian Chronicle from the Year 1132-1240 (Volume Two), ed. and with an introduction by Serge A. Zenkovsky, Princeton, New Jersey, 1984 (hereafter Nikonian Chronicle), pp. 35-38. Although this chronicle was compiled at the relatively late date of 1540 and is largely verbatim copying of earlier chronicle documents, it includes many works either of unknown origin or which are clearly adaptations of early legend and myth. Zenkovsky notes that as Demian Kudenevich is not mentioned in either the Laurentian or the Hypatian Chronicle, the inclusion of his story is most likely a sixteenth-century addition 'based on some epic oral tradition. The appearance of epic (bylina) folklore material in the writings of that century was characteristic of the time. It could have been inspired by mention of the town, Kudnevo, in Laur. 6657(1149)' (see ibid., p. 36, note 78). The bylina tells how the bogatyr' Sukhman Odikhmant'evich single-handedly saves Kiev by clubbing to death 40,000 Tatar
S. P. Pisarev, believe it was written shortly after the events described in the thirteenth century; others, like F. I. Buslaev and P. Mindalev, think it has ancient epic roots; and many more, including M. O. Skripil' and L. A. Dmitriev, believe it to be a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century recording of an oral legend. The question of authorship is likewise complex; although early menology variants most likely used a local Smolensk chronicle as a source, the *Velikie Minei Chet* 'i variant would certainly have been written in either Novgorod or Moscow.

*Zhitie Antoniia Rimlianina*

Antonii, born in 1067, founded the St Antonii Monastery at Volkhov, a short distance from Novgorod, in 1117. According to the *vita*, he died on 3 August 1147 having spent thirty years in the monastery, the last sixteen as abbot. As his name in the title of the *vita* suggests, he was possibly not a native of Novgorod, but the idea that he was of Roman origin must be treated with care and Fet maintains that Antonii was in reality a wealthy inhabitant of Novgorod. The *Zhitie Antoniia Rimlianina* is a late sixteenth-century work based on a non-extant older *vita* or notes, but with the addition of *legenda* material. The *vita* is preserved in several manuscript collections where the text is virtually identical in all cases. The fullest available variant of the work, the *Povest' ob Antonii Rimlianine*, is used here.

The author is cited in most copies as Andrei, known to have been Antonii’s pupil and successor as abbot at the St Antonii Monastery from 1147 to 1157. Anachronistic errors in the *vita*, however, strongly suggest that the issue of authorship, and date of composition, is more complex. We find, for example, an explanation of Novgorod currency which would have been unnecessary for a twelfth-century audience: Понеже в то время у новгородских людей не бысть...
Hagiographical Hybrids

Another such discrepancy is the date given for the construction of the first stone church, which, according to the vita, Prelate Nikita helped to build in 1117. The Novgorod Chronicles, however, state that Nikita died in 1108. Such inconsistencies indicate either reworking and addition to an earlier text, or else later composition based upon notes made, probably by Andrei, during or shortly after Antonii’s lifetime. Indeed, the introduction to the variant published in the Pravoslavnyi sobesednik states that one year after the translation of Antonii’s relics in 1597 and connected to his canonization in 1598, the monk Nifont from the St Antonii Monastery reworked an earlier vita to include miracles credited to Antonii which had occurred between 1578 and 1597. Nifont most likely introduced the above anachronisms as well as local legends surrounding Antonii. Thus we see that this Povest’ offers an instance of an oral legenda woven into a pre-existing text.

Pisanie o prestavlenii i o pogrebenii kniazia Mikhaila Vasil’evicha Shuiskogo, rekomago Skopina

Mikhail Vasil’evich Skopin Shuiskii was a popular figure in the Moscow royal courts during the Time of Troubles. A successful warrior, diplomat, champion of the people, he was regarded as a likely successor to his uncle Vasilii Shuiskii, who had himself crowned tsar in 1606 after the murder of the first False Dmitrii. When Mikhail died suddenly at the age of twenty-three in 1610, however, foul play was suspected and it was widely rumoured that he had been poisoned at a banquet held two weeks previously.

38 ‘Povest’ ob Antonii’, p. 267. In some redactions this explanation has been parenthesized, making it even more apparent that the author was aware of breaking the flow of narrative; see, for example, ‘Zhitiie Antonii rimlianina’ in Pravoslavnyi sobesednik, part 2, nos 5-6, Kazan’, 1858, pp. 157-71 and 310-24 (hereafter ‘Zhitiie Antonii’)(146).


41 See the introduction to the ‘Zhitiie Antonii’, pp. 158-59. Based on evidence shown in a ‘Pokhval’noe slovo’ in honour of Antonii, composed by Nifont c. 1591, which refers to a vita, Fet suggests that Nifont’s composition of the vita dates from as early as 1570-80 (Fet, Slovar’, p. 246).

42 It is commonly held that Tsar Vasilii Shuiskii and his brother Dmitrii were jealous of Mikhail’s military success and fearful of his great popularity. Dmitrii’s wife, Ekaterina, is said to have been responsible for administering poison to Mikhail during the banquet. For a factual historical background, see Robert O. Crummey, The Formation of Muscovy, 1304-1613, London, 1987 (hereafter Crummey, Formation), pp. 220-25, and
The likelihood that the Pisanie was intentionally composed as a *vita* is not strong; as noted in the Introduction, Mikhail was never canonized but rather revered as a great military defender. The work is basically an extended panegyrical lament, although it is possible that the author may have had hagiographical pretensions, hoping to establish Mikhail as a martyr, who having rid Muscovy of the Poles, was murdered by a conspiratorial band. What is of most relevance to this study, however, is the changing perception of what constitutes sanctity and worth; what kind of hero inspires emulation? Mikhail is an example of how hagiographical idealization and reverence, previously almost exclusively reserved for the ideal spiritual model, are extended to a layman in a far more secular context in the later medieval period.

Three main hagiographical works are devoted to Mikhail: the earliest and most relevant to this study is the *Pisanie*, probably composed in 1612. Detailed accounts of Mikhail's death and burial suggest that the author was an eye-witness, although on the other hand, Ekaterina Skuratova, said to have prepared and given Mikhail the poisoned drink, is mistakenly called Mariia, the name of her sister, wife of Boris Godunov. A contemporary eye-witness would have been unlikely to make such a fundamental error. Such discrepancies may indicate later reworking and inclusion of oral influences, as in the case of Antonii Rimlianin. The text of the *Pisanie* has been preserved as an independent work in only one copy, GPB, OLDP (Obshchestvo liubitelei drevnei pis'mennosti), F. 12, published in 1904 by P. G. Vasenko, which is used here.

The other works connected with Mikhail are the tale *O rozhenii voevody kniazia Mikhaila Vasil'evicha Shuiskogo Skopina*, and the so-called *Povest' o kniaze

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44 'Pisanie o prestavlenii i o pogrebenii kniazia Mikhaila Vasil'evicha Shuiskogo, rekomago Skopina' in *Povesti o kniaze Mikhaile Vasil'eviche Skopine-Shuiskom*, St Petersburg, 1904, pp. 17-30 (hereafter 'Pisanie o prestavlenii').

45 This text was published as 'O rozhenii voevody kniazia Mikhaila Vasil'evicha Shuiskogo kniaziya Mikhaila Vasil'eviche Skopine-Shuiskom, St Petersburg, 1904, pp. 10-17. For a proposal that the *Pisanie* and the tale *O rozhenii* were penned by the same author, see V. F. Rzhiga, 'Povest' o pesni o Mikhaile Skopine-Shuiskom, *IpoRIAS*, 1, 1928, 1, pp. 81-107. G. P. Enin has, however, offered a concise and persuasive counter-argument that the two works did indeed have different authors (G. P. Enin, 'Povest' o kniaze Mikhaila Vasil'eviche Skopine-Shuiskom', *TODL*, 41, 1987, p. 73).
The former was composed at the beginning of the 1620s and describes Mikhail's life and deeds, presenting him as a zealous protector of the Orthodox faith and, ultimately, a martyr. More than probably this work was written as a hagiographical 'supplement' to the Pisanie which does not recount Mikhail's life story. The Povest' o kniaze Mikhaile is a later compilation of the Pisanie and the tale O rozhenii which had been copied side-by-side in manuscript collections for many years before an unknown knizhnik took it upon himself to combine them into one whole towards the end of the 1620s. In the Povest' o kniaze Mikhaile, the tale O rozhenii is included almost in full but the Pisanie is heavily edited and cut, very little of its original form being preserved. The result is a rather mechanical work which, having lost much of the significant detail through editing out of the oral features, lacks a coherent overall framework.

The Contextual Hagiographical Background

Given the ancient practice of incorporating oral elements into sacred writing, as mentioned above, it is not surprising to find many such examples in the early Russian chronicles and in works devoted to the Tatar domination. More specifically relevant to this study, diverse use of oral features from legendy, byliny, folktales and laments occurs in several vitae. Indeed, hagiography has to some extent always relied upon oral sources for topoi such as the miracle tales. Early folk-influenced works tend to show a cruder treatment of legenda material, in which conventional hagiographical topoi and structure are neglected and the oral source clearly emphasized. For example, most versions of Pakhomii Serb's

46 The Povest' has come down to us in one manuscript (GPB, Pogodin collection, No. 1451) and was published by A. N. Popov as 'Povest' o kniaze Mikhaile Vasil'eviche Skopine-Shuiskom' in Izbornik, St Petersburg, 1869, pp. 378-88.

47 Perhaps considered threatening to the stabilizing influences of the Romanov dynasty after the Time of Troubles, all the elements of oral influence were edited out, as were the genealogical justification for Mikhail to ascend the Russian throne and the hyperbolic lamentation. The Povest' emphasizes Mikhail's historical military victories in a purely Christian context and it is thus not surprising that the Pisanie, heavily influenced by folkloric imagery and themes, is cut far more than the tale O rozhenii.


49 In the case of eyewitness accounts, though, the brevity of their existence would have ensured they were only lightly affected by the narrative conventions of oral literature (including, for example, the tendency to sharpen contrasts, drop irrelevant material, and use three-fold repetition).
Zhitiye Ioanna Novgorodskogo,\textsuperscript{50} composed in the 1470s, and the anonymous Zhitiye Avraamiiia Rostovskogo,\textsuperscript{51} composed in the early fifteenth century, incorporate several events whose supernatural nature clearly indicates oral sources: the trapping of a devil in a water vessel with a cross or by making the sign of the cross, for example, is common to both these works and also widely found in international folklore, including the \textit{bytovye skazki}.\textsuperscript{52} N. N. Durnovo suggests that this motif originated in 'еврейские тамплиерские сказания о власти Соломона над бесами, куда входил [...] рассказ о том, как Соломон запечатал бес в сосудах', and that the Slavs received it through Byzantine folklore.\textsuperscript{53} Ioann of Novgorod's forced transformation of the devil into a horse to carry him with supernatural speed to Jerusalem and back in one night is likewise a well-known theme in international legend.\textsuperscript{54} From these roots have sprung different versions of the same \textit{legenda} theme such as 'Поеzdka v Ierusalim' which no longer necessarily identifies the archimandrite as Ioann of Novgorod,\textsuperscript{55} and, to a lesser extent, 'Потан'ка'.\textsuperscript{56}

Familiar motifs from the \textit{skazki} and \textit{byliny} are also present in these two \textit{vitae}, illustrating how the \textit{legenda} absorbed elements from various oral sources. Both Avraamii and Ioann, for example, receive magical objects to help in their tasks; Avraamii a walking stick from John the Theologian (whom he meets wandering through the countryside), with which he is to destroy the idol of Veles in Rostov,\textsuperscript{57}

\textsuperscript{50} ‘Zhitiye sviatogo ottsa nashego Ioanna, arkhiepiskopa Novgorodskago’ in Zhitiia sviatykh, chet’ikh-minei sv. Dimitriia Rostovskogo. Kniga pervaia, St Petersburg, 1992, pp. 163-73; facsimile reprint of 1903 Moscow edition (hereafter ‘Zhitiye Ioanna’). This version differs slightly from the earliest ones which include an episode from the translation of Ioann’s relics in 1439 and the miracle that occurred after a large stone fell onto Ioann’s grave, breaking the tombstone; see GPB, Solovki Collection, No. 617/500.

\textsuperscript{51} ‘Zhitiye Avraamiiia Rostovskogo’ in Velikie minei chet’i. Oktiabr’, dni 19-31, St Petersburg, 1880, cols 2025-31 (hereafter ‘Zhitiye Avraamiiia’).


\textsuperscript{53} N. N. Durnovo, ‘Legenda o zakliuchennom bese v vizantiiskoi i starinnoi russkoi literature’, \textit{Drevnosti}, 4, 1907, 1, Moscow, pp. 54-152 (54).

\textsuperscript{54} See Thompson, \textit{Motif-Index}, refs: for journeys undertaken with magical speed, D2122.5 (vol. 2, p. 367), and for transformation of the devil into a horse or other animal and being made to serve man, see D102 (vol. 2, p. 14), D2121.5 (vol. 2, p. 375), DG241.2.1 (vol. 3, p. 294), and CG03.3.3.1.3.

\textsuperscript{55} ‘Поеzdka v Ierusalim’ in \textit{Narodnye russkie legendy A. N. Afanas’eva}, with introduction and commentary by V. S. Kuznetsova, Novosibirsk, 1990, pp. 120-23.

\textsuperscript{56} ‘Потан’ка’, ibid, pp. 119-20.

\textsuperscript{57} ‘Zhitiye Avraamiiia’, cols 2026-27.
and Ioann enough gold on the back of a horse (which mysteriously appears and then disappears) to complete the building of his church.\(^{58}\) In the latter case, the ‘красивый конь’ is strongly reminiscent of the magical horse found in the *skazki*.\(^{59}\)

In both cases, however, the *legenda* material occupies the majority of the narrative and appears to be the main reason for composition. Short introductions, comprising clichéd statements about the saint’s pious origins, and brief central narrative sections which serve to join one *legenda* theme to the next, tell us very little about the deeds of the saint. While the hagiographer would, understandably, have wished to record miraculous events connected to his subject, the lack of usual hagiographical *topoi* and structure in these vitae suggests a greater eagerness on the hagiographer’s part to record vivid local legends than the extraordinary religious accomplishments of the saint.

Such eagerness was perhaps also a factor in the composition of the carefully researched *Povest’ o Petre i Fevronii Muromskikh*,\(^{60}\) written, in all likelihood, by the publicist writer-archpriest Ermolai-Erazm sometime between 1540 and 1560 (probably after their canonization in 1547). Although the *Povest’* is novel in its portrayal of the psychological aspects of Petr and Fevronii’s relationship,\(^{61}\) and in the political subtext advocating a centralized Russian state and autocratic prince whilst condemning social inequality,\(^{62}\) it bears many more similarities to the vitae of Ioann and Avraamii than to the three works under detailed examination here. Composed as the official *vita* for the saints Petr and Fevronii (of whom there is no historical record),\(^{63}\) the bulk of the narrative clearly comprises two themes from the *volshebnye skazki* (serpent slaying and the Wise Maiden, both very common in international folktales also) with only a short hagiographical exordium and an even shorter *eulogy* at the end.\(^{64}\) Into this structure is woven a multitude of folktales

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59 See ibid., ref: 314.
63 Ibid., pp. 143-44.
64 On the image of the serpent slayer, see Aarne, *Types*, refs: 300 and 303, and on the Wise Maiden, ibid., refs: 875 I-IV.
motifs: for example, the search for the magical object with which to slay the serpent whose blood causes the prince to fall ill, after which he can only be cured by a Wise Maiden, who speaks in riddles and who will become his wife.65

Many motifs illustrate Propp’s remark on the acceptance of Christianized forms of pre-Christian images: for example, the serpent is said to be the devil, and Fevronia’s powerful communion with nature is described as a Christian miracle. Overall, and despite the comparatively late date of composition, it is not unreasonable to suggest that this work was composed just as much to record (and thus validate) the legends associated with the local cult of Petr and Fevronia, as to officially confirm their sanctity. If this is the case, it indicates an acceptance of non-conventional secular models of the Christian ideal for emulation. Whether such models as Ioann, Avraamii, Petr and Fevroniia were revered by the people in the same way as more conventional Christian saints cannot be established, although the large number of extant copies of these vitae certainly testifies to their popularity.

Significantly fewer hagiographical works incorporated elements from oral lament than from legendy, byliny and skazki. An important factor in this difference is that the Church had its own ‘tradition’ of eulogies.66 The only clear example of this type of oral influence is Evdotia’s lament for her dead husband found within the hagiographical Slovo o zhit’i i o prestavlenii velikago kniazia Dmitriia Ivanovicha, tsaria Ruskago,67 in which many features from popular widows’ laments are combined with Christian topoi noting Dmitrii’s piety, his God-fearing rule and military victories.68 Adrianova-Peretts compares several parts of Evdotia’s lament

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65 On the motif of speaking in riddles, see ibid., refs: 920-29. Becoming the wife of the cured patient is a variation on ibid., ref: 305. The many parallels in this work to international folklore (such as Gottfried von Strassburg’s twelfth-century legend of Tristan and Isolde, and the similarities to the Marchioness of Montferrat in Giovanni Boccaccio’s Decameron) have been examined elsewhere: see, for example, Dmitrieva, Povest’ o Petre i Fevronii and Skripil’, Tovest’ o Petre i Fevronii’.

66 Alissandratos, Patristic Eulogies, pp. 1-6.

67 ‘Slovo o zhit’i i o prestavlenii velikago kniazia Dmitriia Ivanovicha, tsaria Ruskago’, PLDR: XIV-seredina XV veka, eds L. A. Dmitriev and D. S. Likhachev, Moscow, 1981, pp. 208-29 and 560-63 (hereafter ‘Slovo o zhit’i Dmitriia Ivanovicha’). Evdotia’s lament is found on ibid., pp. 218-20. This anonymous Slovo dates from no earlier than the mid-fifteenth century and the oldest variants are found in the Sofiiskaia I letopis’, the Novgorodskaiia IV, and the Novgorodskaiia Karamzinskaia.

68 Another example, less directly influenced by oral tradition, is the lament of the Permian Church for Stefan of Perm’ in Epifanii Premudyri’s Zhitei sv. Stefanu episkopa Permskogo (see Chapter One, note 26). Epifanii uses the image of grieving widow and orphaned children (КТО СКАЖЕТ ЧАДОМ ЦЕРКОВНЫМ, ЯКО ОСВОТЫШ, КО ГЗВЕСТИ МЕВЯСНЯ, ЯКО ОВДОВ’?’, p. 91) but in a highly Christian context, where all comparisons are Biblical.
with a collection of widows’ laments from the oral tradition of northern Russia, and finds, amidst natural expressions of grief, common themes such as the image of the widow and children left alone and defenceless, addressing the deceased as if they were still alive and pleading for some response, and the comparison of the deceased to the setting sun. Note must also be made, however, of the many Christian elements in Evdotiia’s lament which can be traced back to ecclesiastical literature, such as her comparisons to, *inter alia*, a fruitful vine, precious purple robes and the deceased as the brightest light. Furthermore, the image of a prematurely withering flower, as Evdotiia addresses Dmitrii, symbolizes death in Christian literature, and her statement that “Эвери земнии на ложе свое идут, а птица небесная к гнездом своим летят, ты же господине, от своего дому не красно отходишь!” echoes Christ’s words in Matthew, ‘The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head’.

Evdotiiia’s lament is a good example of what Alissandratos describes above as the two sides, the ‘sophistication’ and the ‘simplicity’, of an integrated text; the skilled blending of these two approaches does indeed render the more formal aspects more easily understood by the reader-audience. Easier comprehension, in turn, leads to a greater impact and chances of the reader-audience identifying and sympathizing with the grieving party. In this way, the author is also well-placed to persuade the reader-audience of the veracity of his statements. In other words, once the emotional support of the reader-audience is won, the author is far freer to advance his own cause, in this case emphasizing the extraordinary piety as well as the dynastic and political might of Dmitrii.

Thus we see that, although a varied tradition of hybrid composition blending hagiographical elements with those from the oral tradition existed in the earliest literary documents, it was mostly used to record colourful local legends, to render official supernatural events under the guise of hagiographical writing or else to inject human emotion into an extended formal eulogy. Often the emphasis placed on such oral material appears to have neglected the fundamental task of hagiography, religious edification, in favour either of recounting a good story, or else, in the case of folk laments, of eliciting a naturally sympathetic response to

70 ‘Slovo o zhiti Dmitriia Ivanovicha’, p. 218.
71 Adrianova-Peretts, ‘Slovo’, p. 80.
72 ‘Slovo o zhiti Dmitriia Ivanovicha’, p. 218.
73 Ibid., p. 220.
74 *Matthew*, 8:20. See also Adrianova-Peretts, ‘Slovo’, p. 80.
even the most complex of rhetorical hagiographies. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such hybrids very clearly took on a new additional role as expedient literary vehicles enabling the authors of the works examined in detail below to make important statements and claims not necessarily ecclesiastical in nature and not necessarily focused primarily on the deeds of the saintly subject.

Structure

One of the most important areas of development in orally influenced hagiographical hybrids of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is that of structure. In order to understand the function and impact of oral features which were incorporated into *vitae*, it is useful first to establish how the structure of the works was affected, to what degree it differed from earlier hagiographical hybrids, and then proceed to a more detailed analysis of the folkloric themes and motifs.

As noted above, both oral tradition and hagiography relied upon a system of structural and image-based patterning, with both narrator and hagiographer able to 'individualize' their material to a limited extent by applying their own preferences in structure and style to their material. Both also believed their respective accounts were genuine, seeing their task as convincing their reader-audience of this, however fantastical or far-removed from the context of the latter's everyday experience. Such similarities are, however, superficial and it is clear that the fundamental patterning systems used in hagiography differ significantly from those used in the oral tradition, just as the creative methods and intentions of a literary author differ from those of an oral narrator. The qualities sought and illustrated, for example, in the protagonists of hagiographical writing differ radically from those of folklore heroes; while the former were recorded to inspire emulation of Christian virtue, the latter were designed to inspire admiration and wonder rather than moral zeal. Despite the varied range of *vitae*, the hagiographer was expected ultimately to work within the edificatory aims and framework of the Church, which never condoned the context in which oral narrators performed, claiming that popular entertainment detracted from the pure ideals of the good Christian's life: 'Earthly rejoicing and merrymaking had little place in the life of a Christian. He should glorify his God with tears, with fear and trembling; he should

75 See p. 94.
always repent and look forward to the moment of death'. The approach and art of the oral singer or teller was markedly different; his primary concern was the immediate reaction of his audience. A successful narrator knew how to read and manipulate the responses of his audience, how to create suspense and excitement and hold their attention usually with a more direct and dramatic narrative line than in hagiography.

In rare instances the two modes were combined. Pre-sixteenth-century examples of such hybrids tend to be primitive, almost mechanical, in structure: either the overwhelming majority of the narrative comprises obviously oral material (such as in the vitae of Ioann of Novgorod, Avraamii of Rostov and, to a certain degree, the Povest' o Petre i Fevronii), or else definite breaks in the narrative show how oral elements have been crudely inserted and how they rupture narrative and/or stylistic flow (such as Evdotiia's lament). Describing the legends which apply to the saints as lying on the borderline between vita and (secular) tale, Likhachev makes no distinction between works which include minimal oral material and those which are based primarily on oral sources, or between early and later hybrids, parameters helpful in assessing the evolution of hagiographical narrative. In the three later works under examination, a clearly different structural approach is discernible: the oral material is integrated less obtrusively into the body of the work resulting in a more fluent, detailed and convincing text.

Gaining the identification and trust of the reader-audience was, as we shall see, an important factor for the authors of these hybrid works. Guided by the principle of function as a determinant of the form of a literary work, an examination of the structure of these works in a broader context of the socio-cultural and political environment allows us to hypothesize about the authors' intentions to communicate a more complex message, one of political and legal significance, rather than solely religious edification.

Incorporation of legendy into the vitae of Merkuri and Antonii helped their hagiographers to present such secondary messages not only in a context of familiar oral tradition but also one in which, despite all supernatural features, the events described were accepted as truth (as was the case with all Christian legendy).

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77 See p. 93.
Doubtless such acceptance proved especially useful for the author of the *Povest’ o Merkurii*, in which the hero and events described are entirely fictitious. On the other hand, the tale of Merkurii provides the city of Smolensk with a great warrior hero (who single-handedly saves the city from a mighty enemy army) and, most importantly, with favoured patronage from the Mother of God. When the *Povest’* was composed in the early sixteenth century, Muscovy had only recently annexed the territories of Smolensk and it is not unreasonable to suggest that the Smolensk church sought to record and make official the *legenda* of Merkurii either as an important spiritual claim to protection from the Mother of God or else even as a statement of passive defiance.

In terms of structure, the *Slovo o Merkurii* is far less sophisticated than the later *Povest’ o Merkurii*. The text of the *Slovo* is very short and focuses entirely on the supposed destruction by Batu of the lands surrounding Smolensk and Merkurii’s defence of the city. We are told how Merkurii is summoned to church by the voice of the Mother of God who demands that he avenge the Christian blood which has been spilt, as well as detailing Merkurii’s own fate: at the end of the battle he will be approached by a fair youth (человекъ, красенъ лицемъ) and he must allow himself to be decapitated. He must then take up his head and return to Smolensk where he will die and be laid to rest in the church dedicated to the Mother of God. Events take place exactly as She predicts. The people of Smolensk wonder at this divine phenomenon (удивляющее божию строение), lament and attempt to move Merkurii’s body to the church for burial. No-one is able to move the body, however, and it lies in the same place for three days (just as Christ’s body lay for three days before rising from the tomb) until one night when the archbishop by chance witnesses the Mother of God and the two archangels Michael and Gabriel carrying it into the Church. The relics of Merkurii remain there to this day, we are told, exuding a sweet fragrance and working miracles for all those who come to the grave. No sustained attempt is made to relate Merkurii’s biography other than a few clichéd phrases defining his piety in the opening lines. Clearly, the author was interested only in relating the fantastic events of Merkurii’s single-handed battle against Batu’s army and, unlike the author of the *Povest’ o Merkurii*, he had no secondary point to communicate to his reader-audience.

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78 'Slovo o Merkurii', p. 206.
79 Ibid., pp. 205-06.
80 Ibid.
81 Ibid., pp. 206-8.
82 Ibid., p. 205.
The *Povest* has a more recognizable, though also unusual, structure for a *vita*. The title of the work is important, conveying one of the author's primary concerns:

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Главна изъявляется от чудес дивнейши заступницы нашей и великую ее милость святую и бывшую и бывающую тогда и ныне на граде нашем неисчетно от госпожи владычицы нашей богородицы и матеря Христа бога нашего. И память сказуется той славныя удонника ея, святаго Меркурія, иже есть пробь его въ Смоленскъ градъ нашемъ, о бывшихъ от него чудесъ.83
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Priority is clearly given to the Mother of God's protection of Smolensk both then and now, with Merkurii only mentioned in the second half of the title. By emphasizing the *continuing* role of the Mother of God in this way, the hagiographer alludes to the spiritual importance of Smolensk, something that not even the mighty armies of Muscovy can take from it, as they did the land and sovereignty.

As *exordium*, the author offers a passage of praise to the Mother of God for Her miraculous intervention and reminds his reader-audience that She can work miracles again: *Вы же сихъ не лестно послушайте, и бодрено къ тымъ молитвою приляпимся; да и нынѣ она можетъ своимъ угодникомъ чудотвествовати*.84

Following a lengthy passage describing the terrors of Batu's army, a lament by the Mother of God, a short prayer and passage recalling the slaying of Mikhail of Chernigov and his *boiar* Fedor by the Khan, as well as the approach of the enemy armies to Kiev and Muscovy, the narrative returns to Merkurii who up to this point has barely been mentioned. Much of this approaches the style of the chronicles, a type of composition with aims very different from those of hagiography. Possibly the author chose pragmatically to devote so much space to historical references in order to remind his reader-audience of events which took place almost four centuries earlier, although he may equally have intended to emphasize the horrors of the Tatar invasion and thereby magnify Merkurii's heroism in saving Smolensk. Overall, the first half of the work constitutes a highly unusual opening for a *vita* and is closer to a more secular form of tale which often begins by setting the scene for action.

Even when the narrative concentrates on Merkurii, however, the structural patterns do not follow hagiographical conventions. For instance, a secondary character, the church sexton, is introduced before Merkurii,85 as he receives

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83 *Povest* o Merkurii', col. 3,297.
84 Ibid., cols 3,297-98.
85 In both epic and hagiographical traditions, secondary characters were supposed to be strictly secondary.
instructions from the Mother of God to bring Merkurii to the church, an episode described in visual terms:

As Merkurii kneels before the icon of the Mother of God in the church and She has already begun speaking to him, the author interrupts the narrative and inserts the *topoi* normally found at the beginning of a *vita*, Merkurii's origins and childhood piety. The *Povest* claims that Merkurii is of Roman origin: ‘веще бо си сяятъ Меркурие от римскихъ пазухъ: от рода славна, или се реше – княжского. Бо бо родиною земля римскый’. Of the Greek faith, he served the ruler of Smolensk after having been summoned there by God for ‘чудотворение и величайную помощь’. Although hagiographers often invented a ‘personal history’ for subjects of their work about whom little is known, it is likely that in this case the author was deliberately trying to identify, and thus help to validate, the local legend of Merkurii (and by extension Smolensk) with older Christian roots through a link with Rome, birthplace of the Christian Church.

Switching back to the Mother of God’s instructions to Merkurii, the narrative then basically recounts the tale of Merkurii’s triumph over Batu’s troops, including a ‘giant’, before he himself is decapitated and carries his head back to Smolensk to tell of the victory. Again unusually, the author continually breaks into this narrative to add other information, for example, the enemy’s vision of the Mother of God and the rout of Batu’s army, humiliated by Her strength (see below). These two interruptions are not told together, which would seem more natural, but rather broken up by the description of Merkurii’s beheading. The *vita* ends with a very short eulogy and prayer. Looking at the text as a whole, the purpose for such interpolation becomes clear: every interpolation concerns the Mother of God and in this way the author is able to keep reminding his reader-audience of his important secondary objective, Her favoured patronage of Smolensk. By incorporating the

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86 Ibid., cols 3,301-02.
87 Ibid., col. 3,302.
88 Ibid.
89 Ibid., cols 3,305 and 3,305-06, respectively.
90 Ibid., col. 3,306.
legenda linked to Merkurii into, albeit fictitious, historical events he creates a stirring tale unlikely to be forgotten in Smolensk.

In the case of the Povest' ob Antonii Rimlianine, the hagiographer makes discerning use of local legend which stresses the supranatural in a far more concrete matter; the validation of the St Antonii Monastery's legal claim to land. Antonii's vita reveals a different and more focused structural framework than the Povest' o Merkuri: his hagiographer chose to work an oral legend into the body of a pre-existing vita (or notes intended to be made into a vita, see pages 97-98) at different points while preserving the narrative continuity, a task requiring a subtlety and understanding of narrative coherence not so important when composing a text from scratch as in the case of the Povest' o Merkuri. The effect is better integration of the oral elements into the hagiographical whole than, for example, in the Zhitiie Ioanna Novgorodskogo and the Zhitiie Avraamiia Rostovskogo.

Antonii's vita has no exordium and instead leads straight into a description of his pious origins and how he was born in Rome. After the death of his parents Antonii follows the saintly pattern of distributing their wealth to the poor, a topos which serves to introduce the legendary material: 'а прочая от имени своего вложи в сосуд в дельву, рекре в бочку, и закопавъ и всякою крепостью утвердивъ, скры и предасть морю'. A vague description follows of Antonii's life with a group of monks in the wilderness, including mention of his tonsure, before persecution divides them and Antonii finds himself alone. Settling on a rock by the sea, he prays as a strict ascetic day and night without moving for fourteen months, 'велико ангеломъ подобень бысть'. God's miraculous works are offered as explanation for the rock carrying Antonii, 'яко бы на карабли', safely across the sea from Italy to Novgorod, along the Neva and up the Volkhov river, all the time going against the current and 'быстрымъ неизреченныхъ', before coming to rest beside the small village of Volkho. In time he is summoned by Nikita, Prelate of Novgorod, who already knows Antonii's origins (Святитель же Никита провидевъ Духомъ Святымъ еже о преподобнемъ). Nikita, in turn, calls together the civil town governors and persuades them that it is God's will for a church and monastery to be built where Antonii has settled on the riverbank. Thus, despite the lack of exordium and one unconventional miracle, the structural features of the vita

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91 Povest' ob Antonii', p. 263.
92 Ibid., p. 264.
93 Ibid.
94 Ibid.
95 Ibid., p. 265.
up to this point follow hagiographical tradition, reflecting the spiritual development of Antonii’s life.

Though in some versions of the *vita* (including the Rumiantsev Museum collection, manuscript no. 154, used here) short sub-headings have been added at this point to introduce the miracle of the return to Antonii of the barrel of treasure thrown into the sea, in others where these are absent, the story of this ‘miracle’ introduces a rather abrupt change of tone and theme and may be justly considered a crude addition of the type mentioned by Likhachev.\(^96\) No spiritual dimension is attached to this miracle which brings only material reward and is hence more reminiscent of folk themes and popular fabulates about discovering treasure or pulling up mysterious catches in fishing nets (see below, *Folkloric Themes and Motifs*).\(^97\) After relating how the barrel is found and restored to Antonii (pulled in by hired fishermen who then claim the barrel for themselves, Antonii takes them to court and wins possession), the *vita* reverts to a more conventional hagiographical structure with the remainder of the work concentrating on the growth of the monastery, Antonii’s elevation to abbot, his death and deathbed instruction to the brethren. Antonii reveals to the supposed author of the *vita*, Andrei, his extraordinary origins and how he came to be in Novgorod. After Antonii’s death Andrei recounts the tale to the Archbishop Nifont and the inhabitants of Novgorod: ‘и оттого начать зваться Антоний Римляниинъ’.\(^98\)

Thus we see how Antonii’s hagiographer broke up the legendary material and wove it into the *vita* at several points, with varying degrees of success *vis-à-vis* narrative continuity, but overall to great effect. Integrating the two sources, oral and hagiographical, in this manner allowed him also to introduce an element of suspense, not a normal hagiographical narrative device. Based on didactic principles, hagiography gained nothing by introducing inexplicable behaviour or actions unless clarified immediately by attribution to divine will or demonic wiles. Two instances in the *vita* provide good opportunity for suspense: the lack of apparent motivation when Antonii throws the barrel into the sea and the lengthy arguments with the fishermen who recover the barrel. In both cases, the outcome or explanation is presented only after considerable time and digression: only when Antonii finally regains possession of the barrel does he tell us ‘еже бы не

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96 See, for example, the ‘Zhitie Antoniia Rimliianina’ in *Russkaia khrestomatiia*, ed. F. Buslaev, Moscow, 1888 (hereafter Buslaev, *Russkaia khrestomatiia*).
97 See, for example, folk narratives nos 32, 58 and 59 in Ivanits, *Russian Folk Belief*, pp. 167-68 and 183.
98 ‘Povest’ ob Antonii’, p. 270.
Hagiographical Hybrids

The argument with the fishermen is only resolved after taking it to a civil court. Use of suspense in this way allows the author to maintain interest in his work, and, distributing the supernatural elements of the *legenda* throughout the *vita*, interspersed with highly realistic detail of everyday life (see below, *Secular Heroes in a Secular Context*), serves also to render the tale more credible. Ultimately, credibility was crucial in persuading the reader-audience not only of Antonii's sanctity but also the spiritual significance of the monastery and its rights to the land around it. The author's novel structural approach, and seeming awareness that the form of his work had to convey accurately the function, would have played a role in establishing such credibility.

The author of the *Pisanie o prestavlenii i o pogrebenii kniazia Mikhaila Vasil'evicha Shuiskogo, rekomago Skopina* by contrast makes no claim to land or statement about independence (spiritual or physical); instead, he uses his text to make accusations concerning the death of Mikhail Skopin Shuiskii. The suspicious events surrounding Mikhail's death provided excellent material for the development of rumour, legend and song. Mikhail had been a favourite of the Muscovite people who had looked to him to bring some degree of stability to a country beset by social and political strife. Tsar Vasilii Shuiskii's beleaguered Court lost even more popularity when it became widely accepted that the Tsar, his brother Dmitrii and the latter's wife had poisoned Mikhail; two months after the murder, Tsar Vasiliii was deposed by a group of *boiars*. The *Pisanie* served as a vehicle for the author to assert the validity of these rumours without directly naming the Tsar as culpable.

The text of the *Pisanie*, as mentioned above, is closer to a panegyrical lament than to a *vita*, a difference reflected in its structure which does not adhere to hagiographical conventions. On the other hand many features of the work

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99 Ibid., p. 267.
100 Ibid., pp. 267-68. It is possible that one other opportunity for suspense in the original version of Antonii's *vita* was rendered contradictory as a result of Nifont's later editing and additions to the text. The *vita* claims that Antonii's Roman origins became known only after his death (ibid., p. 270), although we are told earlier in the work how Antonii had explained in court that 'сия бочка нашей худости, дана морстей водъ в Римъ [...] и злато и сребро от импния родителей моихъ' (ibid., p. 267). If Nifont, as suggested above, added this statement and the court proceedings in the sixteenth century in an effort to bolster the legality of his claims, then he also destroyed the suspense created by the earlier hagiographer. Such inconsistencies and contradictions are not unusual in texts where editing has occurred after long time lapses.
101 At least two historical songs appeared soon after the event, see Carl Stief, *Studies in the Russian Historical Song*, Copenhagen, 1953, pp. 96-136.
emphasize Mikhail as an idealized hero of the warrior-defender type, and the author puts him forward as worthy of emulation in much the same way as a hagiographer puts forward his saintly protagonist (see below). Reflecting further the changing perception of worth and inspirational attributes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the portrayal of Mikhail is set in a clearly secularized context, as seen through analysis of structural aspects of the work.

The Pisanie opens with an unusual reference to the passing of time since Creation:

Отец же рече Бог: да будет свет, небо и земля, и солнечное течение и луноное умножение и умаление. Иогда быша звезды, восхваляша мя гласомъ великимъ вси ангели мои и сотворена прочая тварь вся, и человѣчеси услышавъ, изошло времена, индикты и по еврейски, и по гречески, и по латынски, понеже по поводцамъ разчитаютъ времена и лета по русскому же языку.103

Though more than one interpretation of this statement is possible, it seems likely that the author was employing traditional abstracting techniques designed to place Mikhail in a hagiographical time frame.104 Linking a political event (the murder of Mikhail) in this way with the history of Creation, however concise, raises the hero in the mind of the reader-audience to a higher level than mere court intrigue. Furthermore, the genealogical affirmation of Mikhail’s noble status that follows supports this elevated position. The author manages to throw together in one breath the Roman Emperor Augustus, Vladimir I and Aleksandr Nevski, followed soon after by the Princes Andrei of Suzdal’, Daniil (son of Aleksandr Nevski) and several others in an attempt to justify his suggestion that Mikhail was a legitimate candidate to ascend the Russian throne.105 In this way, even before the tale of Mikhail’s death has begun, the author has subtly inferred not only that the people have lost more than a great warrior, but also the future tsar, thereby rendering the crime of Mikhail’s murder yet more heinous, and, furthermore, that the motives for the murder were political.

At this point the author breaks off from his historical contextualization and returns to the tale of the murder with a standard cliché, ‘но о семъ умолчимъ, на предреченной да пондемъ – о представлении князя Михаила Васильевича

103 Pisanie o prestavlenii, p. 17.

104 Although not overly common, a historical introduction from Creation on was one possible form of exordium in Slavonic vitae; see, for example, the Zhitiie Mefodii in Uspenskii sbornik XII-XIII vv., comps O. A. Kniazevskiaia et al., Moscow, 1971, pp. 188-98, and the ‘Chtenie i zhiti Borisa i Gleba’.

105 Pisanie o prestavlenii, pp. 17-18.
signalling the beginning of the first extended passage of oral influence. We are told of Mikhail's participation in the Moscow banquet celebrating the christening of his godson Aleksei, together with the godmother 'Mariia', wife of Dmitrii Ivanovich Shuiskii and daughter of Maliuta Skuratov-Bel'skii. 'Mariia' prepares a glass of poisoned wine for Mikhail to drink, shortly after which he falls ill and leaves the banquet. The folk epic elements in this passage are discussed in detail below, although note should be made here that, in terms of structure, they help to build dramatic suspense through repetition, while also allowing the author to identify the characters responsible for Mikhail's death. 'Mariia' acts, according to the Pisanie, 'po sovetu zlykh izmennikov svoikh i sovetnikov mysliashche vo ime svoem zluyu mysl', thus implicating, although never directly naming, others. Following the introduction immediately with such a dramatic description of events impacts on the reader-audience's emotions. Having presented Mikhail in the solemn context of the Creation and his genealogy, the author's decision to relate the murder through the language and imagery of the oral tradition switches the focus from the formal to the informal, the abstract to the familiar. Mikhail is here depicted not only as distinguished warrior-defender, a larger-than-life figure of adulation, but also as godfather to an infant boy and innocent victim of intrigue, a recognizable figure with whom the reader-audience may identify.

After his death, Mikhail is universally mourned and Princess Elena's home is filled with those who come to lament. The lament of Mikhail's fellow warriors closes with another authorial break: 'no bo vse vkratce pischem, a nedoumeem ubo monto i zhalostnago placa i priyitaniya их исписати, но возвратимся убо ко прежнему', yet which in fact merely continues to list the diverse groups of people who come to mourn (the rich, the poor, widows, the blind and the crippled). A short passage recounts the grief of the Swedish commander, Jakob de la Gardie (here called Iakov Puntusov), who describes Mikhail as 'ne tokmo господина моего, но государя кормилица моего своими очи мне видети'; he is distraught when he sees the body and assures everyone that Mikhail will be mourned in the
Swedish lands just as much as he is mourned in Muscovy.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 21-22. Adrianova-Peretts notes the similarity of de la Gardie's words to those of the Metropolitans lamenting the death of Aleksandr Nevskii: 'Уже бо не обращається таковий князь ни един в земля Суздалесь' (Adrianova-Peretts, Ocherki, p. 153).} The effect of de la Gardie's emotional reaction and statement is to imply that Mikhail was not only the protector of Muscovy, but that he enjoyed heroic status abroad as well. Such blatant distortion of historical fact (far from being the protector of the Swedish lands, Mikhail had negotiated an agreement with Sweden in 1609 which gave the latter Russian territory on the Gulf of Finland in exchange for Swedish military assistance against the Polish occupation of Muscovy\footnote{See Florinsky, Russia, pp. 235-37.} almost certainly arose from oral sources. Its use here allows the author of the Pisanie to emphasize both Mikhail's popularity and his role as warrior-defender.

Continuing the portrait of elevated hero, the author then describes the arrival of Tsar Vasilii and his brother, together with the Patriarch and countless representatives of the Church. The appearance of the Tsar and his retinue marks a critical point in the narrative: up to here every group of mourners has been described as shedding heartfelt tears, groaning and crying, yet there is no indication whatsoever of the Tsar's reactions. The author implies that the Tsar felt no grief at Mikhail's death, a device suggesting Tsar Vasilii's complicity in the murder. The same pattern is repeated later: the Tsar does not participate in the emotive scenes of collective lament at Mikhail's funeral and only on return to his palace does he weep bitterly; 'на златъ столъ свой царский ницъ падъ и плача я залепаяся'.\footnote{Pisanie o prestavlenii', p. 28.} Once again, though the author does not make clear whether these tears constitute a private expression of genuine grief, or else the conscience-striken outpourings of an accomplice in murder, it is clear from the dire premonitions concerning his fate at the end of the Pisanie that the latter is intended: the final paragraph foresees a dark future for those in the royal palace, in the words of a wise old man interpreting a sinister dream in which the palace building disgorged a black liquid before crumbling totally, 'Мнитъ ми ся, яко некоторому великому мужу отъ полаты царевы смертное посеченіе приближается'.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 29-30.} Not found in any of the historical songs about Mikhail, which focus only on the human tragedy and conflict, this prediction promotes an overall political message in keeping with the intentions of the author of the Pisanie. Furthermore, the people's demand (however dubious historically) that Mikhail be buried in the prominent Church of the Archangel
Michael in Moscow, which contains the burial vault of the Grand Princes of Muscovy and thus correctly reflects Mikhail’s revered status, rather than be taken back to the family grave in Suzdal’ as Tsar Vasilii wanted, does little to improve the Tsar’s standing. By skilfully incorporating into the structure of his work several passages from the folk epic tradition which emphasize the spontaneous and emotional reactions of the people and also highlight by contrast the Tsar’s unpopularity, Mikhail is glorified as an elevated idealized hero, worthy by any hagiographical standard of emulation.

All these works thus reflect an advance (albeit at times still slightly careless and unrefined) from the structural simplicity of earlier hybrid works which insert legendary material in toto into the main hagiographical narrative. Adapting the structural framework to create a tale which locks together the hagiographical and oral features in a more integrated and convincing manner than previously not only helps the flow of the narrative, but also allows the authors to create dramatic suspense, an innovative device in contemporary hagiography. Furthermore, we see how the imperative to convince the reader-audience of a secondary issue played a role in the development of this more sophisticated structural form which, in turn, suggests a more secular approach to literary endeavour.

Folkloric Themes and Motifs

Having established the significant structural developments found in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century orally influenced hagiographical hybrids, we may now proceed to a detailed examination of the type, function and impact of oral features used. In much the same way as the authors of these works chose deliberately to adapt the structural norms of the high-style rhetorical vita, they also chose to supplement conventional hagiographical topoi with a host of folkloric themes and motifs. Reflecting the more sophisticated structural approach, these oral features were also more fluently woven into the narrative than in earlier hybrids and used either to emphasize or play down various elements of the works, as well as to encourage reader-audience identification and support through familiarity.

115 Ibid., p. 23.
116 One of the major reasons behind the people’s dislike of Tsar Vasilii was the restrictions he instituted on free movement of the peasants. Effectively, the Tsar was trying to appease the landowners but lost any support from the other classes as a result. See Crummey, Formation, pp. 223-25 and Florinsky, Russia, pp. 230-38.
As noted above, identification with the familiar images and heroes of folk tradition rather than with Christian hagiographical models may well have been more natural for the reader-audience, and the vivid colour and variety of the oral tradition probably presented an attractive alternative to the spiritual and ascetic feats usually associated with the lives of the saints, the emulation of which demanded spiritual sacrifice. Encouraging the reader-audience to extend a perception of the Orthodox saint beyond religious parameters was not a device commonly employed by hagiographers, but in the cases under examination, where the authors clearly had a non-ecclesiastical secondary agenda, they had good reason to do just that.

Inclusion of folkloric themes and motifs affects each work in a different way and to a varying degree. Given the temporal distance between events and composition, the Slovo o Merkurii shows a more concentrated level of folkloric influence than the later hagiographical Povest’ o Merkurii. The Slovo opens with the immediate introduction of the main character, a typical feature of oral narrative practice (‘Be убо некто человекъ млад верстю именемъ Меркурий во граде Смоленске’117), before briefly describing how Batu has ravaged the country and now advances on Smolensk. This passage is immediately followed by the mother of God’s call for retribution: reminiscent of Princess Ol’ga’s actions in the Povest’ vremennykh let as well as the tale of ‘Egor the Brave’,118 the motif of revenge points strongly to original oral sources. Although the image of the righteous Christian warrior is common in the Old Testament and in the Byzantine panegyrical tradition,119 it is not as widespread in early Russian texts, especially when couched in terms of an active search for revenge. Note should also be made of Merkurii’s passive obedience, a common feature of the hero of the volshebnye skazki (as well as in the Povest’ o Petre i Fevronii).120

At the end of the battle, once victory has been secured, the description of Merkurii’s beheading is characteristic of the voluntary decapitation motif, well-known in world folklore: normally, the hero enters into a bargain with the enemy according to which the hero will be the first to be decapitated, after which he replaces his own head. The enemy then shirks his turn for decapitation, thus

117 ‘Slovo o Merkurii’, p. 204.
118 See ‘Povest’ vremennykh let’ in PDLR: XI-nachalo XII veka, eds L. A. Dmitriev and D. S. Likhachev, Moscow, 1980, p. 23-278 and 418-51 (68-72), and ‘Egor the Brave’ in which the Mother of God sanctions revenge against an evil tsar (Ivanits, Russian Folk Belief, pp. 145-50).
119 Adrianova-Peretts, Ocherki, pp. 102-09.
120 See Aarne, Types, ref: 1409.
enhancing the hero's fearless honour. Among the best known beheading pacts are those between Cuchulain and the bachfach, and between Gawain and the Green Knight.\textsuperscript{121} Decapitation is also a Biblical motif, found in the description of John the Baptist being beheaded by Herod Antipas.\textsuperscript{122} Although there is no formal decapitation pact, in the \textit{Slovo o Merkurii} a 'прекрасен вонъ' does indeed decapitate Merkurii who picks up his head and walks back to Smolensk, leading his horse, where he lies down at the Mongolian Gates and dies.\textsuperscript{123}

The Mother of God's prediction of how events will unfold echoes the predictions (usually of dark deeds and death) made by the mother figure in \textit{bylina} tales, such as 'Добрыня и змеи', where she tries in vain to dissuade her son from setting off on a dangerous mission.\textsuperscript{124} Another stock feature in the \textit{bylina} tradition is the brave horse, usually known as the 'удальцый конь', upon which many a \textit{богатырь} relies,\textsuperscript{125} and which, like the hero, is often capable of supernatural speed and strength.\textsuperscript{126} Merkuriy receives his instructions from the Mother of God and finds outside the church 'прекрасный конь стоял, и восседъ на нь, и исцед из города'.\textsuperscript{127} Reminiscent of Ioann of Novgorod's magical gold-bearing horse which appears from nowhere and then vanishes, Merkuriy's trusty steed draws on the same motif from the \textit{volshebnye skazki} of magical objects to help and/or protect the hero, for as Merkuriy dies, his evidently magical horse 'невидим бысть от него'.\textsuperscript{128}

Several of the oral features in the \textit{Slovo o Merkurii} are amended or omitted in the \textit{Povest o Merkurii} and others, not present in the \textit{Slovo}, appear; this suggests that the \textit{Slovo} was not the sole source for the \textit{Povest}. More than likely, at least two legendy were combined. In the \textit{Povest}, for example, the Mother of God does not demand revenge against the enemy, but rather stresses that Merkurii must save the city of Smolensk and its Christian inhabitants from annihilation,\textsuperscript{129} and although Merkurii is told that he will spill his own blood in this encounter, no specific mention is made of the beheading.\textsuperscript{130} The battle is described at slightly greater

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{122} \textit{Matthew}, 14:1-12.
  \item \textsuperscript{123} 'Slovo o Merkurii', p. 206.
  \item \textsuperscript{124} 'Добрыня и змеи' in \textit{Byliny}, ed. D. S. Likhachev, Leningrad, 1957, pp. 104-11 (hereafter 'Добрыня и змеи').
  \item \textsuperscript{125} The \textit{богатырь} has to be told, however, where to find the horse.
  \item \textsuperscript{126} For the importance and significance of the horse in folklore, see Maria Kravchenko, \textit{The World of the Russian Fairy Tale}, Bern, 1987, pp. 133-35.
  \item \textsuperscript{127} 'Slovo o Merkurii', p. 206.
  \item \textsuperscript{128} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{129} 'Povest o Merkurii', cols 3,302-03.
  \item \textsuperscript{130} Ibid., col. 3,303.
\end{itemize}
length than in the *Slovo*, and strong emphasis is placed upon Merkurii's martyrdom. Although he has no 'brave horse' this time, Merkurii still triumphs and still loses his head, although to a 'варваринъ люд' instead of the 'предврачень воинъ'.

He likewise carries his head to the city and informs the inhabitants of his victory before dying. The tale of the immovable corpse, however, is not present.

The protective blanket thrown around Smolensk by the Mother of God reveals interesting associations between Her and a larger-than-life cosmic force, perhaps identifiable as Mother Earth, suggesting folk influence. When Mary is heard to lament the atrocities perpetrated by Batu's army, she is referred to as 'она, общая мать наша, земля'. Towards the end of the *vita*, Batu's vanquished troops in turn lament: '131, 132

Continuing the martial theme, Merkurii bears strong similarity to the *bogatyr* figure of the *bylina*, which has been mentioned already, and is compared to the Byzantine St Merkurii of Cesarea (commanded by the Mother of God to fight Julian the Apostate to save Cesarea single-handedly, and likewise beheaded). This comparison illustrates how Byzantine legend were adapted by the Slavs to fit a local context. Merkurii is also seen in the image of David fighting Goliath: '133

In the *Povest* 'Merkurii is the hopelessly outmatched hero who is nevertheless triumphant, thanks to the special patronage of the Mother of God. An inspirational warrior-hero who bears witness to divine favour, Merkurii may well have given hope and restored some pride and dignity to the citizens of a defeated city at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, the Mother of

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131 Ibid., col. 3,305.
133 'Povest' o Merkurii', col. 3,299.
134 Ibid., col. 3,305.
136 See note 33.
137 'Povest' o Merkurii', col. 3,303.
138 Ibid., col. 3,304. See also *First Book of Samuel*, 17.
God's eternal protection is symbolically expressed in Merkurii's sword and shield hanging over his grave. Found here in a Christianized form, the international folk motif of magical armour is well-known (for example, in the Arthurian legends of Camelot) and well-matched with the important tradition of holy relics which served as concrete evidence of miracles worked or supernatural feats performed.

Folkloric themes and motifs are equally evident in the Povest' ob Antonii Rimlianine, where the common legenda motif of miraculous transportation, as we found in the Zhittie Ioanna Novgorodskogo, is introduced very early in the narrative, combined here with a variant of the motif about Christ's wandering or journeying in the wilderness trying to find good Christian people. Interestingly, in one of the textual variants, the author states that Antonii himself has difficulty in understanding how he had crossed the ocean in only two days and nights, moreover on a rock; Antonii is said to consider this 'быше естества'. In this way, the author not only invites the reader-audience to share in and identify with Antonii's own amazement, but also ties the tale to the legendy whose supranatural characteristics were not only well known but also accepted as true.

In explanation of the floating rock, as already noted, the author refers briefly to God's miraculous powers. Christian miracles, however, usually revolve around a relatively restricted selection of themes, such as healing of the sick and provision for and protection of the needy. By contrast, the reader-audience in Volkhvov, guided by the author, would perhaps more readily have linked the tale with common folk motifs, for it should be remembered that in maritime and river communities local folklore often focuses around water. In an attempt to rationalize the unquantifiable mysteries of the oceans, all-powerful figures, such as the Morskoi Tsar' in the bylina 'Sadko', are created by sailors and fishermen who try not to displease them and appeal to them for help, offering tribute in times of crisis. Such figures parallel or adapt the tale of Jonah. In Scandinavia and Ireland, furthermore, folktales tell of rocks in the sea providing refuge and rocks moved by magic, as well as the Christian legend of monks who mistake a whale's back for a rocky island. Antonii's rock presents a variation on this theme with the

139 Ibid., col. 3,306.
140 See p. 92.
141 Buslaev, Russkaia khrestomatia, p. 144.
143 Jonah, 1-2.
144 See, for example, Leach, Standard Dictionary, refs: D2153.1 (vol. 2, p. 388), F804 (vol. 3, p. 214), R316 (vol. 5, p. 293) and Q525.1 (vol. 5, p. 246).
hagiographer using magical transportation, a common folktale device,\textsuperscript{146} to add narrative spice.

Importantly, the author presumably also hoped to designate the actual rock, the spot beside which the church and monastery were later built, as a holy relic, an object imbued with spiritual significance. In this way, concrete evidence is offered to support the truth of the legend and, in turn, spiritual claims to the land where it lies. Considerable emphasis is laid upon Antonii's supposed Roman origins, which, as in the case of Merkuri of Smolensk, would have rendered Antonii an attractive figure in terms of spiritual affiliations, thus bolstering local reverence as well as the case for canonization.\textsuperscript{147} Establishing the rock from Rome as a holy relic further supported the monastery's claim that it was at least spiritually entitled to the surrounding land. Clearly, the rock did finally attain the status of holy relic: 'В запискахъ Антониевъ монастыря прибавлено, что [...] въ паперти соборной церкви вдѣланный въ стѣну камень, на которомъ, по преданию, Антоний припальъ изъ Рима'.\textsuperscript{148} The same wooden church, however, is known to have burnt down in 1378 and the date of reconstruction is not known; thus the rock may well have existed only in the second church after the legend had become widely known. Whatever the case, the fact that the rock had come to symbolize Antonii's miraculous journey across the sea and was revered as a holy relic doubtless aided the claims of the sixteenth-century author to land rights for the monastery.

Antonii's hagiographer also asks his reader-audience to believe that the barrel filled with precious treasure, which Antonii threw into the sea in Rome, miraculously followed him to Volkhov and is retrieved only when Antonii hires fishermen to cast their nets in the lake, an incident strongly reminiscent of the international folk motif of treasure being restored to the good person who gave it away.\textsuperscript{149} Familiar also is the folk motif of the sea yielding up something precious or desired, in this case Antonii's treasure which ultimately finances the building and

\textsuperscript{146} Instances of magical transportation abound in international folklore; see Leach, \textit{Standard Dictionary}, refs: D1520 ff. (vol. 2, p. 257) and D2120 ff. (vol. 2, p. 374), and Aarne, \textit{Types}, refs: 400, 560 and 566.

\textsuperscript{147} Buslaev suggests that one of the original aims of the \textit{vita} may have been to instill the notion of the Orthodox Church as the 'true' religion. He claims that \textit{dvoeverie} was particularly rife in the Novgorod region at the time and there was much confusion between pagan, Latin and Orthodox beliefs: 'Многие впадали въ двоеверие, смешивая православие съ латинствомъ до того, что, например, носили детей своихъ для молитвы къ варяжскимъ священникамъ, то житие это должно было укреплять русскихъ въ православии, объясняя имъ заблуждения латинской ереси'. See the introduction to Buslaev, \textit{Russkaia krestomatiia}, p. 139.

\textsuperscript{148} 'Antonii, prepodobnyi, Rimlianin', p. 27.

\textsuperscript{149} See Thompson, \textit{Motif-Index}, ref: V411.5 (vol. 5, p. 472), and Aarne, \textit{Types}, ref: 745A.
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decoration of the church. Varied examples of this exist in Russian folktales, including that of Sadko the gusli player from Novgorod who in one variant of the bylina becomes fantastically wealthy after following the advice of the Morskoi Tsar and catching the golden-finned fish, as well as that of the miraculous golden pike caught by the durak hero who is granted unlimited powers in the tale 'Emel'ia-durak'. Ivanits also cites a legenda, 'The Barrel of Gold', which uses the same motif and tells of a rich merchant who loses his barrel of gold (and life) to the devil and how many others try in vain to recover the barrel from the depths of a river. With this motif an unusual and memorable account is created to explain how resources were found for the church, as well as implying that the treasures which adorned the church were of special spiritual significance as, like the rock itself, they came from Rome. In turn, the hagiographer's argument, the case for seeing the monastery as an especially blessed institution with legitimate claims both for land and veneration, is strengthened. Furthermore, this account is far more likely to have impressed itself upon the imagination and memory of the reader-audience than the much greater likelihood that Antonii simply provided traded goods from Novgorod to decorate the church (see below, Secular Heroes in a Secular Context).

As the Pisanie o prestavlenii i o pogrebenii kniazia Mikhaila Vasil'evicha Shuiskogo, rekomago Skopina is essentially a panegyrical lament one might expect to find lyrical expressions of grief similar to those found in Evdottiia's lament. The author, however, employs few such images; an interesting choice, bearing in mind the emotional potential of oral laments. Instead, he uses a variety of oral themes and motifs to supplement his accusatory approach, to bring the work alive and render it credible.

Immediately after the concise history of Creation and description of Mikhail's genealogy, the author moves to the banquet scene. As noted above, many of the Kievan Cycle byliny open with the description of a banquet at Vladimir's court. At the banquet the critical action is described in typically folkloric terminology:

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150 'Tovest' ob Antonii', p. 268.
152 'Emel'ia durak' in Narodnye russkie skazki A. N. Afanas'eva v trekh tomakh, eds L. G. Barag and N. V. Novikov, vol. 1, Moscow, 1984, pp. 320-26. There is a shorter variant of this last tale in which Emel'ia and his new bride are placed in a pitch-covered barrel and thrown into the sea by the angry king; see ibid., pp. 326-27.
153 'The Barrel of Gold' in Ivanits, Russian Folk Belief, pp. 163-64.
154 For example, 'Sadko', 'Sukhman', and 'Diuk Stepanovich' in Byliny, ed. D. S. Likhachev, Leningrad, 1957, pp. 354-65 (hereafter 'Diuk Stepanovich'), as well as 'Dobrynia i Vasilii Kazimirovich. Dobrynia v ot'ezde' (hereafter 'Dobrynia i Vasilii Kazimirovich').
The use of constant epithets (in this case, for example, 'кума подкрестная', 'чара пития' and 'ютое питие') is very common in byliny and banquet descriptions tend to share many similarities. Compare the above, for example, with an excerpt from the tale of Dobrynia and Vasilii Kazimirovich:

Князь позволил налить чару зелена вина;
Так этот малый скоморошніна
Каливает чару зелена вина,
Берет он князя чару во бёлы руки,
Каляк на полну чару зелена вина,
Да не малую стопу - да полтора ведра,
Разводил медами все стоялами,
Подносил Алешемьке Поповичу.

The rhythmic repetition in the Pisanie, stringing together of clauses with the conjunction 'и', the idea of a woman offering the poisoned wine, are all familiar devices and motifs from folklore. Admittedly, it is unusual for the hero not to realize that he has been poisoned ('не ведает, что злое питие ютое смертное'157), but perhaps this is a realistic reflection of what actually happened, unchanged by the conventions of folk narrative through lack of time between the event and its recording. Historically Mikhail is known to have fallen ill at the banquet, but he is not known to have accused anyone of poisoning him. He realizes what has happened only after he has left the banquet and, once again in accordance with oral tradition, sought shelter and comfort in his mother's home. By emphasizing the fact that Mikhail is unaware of the poisoning, the author also emphasizes his innocence and, thereby, the horror of the murder; not only was this heroic warrior murdered by his own relatives, but he had no reason even to suspect foul play and in no way acts dishonourably.158

Kazimirovich') and 'Boi Aleshi so zmeem' in Byliny v dvukh tomakh, eds V. la Propp and B. N. Putilov, Moscow, 1958, pp. 86-113 and 253-55 respectively.

155 'Pisanie o prestavlenii', p. 19.
156 'Dobrynia i Vasilii Kazimirovich', p. 110.
157 'Pisanie o prestavlenii', p. 19. In several of the folksong variants Mikhail does indeed guess straightaway that he has been poisoned; see, for example, the recording found in Sbornik 'Kirshi Danilova, ed. P. N. Sheffer, St Petersburg, 1901, pp. 115-18.
158 The theme of murder by relatives and the victim acting entirely honourably has strong parallels with the fate of Boris and Gleb, the first native Russian martyrs. While it is possible that the author of the Pisanie may have been trying to strengthen through

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Mikhail’s mother, Princess Elena Petrovna, is in no doubt that he has been poisoned; he will not survive and should have heeded her advice not to attend the celebrations. In the bylina tradition (reflected also in historical songs), the mother conventionally plays the role of the prescient woman who proffers good advice, cares and protects, and ultimately (if the hero is not immortal) mourns her son or husband. We see this in the mother of Dobrynia Nikitich who tries hard to persuade her son not to go first to the River Puchai and then to Vladimir’s feast in Kiev. \[159\] Likewise, Diuk Stepanovich’s mother warns him not to go to Vladimir’s court banquet, lest he lose his head. \[160\] Princess Elena is no exception, although she voices her warnings post-factum (in bylina warnings normally precede events as an indicator for audience as well as hero of the perilous action to follow): ‘и колко я тебе, чадо, въ Олександрову Слободу приказывала: не еді во традь Москву, что лихи въ Москве звери любые, а пышать ядомь змийнымь изменничимь’. \[161\] Placing her warning speech after the poisoning, however, serves not only to re-live the dramatic part of the narrative through repetition (another favoured feature in the oral tradition), but also to emphasize the finality, the irreversibility of Mikhail’s death. At this point Mikhail does indeed collapse and nothing can be done by the host of doctors who attend him; he dies two weeks later on 22 April 1610.

Princess Elena’s warning is immediately preceded by a host of questions, forming a brief synopsis of recent events:

\[\ldots\] для чего ты рано и борзо съ честнаго пиры отъехаь, любо тебе богоданый крестный сынъ принялъ крещение не въ радости, любо тебе въ пиры место было не по отечеству, или бо тебе кумъ и кума подарки дарили не почестные! А хто тобя на пиры честьно упоиъ честнымъ питиемъ, и съ того тебе питиа векъ будетъ не проспаться. \[162\]

Such questioning is yet another common feature in the bylina tradition, as illustrated, for example, by Dobrynia’s mother who asks her son on his return from Vladimir’s feast:

Дай же ты, мое чадо да милое,
Об чем же ты да кручишись,
Об чем же ты да ты печалишься?
Не пьянщица-дурак не наплевал в глаза?

indirect association the idea that Mikhail was also worthy of the martyr’s crown, it should not be considered a deliberate connection.

\[159\] ‘Dobrynia i zmei’, pp. 104-11.
\[161\] ‘Pisanie o prestavlenii’, p. 19.
\[162\] Ibid.
Princess Elena's assumption in the *Pisanie* that Mikhail has been poisoned helps to consolidate further the rumour; through repetition of the same idea, especially when voiced through various characters, the reader-audience is more likely to accept it as truth. Such is the case with the crucial question, 'А кто тебя еще пригородил там?'163 The reader-audience has already been told directly that 'Mariia' was responsible, yet indirect repetition here serves to reinforce the notion of her culpability.

Another important *bylina* motif in the *Pisanie* is that of the hero's body being so large that no ordinary coffin suffices. The elder bogatyr' Sviatogor's coffin, for example, is so enormous that only he fits it and the younger bogatyr' Il'ia Muromets struggles to close it, receiving superhuman strength from the last breaths of the dying Sviatogor.164 In the *Pisanie* we are told that no oak log large enough could be found to make a coffin for Mikhail. Eventually, however,

пристрогавши в конецъ колоды тоя, и тако съ нужею пологаютъ въ колоду тело его, да изнесутъ тело его ко церкви, и тогда привезоща гробъ каменъ великъ, но ни той довляще вместити тело его, понеже великъ бе возрастомъ телесъ своихъ.165

This motif further emphasizes Mikhail's epic status, associating him with the heroic *bogatyri* and stressing the loss of a great warrior capable of superhuman feats.

Mikhail's closest men-in-arms are consistently called his *druzhina*,166 the usual epithet in the oral epic tradition for a retinue of warriors, and frequent use is made of epic hyperbole, such as the endless streams of people who come from all over Muscovy to pay their respects even if they had never seen Mikhail when he was alive.167 'но слышавше его храбростъ и на враги одоление и поне потребаню его сподобяся причетницы быти'.168 Hardly has this soldier died than he has become a local legend, according to the *Pisanie*. The tears of the mourners contribute also to the epic hyperbole: 'и мостъ же церковный наводняше пролитиемъ слезъ отъ народа'.169

163 'Dobrynia i zmei', p. 108.
165 'Pisanie o prestavlenii', p. 22.
166 See, for example, ibid, pp. 20 and 25.
168 Ibid., p. 24.
169 Ibid., p. 25.
Finally, both Mikhail’s mother and widow are presented as giving short graveside laments which express their grief with a lyricism recognizably influenced by the oral tradition: ‘для моих слез на севь светъ изъ утробы моей родись и како еси бо утробе моей зародися и како утроба моя тобою не просядеся изліяти тебя на землю’ (Princess Elena). Similar images are found in other laments for lost children, such as:

Не жалуйте вы победную головушку!
У меня личушко прустаршее — сиротское,
Текут слезы у горючи — холодна вода [...] 
Кабы знали про то, светушки, бы ведали, 
Про мою жалость велику бы утробную, 
Жаль тогошенько сердечного мне дитятка.
О сыру землю рожденье укрываеться!\textsuperscript{171}

Aleksandra Vasil’evna, like Evdotiia before her, mourns the fact that she did not die with Mikhail and is now alone.\textsuperscript{172} Widows’ laments in the oral tradition commonly include this theme; for example:

Уж как сис[т]ь то мне-ка, беднушке, 
Во буйную головушку, 
Што у буйной-то головушки 
Сидят[т] анделяры-арханделя 
Ды не пустят[т] меня, беднушки [...] 
Допусти-ко меня, господи, 
Близ своего мужа законного.\textsuperscript{173}

Such, albeit concise, graveside laments add an emotional dimension to the loss of the epic warrior Mikhail, as portrayed in the \textit{Pisanie}. It is not merely the widow who is alone now, but, according to the author, all of Muscovy, robbed of their protector.

While we cannot know exactly what the author hoped to gain from pointing the finger of blame for Mikhail’s murder at the Tsar, it is likely that his tale of how such a heroic warrior met his end would have inspired much popular sympathy for the victim and animosity towards the former royal court. By hiding his accusations in a blend of \textit{bylina} motif and themes from oral laments he would, first, not only have minimized the risk of repercussions, but secondly, appealed to popular

\textsuperscript{170} Ibid., p. 27. 
\textsuperscript{171} ‘Plach po synе’ in \textit{Russkie plachi (prichitaniia)}, ed. and with notes by G. S. Vinogradov, Leningrad, 1937 (hereafter \textit{Russkie plachi}), p. 25. 
\textsuperscript{172} ‘Писаніе о преставленні’, p. 28. 
knowledge and sentiment by placing recent mysterious political events within a familiar context of folklore heroes and intrigue. Thus the author also advances a particular understanding of secular events through the medium of life-writing, something not commonly attempted by pre-sixteenth-century hagiographers.

Thus we see how a wide variety of oral features from the legendy, byliny, folktales and laments are incorporated into these three works. Many of the folkloric themes and motifs used have resonances in international folklore, while possessing localized features. The non-ecclesiastical nature of the oral features allowed the author to present certain aspects of his material and attributes of his protagonist, both saintly and secular, in a manner innovative for contemporary life-writing, as well as indicating how an increasing variety of secular influences were absorbed into hagiography in a more subtle and convincing way than in previous hybrids.

The reader-audience's familiarity with heroes and situations from the oral tradition helped to render the works more easily understandable to a wide section of the lay population. Vivid memorable images made it easier for the author to hold the attention of the reader-audience at the same time as instructing them, and less likely that his work be forgotten or confused with others. Such factors were especially important given that these authors were also trying to convey a secondary message, not entirely spiritual in essence. In this way, folkloric themes and motifs provide a vehicle to bring to the reader-audience familiar secular characters and situations which help to expand beyond strictly religious definitions the perception of what constitutes an ideal Christian hero.

Secular Heroes in a Secular Context

The three works under examination are important for the study of secularizing tendencies in hagiography not merely because they introduce advances in structural patterning and include non-ecclesiastical themes and motifs. Realistic detail of a secular environment enters into these works to a degree rare in previous hagiographical composition. For example, none of the three heroes are typical paradigms of Christian virtue; two (Merkurii and Mikhail) are even laymen who, in contrast to earlier lay warrior saints such as Aleksandr Nevskii and Dmitrii Donskoi, were neither tonsured before death nor extolled for their exceptional piety. In Chapter One we saw how the sixteenth century introduced unusual subjects of reverence, not immediately similar to the conventional saintly protagonists of earlier high-style rhetorical hagiography, and how the former's
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status as moral example differed. Perception of saintly virtues had changed and many everyday factors could now be seen by the hagiographer as pertinent. Likewise, in the case of these hagiographical hybrids, either the subjects themselves or their actions are often presented in a far more realistic secular context.

It is tempting to suggest that the lay status of the protagonists encouraged extensive use of oral material; I contend, however, that any such influence is unlikely to have been the major impetus behind the use of oral motif and patterns. In the case of Merkurii, for example, the legendary nature of the material was far more likely to have been a factor determining the amount of oral material included, and with Mikhail, the fact that making direct accusations against still powerful members of the Muscovite aristocracy would have been rash, possibly led the author to present his claims in a more subtle and stylized manner.

What the authors sought to evoke here was simply a different kind of response from that to earlier rhetorical hagiography, one much less focused on moral edification and, correspondingly, directed towards a wider reader-audience than a purely monastic one. They sought to assist their reader-audiences by offering accounts which were striking, familiar and, crucially, credible. The desire for credibility generated a plethora of realistic and precise detail, a feature which earlier hagiographers generally played down (and one which also tends to get lost in oral transmission). Such use of realistic context and detail which provides opportunities for the reader-audience to identify with the account signals yet another move towards a more secular mode of composition.

Merkurii is certainly not a typical hagiographical protagonist; he is a warrior layman about whose life and piety we learn very little (although he is found praying by the sexton). On the other hand, in both the Slovo o Merkurii and, to a greater extent, the Povest' o Merkurii, the author includes an abundance of detailed and realistic material as if in an attempt to legitimize Merkurii's existence by providing a tangible and familiar backdrop.

Despite the brevity of the Slovo o Merkurii (as opposed to the Povest') and its aim of recording the legenda rather than emphasizing the links of the Mother of God with Smolensk, three instances of realistic detail are worth mentioning. First, Merkurii is described as 'часто приходя кресту господню молиться за миръ, зовомый Пётровского ста'. Topographical details in hagiography were normally limited to names of cities and rivers and reference to such a specific district of Smolensk (on the lower right bank of the Dnieper) implies that the Slovo

174 'Slovo o Merkurii', p. 204.
was composed for a local audience who would recognize this area. Secondly, the author relates the brief exchange between the sexton and Merkurii instead of the sexton merely repeating the Mother of God’s summons: ‘Меркурий, он же рече: “Что ты есть, господин мой?” И глагола ему: “Иди скоре, брате, зовет тебя божия мати в Печерскую церковь”’. Not only does this type of prosaic exchange serve to make the narrative more interesting and identifiable to the reader-audience, but it also brings Merkurii alive, introducing him physically into the tale. Finally, an extraordinary mixture of the oral material with everyday life: after Merkurii has been decapitated and has carried his head back to the city, ‘дошед врат Мологинских, ту же вышла по воду нькая десьца и, зрь святаго без главы идуща, и начать святаго нелко бранити’. An almost comic touch, this detail more than any other adds a touch of credibility.

The Povest’ o Merkurii, by contrast, contains many more historical details which are not drawn from the legenda material. As part of the very long exordium, the author includes two lengthy sections which describe the destructive sweep of Batu’s armies across Rus’, the persecution of Orthodox peoples and atrocities committed: ‘оскврнили вся же чистоты девства, растлышя юныхъ девъ и брачныхъ женъ, разлучаемы отъ мьжей и честнѣшва невѣсты Христовы, инокыя, оскрыняху блюдомъ [...] власы главными вмѣсто вязаху, гмаку аки скоты’. Reference is also made to Mikhail of Chernigov’s martyrdom, the ravaging of lands around Kiev and Muscovy (dates are also given), and the fear felt by the people of Rus’:

вѣликия бо жалости испльняется утроба о тогда бывшихъ бѣдахъ, яже сдѣляшася на христоносныхъ людехъ отъ зла и немилостиваго онаго мучителя; оскврнивае языкъ, пресыхаетъ грѣтань, уже бо ктому можетъ всему изрѣчи что.

Interestingly, the enemy are not merely described as wicked pagans as is normally sufficient in hagiographical works; the author cannot resist adding a gloss on their mores by calling them ‘рыси-сыроядцы’, possibly meaning to increase their brutal image yet also involuntarily commenting on a fact. As suggested above, these

175 Ibid.
176 Ibid.
177 ‘Povest’ o Merkurii’, col. 3,299. The extent to which these observations are accurate may be questioned, but they were undoubtedly a perception later.
178 Ibid., col. 3,300.
179 Bearing in mind that the Povest’ was written several hundred years after the events supposedly took place, the inclusion of such socio-historical detail in addition to conventional condemnation of the Tatars illustrates how attitudes to the Tatar invasion
historical details may have been included simply to remind the reader-audience of what had happened centuries before. Yet perhaps the author also hoped to cover over the absence of information in the chronicles about Batu’s activities round Smolensk (there being none; Batu was nowhere near at that time) by infusing the text with both well-known generalities relating to the Tatar invasion (the fear and destruction) and specific events (such as the murder of Mikhail of Chernigov). On the same theme, the author deliberately states that Batu had come to Smolensk ‘тайно’, which helps to explain why no-one in the city knew of his proximity until after Merkurii had routed his army. Later in the text, he emphasizes the secretiveness of this mission by saying that when Merkurii leaves for battle, no-one hears or sees him go. Once again, such details do not usually appear in hagiographical works, in which rational motivation always cedes place to divine preordination.

Innovative also is the detailed conversation between Merkurii and the Mother of God while She issues Her instructions. The specifics of location, intent and military capacity are novel for a vita: ‘есе идемъ безбожны мучитель втайне, в сию бо мощь хощеть напасти на град мон ратию своею, съ исполномъ и сыномъ еросъ’. At this point the author breaks in to explain that, unbeknown to the inhabitants of Smolensk, the enemy had crept right up to the city that very night. The Mother of God continues: ‘ты ишед и иди на место оно, тако реченное Дьяви Мостъ; ту бо, ратию уготови безбожны въбо и блюдбрецъ на град мон возвышаю бо ти о сихъ, яж хотыть быти тетъ: ту бо, помощью и силою Христа Бога, побдишь исполнина’, before telling him he will also be decapitated. For the Mother of God first to advocate the slaughter of an army, and then to provide specific information to help in this task is contrary to the conventional image of the Mother of God; here She is portrayed more as military strategist than as compassionate mother of humankind. And herein lies the likely appeal to a local audience: the Mother of God appears not only to be closely acquainted with Smolensk (which renders Her a less distanced figure to the reader-audience) but is ready to engage almost conspiratorially in the destruction of this hidden foe in order to defend Her favoured city. All such detail, especially if it can

changed over the centuries. On the changing interpretations of historical events and perceptions, see Halperin, Golden Horde, and id., Tatar Yoke.

180 ‘Povest’ o Merkurii’, col. 3,301.
181 Ibid., col. 3,304.
182 Ibid., cols 3,302-03.
183 Ibid., col. 3,303.
be linked to everyday life, helps the author to convince his reader-audience of the truth of his claims.

Finally, Merkurii's death is also depicted in far more realistic detail in the *Povest' o Merkurii* than in the *Slovo*. Here it is no fair youth who mysteriously appears and decapitates him, but rather, the author hazards, the son of the giant slain by Merkurii, seeking revenge.¹⁸⁴ Once again, an emotional reaction is translated into action and not only explained by the author, but also woven neatly into the story-line.

The *Zhitiie Antoniia Rimlianina* was seen above to raise the question of monastic land rights, which, as discussed in Chapter One, was a major issue in the sixteenth-century monastic world. Indeed, in his deathbed instruction Antonii forcibly states the monastery’s rights over the land around it:

Та же и о земли утверждает и глаголет: о братия моя, егда седожь на месте семь, купил есмь село сие и землю, и на коре сей рыбную ловитьу на строение монастыря ценою изъ пречистыя сосуда, сиричъ изъ бочки; и аще кто начнетъ обидитъ васъ или наступали на сию землю, ино имъ судить мати Божия.¹⁸⁵

Other sources confirm that Antonii bought the land himself: По данной Антония Римлянина, не позднее 1147 г. основанный им в Новгороде Антониев монастырь получил землю, купленную Антонием у детей посадских Смехна и Прокона.¹⁸⁶ Such insistent declarations concerning a legal matter, rare in rhetorical hagiography, here both play a crucial role in the composition of the *vita*, illustrating the willingness of Antonii’s hagiographer to use a sacred form of composition for secular matters of legal ownership, and also indicate that he was appealing not only to an ecclesiastical reader-audience but quite possibly to a secular institution as well.

Kliuchevskii, commenting upon the anachronisms found throughout this *vita*, maintained that in 1595 Nifont attempted to revise notes made by Andrei about Antonii’s life and, adding material from the local *legenda*, produced the *vita*.¹⁸⁷ Fet goes further, though, and suggests that there was neither an original *vita* nor any notes made by Andrei; he points out that every piece of factual information found in the *Povest'*, including Andrei’s name, is also found in the First Novgorod

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., col. 3,305.
¹⁸⁵ *Povest' ob Antonii*, p. 270.
Chronicle. Fet argues that the *Povest* is a ‘сознательная подделка’, an original sixteenth-century work composed in order to dispel competing claims in the 1570s from local tradesmen to the monastery lands, and he even suggests that Antonii was simply a rich Novgorodian merchant who neither came from Rome nor led a life of spiritual devotion. Other details in the *vita* indicate that this may well have been true: for example, funds for the building of a stone church are found ‘в бочки серебро и злато’. Although this could be a sixteenth-century cliché to denote the great value of the contents of the barrel, it could equally be the fruits of merchant trading from Novgorod with Western lands. Janet Martin notes the changing character of trade in the Novgorod area in the twelfth century and the introduction of silver as a much sought-after merchandise. Furthermore, Martin tells us that

unusually but consistently with the notion of a broader distribution of the society’s wealth, not all of the Novgorodian churches of the twelfth century were sponsored by the prince or the bishop. Novgorod’s boyars, including but not exclusively some who held the city’s highest offices, as well as members of the merchant class, were also patrons of new churches.

Fet’s hypothesis is certainly possible, although faces problems, for example, the episode suggesting that Antonii was not Russian:

After a few days, Antonii prays for God to show him the way to a town where he finds help: ‘обрёте человека греческія земли, гость будьша, купецкий чинъ

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188 See *Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis*’, pp. 204-14. While Fet’s hypothesis about the primacy of Nifont’s text is a possibility, I believe that Nifont incorporated the *legenda* into some form of pre-existing written work; this would explain more convincingly the anachronisms and inconsistencies.


191 Martin, *Medieval Russia*, p. 68. Martin further states that Novgorod had traded valuable fur pelts with the West in exchange for silver (see Martin, *Land of Darkness*, p. 86). It is quite possible that such vessels had appeared in Novgorod as a result of trade. Čizevskij claims that there were indeed vessels in the church at Volkov which had Latin inscriptions. The legend of Antonii may well have emerged as an explanation of their presence in the church.

192 Martin, *Medieval Russia*, p. 82.
Whatever Antonii’s true identity, however, it is clear that the monastery felt a need to defend its ownership of land claimed by others in the late sixteenth century. One effective way of accomplishing this would have been to stress the holy associations of the land and, consequently, its rightful possession by the monastery. The legenda tale, replete with supernatural elements attributed to divine powers, helped establish the sacred origins of the monastery and land. Furthermore, stating the means by which Antonii was able to purchase the land reinforces the validity of not only his legal claims but also his supposedly Roman origins.

Another area of extraordinarily active involvement with the secular world is Antonii’s quarrel with the fishermen which, very surprisingly for a hagiographical work, ends up in court at Antonii’s instigation, possibly revealing a certain level of experience in secular matters, either on the part of Antonii or the anonymous author (тосподне мои! азь с вами пря не ямамь никоря же о семь, пондемь во градь и поведаемь градьскими судиями'). In conventional vitae, divine powers almost always settle matters of dispute. For a monk so readily to put his trust in the legal system instead, however, and to stipulate a civil rather than church court, strengthens the notion of prior exposure or even recourse to such secular institutions. The court proceedings may equally, on the other hand, have been an addition by Nifont in order to lend further weight to his claims; if Nifont could persuade his reader-audience (and the sixteenth-century merchants who laid claim to the land) that the matter had already been settled legally centuries previously, the monastery would be in a stronger position.

The case of the Pisanie o prestavlenii i o pogrebenii kniazia Mikhaila Vasil’evicha Shuiskogo, rekomago Skopina differs significantly from the vitae of Merkuriu and Antonii as the historical context is, to a certain point, verifiable. Although the author of the Pisanie wrote less than twenty years after Nifont had re-written Antonii’s vita, the events described were contemporary and the author was able to enhance the credibility of his text with many references to specific people and locations. Note should also be made that laments, being created to mourn the death of an individual, naturally have their roots in real life.

193 Tovest’ ob Antonii’, p. 265.
194 Ibid., p. 267.
195 Although issues of a legal nature were discussed and it is very likely that a dispute with fishermen would be tried in a civil court, it is nonetheless extraordinary to find such a detailed description of court procedures in a vita; see Daniel H. Kaiser, The Growth of the Law in Medieval Russia, Princeton, New Jersey, 1980, and Bushkovitch, Religion and Society, pp. 20-22.
In terms of precise detail which, as mentioned above, was commonly lost in oral transmission, the banquet is a rich source: \[196\] we are told, for example, that Mikhail travelled from the Aleksandr Sloboda to attend the banquet in Moscow, and that the celebration was in honour of an infant son:

Придя к боярину князю Ивану Михайловичу Воротынскому сынъ княжевичъ Алексей, и не дошедъ двух месецъ по четырьдесать рожения, былъ князь Михайло крестный кумъ, кумъ жъ князя, жена князя Дмитрия Ивановича Шуйского, Марья, дочь Малюты Скуратова.\[197\]

Precise identification of so many historical figures is unusual in both oral laments and hagiographical works. The following sentence, however, explains such detail: \[198\]

И по совтъ збыхъ замѣнниковъ своихъ и совтниковъ мысляе во умѣ своемъ злую мысль измѣнную уловити. Using the simple device of listing the guests at a banquet allows all these people to be implicated in the murder.

Mikhail’s reaction to the poisoned wine he is given is also highly novel in sixteenth-century literary composition, in that it includes both realistic physiological symptoms and a description of his death agony:

И не въ долгъ часъ у князя Михаила во утробы возмутилося [...] а лице у него страшно кровию знаменуется, а власы у него на главѣ стоя колеблются [...] и нача у него утробы лютъ терзатися отъ того питья смертнаго. Онъ же на ложь въ тоскахъ мечтевшися и блюшись и стонуше и кричае лютъ зело, аки звърь подъ землею.\[199\]

Historically accurate in that Mikhail is known to have died almost two weeks after the banquet, the graphic account effectively elicits a sympathetic reaction. Such precise documenting of prolonged physical pain is nowhere found in previous hagiographical writing since saints were expected to endure suffering stoically. The summoning of doctors is equally novel as the death of a revered figure is normally understood as God’s will.\[200\] A distraught mother seeking medical assistance for her son, however, strikingly illustrates how the author contextualizes his work.

Interestingly, Jakob de la Gardie is described as arriving at Princess Elena’s home ‘со двѣнадцетми своими воеводы и съ своими дворяны’.\[201\] Demkova

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\[196\] In the case of the original songs on this topic, however, many variants do mention an infant son, the name of the father and of the poisoner.

\[197\] ‘Pisanie’, p. 18.

\[198\] Ibid.

\[199\] Ibid., pp. 19-20.

\[200\] Ibid., p. 20.

\[201\] Ibid., p. 21.
suggests that the number twelve is not random but rather based on reality: 'в отряде Якова Делагарди, прибывшем в Новгород 14 апреля 1609 г., было 12 000 человек'. Although applied in an inaccurate context, the author's preservation of the link with twelve most likely triggers a vague confirmatory response in the reader-audience, thus enhancing the work's credibility with them. Appealing in this indirect manner to the reader-audience's own knowledge further helped the author to emphasize the real-life context and events.

Another device used to the same end emphasizes the influence of ordinary folk, of people such as the reader-audience, in determining the final resting place of Mikhail. As mentioned above, Tsar Vasilii intends Mikhail's body to be buried in his ancestor's grave in Suzdal', yet the people insist he be laid to rest in state in Moscow. Eventually, amidst great scenes of collective lament, Mikhail is buried in a place of honour beside Ivan IV and his two sons. Though the presentation of this episode most likely distorts the facts, it does indicate to the author's reader-audience that they themselves played a role in the dramatic events and were responsible for ensuring that Mikhail was accorded appropriate honour in death. It also underlines the fact that this author was indeed writing for a wider lay audience. Drawing the reader-audience into the action of the narrative in this way would also have increased the author's chance of being believed, both in his description of events and, more importantly, in his accusation of who was culpable in Mikhail's murder.

Thus we see that in different ways these three authors provide a wealth of realistic detail in their work uncommon in earlier hagiographical writing. Appealing to a broader audience than in conventional hagiography, they present unusual protagonists who are either laymen or else who choose to become involved in secular affairs. As a result, the reader-audience is able to identify with these revered figures, a device which involves them more directly in the narrative than was the case with earlier hagiographical subjects whom the narrative deliberately distanced. In turn, the authors of these hybrid works were far more likely to be able to convince a willing and involved reader-audience of their claims and/or accusations.

203 'Pisanie o prestavlenii', p. 23.
204 Ibid., pp. 26-27.
Conclusion

This chapter illustrates how, in contrast to their earlier counterparts, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors used hybrid structure and imagery to promote a certain viewpoint which did not focus solely on religious edification but also on broader issues of a more secular nature, and which was most likely directed to a far wider lay reader-audience than previously. The Povest' o Merkurii and the Zhitiie Antonia Rimlianina, for example, show how hagiographers were able to draw on legendary material to present issues such as the bolstering of a beleaguered demoralized city and legal land rights for a monastery many centuries after the events, while the author of the Pisanie chose to depict his idealized protagonist in the guise of epic hero from the byliny in order to recount a tale of murderous political conspiracy.

The creation of hybrid works through the incorporation of familiar themes and motifs from the oral tradition into his work, meant that the author could present heroes and situations whose familiarity encouraged reader-audience empathy and identification. Establishing the credibility of his work both in this way and also through a more sophisticated and fluent narrative structure, in turn helped the author to gain the trust of the reader-audience, a trust which could then be extended to the non-ecclesiastical issues also raised in the texts.

Using heroes familiar from the oral tradition brought with it a need to expand the perception of sanctity beyond conventional religious parameters. Two of the three protagonists here are laymen, and the Zhitiie Antonia Rimlianina suggests possible evidence of his experience as a merchant in the secular world. Borrowing aspects of corresponding types of heroic idealization from the oral tradition allowed the author to stress not only the saintly attributes of his protagonist, but also to present a more secularized form of Christian heroic idealization in subjects still worthy of reverence and emulation. Depiction of the subject in a far more secularized context with many realistic details of everyday life, compared to pre-sixteenth-century hagiographical hybrids, would have further encouraged identification and an interested response from the reader-audience.

Thus, orally influenced hagiographical hybrids developed from a primitive form in early hagiographical vitae to one of a far more refined and cohesive narrative in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Most importantly for this study, secular influences are seen to play an important role in the evolving perception and authorial depiction of the ideal Christian protagonist, as well as in the changing response of the reader-audience to the art of saintly life-writing.
Two major periods of political and spiritual crisis in seventeenth-century Muscovy provide the background for two extraordinary vitae which stand testament to continuing change and secularizing tendencies in hagiographical literature. Ul’ianiia Lazarevskaia Osor’ina and Feodosiia Prokof’ievna Morozova emerge as strong and innovative imitatio Marii figures, at the same time as providing realistic models of how to achieve salvation and even sanctity by adherence to a pious Christian life in the lay world, instead of exclusively in the monastic. At a time when many Muscovites were reassessing their understanding of Orthodox values and practices, these two vitae offered inspiration and direction in an alternative form to that of the established Orthodox Church. Furthermore, although the intention of the authors was undoubtedly of an ecclesiastical didactic nature, the method of presentation of their material is radically different to that of the traditional high-style rhetorical vita and contributed in no small degree to ongoing secularizing tendencies in hagiography.

Ul’ianiia and Feodosia’s vitae illustrate some of the most significant literary developments found in hagiography during the seventeenth century; primarily a movement away from stereotypical character depictions indicating a growing taste on the part of the reader-audience for individualized character portrayal. Not only was the art of characterization greatly developed to include more realistic portraits, psychological reasoning and motivation, but the female ecclesiastical role model also underwent significant change. As with many of the works examined in previous chapters, these vitae continue to reflect an evolving popular perception of sanctity and the process of writing as a response to the needs of the reader-audience.

The Historical and Cultural Context

One of the most interesting features of these two vitae is their portrayal of women whose lives and religious activities coincided with periods of great internal crisis of both a political and spiritual nature in Muscovy; Ul’ianiia died just as the Time of Troubles was beginning and Feodosia played a prominent role in the Old Believer movement during the Schism later in the seventeenth century. Punished by war and soaring taxes at the end of the sixteenth century, followed by great famine in 1601-
04, the Muscovites' confidence in state leadership plummeted and social unrest reached epidemic levels.\(^1\) The leaders of the Church were faced with the menace of encroaching Catholicism in the form of the first Pretender, the invading Polish army and, later in the century, via the Ukraine. The Schism of the second half of the seventeenth century witnessed the greatest uprising against the official Church since that of the Judaizers in the fifteenth century. Both of these crises arose as a result of internal discord: the Time of Troubles was incited by the warring factions of Russia's own élite spurred on by greed and power-hungry opponents, and the Schism was exacerbated by Patriarch Nikon's overweening ambition.

Internal crisis tends to elicit a different popular response from an external threat which may prompt a united patriotic stand. Domestically induced instability challenges the established patterns of life and belief. In Muscovy in the seventeenth century, it led some to question major spiritual concepts previously taken for granted. Was the Orthodox Church still the purveyor of the true faith, or had it lost its way? Were the traditional virtues of humility and charity still fundamental to the faith and why was there still rampant corruption among the clergy? Many believed that the official Orthodox Church was no longer able to meet their spiritual needs and throughout the seventeenth century alternative expressions of Christian devotion were cultivated, especially by laypeople disillusioned with the clergy. The Time of Troubles was to prove the watershed for a fundamental redirection of many ordinary people's primary spiritual focus, away from the accepted collective vision of Christian salvation, towards a more introspective and individual understanding of their religious beliefs. Paul Bushkovitch's thesis has already been cited but should be expanded upon here: reactions to changes in ecclesiastical practices were just as acute, if more subtle, as reactions to the major upheavals in the socio-political sphere and 'these changes reflected a shift in religious experience from basically public and collective, which stressed liturgy and miracle cults, to a more private and personal faith with a strong stress on morality'.\(^2\) He suggests that the very nature of miracle cults in the sixteenth century brought the individual directly closer to the relics or icons they worshipped — there was less need for elaborate ceremonies performed by the clergy — and thereby closer also to God on a personal level.\(^3\) Unlike the traditional dogma of the Orthodox Church, a sense of personal religious achievement was found in the concept of morality, which allowed people to explore their own attitude to and experience of faith on a practical level.

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3. Ibid., p. 74.
In turn, a set of attainable values evolved towards which an individual could strive, as opposed to the strictly defined collective rules of mass religious obedience.

Such developments could not fail to contribute to a general decline of ecclesiastical influence. State authorities began to be freer in their manipulation of the Church as a tool for secular advancement and gradually began to inject a 'humanistic element' into a social and cultural structure which was still predominantly religious. State control over the fortunes of ecclesiastical affairs expanded: it was the secular regent Godunov, for example, who managed to secure a patriarchate for Muscovy in 1589, immeasurably increasing the status of the Russian Orthodox Church and helping to place the latter under grateful obligation to the State; and, conversely, it was a council of predominantly secular members in 1666 which ousted Patriarch Nikon from his seat and sent him into exile.

The Church thus began to be seen as vulnerable; a crucial point, for when it is no longer possible to maintain absolute trust in a religious institution, religious symbols begin to lose the power to inspire or to order human life. Modernizing and secularizing influences can fill the vacuum left behind by failing religious hierarchies: 'Generally speaking, modernisation means that options are multiplied in human life [...] modernisation in terms of the basic structures of human existence means a movement from fate to choice'. Forced to re-examine religious beliefs and turning to a more introspective form of faith, many in seventeenth-century Muscovy did choose another 'option' and the concept of individual morality offered an alternative. Others, such as the schismatics, tried hard to resist any secular influences and instead withdrew into the security, as they saw it, of centuries-old ritual and tradition. By 1680 the religious culture of Russia's elite revolved around moral problems, not monasticism or miracles. The basis for Peter's secularization of Russian culture had been laid.

A pattern can be seen throughout the seventeenth century of accelerated movement away from the established Church in favour of a more private form of worship with the objective of becoming closer to God. This was reflected in contemporary literature:

[...] the struggle between the opposing ideologies of the time [...] above all manifested itself in a literary activity marked by tensions, insoluble antinomies, breaches with tradition, extreme conservatism,

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5 Berger, *Modernisation*, p. 11.
desperation at the loss of any fixed values, a confusion of genres, and a predilection for hybrid forms.7

Hagiographical writing during this time was marked by many of these features and in the vitae of Ul’ianiia and Feodosiia they are most clearly represented by a break with traditional character portrayal and deliberate authorial emphasis upon the secular environment and routines of these two women in order to convey the value of a pious Christian life outside the convent. In order to appreciate fully the magnitude of these changes in the case of feminine protagonists, however, it is necessary to touch on the evolution of attitudes to the veneration of woman on Russian soil.

One of the most powerful and unchanging images in the Christian faith is that of the Madonna and Child: no other woman has been so widely sanctified or seen to embody such great love, compassion and mercy. Described in a wider context as 'communicating a multi-layered concept of ideal womanhood',8 Mary is venerated by Orthodoxy less as Virgin but primarily as the Mother of God — the Bogoroditsa:9

The most consistent theme in the theology of the Virgin's intercession [...] is her motherhood. She is approached as a human mother who brims over with a mother's love. [...] Her love of mankind is maternal, and her qualities of mercy, gentleness, loving kindness, indulgence, forgiveness, are all seen as motherly. All men are her children through Christ her son [...] and so shelavishes a mother's love and pity on all her brood.10

Yet despite such reverence for Mary, the Russian Orthodox calendar officially venerates less than three hundred female saints, a modest figure in comparison to more than one thousand male saints.11 The overwhelming majority of the female saints are of Greek origin, only thirteen are of non-Russian Slavonic,12 and eight of Russian provenance.13 Such a paucity of saintly Russian women reflects the

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7 Børtnes, Visions, p. 195.
9 See Hubbs, Mother Russia, pp. 99-101.
10 Warner, Alone of All Her Sex, p. 286.
11 See Pravoslavnyi tserkovnyi kalendar' 1996, Moscow, 1995 (hereafter Pravoslavnyi kalendar').
12 The term 'Slavonic' is used in Pravoslavnyi kalendar' and translates more specifically as Serb, Czech and Bulgarian. Princess Ol'ga of Kiev is also classed as Slavonic.
13 Of these eight, four lie beyond the scope of this study: Kseniia of Petersburg (eighteenth century), Princess Iulianiia of Viazemsk (died 1819), and Grand Princess Elisaveta and the nun Varvara (died 1918). These are figures for fully canonized saints.
dramatic changes in attitude towards women realized over many centuries as a result of the Christianization of Rus'. From a position of relative power in the pre-Christian period, the status of venerated women was consistently brought into line with and effectively weakened by ecclesiastical policies throughout the pre-Petrine era.\textsuperscript{14}

Women in Slavonic antiquity enjoyed a respected social status intricately connected to ancient belief systems. Various sources have unearthed pagan goddesses worshipped in Rus', the most important of whom was Mokosh', goddess of fertility, childbirth and protector of women's work, maidens and marriage.\textsuperscript{15} The worship of Mokosh' possibly grew out of the ancient Slavonic cult of Moist Mother Earth (\textit{Mat' syra zemlia}), all-powerful and creative embodiment of fertility and spring.\textsuperscript{16} Such female images commanded great reverence and their powers were regularly invoked to help, heal and comfort. With the arrival in Rus' of the Christian Church, however, such powers were decried as the devil's work, and condemned as part of the Church's wider denouncement of pagan practices.

The Orthodox Church worked hard to stamp its own legal and moral codes upon the newly converted Rus', a procedure facilitated by the initial transplantation from Byzantium of translated ecclesiastical works which brought a steady stream of Byzantine cultural influence into Kievan Rus'.\textsuperscript{17} As the eastern territory of the Holy Empire, Byzantium was subject to canon law and Orthodox


Christianity proved no less misogynistic than its Roman predecessor. Byzantine thought, for example, subscribed to a Neoplatonic ascetic regarding sexuality, which claimed that ‘women’s reproductive function tied them more intimately to the physical world and made them even less capable [than men] of spiritual growth’. All women were considered sisters of Eve and thus vulnerable to satanic forces and impurity. The process of selective translation of only the most necessary texts for the teaching of Christianity further reinforced this image of woman: deprived of the wider Byzantine literary heritage, Rus’ was provided only with a very specific ecclesiastical model of the feminine ideal. The ecclesiastical model was reinforced in Rus’ by an abundance of misogynistic literature including such works as John Chrysostom’s ‘Parable of Feminine Evil’ in Zlatostrui (which may have influenced Daniil Zatochnik’s twelfth-century Molenie), the sixteenth-century Domostroi and the anonymous Slovo o zhenakh o dobrykh i o zlykh which, in turn, exerted considerable influence on the popular seventeenth-century Beseda ottsa s synom o zhenskoi zlobe.

Thus we find a seeming contradiction in the extreme reverence of Mary Mother of God, whose achievement lay in the basic female reproductive capacity of giving birth, and an almost studied dismissal of other women as, at best undeserving of veneration with little chance of redemption, and at worst forever responsible for the fall from Grace. Notwithstanding the temptation to assert a closer connection between women and the Mother of God on account of Her mortal status, in contrast to Christ’s divine essence, a divide no mortal man can bridge, Mary has been called ‘feminine perfection personified, and no other woman was in her league’. There is much to suggest that Mary in Rus’ embodied many of the qualities and powers of ancient female divinities, which, in the Christian era, helped to place tangible emulation of Her even further out of reach. This raises the

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19 See Levin, Sex and Society, p. 36, and Hubbs, Mother Russia, p. 92.
20 See ibid., pp. 95-96.
22 Warner, Alone of All Her Sex, p. 159.
question of which qualities inspired the veneration of female saints and how they differed from those which created the vast array of male saints. While the imitation of Christ's mission and Passion is the fundamental basis for an *imitatio Christi* role, emulation of the Mother of God focuses less upon a life pattern than upon particular qualities, foremost amongst which are motherhood, love, humility, mercy, compassion and intercession 'before her Son for all humanity'. Yet it is a simplification to believe that male saints strove to emulate exclusively the life of Christ, and female saints only the qualities of Mary. Susan Ashbrook Harvey has shown that several early Byzantine female saints also followed the pattern of Christ's life and that the Church actively tried to 'curb woman's [societal] impact, by sanctifying women within a masculine framework'. In pre-sixteenth-century examples of *vitae* with female protagonists in Rus' many facets of the same phenomenon are evident (see below, *The Contextual Hagiographical Background*), although with the added complication that Mary is primarily revered, as noted above, as a *mother* figure in Rus'.

Hagiography was often understood as 'a place where people were reminded of what women's roles ought to be, even when their activity might seem to point to other conclusions'. The prism through which women's roles 'ought to be' viewed was, in Rus', ecclesiastical and the Marian ideal was thus seen as the role of motherhood, love, pity and unquestioning obedience to the social and ecclesiastical patriarchies, yet with no chance of ever attaining Mary's state of sanctity. The tainted and evil Eve must be transformed into the gentle and submissive Mother of God, Mary, in whose divine maternity the church saw a hope for the cleansing of woman's evil'. 'Divine maternity' belonged solely to the Mother of God, however, which created an almost insurmountable barrier to sanctity for women. Although both ecclesiastical and lay authorities condoned large families with many children for practical reasons of economy and labour, the Church was still uneasy with the idea of sanctifying natural motherhood. Levin notes the extensive use of the theme of unconsummated marriage in early Slavonic literature and the apparently

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26 Ibid., p. 44.
27 Hubbs, *Mother Russia*, p. 93.
miraculous conception of many saints. 29 Thus, while a woman was encouraged on the one hand to bear many children, the act of childbirth seriously compromised her path towards spiritual salvation. The only solution to this impasse was for aspiring imitatio Marii figures to focus less on a striving after spiritual development than on a ‘cleansing’ of Eve’s original sin, a type of reactive emulation whereby the feminine ideal was viewed less as the active imitation of Mary than as an atonement for woman’s natural state of evil. 30

Social traditions in the patriarchal medieval era did little to further women’s spiritual position and opportunity and gender roles were clearly defined according to social class. As mentioned above, the Christianization of Rus’ gradually eroded women’s social standing in Russia and the overwhelming evidence from socio-historical studies points to a limited degree of self-determination in a wider context of very restricted political roles and an almost total lack of mobility. 31 Aristocratic women, in particular, from the early Muscovite period on were kept out of public scrutiny for reasons of safeguarding family honour just as much as a desire to prevent ‘contamination’ of their spiritual purity through normal social intercourse. 32 Unlike the Mother of God, most female Russian saints come from an aristocratic background and their very limited practical contact with society is reflected in the imbalance of authorial perspective in the literary image of women: viewed almost exclusively through the eyes of the Orthodox Church, the final and inevitably distorted impression cannot be considered an accurate reflection of reality, but rather the product of imagination, fear, fantasy, discrimination and desire on the part of exclusively male authors. 33

29 Levin, Sex and Society, pp. 61-63.
33 No literary work written by a woman has come down to us and there is no strong evidence to suggest active literacy among women before the sixteenth century. The
In the case of the two vitae under examination, we see, on the one hand, many such limitations in the daily lives of the protagonists, yet on the other hand, both women are depicted as quietly determined in everything they do and more than capable of stretching the boundaries of accepted norms and ideals. The most radical difference is that their activity is concentrated in the wider lay world instead of simply a restricted aristocratic or convent environment. Both protagonists are extremely pious, yet not always obedient to the social and ecclesiastical authorities. Instead of merely cleansing themselves of the sins of Eve, they are shown actively to strive for spiritual improvement, a process through which the evolving nature of hagiography is reflected.

The Texts

Povest' ob Uliianii Osor'inoi
Uliiania Ustinovna Osor'ina, born in the town of Lazarevo (whence her more popular name Lazarevskaya), lived in Murom in the second half of the sixteenth century and was married to Georgii Osor' in by whom she bore many children, including the author of the Povest', Kallistrat. She died on 2 January 1604 and was buried beside her husband in Lazarevo. Uliiania is one of very few Russian laywomen to have been officially recognized as worthy of veneration by the Orthodox Church. Kallistrat (Druzhina) Georgievich Osor' in (circa 1574-1645), a well-known gubnoi starosta in Murom, composed his mother's vita no earlier than 1615 and probably in the late 1620s or 1630s. There are three redactions of this work, although it is unlikely that the earliest extant manuscript is a faithful copy of Kallistrat's original. The two main redactions are the Kratkaia and the Prostrannaia (of which two versions have come down to us). Most critics accept that the Kratkaia is the earliest redaction of the Povest' followed by the Prostrannaia. The oldest

Novgorodian beresty prove only that women wrote and received messages for the purposes of commerce, jurisdiction and household management, rather than recreation or devotional pursuit, with the exception of a very small number of personal letters. See Eve Levin, 'Women and Property in Medieval Novgorod: Dependence and Independence', Russian History, 10, 1983, 2, pp. 154-69, and Franklin and Shepard, Emergence, pp. 302-03.


For alternative views on authorship of the Prostrannaia redaction, see Zhitie Uliianii Lazarevskoi (Povest' ob Uliianii Osor'inoi), ed. R. P. Dmitrieva, with textual
available versions (RNB, Q. I. 355 [Tolst. II, No. 303] for the Kratkaia, and RNB, F. I. 261 and RNB, Obshchestvo liubitelei divnenei pis'mennosti, Q. 688, for the first and second versions respectively of the Prostrannaia) have been published. The third redaction is the Svodnaia (extant in only one manuscript; TF, State Archive of Tiumen' Oblast', No. 262), thought to be later than the other two.

Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi

Feodosiia Prokof'ievna Morozova was born on 21 May 1632 in Moscow to an aristocratic family, married to the boiar G. I. Morozov in 1649 and widowed in 1662. She was the most prominent female advocate of the Old Believer movement during the Schism of the Orthodox Church in the second half of the seventeenth century and a close spiritual disciple and friend of the Archpriest Avvakum. She died of starvation on 2 November 1675, imprisoned in an underground dungeon in the northern fortress town of Borovsk as a martyr to the Old Believer faith; in the eyes of the official Orthodox Church she was a heretic. A. I. Mazunin convincingly argues that this Povest' was composed between the end of 1675 and the first half of 1677, and that the author was Andrei, a dvoretskii in the Morozov household.

Three basic redactions of the text have been identified and published: the Prostrannaia (the oldest extant redaction of which fourteen copies are known, three from the end of the seventeenth century), the Sokrashchennaia (twelve copies from the second half of the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth), and the Kratkaia (twelve copies from the end of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century) corresponding to the redactions.

Research and preparation by T. R. Rudi, St Petersburg, 1996 (hereafter Zhitie Iulianii), pp. 75-77.

See Zhitie Iulianii: the Kratkaia redaction is published on pp. 103-19 (hereafter UO Kratkaia), and the two versions of the Prostrannaia on pp. 120-40 and 141-59 (hereafter UO Prostrannaia I and UO Prostrannaia II, respectively).

The Svodnaia redaction is the work of an anonymous late seventeenth-century author who used the Kratkaia redaction as a basis and incorporated elements of both Prostrannaia redactions. It is published in Zhitie Iulianii, pp. 199-208. See also ibid, pp. 63-67 and T. R. Rudi, 'O Tobol'skom spiske “Povesti ob Ul’ianii Osor’inoi”', TODL, 48, 1993, pp. 335-38. For a full survey of extant manuscripts, see 'Arkheograficheskii obzor spiskov zhitiia Iulianii Lazarevskoi' in Zhitie Iulianii, pp. 209-22.

See A. I. Mazunin, 'Vremia napisaniia povesti o boiaryne Morozovoi. Vopros o ee avtore' in Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi, eds R. P. Dmitrieva and A. M. Panchenko, with textual research and preparation by A. I. Mazunin, Leningrad, 1979 (hereafter Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi), pp. 62-77 (hereafter Mazunin, 'Vremia napisaniia'). This thesis accepts the evidence that Andrei was most likely the author of the longest extant redaction of this vita.

For a full survey of extant manuscripts, see Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi, pp. 110-24.

'Sokrashchennaia redaktsiia' in Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi, pp. 156-85; published from the manuscript BAN, V. I. Druzhinin collection, No. 483 (513).
the twentieth). The *Sokrashchennaia* and the *Kratakaia* lie beyond the scope of this thesis and will be referred to only where relevant. The *Prostrannaia*, thought to be based on some form of initial redaction known to have existed in the north, was published in 1979 using the manuscript GPB, O.I.341 as a basis, and this version will be cited in this chapter.

The Contextual Hagiographical Background

The undermining by the Church of women's pre-Christian status and veneration can be measured to some extent by the evolving image of women in hagiography. Early hagiographical works introduce a strong female character type clearly influenced by pre-Christian oral tradition and ritual, and one which conflicts strongly with the Christian ideals of *imitatio Marii*. Grossman notes that the depiction of women in the oral tradition, which laid far less emphasis upon didacticism than did hagiography, is in general more lively and colourful, 'and in the intermingling of the two traditions [...] are to be found some of the most interesting conceptions of all'. Such is the case, for example, with Princess Ol'ga of Kiev and Paraskeva Piatnitsa, both canonized saints from the early Christian period in *Rus* and both surrounded by myth and legend. The epic proportions of the *Povest' vremennykh let* account of Ol'ga's revenge against the Drevlian tribe focus more upon her qualities as folkloric Wise Maiden and *polenitsa* (warrior maidens of the oral epic tradition) than upon the fact that she was the first member of the *Rus* nobility to convert to Christianity. Although the earliest extant *vita* of Ol'ga simply tells of her baptism, compares her to Helen (mother of Constantine

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41 'Kratakaia redaktsia' in *Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi*, pp. 186-207; published from the manuscript BAN, V. I. Druzhinin collection, No. 241 (287).
42 Mazunin, 'Vremia napisaniia', pp. 68-70.
43 *Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi* in *PDLR: XVII vek. Kniga vtoria*, eds L. A. Dmitriev and D. S. Likhachev, Moscow, 1989, pp. 455-84 and 674-81 (hereafter *Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi*).
45 See John Fennell, 'When was Olga Canonized?' in *Christianity and the Eastern Slavs. Volume 1: Slavic Cultures in the Middle Ages*, eds Boris Gasparov and Olga Raevsky-Hughes, Berkeley, California, 1993, pp. 77-82 (hereafter Fennell, 'Olga') (81), and Levin, *Sex and Society*, p. 7.
46 See *Povest' vremennykh let*, pp. 68-72.
the Great) and ends with a few eulogistic phrases, the longer sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *vita*e* borrow almost verbatim the *Povest' vremennykh let* account. The colourful legendary aspects of Ol'ga's character clearly proved more attractive to later hagiographers than the task of recasting her in an *imitatio Marii* role, although it also rendered impossible any attempt to 'cleanse' Ol'ga of her less-than-perfect pagan past. She is thus presented as standing 'at the head of two streams of the literary-artistic tradition, Christian and "other," holding different sets of values generally and in particular prizing different qualities in women'.

The Marian qualities of humility and compassion clearly do not apply to the majority of accounts of Ol'ga's life, and instead we see in her warrior depiction much that is reminiscent of the Mother of God in the *Slovo o Merkurii Smolenskom*, seeking revenge and protecting her territory.

Paraskeva Piatnitsa likewise belongs to the strong female character type, far better known for the need to observe the apocryphal 'Twelve Fridays' than for her martyrdom during the third-century reign of Diocletian. In her popular Russian image

[...] she is an almost wholly legendary creation whose roots are more in the veneration of an ancient Slavic goddess-protectress of women and women's work and of the fruits of the earth than in the history of the conflict between paganism and Christianity in the third century.

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47 This exists only in a South Slavonic version which, according to Fennell, can be dated to the end of the thirteenth century or beginning of the fourteenth, but is probably derived from an earlier Kievan redaction; see Fennell, 'Olga', p. 78. The text of the *vita* is found in N. I. Serebrianskii, *Drevnerusskie kniazheskie zhitiia (obzor redaktssii i teksty)*, Moscow, 2 vols, 1915, 2, pp. 6-13.


50 See Chapter Two, pp. 107 and 117.

51 Her *vita* is included in *Velikie Minei Chet' i, sobrannye vserossiiskim mitropolitom Makariem. Oktiabr', dni 19-31*, St Petersburg, 1880, cols 1967-68 and 1969-79 (hereafter *Velikie Minei Chet' i*).


53 Ivanits, *Russian Folk Belief*, p. 33. See also Grossman, 'Feminine Images', p. 41. There is much about Paraskeva that is reminiscent of both Mokosh' whose festival also fell in late October (see Ivanits, *Russian Folk Belief*, p. 35, and Rybakov, *Iazychestvo*, pp.
The Church authorities tried their best to stamp out old pagan traditions carried over into Christianity and we know that ‘in 1589 the Patriarch of Constantinople sent a circular letter to the bishops of northwest Russia forbidding the celebration of Fridays as if they were Sundays’.\(^{54}\)

Ol’ga and Paraskeva are, ultimately, admired and feared above all for their ability to exact revenge – a notion far removed from Christian ideals. Indeed, despite the fact that Paraskeva is a Christian saint, her \textit{vita} still spells out the dangers of disobedience and retribution; a divine voice reassures Paraskeva prior to her beheading that ‘многи о имени твоемъ избавятся отъ печали и бѣды; идже чту ть память мученія твоего, будетъ благословлenie и радость въ дому томь отъ всѣхъ блахихъ’, and when her torturer is killed the next day while riding, the same voice states that ‘отмщение бысть въ многихъ святых!’\(^{55}\) Neither of these women are portrayed in typical \textit{imitatio Marii} colours even in the sixteenth-century redactions of their \textit{vita}, which evidently resulted from hagiographers’ unwillingness to cast aside the strong and colourful legend which had grown up around their protagonists. Even more reluctant to ignore the various local legends associated with his heroine was Ermolai-Erazm, hagiographer of Fevronia of Murom.\(^{56}\) Almost wholly folkloric in origin, Fevronia comprises another example of how the oral tradition, Christian legend and the passage of time can produce an individualized character portrayal by the blending of different literary styles and forms, as discussed earlier. Ermolai pays scant regard to hagiographical conventions and even less to the Orthodox vision of idealized woman: Fevronia is depicted as folkloric Wise Maiden who demands the reward of marriage in exchange for curing Petr, her strength of character casts Petr into a submissive background role once he has slain the dragon, and she enjoys a mysterious communion with nature.

As the processes of Christianization took hold in Rus’, however, ‘the portrayal of women […] became increasingly Christianized and, simultaneously, less reflective of the oral tradition’.\(^{57}\) Less individualized hagiographical portraits concentrated mainly upon conventional expressions and ideals of Christian piety

\(^{387-92}\), and Mother Damp Earth to whom many rituals of fertility and abundance were dedicated (see Ivanits, \textit{Russian Folk Belief}, pp. 12-18).


\(^{56}\) See Chapter Two, p. 102.

\(^{57}\) Ziolkowski, ‘Women’, p. 12.
and consigned the original strong female literary type to history. The sixteenth century saw the appearance of two hagiographies which clearly illustrate the growing influence of the Marian ideal, the Zhitiie Evfrosinii Polotskoi and the Zhitiie Evfrosinii Suzdal’skoi. Evfrosinia of Polotsk, born in 1101, was the granddaughter of the Polotsk Prince Vseslav. There are four redactions of her vita; the main version, found in Metropolitan Makarii’s Stepennaia kniga, is typical of the rhetorical vita of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, although the liveliness and abundance of biographical details, together with several remnants of archaic language, suggest the possibility of an older original source. Evfrosinia of Suzdal’, who died in the mid-thirteenth century, was the daughter of Mikhail of Chernigov. Her vita was composed by Grigorii, a monk from the Spaso-Evfilm Monastery, in the second quarter of the sixteenth century and has come down to us in many versions. Grigorii wrote in the ornate and prolix style characteristic of the mid-sixteenth century, producing ‘витиеватые похвальные слова’ which neither shed light on the characters of the saints about whom he wrote, nor related accurate historical fact. Both these vitae depict young princesses who are said to go against parental authority and take the veil in order to avoid marriage in the lay world, knowing that they wish to devote their lives only to God. They are exemplary nuns and spend their lives improving either the minds of the other sisters or else founding churches and convents, as well as attracting large numbers of new nuns.

The pattern followed in the vitae of both Evfrosiniias effectively illustrates the emulation by women of male saints rather than a focus upon specifically Marian virtues, reflecting the sanctifying of women within a masculine framework, as noted above by Ashbrook Harvey. Rather than emphasizing the two saints’ compassion and intercession, for example, both hagiographers stress the women’s humility and

58 For example, the fifteenth-century vita of Princess Anna of Novgorod (died 1056) which tells of her refusal to wed the man chosen by her parents long before she eventually travels to Novgorod to marry Iaroslav, but otherwise focuses on dynastic and political history in a typical chronicle style (see ‘Zhitiie sviatoi velikoi kniaginii Anny’ in Zhitiia russkikh ‘sviatykh’, 6 vols, Moscow, 1993, 6, pp. 272-80); and the seventeenth-century vita of Princess Anna of Kashin (died 1368) which uses the Zhitiie Mikhaila Iaroslavicha Tverskogo as a basic model and relates virtually nothing about Anna herself (see ‘Zhitiie blagovernoi kniagini Anny Kashinskoi po Sinodal’noi rukopisi XVII veka’, ChOIdR, 1905, book 3, pp. 53-67, and Kliuchevskii, Dreverusskie zhitiia, pp. 340-41).

59 See ‘Zhitiie i podvig’ blazhenniia i prepodobnyia Evfrosinii’ in Kniga stepennaia tsarskogo rodoslovia. Chast’ pervaiia, PSRL, vol. 21, part 1, St Petersburg, 1908, pp. 206-20. On the question of an older source, see Kliuchevskii, Dreverusskie zhitiia, p. 262.

60 ‘Zhitiie i zhizn’ blagovernoi velikiiia kniazhyia Evfrosinii Suzdal’skoi. Spisano inokom Grigoriem’, OLDP, St Petersburg, 1888 (hereafter ‘Zhitiie Evfrosinii Suzal’skoi’).

61 Kliuchevskii, Dreverusskie zhitiia, pp. 285-86.
charitable deeds within a convent environment, which follows both the pattern of many male saints’ podvig and the official ecclesiastical view that spiritual salvation was achievable only by choosing a monastic life. There is good reason to believe, however, that both women maintained close contact with the lay world after taking the veil. Pushkareva claims that Evfrosiniia of Polotsk, for example, remained in control of much of her secular wealth and estates, noting that during the exile of the princes of Polotsk it was their wives who were responsible for the smooth running of business transactions (the latters’ private seals have been preserved). Yet, despite the influence of the Evfrosiniias and their concerns in the secular world, their hagiographers chose not to depict any activities outside the convents, adhering rather to the Church’s tendency to sanctify women within a masculine framework which stressed the importance of tonsured life. We know that there were many reasons for a woman to enter a convent, but in these two cases it is very possible that there was simply no acceptable marriage match for the young princesses, and, rather than bring dishonour upon the family by marrying beneath their status, they were married off to the Church.

Thus we have an indication of how fifteenth- and sixteenth-century hagiographers chose to depict female protagonists in a less original manner – one recognizably closer to the ideals of Christian piety and sanctity than that of the earlier strong female character type. Less than one century later, however, we find female subjects once again portrayed as powerful role models, although with the essential difference that Ul’ianiia and Feodosiia are presented as active spiritual role models of the lay world. Such a depiction, in many ways, challenges the ideals of the established Orthodox Church vis-à-vis the Marian model, and yet in others supports these ideals to a far greater extent than any earlier Russian female saint.

**Imitatio Marii in the Lay World**

One of the most remarkable features of these two vitae is the authors’ ability to depict their subjects both as strong imitatio Marii models and also real women with families and everyday concerns. In their respective environments both women are shown to provide inspirational spiritual role models for lay Muscovites. Feminine virtue, defined for centuries by the Orthodox Church as the emulation of the

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Mother of God in a purging of original sin (something ultimately unattainable), finally began to be recognized as a realizable process of positive spiritual development through an active lay life of humility and charity. A new model of feminine piety and spiritual devotion in the lay world was thus created with the vitae of Ul’ianiia and Feodosiia.

Both authors were closely acquainted with their subjects, which allowed them insights into their daily routines to a degree seldom found in previous hagiography and which, in turn, they translated into more individualized character portrayal. The fact that both authors were themselves laymen and thus knew about the everyday context in which their subjects lived, doubtless helped in this type of character portrayal. Likhachev notes that seventeenth-century literature was particularly marked by what he calls ‘открытие характера; интерес к рядовому человеку, к быту, к конкретной исторической обстановке’, and more realistic character depictions surely counted as another facet of this development. One further important element found in these two vitae, and linked closely to individualized character portrayal, is the psychological motivation of the subjects, something which earlier played virtually no role in hagiography in which the protagonist’s personal inclination and motivation had no effect upon the wider context of religious didacticism and divine predestination.

The Povest’ ob Ul’iani Osor’ini illustrates the tendency towards dichotomy in the perception of the imitatio Marii role in early seventeenth-century Muscovy. On the one hand, Ul’ianiia emulates the Mother of God’s virtues of motherhood, love, mercy, compassion, intercession and indulgence, yet on the other hand, she is almost wholly dissimilar to her sixteenth-century female saintly predecessors. Ul’ianiia’s role as mother both to her own large family and anyone else in need is strongly emphasized, contrasting sharply with the lifelong virginity of Evfrosiniia of Polotsk and Evfrosiniia of Suzdal’. While the latter two saints devoted much time as guiding figures to the religious instruction of the nuns, Ul’ianiia is the first Russian saint to be glorified in the image of real motherhood, which indicates the important recognition on the part of the author that bearing children need not be considered sinful. As noted above, motherhood was a problematic area for earlier hagiographers who often chose to describe miraculous conception and birth in the case of saints. We are told how, even as a child, Ul’ianiia shows great motherly love and kindness: ‘сироты и вдовы немощныя в веси той бяху, и всех
Imitatio Marii

Her vita is based around acts of humility and charity (caring for the sick and needy in the lay world) regardless of her own financial situation. Compassion is seen in her tendency to victims of the plague, washing them with her own hands, as well as intercession through her saying of prayers for these victims and giving alms in the names of those who die. When she is married and her husband absent on military campaigns, she spends her nights weaving and embroidering, selling the finished product and donating the money to the poor and for the building of churches. Through hard years of famine she eats practically nothing herself so that she may indulge others (even telling a white lie to her mother-in-law who questions why she has suddenly developed such a hearty appetite), she instructs her children and servants not to steal food from others as God will provide, and is said even to work miracles during the devastating famine of 1601-04:

К повелев оставшим рабом собирати лебеду и кору древнюю, и в том хлеб сотворити. И от того сама с детьми и рабы питашеся, и

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66 UO Kratkaia, p. 104.
67 Ibid., p. 105.
68 Ibid., p. 108.
69 Ibid., p. 105.
70 Ibid., p. 107.
71 Ibid., p. 105.
72 Ibid., pp. 106-07. Ul’ianiia’s preference for carrying out charitable work in private is stressed in the vita, as is her innocent duping of others: when she is young and seeks to avoid the childish games and frivolous songs of her peers, we are told that ‘она же не приставаше к совету их, недоумение на ся возлагаше’ (ibid., p. 104), and later when she accepts money from her children to buy warm clothes for herself one bitterly cold winter, she in fact gives the money to the poor (ibid., p. 109). Such a tendency towards secrecy points towards a deliberate and genuine desire to conceal her good deeds which serves merely to enhance her qualities of humility and kindness in the eyes of the reader-audience, and her humility and generosity appear inherent qualities rather than part of an imposed hagiographical construct.
73 Ibid., p. 111. The notion of God providing the essential in life is a motif discussed already in Chapter One, note 119.
Extending the role from the Marian ideal to the particular qualities favoured by the church in Rus’, we also find emphasis placed on unquestionable obedience, first to her grandmother and aunt, and later to her husband, accepting his refusal to allow her to enter a convent after the death of her sons. Ultimately her most unflinching obedience is to Christ and the Christian faith (even when she cannot physically go to church, she prays at home).

Ul’iania does not, however, readily fit the same Marian mould as, for example, Evfrosinia of Suzdal’ and Evfrosinia of Polotsk. First, although ‘the object of veneration for over three centuries, first as a local saint and later, as her Life became well-known, more widely’ Ul’iania has never been canonized and thus never recognized by the established Orthodox Church as worthy of sanctity. Ul’iania never took the veil and for most of her life did not even attend Church on a regular basis, although she is said to have loved God from childhood. Although born into a wealthy landowning family in the Murom district, she was not a princess, as was the case with the majority of native Russian women venerated before her, and had no aristocratic background. It is worth noting again here that neither was the Mother of God from an aristocratic background, establishing yet another parallel between the Marian ideal and Ul’iania in contrast to the female saints sanctified within a masculine framework. She did not avoid marriage as the two Evfrosiniias before her who both fled to convents disobeying the express wishes of their parents, but rather dedicated herself to a Christian way of married life in the lay world, a role closer to the popular image of Mary as Mother. Neither did she attempt to proselytize or teach Christian virtues to others, but rather allowed her own actions of humility and charity to set an example. Evfrosinia of Polotsk, on the other hand, convinced her younger sister Gradislava, one of her aunts and two nieces to remain with her in the convent and to take the veil, and Evfrosinia of Suzdal’ was renowned for her persuasion of many lay visitors to take the veil. Likewise, the deeds of both these saints are described on a far

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74 Ibid., p. 112.
75 Ibid., p. 104.
76 Ibid., p. 108.
77 Ibid., pp. 109 and 111.
79 УО Краткайа, p. 104.
grander scale than are Ul‘ianiia’s; whereas the latter, as mentioned above, tried to set an example by her own actions, both Evfrosiniia of Polotsk and Evfrosiniia of Suzdal’ had wealth at their disposal, and were responsible for new churches and convents being built, re-organized and lavishly decorated.

As a fitting illustration of her deep humility, Ul‘ianiia’s charitable work is carried out mostly in private or in secret; she spins, weaves and embroiders at night when not praying, secretly feeds the poor, and visits plague victims ‘стай свекра и свекрови’. Likewise, the two miracles she works during her lifetime are of a more private nature than public: the icon of the Mother of God speaks to a priest in church and tells him to instruct Ul‘ianiia to start visiting church again, and later she manages to make a sweet-tasting bread from goosefoot and tree-bark during the great famine. This hidden activity is in stark contrast to the very public displays of virtue seen, for example, in Evfrosiniia of Suzdal’ and Evfrosiniia of Polotsk who are lauded not only for continual prayer and fasting but also described as the moving force behind convents being built and expanded, for many young women taking the veil and for instructing the other nuns in Christian ways. Evfrosiniia of Polotsk also undertakes an elaborate journey to Constantinople where she is received by the Emperor and the Patriarch. Miracles are also reported on a grander scale; the prayers of Evfrosiniia of Suzdal’, for example, are said to bring down a thick fog and prevent the convent being attacked by Tatar forces. For many laywomen, whose own spiritual practices and efforts would have been noticed by only a few if any, the example set by Ul‘ianiia was certainly closer to reality and thus more likely to inspire emulation as something achievable in the lay world on a lesser scale than great public feats of spiritual heroism.

The apparent differences between the sixteenth-century works and the Povest’ ob Ul‘ianii Osor inoi highlight the evolving perception of what constituted imitatio Marii. It is arguable that, although the principles of feminine virtue had not greatly altered throughout the Christian period, the manner in which they were realized had changed considerably, and Kallistrat accordingly offered a radically different example for emulation. With much popular support growing for a more personal understanding and practice of Orthodoxy, Kallistrat presented his reader-audience with the portrait of a woman who fulfilled the virtuous traditions of the imitatio Marii role model, yet who lived in the real lay world and was faced with familiar problems and fears. As Bushkovitch points out, this vita is ‘anchored explicitly in

80 Ibid., p. 107.
81 Ibid., p. 109.
82 Ibid., p. 112.
the social reality of the time to a tremendous extent, and this gives it a unique value in understanding what was at the heart of the religious changes of those years.'

He calls Ul’iania ‘the calmer of social strife’ and considers this a reflection of the social unrest during her lifetime; the establishment of serfdom, outbreaks of plague and terrible famine leading up to the appearance of the first Pretender to the Russian throne and the Time of Troubles.

Kallistrat was able to present a far more intimate picture of his mother and her lifestyle than was previously the case in hagiography and her character suffers little of the traditional stereotyping and distancing from the world of the reader-audience. Instead, Ul’iania is shown exclusively in an everyday household environment as someone who shared similar concerns and with whom the reader-audience could identify. Many, for instance, would have experienced the difficulties of supporting a family and household of servants through famine, plague and social unrest (made even harder by the absence of husbands and fathers who were called upon to serve the Tsar). Women, married at a young age and taken to join their husband’s family, would most likely have sympathized with Ul’iania, as would any parent at her reaction to the death of her sons. In this real life context, Kallistrat manages to depict a wider range of individualized characteristics than earlier hagiographers, several of which subscribe to contemporary social ideals rather than solely religious ones: she is shown as submissive to her elders and husband and less aggressive and outspoken than several of her female saintly predecessors (such as Princess Ol’ga, Paraskeva and the Evfrosiniias). We also find out that she is, by nature, gentle and respectful of other people and takes no pleasure in censuring or punishing the people in her employ, which she must do as part of her role as estate manager. Yet the vita also tells us that she proves supremely competent in running the estate and ‘многим искушающим ю в речах и во ответех, она же ко всякому вопросу благочинен и смыслен ответ даваще; и вси дивляхуся разуму ей.’ Such admiration of Ul’iania’s capabilities provides not merely an insight into her character but also commentary on social norms; a woman was expected to manage the estate only in

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83 Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society*, p. 146.
84 Ibid., p. 147.
85 Although Ul’iania died in 1604, just as the Time of Troubles began, and Kallistrat wrote her vita when the Romanovs were already in power and stability was returning, his experience of political upheaval and spiritual disillusionment certainly coloured his views.
86 See Pushkareva, *Chastnaia zhizn*, p. 44.
87 *UO Kratkaia*, pp. 105-06.
88 Ibid., p. 105.
her husband’s absence through illness, death or military service, for example, and doubtless many women were ill-prepared for the task. Indeed, the *vita* states that everyone was surprised when Ul’iania was successful. Not only is this description a clear reflection of reality, but Kallistrat also manages, through stressing Ul’iania’s practical capabilities in the real world, both to underline the possibility of coping with problems in the lay world in a good Christian manner and also quietly to challenge contemporary gender roles, the idea of female incompetence. Hagiography never touched on issues such as this previously and it is more than likely that Kallistrat’s experience of the lay world equipped him better than any ecclesiastical author to include such detailed secular material.

Implicitly linked to a more individualized character portrait is another important development in the evolution of hagiography; through Kallistrat’s detailed description of Ul’iania, the reader-audience is presented also with the protagonist’s psychological motivations and emotional response, rare elements in earlier hagiography where personal emotions are mostly absent and the subject is normally said to be directed by the will of God. The clearest example of psychological motivation is found in Ul’iania’s request to her husband to release her from the household and allow her to enter a convent. Usually the tonsure or veil is taken as a direct result of spiritual longing, prompted either by love of God or by a specific religious phenomenon such as a vision. Ul’iania’s desire to take the veil, however, is neither of these, but rather a very human response to the death of two of her sons. Whatever the exact reason behind her wish (perhaps the hope to find solace, spiritual comfort or privacy to grieve in the isolation of a convent), this type of emotional response to a crisis situation is highly unusual in hagiography where the saint is commonly sustained by prayer and faith in times of crisis. Ul’iania, on the other hand, appears to her reader-audience as an ordinary mother in great distress, simply looking for personal solace. Once again, her status as mother connects her both to the reader-audience and to the divine figure of the Mother of God, with particular poignancy in this instance as both mothers lose a son.

Likewise, her first and very natural reaction to the demons who plague her at night is terror and the need to escape them; ‘убояся и ляже на постели, усну крепко’. Kallistrat puts this unique reaction down to youth and inexperience, although previous saints have always battled with the demons using prayer, and sometimes the crucifix or holy water, to scare them away. Interestingly, the demons do not torture Ul’iania with temptations of the flesh (despite the long absences of

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89 Ibid., p. 106.
her husband on military campaigns, as noted by Rudi[90], but rather demand that she cease her pious way of life: 'Аще не престанешь такового начинания, аще погубим тя!'[91] Perhaps Kallistrat considered that this form of demonic torture was more fitting for a woman (especially his own mother) and adapted the traditional motif of sexual temptation accordingly; but he may well also have wished to stress that the most important aspect of Ul’ianiia’s piety was not chastity but rather charitable deeds. Finally, after the episode where St Nicholas catches and torments a demon sent to plague Ul’ianiia, her response is very natural: 'Она же к нам прииде ужасна вельми и лицем пременися. Мы же, видеемъ ю смущену, вопращахомь, – и не поведа ничто же. Непомноже же сказа намъ тайно и заповеда не реши никому'.[92] Frightened and possibly not quite believing what has just happened, Ul’ianiia sought reassurance from the presence of other household members but did not immediately explain her confusion. By explaining to the reader-audience, either directly or implicitly, the psychological rationale behind many of the protagonist’s actions and responses in this way, Kallistrat developed further the closeness between subject and reader-audience.

The new perception of female piety embodied in the Povest’ ob Ul’iani Osor’inoi is found also in the Povest’ o boiaryne Morozovoi. The Marian qualities of love, motherhood, compassion, humility and indulgence are clearly indicated early in the vita. We are told of Feodosiia’s charitable deeds after she is widowed at a young age in 1662:

[...] ньоги милостыні сотвори, многіе имѣнія расточи неимущим, многіх с праведу скупи. И монастыремъ довольна подаваше, и церквамъ потребная приношеше, пустынниковъ многих потребными угодливоше, прокаженныхъ в домѣ своемъ упокоеваше.[93]

The love and courageous compassion she shows to others is unquestionable: she shelters not only lepers but also like-minded adherents to the Old Belief such as Archpriest Avvakum after his return to Moscow from Siberian exile, and later several nuns fleeing persecution to whom she offers motherly comfort: 'Ку, голубицы моя, не бойтесь!'[94] The vita frequently illustrates her love for, support and encouragement of her sister Evdokia, her Spiritual Mother Melaniia and the nun Mariia. When Feodosiia is moved to the fortress at Borovsk and Evdokia

[90] Zhitie Iulianii, p. 96.
[91] UO Kratkaia, p. 106.
[92] Ibid., pp. 110-11.
[94] Ibid., pp. 455 and 460.
realizes they are now far apart, the latter ‘яко младенецъ по матери, горце рыдаше’. After receiving spiritual instruction from the nun Melania, Feodosia intensifies her efforts to lead a humble life rising early in the morning to pray at the Chudov Monastery in the Kremlin so that she can carry out the rituals of the Old Belief without hindrance, as well as fasting strictly and praying more with tears. In secret, in 1670, she was tonsured by Father Dosifei who was hiding in her home at the time and ‘начать вдаватися большия подвигом: посту и молитвѣ и молчанію, а от домовых дел от всяхъ нача уклонятися’. Feodosia does not fulfil the ideal requisite of obedience in the same manner as Ul’iania, although she does justify her flagrant disobedience towards the ‘earthly tsar’ as obedience to the superior ‘heavenly tsar’.

Like Ul’iania, Feodosia differs significantly in her imitatio Marii role from pre-seventeenth-century Russian female saints. As an outspoken heretic in the eyes of the official Orthodox Church, she has naturally never been canonized, her death as a martyr to the Old Belief disqualifying her completely. She certainly did not follow the normal path for a member of a distinguished aristocratic family; as a high-ranking female courtier she was very close to the Tsaritsa and enjoyed a privileged lifestyle. When the Nikonian ecclesiastical reforms created a spiritual dilemma for her, however, she reacted in a way that no aristocratic woman appears to have done since the time of Princess Ol’ga when faced with adversity – she launched a campaign of public and vociferous defiance. Note must be made here, however, that Feodosia was far freer to be actively defiant as a widow than she would have been as a married woman. Widows were traditionally afforded greater respect and privilege than married women as they were deemed to have

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95 Ibid., p. 475.
96 Ibid.
99 Ibid., p. 470.
100 Alissandratos claims that Feodosia cannot strictly be called a martyr in the classical sense as there was no execution (see Julia Alissandratos, ‘Narrative Patterning in the Seventeenth-Century Old Believer Lives of Bojarinya Morozova and Gregory Neronov’ in Gattung und Narration in den älteren slawischen Literaturen, ed. Klaus-Dieter Seeman, Wiesbaden, 1987, pp. 29-46 [hereafter Alissandratos, ‘Narrative Patterning’] [31]). I would, however, argue that the more usual motif of active execution has simply been adapted to a passive variation as Feodosia died of starvation in the fortress at Borovsk, the Tsar having expressly forbidden anyone to bring food or water to the women, thus directly precipitating their deaths (see ‘Повесть о боиарыне Морозовой’, pp. 477-78). The lack of violent execution does not diminish the fact that Feodosia died for her religious beliefs, which confirms her status as martyr.
fulfilled their duty to society (cared for husbands and raised families) and, more importantly, were no longer viewed as a threat either in terms of sexual temptation or contamination of the bloodline as their child-bearing years were considered past.¹⁰¹ Feodosiia appears to have made the most of the increased social freedom brought about by this form of 'desexualization'.

She chose to fight her cause with all of Muscovy as her battlefield, the most powerful secular and ecclesiastical authorities as her opponents and unswerving faith as her greatest weapon. In contrast, the two Evfrosinias withdrew to convents when their wishes did not concur with those of their parents and even Ul'iania complied with whatever turns life brought. Feodosiia is portrayed as a warrior of the faith,¹⁰² embarking upon her own religious crusade and, instead of seeking shelter in a convent or other environment where her faith would be protected on a personal level, she used her privileged status to further her campaign. Her Moscow home, for example, is transformed into a platform from which she defends her position and arguments, where she does not shy away from openly condemning Nikon’s heresy in front of visitors, such as her father’s cousin Mikhail Alekseevich Rtishchev and his daughter Anna,¹⁰³ interrogators, such as the Tsar’s envoys Princes Boris Ivanovich Troekurov and Petr Semenovich Urusov,¹⁰⁴ and Archimandrite Ioakim of the Chudov Monastery.¹⁰⁵ As mentioned above, she also provides refuge in her home to persecuted fellow Old Believers. A woman of such aristocratic origin rebelling so openly against the highest authorities was unprecedented and something that the Tsar could not simply ignore since the Morozov family had numerous connections with the royal Court.¹⁰⁶ He was well aware that torturing and executing an aristocratic woman who still had family to protect her could be dangerous, and might well even incite more support and sympathy for the Old Believers;¹⁰⁷ thus his happiness on the death of Feodosiia’s

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¹⁰¹ Widows also commonly shouldered the responsibilities of family and estate until their children came of age, and as a result became more actively involved than married women in commercial and social spheres; see Franklin and Shepard, Emergence, p. 298, and Worobec, ‘Accommodation’, pp. 25-26.

¹⁰² Although similar to earlier warrior saints such as Aleksandr Nevskii and Dmitrii Donskoi, Feodosiia was the first protector specifically of faith, with no princely status and no territorial issues involved.


¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 459.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 461.


¹⁰⁷ See, for example, the Tsar’s awareness of Feodosiia’s ability to arouse public sympathy and his consequent decision to move her to Borovsk (‘Povest’ o boiaryne
son 'яко сводобнѣе мысляще без сына матерь умучити'\textsuperscript{108} Feodosiia's warrior qualities differ significantly, however, from those of Ol'ga in one important area; whereas the latter fought an external enemy which threatened the independence of Kievan Rus', Feodosiia saw her enemy as the Tsar and Patriarch, the very foundation of Muscovite domestic authority. Feodosiia is much closer in this respect to Paraskeva who refused the commands of the Roman Empire to worship pagan idols and as a result was tortured and died as a martyr to the Christian faith. Even Paraskeva, however, was fighting the non-Christian Roman authorities rather than the official Church.

We see with Feodosiia as we did with Ul'ianiiia how perceptions of piety continued to change in the second half of the seventeenth century. Naturally, the Schism brought violent spiritual and social upheaval, testing the strength, allegiance and faith of many. Andrei thus composed this \textit{vita} at a time of high emotion, advocating not merely a pious life but also political protest against the official Church and the State. Just as Kallistrat offers his reader-audience an alternative figure of emulation, Andrei persuades his reader-audience that the old ways of Russian Orthodoxy must be adhered to, although in so doing he re-moulded the traditional martyr's role into a far more contemporary and recognizable image of religious rebel. It is highly unlikely that Andrei meant consciously to alter in any way the accepted qualities and virtues of the \textit{imitatio Marii} role, yet force of circumstance helped him to revive a strong female character type in a realistic contemporary context. Furthermore, at the time of writing, Feodosiia would have been a familiar figure in Muscovy and the reader-audience aware that this \textit{vita} told of the struggles of a very real person rather than some ancient martyr's abstract suffering. Andrei convincingly attempted to convey to his reader-audience the spiritual nature of Feodosiia's martyrdom against a backdrop of the reader-audience's own knowledge of and reaction to the Nikonian reforms and, in turn, the need for her cause to be taken up.

As we saw in the case of Kallistrat, the closer the hagiographer is to his protagonist, the more convincingly he is able to produce a truly intimate character portrayal. Feodosiia has been called 'more medieval in outlook than either Ol'ga or Fevronia' and many other details of the work are said to have 'a distinctly

\textsuperscript{108} Morozovoi', pp. 474-75), and also the \textit{dumnyi} Ilarion's anxiety later that the womens' graves would produce miracles and thus encourage cult worship of them (ibid., p. 479).
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., p. 467.
medieval cast',\footnote{H. W. Dewey, and A. M. Kleimola, 'Muted Eulogy: Women who Inspired Men in Medieval Rus', \textit{Russian History}, 10, 1983, 2, pp. 188-200 (196).} statements which show a surprising lack of awareness of the many new features of this \textit{vita}. While Feodosiia may be termed 'old-fashioned' in her desire to preserve the Russian Orthodox practices of the past seven centuries, her hagiographical portrayal is quite unlike that of any female characters — saintly or secular — previously encountered in Russian literature. Clearly Andrei greatly admired Feodosiia, was privy to the family's home life and was also able to follow Feodosiia into her northern exile. He shows her as a young woman, wife, mother, widow, devoted to the Church and charity, as well as in many challenging environments in which he describes not merely the situation but also her reactions, emotions and rationale with sensitivity and detailed individuality.

Andrei stresses not only Feodosiia's piety but also intelligence early in the \textit{vita} and the pleasure received by fellow conversers, such as her brother-in-law Boris Ivanovich Morozov: 'И стёпяши на многъ честь, бесстоваху духовныя словеса. И провождающи вт, глаголаше: <Днесь насладяхся паче меда и сота словесъ твоих душеоплойныя>\footnote{Ibid., p. 457.} Placing emphasis upon Feodosiia's thorough knowledge of the Holy Books may well have been a deliberate authorial strategy to help to convince the reader-audience that Feodosiia was indeed educated in spiritual matters and thus qualified to denounce as heretical Nikon's revised Holy Books. During debates designed to sway Feodosiia's resolve, her argument is invariably stronger. Against the superficial pleas of Rtishchev, for instance, that 'Великъ и премудръ учитель Никонъ патриархъ и втъра, преданная от него, зело стройна, и добро и красно по новым книгам служити', Feodosiia strikes back with focused clarity:

\begin{quote}
«прелшени есте и такова врага божия и отступника похваляете, и книги его, нтеванныя римских и иных всѣхъ ересей, ублажаете. Православным намъ подобает книг его отвергаться и всѣх его нововодных преданий богомерзских тушатися, и его самого, врага церкви Христовой, проклинати всѣческих»\footnote{‘Повесть о боярьне Morozovoi’, p. 455.}
\end{quote}

Interestingly, while Rtishchev concentrates more on Nikon's qualities, Feodosiia's focus is on the actual Holy Books indicating that she is more aware of the theological implications of Nikon's reforms. Her intelligence shows her to be the more formidable opponent. Such commentary on a saintly protagonist's intelligence and analytical powers of comprehension is a radical innovation in Russian
hagiography. Previously, hagiographers commonly mentioned that the saint studies the Holy Books, especially as a youth, but little more, and literacy was very rarely attributed to female saints at all. Most likely connected to the growth of literacy outside of monasteries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Andrei’s account of his female subject’s knowledge of the Holy Books, intelligence and debating skills bears further testament to the increasing influences of the secular world upon a traditionally male ecclesiastical world.

Feodosiia’s outspoken beliefs illustrate her strong-willed, independent nature and she is shown time and again to find the courage to speak her mind even under the worst conditions of interrogation and torture. Described ‘яко храбрый воинъ велми вооружився на сопротивоборцы’,\(^{112}\) she holds her own against the most senior ecclesiastical figures who interrogate her sometimes for many hours at once (Archimandrite Ioakim of the Chudov Monastery and later Patriarch Pitirim\(^{113}\)) and the abuses of the three princes elected by the Tsar to carry out the torture,\(^{114}\) continually re-stating her beliefs and even reproaching the dumnyi Ilarion during torture for unchristian behaviour, ‘если ли христианство, еже сице человека умучити?’\(^{115}\) Andrei tells us that Feodosiia’s intransigence during torture urges the princes to torture her more than Evdokiia and Maria, but still she does not relent. Her constant refusal to give in illustrates not only her determination but also a belief in her spiritual position and acceptance of martyrdom. The physical courage of all three women is highlighted by others’ fear and unwillingness to disobey the Tsar. One such bystander, for instance, is Evdokiia’s husband who is present when the Tsar orders her to be arrested along with Feodosiia; ‘хны’ же Петру та стоя и слышав сия словеса, оскорбясь, а помощь делу невозможе’.\(^{116}\) The author’s implication is clearly that Petr is scared and does not match up to the mettle of his wife and sister-in-law. The boiars at the royal Court are likewise portrayed as weak and fearful: ‘и бояре убо вси, видяще неправедную ярость и на неповинную кровь составь эльй, не прилагахусь к совету - но тончи возразити элаго не могуше, страха же ради молчаху’.\(^{117}\)

Feodosiia is shown to be stubborn also in matters not strictly spiritual. Several passages describe an active form of secular protest in addition to the defence of her religious beliefs. Having excused herself, for example, from the Tsar’s

\(^{112}\) Ibid., p. 471.
\(^{113}\) Ibid., pp. 461-64 and 470-71.
\(^{114}\) Ibid., pp. 472-73.
\(^{115}\) Ibid., p. 473.
\(^{116}\) Ibid., p. 462.
\(^{117}\) Ibid., p. 460.
second marriage celebration on the pretext of pain in her legs, she continues this pretence, refusing to walk or stand, throughout the process of moving her from her home to several different locations of interrogation and torture and finally to Borovsk. She disobeys explicit orders to stand and walk when initially expelled from her home, when questioned by senior church figures at the Chudov Monastery, and when she is ordered by the Tsar to attend the new church services. As a result, she suffers the indignity of being dragged in peasant carts and sleds. In this way, Andrei shows how Feodosia’s spiritual defence is aided by everyday actions (or lack of action in this case) of a secular nature, not to mention the unsaintly characteristic of stubbornness. Despite this obdurate side of her character, Andrei depicts Feodosia as an honourable opponent throughout her struggles with authority. She is never the one to instigate argument and only when directly challenged on the issue of the Nikonian reforms does she defend her opinions and faith. Such dignified behaviour in the face of harsh treatment indicates that the author was perhaps seeking to reassure his primarily Old Believer reader-audience that their spiritual choice was not only correct but also morally superior to the violence used by the Nikonian supporters.

Andrei’s characterization of Feodosia is not, however, one-sided; he does not seek merely to enumerate his protagonist’s Christian qualities and ignore any human weaknesses as had so many earlier hagiographers. The overall insight the reader-audience receives into Feodosia’s character is not one of an iron-willed fanatic defending her beliefs regardless of emotional cost. Instead, Andrei balances the formidable strength and determination of his heroine with some very natural moments of human weakness, displaying an authorial objectivity far closer to secular biography than hagiography. Feodosia’s courage is seen to lapse at times and she desperately needs support (usually forthcoming from Evdokiia and/or Mariia), such as prior to Archimandrite Ioakim’s arrival at her home when ‘Феодора же вмалъ ужасися, разуме, яко мучители идут, и яко преклонися на лавку’. On this occasion, Evdokiia comforts her and reminds her that Christ is with them in their struggle. Later, imprisoned in the Caves Monastery,

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118 Ibid., p. 462.
119 Ibid., p. 463.
120 Ibid., pp. 464-65.
121 Ibid., p. 461.
122 Such reassurances were very common in Old Believer literature and most likely functioned as a justification of their chosen path; Archpriest Avvakum, for example, countless times reaffirms God’s support for him and attributes many a lucky escape from catastrophe to God’s direct intercession (see ‘Zhitie Avvakuma’ in PLDR: XVI vek. Kniga
Feodosiia pleads with Elena (who previously worked in the Morozov household) not to leave Moscow as she cannot bear to struggle on alone: ‘Господа ради, не покиньте меня, не съездайте с Москвы, будьте ту [...] единого же сего до конца не могу терпеть’.'123 Just before the three princes commence their torture of the women, Feodosiia seeks both to reassure and to receive reassurance from Evodkiiia and Mariiiia, reaching out to take them by the hand through the crowds of people and calling out ‘Терпи, мать моя, терпи!’124 A similar moment of pathos is seen in Feodosiia’s reaction to the death of her son, Ivan Glebovich. Relatives and the authorities had earlier attempted emotional blackmail in their efforts to make her recant by reminding her that her son would suffer also if she continued in her disobedience. Anna, for instance, reminds her:

Later, during interrogation in the Chudov Monastery, she is reminded once more of her son’s well-being by the Archimandrite Ioakim and Metropolitan Pavel.126 On both occasions, Feodosiia retorts that although she loves her son deeply, her love for Christ is greater and she lives first and foremost for Him. Despite such worthy and virtuous professions, not to mention the apparent rejection of the Marian image of loving mother, when a particularly malicious priest is dispatched by the Tsar to inform Feodosiia of Ivan’s death, her grief is genuine and overwhelming:

Through his detailed and realistic portrait of Feodosiia as a real human being, sensitive to fear, pain and anguish as well as in the image of determined spiritual

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123 'Povest’ o boiaryne Morozovoi’, p. 465.
124 Ibid., p. 472.
125 Ibid., pp. 457-58.
126 Ibid., p. 463.
127 Ibid., pp. 466-67.
campaigner, the hagiographer manages to elicit both admiration and sympathy for her. Moreover, the blending of human and saintly features reminds us of the human nature of the Mother of God, the only mortal being to play a role in the Incarnation. Just as the Mother of God never doubted Christ's original teaching, Feodosiia is seen as determined to uphold the original teachings of the Russian Orthodox faith.

In conclusion, it is clear that both Kallistrat and Andrei do their utmost to portray their protagonists as worthy *imitatio Marii* figures, but at the same time produced models of feminine piety which differed significantly from those of even the sixteenth century in their scope and power. Preservation and extension of the traditional Marian virtues produced more contemporary, realistic and identifiable figures for emulation, which in turn helped to satisfy the rapid acceleration of interest in personal characterization and psychological motivation. Both protagonists furthermore illustrate alternative methods of religious practice to that offered by the official Russian Orthodox Church and, most importantly, convey the notion of spiritual salvation being achievable in the lay world as well as the monastic.

Likhachev states that idealization of the female figure in hagiography continued during the seventeenth century, but 'на новой почве — почве, в значительной мере сниженной и упрощенной', and that the unifying of idealization with real life could lead only to the destruction of the ideal. A different interpretation, however, suggests that the linking of hagiography so strongly to *realia* together with the presentation of a new ideal of the *imitatio Marii* role merely reflects the processes of secularization underway at the time, the gradual decline of a predominantly ecclesiastical world-view in favour of a multifaceted understanding of life, and presentation of the saintly protagonist as one with whom the reader-audience could empathize as much as admire from a distance.

**Structure**

Ul'ianiia and Feodosiia's *vitae* are consistently entitled *povesti* (secular tales) allowing some critics to play down the spiritual content of the works. Despite the secularizing tendencies apparent in characterization and psychological motivation examined above, however, there is no reason to classify these *vitae* as secular in terms of structure or intention. What does emerge, on the other hand, is the

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apparently conscious decision of the authors actively to use the structure of their works to clarify the alternative paths of faith they offer to their reader-audiences.

Many critics have refused to recognize the hagiographical content of the *Povest' ob Ul'ianii Osor'inoi* because of its secular protagonist and author. Serge Zenkovsky, for example, suggests that the work merely resembles an excerpt from a family chronicle, and Skripil' states that

Повесть об Улиянии Осориной была задумана и выполнена как светское повествовательное произведение — биография с элементами семейной хроники; а атрибутивные черты в ней — это невольная дань традиции, это свидетельство того, как трудно было писателю начала XVII в. дать идеальный образ героини без ореола "святости".  

Grossman reminds us that Ul’ianiiia’s qualities, ‘common sense, practical compassion, hard work, and independence of mind, while not incompatible with sainthood, were not the staples of hagiography’. On the other hand, Stokes believes that the work is essentially hagiographical as every episode presents Ul’ianiiia ‘as an example of Christian virtue; [there is] not one which is not directly related to the proposition that she was a saint’, and he further notes that ‘the absence of purely descriptive narrative argues that the *Povest’* was not conceived as a secular biography’. Likhachev supports this line of thought, yet also recognizes the complex problem thrown up by a mixture of secular subject and traditionally religious literary composition; he believes, as noted above, that such a union destroys the idealized model.

Structural analysis of the Kratkaia and the Prostrannaia I redactions supports the view that Kallistrat’s primary objective was to compose a *vita* rather than a secular narrative praising the life achievements of his mother. The Kratkaia is notable for including neither *exordium* nor *conclusio*, although, as noted in the previous chapter, neither were obligatory in hagiography. It does, on the other hand, include all the conventional hagiographical *topoi* in the main narrative (many of which are mentioned above). We learn, for example, that Ul’ianiiia’s father Lustin

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130 Skripil’, ‘*Povest’ ob Ul’ianii Osor’inoi’*, p. 257.
is ‘благоверен и нишелюбив’ and works as a house steward, and her mother Stefanida, equally pious and pure, was the daughter of Grigorii Lukin from Murom. \(^{134}\) Ul’ianiia’s childhood is described in familiar hagiographical terms as avoiding the frivolous activities of other children, preferring to fast, pray and help the sick and poor. She shows great obedience to her relations and, in the absence of a church she could attend to learn the word of God, ‘мыслям бо Господним наставляема нраву добродетельному’. \(^{135}\) After marriage she continues her good deeds and devotes more time to charity and helping the needy through famine and plague, as illustrated above, although demons attempt to put an end to her work. When her husband refuses her request to enter a convent, she retires as much as possible from worldly affairs while carrying on with her daily tasks. She and her husband ‘совещавшеся вкупе жити, а плотнаго совокупления не иметь’ and she practises mortification of the flesh (sleeping on sharp wood by the stove with iron keys under her ribs, walking with broken nut-shells in her boots and refusing to wear warm winter clothing). \(^{136}\) Two miracles are linked to Ul’ianiia during her lifetime: the baking of bread from goosefoot and tree bark during the famine and the icon of the Mother of God instructing her to start visiting church again. \(^{137}\) When old and frail, she delivers a deathbed instruction, a common feature of hagiographical works: ‘призва дети и рабы своя и поучая о любви, и о молитве, и о милосердии, и о прочих добродетелех’. A golden halo is seen around her head and a sweet fragrance noted. \(^{138}\) Posthumously, myrrh with healing powers issues from her grave and her body is uncorrupted. \(^{139}\) All known extant copies of the Kratkaia redaction include between six and twenty-one posthumous miracles which are overwhelmingly of a healing nature with some tales about exorcisms.

The Prostrannaia I redaction includes all the information given in the Kratkaia except the posthumous miracles, \(^{140}\) and elaborates the hagiographical content. It opens with a traditionally hagiographical exordium with prayers, authorial humility topos, the author’s plea for divine assistance in his task and the introduction of the

\(^{134}\) *Kratkaia*, p. 103.
\(^{135}\) Ibid., p. 104.
\(^{136}\) Ibid., pp. 108-9.
\(^{137}\) Ibid., pp. 109 and 112.
\(^{138}\) Ibid., p. 113.
\(^{139}\) Ibid., pp. 113-14.
\(^{140}\) None of the Prostrannaia redactions include posthumous miracles. Skripil’ suggests that this is because the Kratkaia was the only redaction available when local veneration of Ul’ianiia began and so was accepted by churches as the official vita. Miracles would thus have been added to the official Kratkaia redaction rather than the later Prostrannaia; see Skripil’, ‘Повест’ об Uliiianii Osor’inoi’, pp. 272-73.
subject. Additional material in the Prostrannaia I includes many quotations, sometimes paraphrased, from the Bible and other religious didactic works such as the fourteenth-century collection of devotion readings, the Izmaragd, convincingly illustrated and detailed by Tony Greenan.

Kallistrat appears to have been aware that one of the most effective ways in which to instruct his reader-audience was to relate his account directly to their own lives, which may explain his reluctance to emphasize the hagiographical framework or overuse religious topoi even in the Prostrannaia I. In fact, extensive use of non-hagiographical details does indeed at times move his work closer to biography, focusing not on the subject’s saintly Christian qualities, but rather on the worldly aspects of her life. Details of Ul’ianiia’s family life and routine of an entirely secular nature commonly appear in the Prostrannaia I: for instance, we learn more about her parents-in-law, that ‘Be бо свекор ея богат и добророден, яко и царь знаем бе, и свекры именем Евдокия, и та доброродна и смышлена, имяста же точию единаго сына и две дщери, и села, и рабы многи, и прочим именем изообилна’. In comparison, the Kratkaia had told us simply that Georgii’s parents were still alive. Likewise, Kallistrat offers more information about Ul’ianiia’s ten sons and three daughters, of whom six sons and one daughter died in infancy; in the Kratkaia we are told simply that ‘роди сыны и дщери’. Kallistrat certainly did not intend that such details detract from his primary hagiographical aims; probably, on the contrary, he simply meant to stress the everyday aspects of Ul’ianiia’s lay life in order to show how they were infused with a spiritual significance.

Indeed, many features of Kallistrat’s work strongly suggest that his principal intention was to illustrate how a layperson could achieve Christian salvation by leading a pious Christian life and following the basic precepts of Christian charity. As noted by Greenan, the quotations and paraphrased passages added to the Prostrannaia I consistently support this thesis; for instance, Georgii’s admonitions

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141 UO Prostrannaia I, pp. 120-22.
142 Greenan, ‘Iulianiya’, pp. 29-45. The Izmaragd was very popular, providing ‘a classical model for Russian medieval lay ethics and Russian Orthodox piety’ (ibid., p. 32). When Georgii is explaining why he will not allow Ul’ianiia to enter a convent, according to the vita, ‘почтите пред нею книги Божия благенаго Космы Пресвитера и прочих святых отец’ (Prostrannaia I, p. 131) – possibly his own copy of the Izmaragd. Mention of a book is made only in the Prostrannaia I redaction which further indicates that Kallistrat was deliberately emphasizing his opinions concerning salvation in the secular world.
143 UO Prostrannaia I, p. 124.
144 UO Kratkaia, p. 105.
146 UO Kratkaia, p. 108.
to Ul’ianiia that ‘He spasut [...] nas чернеческая ризы, aще не во мнисцехом чину живем. Ы не погубят нас беля ризы, аще ботоугодная творим’,\(^{147}\) and the passages which tell the reader-audience that ‘Мощно [...] и в мире с мужем живущи угодити Богу [...] не всяк [...] построитяся спасется, но иже сотоврит мнисцем достойная’,\(^{148}\) and ‘Не место спасает, но ум, и еже изволение к Богу’.\(^{149}\)

Even the delicate subject of marriage and childbirth is dealt with as a positive spiritual factor: ‘И жена привязанна законом и своим телом не владееет, но муж. Спасет же ся чадородия ради’.\(^{150}\) Thus we see how Kallistrat chose in the _Prostrannaia I_ to elaborate upon those aspects which could clarify the main thrust of his argument and which were certainly also of primary concern and interest to the lay reader-audience (passages concerning monastic vows, marriage, childbirth and so forth).

Much has also been made of the seemingly anti-clerical elements in the _vita_, the fact that Ul’ianiia is a laywoman who did not attend church before she was married (and thereafter not on a regular basis), that her husband prevented her from taking the veil after the death of her sons, and that she did not surrender her wealth to the Church and take the veil even when widowed. Čiževskij rather melodramatically sees in Ul’ianiia and Kallistrat ‘the last expression of the piety of Nil Sorskij and of the Russian Hesychast school’,\(^{151}\) but Greenan may be closer to the mark with his observation that the _vita_ presents a ‘synthesis of the two tendencies of Russian monasticism at the time, that of Nil Sorsky and that of Joseph of Volokolamsk, combining the asceticism and tolerance of the former with the good works of the latter’.\(^{152}\) Such a synthesis further supports the idea that Kallistrat was deliberately trying to illustrate how a layperson could combine a personal side of Christian practice (in the form of private asceticism and tolerance) with a more public side (such as charitable deeds), within the context of an ordinary lay life.

Critical uncertainty about generic classification surrounds the _Povest’ o boiaryne Morozgvoi_. Pre-Revolutionary Russian critics viewed it as a _vita_, while most Soviet scholars labelled it secular biography. Skripil’, however, proposed an alternative view that the author followed the Old Believers’ ‘literary tradition’ begun by the work _Zhitie protopopa Avvakuma, im samim napisannoe:_

\(^{147}\) IO _Prostrannaia I_, p. 131.

\(^{148}\) Ibid., p. 125.

\(^{149}\) Ibid., p. 134.

\(^{150}\) Ibid., p. 125. It should be noted that this is a quotation from Paul (I, Timothy, 2:15).

\(^{151}\) Čiževskij, _History_, p. 317.

\(^{152}\) Greenan, ‘Julianiya’, p. 44.
Linking this *vita* too closely with that of Avvakum is, however, a mistake; it is not 'autohagiography' (to be discussed in the next chapter) and is generally of a more conventionally hagiographical nature. Furthermore, by reducing the work to a simplistic category of 'историко-бытовая повесть', Skripil' is, in typical Soviet style, overlooking the religious essence and intention of the author.

Alissandratos analysed the narrative patterning in this work using the components and subcomponents, themes and subthemes of traditional Byzantino-Slavonic encomiastic narrative, and noted a sophistication and style rarely found in previous hagiographical works. She points out that, despite the absence of *exordium* and *conclusio*, all the essential elements and *topoi* of encomiastic narrative are present in the *vita*. We hear in detail about Feodosiia's origins, for example: 'родился от родителя благородную и благочестиву', her father Prokopii Sokovnin was a nobleman at the Tsar's Court in Moscow and her mother, a God-fearing woman, was called Anisiia and her sister Evdokiia. Rather unusually, there is no mention at all of Feodosiia's childhood and only brief mention made of her marriage at the age of seventeen to the boiar Gleb Ivanovich Morozov and the fact that she is widowed a few years later. The early years of her piety and charitable work and the fact that she gives away much of her wealth is noted above, but Andrei places equal emphasis upon the religious guidance she receives from her spiritual mother, the nun Melaniia, and her efforts to emulate her. The fact that Feodosiia is widowed at such a young age leaves her free to concentrate on her spiritual life and removes any barriers to her taking the veil (despite the initial misgivings of Melaniia). The repeated sequence of confrontations with ecclesiastical and secular authorities (which take place at her home, the Chudov, St Aleksei, Caves, and Novodevichii Monasteries and at the fort in Borovsk) forms the main

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154 Alissandratos, ‘Narrative Patterning’, p. 29.
155 ‘Povest’ o boiaryne Morozovoi’, p. 455.
156 See p. 158.
part of the central narrative which, as Alissandratos notes, possesses a distinctive cyclical nature; Feodosiia is always confronted with an attack on her beliefs which she must defend before she is either interrogated further or tortured and finally moved to the next location.\textsuperscript{158} This type of cycle is comparable to conventional hagiographical accounts in which the saint must overcome many barriers to achieve spiritual salvation. Throughout the \textit{vita} we find comparisons either to Biblical or other religious figures, a standard hagiographical \textit{topos}: for example, Feodosiia and Melaniia are likened to Mary Magdalene and Mary the Mother of God,\textsuperscript{159} and later Feodosiia is compared to the fourth-century martyr St Katherine.\textsuperscript{160} Interestingly, Andrei includes a parallel that reflects popular Christianity: Feodosiia and the priest who in secret gives her communion are compared to Varlaam and Ioasaf.\textsuperscript{161} References in hagiographical writing to popular Christian figures are unusual, especially when found side-by-side with Biblical personages such as the Mother of God. Although it could be argued that this was linked to Andrei’s lack of experience and training in the art of hagiography, it can equally be claimed that Andrei’s inclusion of such references indicates a different authorial approach than previously, one which aims to communicate more effectively with the reader-audience, using familiar images with which they can identify rather than allusions only to distant Biblical and saintly figures.

Finally, after the death of her sister, Feodosiia dies of starvation as a martyr in an underground dungeon. The \textit{vita} recounts how Melaniia, at the time of Feodosiia’s death, is in the wilderness and sees her spiritual daughter in a dream clothed in bright rich robes and surrounded by light, kissing an icon of Christ. Andrei describes Melaniia’s vision in overtly iconographic terms, perhaps to encourage his reader-audience to visualize her as a saint.\textsuperscript{162} After Feodosiia’s burial and a short description of Mariia’s death, Andrei provides more evidence of Feodosiia’s sanctity by including Dosifei’s admission that Feodosiia, together with Evdokiia and Mariia, had appeared to him in a vision as an angel while in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{158} Alissandratos, ‘Narrative Patterning’, pp. 33-36.
\item \textsuperscript{159} Tovest’ o boiaryne Morozovoi’, p. 456.
\item \textsuperscript{160} Ibid., p. 476.
\item \textsuperscript{162} ‘Povest’ o boiaryne Morozovoi’, p. 481.
\end{itemize}
Moscow,\textsuperscript{163} and describing how Feodosiia's prayers and tears in the Caves Monastery had also returned Melania to health when the latter was seriously ill.\textsuperscript{164}

The framework does, therefore, generally adhere to hagiographical structure. Alissandratos tentatively suggests that this \textit{vita} provides 'a transitional shift in the development of narrative patterning from simpler medieval versions to more sophisticated modern ones within the genres of the saint's life and biography, or even perhaps for Russian prose in general'.\textsuperscript{165} The structure and coherence of the \textit{Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi} is indeed sophisticated by the standards of seventeenth-century Russian hagiography. As a result of Andrei's closeness to his subject, his desire to record events in accurate detail and in an easily comprehensible manner, the work is extremely focused and follows a logical line, avoiding the problem of disjointed episodic structure, endemic in earlier Russian hagiography. Continuous narrative allows the reader-audience's attention to concentrate upon one primary line of action instead of switching from one topic to another. The uncomplicated flow of the narrative, and especially the cyclical structure of events, allows Andrei to use the framework not only to underline the increasing brutality used against Feodosiia and her worthiness of martyrdom, but also to state repeatedly through her arguments the most important precepts of the Old Believers' faith.\textsuperscript{166}

In light of this structural analysis, it becomes clear that neither of these works were conceived as secular tales, but rather as \textit{vita}e motivated by the exemplary pious lives of the subjects. The authors choose either to adhere to or diverge from the traditional structure of high-style Russian \textit{vita}e according to which aspect of their argument they wish to emphasize. In both cases, a significantly different perception of what constitutes sanctity (either a pious life as a layperson in the secular world, or else defence of the original tenets of Russian Orthodoxy) inspired the author to use both his knowledge and experience of the lay world and his very contemporary material to appeal more directly to the everyday existence of his reader-audience. This effort to communicate effectively is reflected in, for example, a greatly reduced use of the traditionally abstract portrayal of the protagonist in

\textsuperscript{163} Ibid., pp. 481-82.
\textsuperscript{164} Ibid., pp. 482-83.
\textsuperscript{165} Alissandratos, 'Narrative Patterning', p. 45.
\textsuperscript{166} It is interesting to note that the later redactions of this \textit{vita} are shorter than the first and consistently edit out the passages of debate, choosing instead to stress descriptions of unrelenting torture and suffering. As a consequence, much of the contemporary and theological context is lost and the work moves closer to conventional martyrologies.
favour of a more familiar intimate depiction. The author was able, thus, to offer an alternative spiritual path to that of the official Orthodox Church, one which related more immediately to his reader-audience's everyday life. As with the northern Russian vitae, the fact that the hagiographers made this conscious decision indicates that they were aware of different levels of reception and reaction from their reader-audience and pitched their composition accordingly. Once again we see how authorial freedom and choice of this type actively encourage secularizing tendencies in literature by providing variations of the ecclesiastical structural norm.

**Narrative Style and Technique**

Since, understandably, it would not have occurred to the traditional ecclesiastical hagiographer to present such distinctive forms of religious experience as do Kallistrat and Andrei, one of the most interesting and novel facets of these vitae stems from their authors being laymen. Despite the fact that literacy had been steadily increasing over the past century, hagiographical writing would still have been an ambitious undertaking for any layman at this time, especially considering the sacred essence of hagiography. On the other hand, Kallistrat and Andrei had a far better understanding of the needs of their reader-audience, living and working as they did in a secular environment in daily contact with society as a whole than was possible for any member of the clergy, let alone the monastic clergy. As a result, their perspective was significantly different from that of the conventional ecclesiastical hagiographer; they were not as restrained and often used their material in unusual ways which, in turn, fostered a narrative technique and style unlike earlier hagiographical literature. As in the case of the northern Russian vitae, details of realia and topographical description are used to considerable effect, but we also find in these seventeenth-century vitae extensive use of emotive narrative, designed to affect, but distinct from the emotionalism in earlier vitae such as the Zhitie Stefana Permskogo, where direct expressions of the author's own emotion is designed to inspire reverence from the reader-audience and elevate the subject.

Andrei and Kallistrat did not, however, coincide in all their aims: while Kallistrat wrote primarily to inspire emulation of Ul’iania's life, one of Andrei’s important goals was a forceful polemic concerning the heresy of the Nikonian reforms. The inherent difference of these approaches is especially evident in
narrative technique and style. Kallistrat seeks to illustrate the spiritual importance
of everyday routine and the possibility of achieving salvation in the secular world,
and his narrative appropriately describes this routine against a background of real,
yet not extraordinary, historical events such as plague and famine. Andrei, on the
other hand, is caught up in one of the most turbulent periods of spiritual crisis
experienced by the Russian Orthodox Church and his narrative tone often,
especially during scenes of interrogation and torture, conveys an urgency unknown
in earlier hagiography. Whereas Kallistrat composes from a position of relative
security (as mentioned above, he was a respected gubnoi starosta), Andrei writes as
a member of a persecuted minority, anxious to justify his beliefs and to counter
convincingly every point of religious controversy put to Feodosiia by the Nikonian
supporters.

The use of realia in the Povest 'ob Ul'ianiia Osor 'inoi has already been discussed
in some detail above (for example, details of Ul'ianiia's family, children and some
secondary characters, her managing of household and estate, and her struggle to
feed family and servants throughout times of famine), yet it is worth mentioning
here that, unlike in the northern Russian vitae, Kallistrat does not confine these
descriptions to certain passages but rather permeates the entire work with a sense
of concrete reality; perhaps the layman's perspective unconsciously acknowledged
the continuum of everyday life whereas the earlier ecclesiastical hagiographer only
emphasized the realia of specific passages.167 If one accepts this, then Kallistrat's
seeming desire to imbue every aspect of Ul'ianiia's life with spiritual significance
would certainly have led him to describe everyday routine just as much as the more
extraordinary events in his mother's life. The absence of exordium and conclusio
removes the traditional prayers, humility topoi, and eulogies, leaving Kallistrat to
focus on Ul'ianiia's everyday environment with little 'intrusion' from ecclesiastical
rhetoric. What is more, standard hagiographical topoi are placed in a secular
context and thereby given freshness and a sense of reality. We are told, for
example, that when Ul'ianiia insisted upon fasting as a child, her cousin laughed at
her and her aunt scolded her: 'О безумная! что в толице младости плать свою
изнаряя, и красоту девственную погубиши!'.168 By showing this type of
reaction from a concerned guardian to a familiar hagiographical topos, Kallistrat
both underlines the ordinary nature of Ul'ianiia's surroundings and relatives and

167 This is the case in the northern Russian vitae, for example, where ethnographic,
sociological and topographical details provide material for realistic documentation, but
are woven into the wider framework of an ecclesiastical environment; see pp. 65-77.
168 UO Kratkaia, p. 104.
also makes conventional topoi seem real and meaningful by placing them in a real life context. Likewise, when Ul’ianiia practises mortification of the flesh, she does so quietly and privately with no need to break her daily household routines. The miracle accounts illustrate a similar interweaving of the divine with the mundane, such as when Ul’ianiia’s curious and doubting neighbours disbelieve the tales (told to them by the poor who receive food from Ul’ianiia during the 1601-04 famine) of sweet-tasting bread and, although they have plenty to eat themselves, ask Ul’ianiia for bread. They leave convinced that ‘Горазд фаби ея певнъ хлебовъ’, unaware that it is her prayers that made the bread sweet.169 And later, when Ul’ianiia’s grave is uncovered during the burial of her son Georgii, the vita explains that it is the wives of those present who open her coffin and discover the myrrh-like liquid which Kallistrat describes in very down-to-earth terms as ‘яки квас свекольный’.170 Thus Kallistrat blends the ecclesiastical motifs of the work into an uncomplicated chronological narrative, stressing the reality of his saintly protagonist’s environment and presenting to his reader-audience a series of hagiographical topoi acted out in the credible context of everyday life.

Placing his narrative in an identifiable context does not, however, detract from the impact of Kallistrat’s work, nor render it banal. Instead, his realistic narratorial stance touches on issues very familiar to the reader-audience, often eliciting an equally realistic response. Apparently minor details such as Ul’ianiia washing the victims of plague are presented in a different light when Kallistrat chooses to add that many people locked themselves into their homes and refused entrance to those who might be infected.171 Such action on Ul’ianiia’s part would have drawn an admiring reaction from many who had experienced times of plague. Clearly, the account of Ul’ianiia’s distress when her sons are killed, although not overly dramatized, likewise touches a sympathetic chord. Kallistrat is thus seen to appeal to his reader-audience’s emotions through simple accounts of the events in his mother’s life and instruct them by detailing the guidance she received either from her husband or her own understanding of Christian piety, rather than relying on traditional didacticism.

The Povest’ o boiaryne Morozovoi is more complex than Ul’ianiia’s vita in terms of narrative technique and style; though the use of realia is very similar, it is only one of several methods favoured by Andrei to manipulate the reader-audience’s emotive response to his subject. His polemic is by necessity more forceful than

169 Ibid., p. 112.
170 Ibid., p. 114.
171 Ibid., p. 107.
Kallistrat's persuasive didacticism, as Andrei is actively seeking to disprove the validity of the Nikonian reforms rather than offer an alternative spiritual path to salvation. As with Kallistrat, Andrei weaves small real-life details through the *vita* rather than reserving them for specific episodes, mentioning Feodosiia's extended family and friends, her duties at court as well as the many topographical references, her stubborn refusal to walk anywhere when ordered and actions such as the confiscation and dispersal among the Tsar's *boiars* of her property. At the same time Andrei goes much further than Kallistrat in his depiction of Feodosiia's environment not hesitating to include the practicalities of life, such as the details of being on a visit to an outside privy when she meets Elena: 'Великой убо Феодоръ изшедши на задней крыльце, идеже исходят на нужную потребу. [...] Вт же и на улицъ то мстъ таковую же потребу имать, еже ходити ту человекомъ на облеченъ чрева'. On another level of practicality, we also learn of the reasons why Melania is unwilling to tonsure Feodosiia; it would be too difficult to hide the fact that she had taken the veil, it might put other people at risk of punishment, she would not be able to celebrate her son's wedding (whenever that might be) as she ought, and, finally, it would be hypocritical to take the veil and then not attend church. When earlier hagiographical protagonists have come up against barriers to taking the tonsure it is almost without exception because of youth or parental objection, but in Feodosiia's case the explanation is overwhelmingly practical and entirely credible. In this way we see how Andrei, to a significantly greater extent than Kallistrat, weaves details of everyday life and routine into a primarily hagiographical narrative, bringing him closer to a lay reader-audience.

Another narrative technique used to great effect by Andrei is the increasingly stark depiction of Feodosiia's interrogation and torture, orchestrating a crescendo of emotive reaction from the reader-audience. The early scenes of interrogation are not accompanied by physical contact and it is only when Feodosiia is carried on a chair to her first place of detention that the reader-audience is made aware of the physical imbalance of one woman against many men. Indeed, the *vita* notes the

172 *Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi*, pp. 459 and 467.

173 Ibid., p. 465. The only other hagiographical work which includes this type of detail is the autohagiographical *Zhitiie protopopa Avvakuma*, which will be examined in the next chapter.

174 *Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi*, p. 459.

175 For example, both Feodosii of the Kievan Caves Monastery and Kirill of Belozersk had to overcome parental objection (see 'Zhitiie Feodosiia Pecherskogo', pp. 310-14, and 'Zhitiie Kirilla', pp. 56-62), and Feodosii also had to persuade Antonii that he was old enough to understand what he was embarking upon ('Zhitiie Feodosiia Pecherskogo', p. 316).
disproportionate amount of men left to guard the women: in the Caves Monastery 'приставлена бысть к ней стража кръпкая: два головы стрелецкие, прем'няющееся с десятию воины, стражаху'.176 Gradually, the encounters with the ecclesiastical authorities become more violent, beginning with the Patriarch's attempt to anoint her with oil and culminating in the scenes of torture.177 The latter are described in vivid and gruesome detail; three men use hot irons on each woman individually followed by an instrument to shake the body violently, hanging by the arms, whipping, beating and freezing in the snow in an attempt to change their minds, but all in vain.178 The reader-audience has been made fully aware of the gender inequality and brutality of this passage through the recent reaction of Evdokiia to the Patriarch's attempts to anoint her: '0 безструднiи и безумнiи! Что се творите? Не вьсте ли, яко жена есмь?'179 Playing up the fact that aristocratic women are tortured in such a degrading manner, Andrei effectively elicits sympathy not only for the physical plight of the women but also, by extension, their cause (the audience-subject relationship already established earlier in the vita helps in this process). This sympathy is later heightened by the dramatic description of their time in the Borovsk underground dungeon where 'они в глубокой темницт претерпѣва, от глада стужаемы, во тмѣ несвѣтимѣй от задухи бо земныя, понеже парам земным спершемся велику имъ тошноту творяще. И срацичъ имъ премѣннѣ, ни имьть невозможно бы'.180 To put the emotive qualities of Andrei's narrative into perspective, comparison can be made with the scenes of torture described in Paraskeva's vita. When Paraskeva is beaten, for example, we are told that 'ни единого глаза испусти; но заря на небо, славяще Господа нашего, Иисусъ Христа',181 which, while admirably emphasizing her pious faith, does not arouse the same sympathy and identification as Feodosiia's very human response of fear.

Long passages of dialogue and debate are a prominent feature of Andrei's narrative and, as with the northern Russian vitae, further help to locate the work in a time and place. The debates mainly centre around the rights and wrongs of the Nikonian reforms, allowing Andrei to engage in detailed polemic, and, as mentioned above, present Feodosiia's arguments as more persuasive and clearer than her opponents'. Use of dialogue in such instances helps not only to show

176 'Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi', p. 465.
177 Ibid., pp. 470-71.
178 Ibid., pp. 472-73.
179 Ibid., p. 471.
180 Ibid., p. 478.
181 Velikie Minei Chet 'i, cols 1975-76.
Feodosiia as morally superior to her Nikonian interrogators, but also clarifies the theological issues which might otherwise have proved overly complex for a text that would most often be read aloud. Feodosiia is shown as anxious to ensure that ordinary folk understand her struggle, forcing the cart that carries her to church one day to stop so that she can address a group of ‘true believers’: «Старицы! Что се творите, влачаще мя? Ёда ась хочу молитися с вами?»182 Andrei’s decision to use direct instead of reported speech in this instance has the effect of directing Feodosiia’s words to the reader-audience as well as the true believers of the vita. Other passages of dialogue and direct speech emphasize the roles of relation, friend and comforter; Feodosiia’s long conversation with Rtishchev and Anna, for example, where they talk of their faith and their children,183 and Evdokiia’s attempt to comfort Feodosiia when their personal icons are confiscated at Borovsk.184 Similarly, the conversation between Evdokiia and her husband Petr (in which he warns her of impending trouble for Feodosiia) helps the reader-audience to place even the secondary characters in a context of reality, in this case Evdokiia’s home. Andrei appears also to favour the inclusion of tiny details concerning the passages of dialogue which add atmosphere as well as authorial commentary. For instance, when reporting back to the Tsar that he has found Evdokiia in Feodosiia’s home as well, the Archimandrite Ioakim, ‘Приближившися близ и повеста ему во ухо,’185 a description which conveys the suitably conspiratorial manner of the enemy.

Both Kallistrat and Andrei clearly admired their subjects and fervently believed in the ideas they propounded through these characters. The narrative technique and style of each work is measured to convey to the reader-audience in a comprehensible and credible manner the religious import of these causes. Kallistrat’s didactic approach is far more subtle than that of earlier hagiographers and, emphasizing the realistic context of secular life, allows his reader-audience to identify with Ul’ianiia as a real person to an unprecedented degree. Identification, in turn, helps in the process of inspiring emulation of Ul’ianiia’s extraordinary piety. This is also true of Andrei’s portrayal of Feodosiia, even though his aims are primarily polemical rather than inspiring emulation through didactic illustration. The frequent use of emotive narrative elicits a sympathetic response to Ul’ianiia and Feodosiia, further reflecting a willingness on the authors’ part for the reader-

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183 Ibid., pp. 456-58.
184 Ibid., p. 477.
185 Ibid., p. 462.
audience to relate to the protagonist as a real person instead of an abstract figure embodying Christian virtues, as seen in earlier hagiography. Such choices made by the authors concerning narrative technique and style thus help to bring their subjects alive and place them in a specific time and place, which, in turn, often places these vitae closer to secular biography than the traditions of rhetorical hagiography.

*The Treatment of Time*

In the previous chapters we saw how the authors generally failed to observe hagiographical conventions of universal Christian time, but rather emphasized a concrete temporal framework far closer to contemporary reality which, in turn, brought the subject of the *vita* closer to the reader-audience without adversely affecting the religious significance of the work. It was noted in Chapter One that this type of temporal definition destroys much of the epic distancing technique commonly used by hagiographers. In the case of the *Povest' ob Ul'ianii Osor'noi* and the *Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi*, we find some similar aspects in the treatment of time, although in these vitae the spiritual import is stressed far more clearly than in the northern vitae and can be seen to constitute a form of conventional universal Christian time.

In both vitae epic distance is almost totally sacrificed to the measure of concrete historical and contemporary time; there is no sense of 'absolute past'. Kallistrat’s composition can be dated to no later than twenty-five years after the death of his mother, and Andrei had completed his work only two years after his subject’s death; it can therefore be assumed that the reader-audience would have experienced or at least been familiar with the social, historical and political backdrop to these works. In the case of Ol’ga, Paraskeva and the two Evfrosiniias, the gap of several centuries between actual events and written record destroyed any such sense of familiarity on the part of the reader-audience, replacing it with epic distance. Exact dates and historical references allow the reader-audience to place many of the related episodes in a recognizable context: Ul’iania’s *vita*, for example, opens with the words ‘По дни благоверного царя и великого князя Иоанна Васильевича всей Руси,’ which renders the first famine identifiable as that of 1570 and the plague that of 1571. The second famine (1601-04) is dated in

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186 *UO Kratkaia*, p. 103.
the narrative to the reign of Boris Godunov. Likewise, in the *Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi* the historical context is specifically linked to the time of the Schism with both secular and ecclesiastical authorities playing major roles in Feodosiia's life story and accordingly identified. Indeed, such is the specificity of time and location throughout the entire *vita* that the reader-audience can easily and accurately follow Feodosiia's progression from home to one prison/monastery after another from November 1671 to the winter of 1673. Mazunin comments that this borders on 'репортёрская фиксация событий', although it was most likely simply another narratorial device through which Andrei pressed home to his reader-audience the reality of Feodosiia's trials and torture.

In both *vitae* the frequent use of minutiae and intimate knowledge of the environment and relationships of the two women with other characters helps the authors to strengthen the closeness of reader-audience and protagonists which, in turn, encourages a process of identification and awareness that the subjects were women who lived in the lay world and shared with the reader-audience many everyday concerns. Such contextualization of the protagonist is an important secularizing tendency in hagiography of this period, including not only themes and motifs of the lay world but also contemporary identifiable protagonists. One common authorial device which contributes to the sense of contemporary *realia* of the works is the naming of family members and friends. Details of Ul'ianiia's parents, for example, are plentiful in the *Kratkaia* and, as mentioned above, those of her parents-in-law are expanded upon in the *Prostrannaia*. Feodosiia's family origins are extensively chronicled as well as several of her ties (by marriage, blood and friendship) to members of the Tsar's Court. Another method of contextualization used by both authors is the inclusion of incidental material of an almost personal nature, not always directly related to the sanctity of the women. Ul'ianiia's *vita* recounts, for instance, that she lived chastely with Georgii for ten years after the death of her second son and that she later moved her household to a village near Nizhnii-Novgorod in the same year as the second famine began. Indeed, her life is often presented as a series of conventional stages in a woman's life (marriage, childbirth, caring for family and managing a household and estate),

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187 Ibid., pp. 106, 107 and 111, respectively.
188 See A. I. Mazunin's 'Commentary' in *Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi*, p. 674.
189 For more on the historical accuracy of Ul'ianiia's family, see Skripil', *Povest' ob Ul'ianiia Osor'inoi*, pp. 260-64.
190 *Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi*, pp. 455-58. See also *Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi*, pp. 4-12.
191 *UO Kratkaia*, pp. 109 and 111, respectively.
than the usual stages of the hagiographical protagonist (birth, childhood, training, 
_podvig_, death), although the two are here inextricably intertwined. Feodosiia's _vita_
often describes the setting of a scene prior to the commencement of action or 
argument, such as when Archimandrite Ioakim arrives at her home and 'феодора
возляже на пуховикъ свой, близ иконы пресвятых Богородицы Феодоровския.
Княгиня же отнёс в чуланъ, ниже устроенъ в той же постельной',\textsuperscript{192} and later
when she is carried from her home at the beginning of her imprisonment, we are told
'tсын же преподобный Иван Глетьович проводи ю до среднего крыльца и
поклонився ей сзади, она и не видя его, и паки возвратися вспять'.\textsuperscript{193} Such
minor and apparently insignificant details help the reader-audience place the
protagonists in an everyday contemporary context which renders the tales more
tangible, and thus more credible, than those composed using epic distancing as a 
temporal framework.

Concrete _realia_, however, do not detract from the spiritual aspects of these
_vitae_. As already noted, Kallistrat was writing at a time when the spiritual revival
of seventeenth-century Muscovy was beginning. In his work he offers his reader-
audience the reassurance that, despite the instabilities of the Time of Troubles, a
more personal form of faith rather than blind adherence to traditional precepts and
practices could be pursued and salvation achieved through charity and a pure life
in the lay world. Ul'ianii'a's alternative exemplary spiritual path can be described
as a contemporary guide to living piously within the boundaries of and, as a part
of, the universal Christian time-frame.

In the case of Feodosiia's _vita_, the spiritual significance of the temporal
context is more complicated. The Old Believers were struggling not only to preserve
the pre-Nikonian rituals and faith, but also to return, as they saw it, to God's
predestined path for humankind. Nikon, in their eyes, was effectively inciting
blasphemous practices by disrupting divine destiny. Obeying his reforms meant
that God was no longer worshipped and the saints were no longer venerated as
they ought to be, and salvation in the Kingdom of God was thus rendered
unattainable. Feodosiia's battle can be seen in part as the need to _regain_ universal
Christian time for all Russian Orthodox.

The different locations throughout the _vita_ also reflect Feodosiia's struggle
with secular and ecclesiastical authorities: just as she begins her public defiance of
State and Church by refusing to attend a State function (the celebration of the

\textsuperscript{192} 'Повест' о боярине Морозовой', p. 461.
\textsuperscript{193} Ibid., pp. 462-63.
Tsar's second marriage, she ends it with martyrdom in an underground cell at the Borovsk fortress, a domain of the State. In between she fights her battle on church ground (the Chudov, St Aleksei, Caves and Novodevichii Monasteries), symbols of the institution she wished to protect from the Nikonian heresy, and places where she was always spiritually victorious over interrogation and torture by her persecutors.

Constant identification of the better-known historical figures in the vita also assists the frame of universal time. Nikon, who was regarded by the Old Believers as the Antichrist, and the Tsar his colleague were the supreme opponents in the fight to protect the true faith. Recording these events was akin to documenting the final fall of humankind and hence it was appropriate for the hagiographer to name them and all their associates (the Archimandrite Ioakim, Patriarch Pitirim and so forth). Similarly, Feodosiia refers to the universal Christian time-frame when faced with the detrimental effect upon her son of her chosen path: 'Не хочу, не хочу, щадя сына своего, себе погуби; аще и едунороден ми есть, но Христа аз люблю более сына'. Ivan Glebovich is her earthly son, yet she understands that the divine Son is ultimately more important which, in turn, reinforces her position as an imitatio Marii figure. Viewed in this light, the concept of universal Christian time is seen to be ever-present in this vita. By deliberately stressing Feodosiia's mission to protect the true faith, the author, consciously or unconsciously, continually places the narrative frame within the greater context of universal time.

Thus, although the authors of both works had little choice other than to preserve the temporal proximity of events to their reader-audiences, it appears that they actively chose to use their two subjects as contemporary illustrations of how sanctity may be attained in a secular environment through pious adherence to, as they saw it, the correct Russian Orthodox practices and precepts. Approaching the temporal context of their work in this way, presenting a contemporary, personalized and very real example of sanctity, furthermore allowed the hagiographers to preserve the essential universal Christian significance of time.

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194 Ibid., p. 458.
Conclusion

The vitae of Ul’ianiia and Feodosiia play a very important role in the evolution of Russian hagiographical literature. Compared to their early female saintly predecessors, who are remembered more for their legendary activities and pre-Christian values than for adherence to the traditional patterns of Orthodox imitatio Marii, Ul’ianiia and Feodosiia are depicted as contemporary hagiographical heroines who blend a revived strong female character type with many of the requisite qualities of Marian idealization. Furthermore, in contrast to, for example, Evfrosiniia of Polotsk and Evfrosiniia of Suzdal’ who are said to have spent the majority of their pious lives in convents, these seventeenth-century protagonists lived and worked in the lay world. Such changes of character type and environment reflect a changing perception of sanctity: no longer did female saints have to prove their worth either as semi-mythical larger-than-life heroines, or within a framework of male sanctity adhering to an imitatio Christi life pattern rather than the Marian ideal. Instead two real women from the lay world are accepted as worthy of sanctity on account of their pious Christian lives and defence of the faith, both of which illustrate how the Marian ideal may be translated into realistic attainable values. Kallistrat and Andrei offered spiritual inspiration in a convincingly alternative form to that of the established Orthodox Church; in the case of Kallistrat, a more personal path of devotion which promised spiritual salvation without the need to follow a monastic way of life, and with Andrei, a polemic which argues for a return to the true precepts of the Orthodox faith in order to avoid Nikonian heresy.

Although the intention of both authors was without doubt to compose vitae, the nature of their subject material meant that they questioned the authority and direction of the official Church. The increasing intrusion of realia into the hagiographical structure, narrative and topoi of both works illustrates not only a significantly different authorial perspective from that of earlier hagiographers (linked to the fact that Kallistrat and Andrei were both laymen), but also a growing authorial freedom and conscious choice and manipulation of literary presentation, which in turn indicates the influences of secularizing tendencies.

Detailed character portraits of Ul’ianiia and Feodosiia constitute another important development in hagiographical evolution. The stereotyped hagiographical protagonist gives way to far more individualized and credible portraits with which the reader-audience could identify and which also actively sought a sympathetic response, rather than simply offering didactic illustration.
Psychological motivation likewise plays a part in establishing the rationale of the protagonists and mysterious divine predestination becomes almost obsolete. In this way the authors move closer towards a realistic depiction of their characters and the world they inhabit; in the words of Stender-Petersen, 'hagiography began to grow out of religious motivation and into literary art'.

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Autohagiography

CHAPTER FOUR
Autohagiography

The term autohagiography is a generic compromise, applied in this chapter to vitae composed, in part or whole, by the main protagonist of the text. Belonging exclusively neither to the wider corpus of hagiographical works, nor to the genre of autobiography, these works represent a further major step in the evolution of hagiography. This chapter will examine three seventeenth-century autohagiographical works, the *Zhitie Eleazara Anzerskogo, napisannoe im samim*, the *Zhitie Epifaniia* and the *Zhitie protopopa Avvakuma, im samim napisannoe*, and establish their significance in the context of secularizing tendencies in hagiography.

Autohagiography, on one hand, shares many of the characteristics of earlier hagiography and clearly adheres to many of the conventions, although on the other hand, the very nature of this type of composition is essentially different: first, the transition from the traditional third-person hagiographer to a first-person narrator opens up scope for subjective analysis, control over presentation and manipulation of the material. To a certain degree, in first-person narrative the identity of the author and his concrete surroundings emerge through his words allowing the reader-audience to grasp his psychological motivation more easily. Likhachev rightly points to a decreasing tendency to understand human nature in a purely abstract context through the early Russian period, a feature reflected in the autohagiographies. Secondly, the fundamental intention of the autohagiographer is different from that of the hagiographer who writes not only to offer his reader-audience a model of extraordinary Christian piety and ideals, but also often with the objective of promoting officially recognized sanctity. Instead, the autohagiographer merely offers his reader-audience a Christian life which *he* considers worthy of emulation; recognized sanctity is not necessarily the primary aim. In light of this, the reasons that the life is worth emulating may themselves be different and emphasize less purely traditional spiritual values. Furthermore, in the seventeenth-century works under examination, this emulatory model is very much a part of the layman’s world and the author deliberately tailors his narrative in order to communicate effectively with his reader-audience. All of these factors clearly illustrate the

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growth of secularizing tendencies in literature in Muscovy, the Church's loss of monopolistic literary control and an authorial willingness to use edificatory sacred literature to promote ecclesiastical dissent.

The most important of the texts examined below date specifically from the second half of the seventeenth century, one of the most turbulent periods in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church and a time caught on the boundaries of the medieval and modern eras which saw innovation in almost every sphere of life. The great socio-political changes that occurred in Russia at the end of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century provided almost hot-house conditions for the spread and development of secularizing tendencies in the ecclesiastical, political and social arenas just as much as in literature, and a brief survey of the time will highlight the most important changes in religious practice and attitudes and, in turn, provide the context for literary developments.

*The Historical Context*

As previously discussed in Chapter Three, the seventeenth century was a period of major transition in Muscovy when both State and Church faced a series of crises which led to widespread civic and spiritual discontent. The authority of the established Orthodox Church as the purveyor of truth and divine righteousness began to be questioned by disillusioned factions who proposed variations on and sometimes radically alternative paths of Orthodox belief and practice. The second half of the seventeenth century especially saw widespread confusion as Patriarch Nikon attempted to implement his programme of Church reforms which aimed to restore the dented respect, power and glory of the Russian Church. Georg Bernhard Michels suggests that whilst Nikon's liturgical reforms remained a point of contention only for a relatively small group, many more were adversely affected by other areas of reform, such as the huge tax rises

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payable by parish priests and the 'arbitrary confiscation of icons'. Such confusion merely added to the general state of discontent and reinforced the redirection of spiritual focus from a primarily public form of worship, sanctioned by the established Church, to a more private faith with an emphasis upon individual morality. Bushkovitch notes that 'new currents of ideas and new forms of learning and expression were coming to Russia from the Ukraine, and some Russian writers [...] were responding', although the Muscovites did not adopt contemporary Ukrainian trends wholesale; for the Muscovites, pride and avarice appeared the worst vices which they aimed to combat through preaching and work among the laity.

One of the most effective vehicles for disseminating the new emphasis on morality was the sermon; 'both Reformation and Counter Reformation had resulted in an enormous increase in the role of preaching among Protestants and Catholics', which, Bushkovitch argues, led to homiletic art travelling with the invading armies and being introduced to Muscovy at the beginning of the seventeenth century. One important difference found in seventeenth-century homiletics compared with highbrow ecclesiastical sermonizing of the past is that the former introduced a new style of preaching, readily accessible to ordinary folk, appealing to familiar concepts and employing the vernacular instead of Church Slavonic (often incomprehensible to ordinary folk). This new practice and understanding of homiletics offered timely assistance to those in Russia who now sought a more intimate understanding of their faith:

[...] the whole purpose of the sermon was to move the individual listener, not the community or the state, to a better life. Differences remained, for the Russian preachers stressed humility and charity, not justice and restraint, but they also had moved beyond asceticism to a morality designed for action in the world. In this way they created a foundation for the future.

The concept of 'morality designed for action in the world' played an important role in determining alternative methods of Orthodox practice from as early as the first half of the seventeenth century, and was reflected in hagiographical works such as the Povest' ob Ul'ianii Osor'i noii. This new emphasis upon morality

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5 Bushkovitch, Religion and Society, pp. 147-48.
6 Ibid., p. 179.
7 Ibid.
rapidly gained in popularity, strongly supported by the *revniteli starogo blagocestiia* (Zealots of Piety) for example, who 'objected to many of the popular religious festivals, were appalled at the drunkenness and generally unchristian morals of the people, and felt they needed to improve the liturgy and introduce sermons to Christianize the Russian people properly'.\textsuperscript{8} Especially suited to the white clergy who were most active in small towns and villages outside urban Muscovy and far from established monastic centres, the new and accessible type of preaching favoured by the Zealots often faced hostility, particularly concerning popular religious traditions. Yet, with their roots commonly in parish communities and their training in the lay world rather than the monastic environment of the black clergy, the Zealots held the advantage of a better acquaintance with the audience and hence more effective communication.\textsuperscript{9}

Thus we find in the second half of the seventeenth century a continuation of the activities of people such as Kallistrat and Andrei, a movement away from the established Church in favour of alternatives, be these new private forms of worship in the secular world, as propounded by Kallistrat, or else a retreat into the apparent security of centuries-old ritual and tradition, together with a resistance to secular influences, as illustrated by Andrei in the *Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi*. Contemporary literature illustrates many of the conflicting ideologies of this time, one of which, as mentioned in Chapter Three, was 'a confusion of genres, and a predilection for hybrid forms'.\textsuperscript{10} This study proposes that one important such hybrid form which surfaced during this time was autohagiography.

The fact that these life-stories were composed by the subject logically suggests their classification as autobiographical. In contrast to the tendency in conventional rhetorical hagiography to reduce the individual features of the saintly protagonist to an abstract embodiment of Christian virtues presented in the temporal context of the universal Christian calendar, in these three autohagiographies the focus is very often firmly upon the individual, whose achievements and trials are inextricably linked to a background of specific historical events. In this respect, the works are closer to definitions of biography

\textsuperscript{8} Ibid., p. 54.
\textsuperscript{9} For background on the Zealots of Piety, see Kenneth N. Brostrom 'Introduction' in *Archpriest Avvakum: The Life Written by Himself*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, pp. 1-33 (3-12), and Zernov, *Eastern Christendom*, pp. 144-45.
\textsuperscript{10} See pp. 139-40.
than hagiography. Yet the intention of the author and often the nature of both content and structure is undoubtedly closer to hagiography. To understand better the hybrid peculiarities of autohagiography, the basic features of autobiography must be examined.

Autobiography is an apparently retrospective and chronological account of the author's life, constructed from an essentially introspective viewpoint which pretends to accuracy. Pure autobiography is the most demanding form of this genre while most autobiographical writing falls into other categories such as memoir, diary composition or the autobiographical novel. Laura Marcus describes autobiography as 'the evocation of a life as a totality' and autobiographical intention as a sincere 'attempt to understand the self and to explain that self to others', whereas less rigorous forms of autobiographical literature offer only an 'anecdotal depiction of people and events'. Memoirs tend to be constructed in a less unified manner than pure autobiography and concentrate less on an introspective self-analysis by the author than on events witnessed and encounters enjoyed; diary composition is written without the perspective of time; and the autobiographical novel does not pretend to observe accuracy strictly. The contents of all these forms are filtered through the prism of authorial perspective and, in the case of pure autobiography, memoir and autobiographical novel, that of memory as well. The final outcome always depends upon the author's ability to recapture elapsed time as well as the degree to which he/she chooses to filter or slant his information; together these can be said to constitute a form of autobiographical consciousness.

This study suggests that autohagiography can be defined as a combination of varying elements of autobiography and hagiography; an autobiography which presents itself, to varying levels, in terms of content and structure as a vita and, importantly, in which the author puts forward his own life as a type of model of Christian virtue worthy of emulation. Autohagiography,

11 For discussion of the generic differences between hagiography and biography, see the Introduction, pp. 26-28.
13 Marcus, *Discourses*, p. 3. For further discussion on the perceived distinction between 'serious' and 'popular' autobiography, see ibid., Chapter One.
more than any other kind of hagiographical hybrid examined in this thesis, sits on
the borderline between secular biography and sacred *vita*. To use a corruption of
Paul Alexander's idea of 'semi-secular hagiography' and 'semi-secular
biography', it is also possible to define autohagiography as 'semi-
autobiographical hagiography' and 'semi-hagiographical autobiography'.

**The Texts**

**Zhitie Eleazara Anzerskogo, napisannoe im samim**

Eleazar, born at the end of the sixteenth century to the Sevriukov merchant
family in the town of Kozel'sk, was the founder of the monastery on Anzersk
Island close to the estuary of the River Onega, where he led the monks for many
years before his death on 13 April 1656. There are three hagiographical works
linked to Eleazar: his autobiographical *vita*, also known as the *svitok*; the official
*Zhitie Eleazara Anzerskogo*, composed in 1700 by the monk Makarii from the
Anzersk Monastery; and the later *Istoria ukratse o prepodobnem Eleazara
Anzerskago skita nachalnike*, most likely based upon the official *vita*. Of greatest
interest here is the first work, written by Eleazar himself sometime during 1636-
56, which recounts the main events of his life on the island and the building of
the monastery. There are ten copies of this work, dating from the mid-
seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, whose titles range from the traditional
'Житие преподобного отца нашего Елеазара и о начальнике его на Анзерском острове
и о устройении скита и о видениях его и о прочем', to the much less formal
'Житие преподобного отца нашего Елеазара Анзерского и о начальнике его на Анзерском острове'. This study will use
the oldest reliable extant copy dating from the end of the seventeenth century,
GPB, Solovki collection, No. 599 (618), and first published with corrections and

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15 See Alexander, 'Secular Biography', pp. 204-05.
16 Seventeen copies of this work are known, dating from the 1720s to the end of the
nineteenth century, and are found in manuscript repositories in Arkhangel'sk, Moscow,
St Petersburg and Tver'.
17 There exists only one copy of this text (in the Solovki *Paterik*), GPB, Sofiiskii
collection, No. 452.
18 Based on the only date in the work (1615, the year Eleazar arrived in Anzersk)
and Eleazar's own account of his visions, the date of composition is most likely to be the
late 1630s. See E. V. Krushel'nytskaia, *Autobiografia i zhitie v drevnerusskoi
commentary by L. A. Dmitriev. Though the least sophisticated (and earliest) of the autohagiographical works examined in this chapter, this work nonetheless serves as an interesting forerunner to the more developed texts.

**Zhitie Epifaniia**

The Elder Epifani was born in a small town to a peasant family in the first half of the seventeenth century. He trained at the Monastery on Solovki before heading into the wilderness where he spent most of his life prior to persecution and imprisonment in the northern fortress town of Pustozersk. A well-known Old Believer (though less voluble than his fellow-prisoner in the Pustozersk dungeons, Archpriest Avvakum), he was burned at the stake on 14 April 1682 together with Avvakum, the priest Lazarus and Deacon Fedor. Epifani’s autohagiographical *Zhitie Epifaniia* was not the first major document he penned: *circa* 1666 he composed a polemic on the Nikonian reforms intended to enlighten Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich. At the same time he wrote his *autobiograficheskie zapiski*, destined to become the original version of Part One of his two-part *vita*. There are two redactions of the *vita* of which the earlier (known as the *Ranniaia*) is preserved in an eighteenth-century collection, GBL, Barsov collection, No. 654, and has been published by N. F. Droblenkova. This text, convincingly dated by her to *circa* 1671, will be used for comparative examination where necessary. There are two versions of the later *Okonchatel’naia* redaction, composed *circa* 1673-75: this study will use the manuscript from the Zavoloko collection, IRLI, Manuscript repository, op. 24, No. 43, as this is the fullest version known.

**Zhitie protopopa Avvakuma, im samim napisannoe**

The autohagiography of one of the most well-known characters of the seventeenth-century Church Schism, the belligerent and fanatical Archpriest Avvakum, enjoys considerable popularity in Russian literary (and historical)  

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research. Avvakum was born on 20 November 1620 in the village of Grigorovo (Nizhnii Novgorod area) where his father Petr was a priest. His life ended on 14 April 1682 when he was burned at the stake after many years of exile, persecution and imprisonment. The vita is the longest of his eighty-odd written works; it was composed, edited and reworked during the last fifteen years of his life in the Pustozersk dungeon. There are four extant redactions, all significantly different from each other, and their dating will be examined briefly below (see Structure). The most complete manuscript (BAN, V. G. Druzhinin collection, No. 746, ll. 188-284) is the second redaction (circa 1673) and is used in this study. Avvakum cut much material from the third and fourth redactions, probably on account of its questionable hagiographical value. Reference will be made where necessary, however, to earlier and later redactions.

The Contextual Hagiographical Background

The term 'autobiography' had no currency in Russia until the early nineteenth century, although a broader concept of autobiographical writing enjoyed a lengthy history prior to this time. Following the Byzantine tradition, for example, deathbed testaments and admonitions to wives, children and/or fellow brethren were not unusual, and often included a degree of subjective reminiscence about the dying man's life. Vladimir Monomakh's Pouchenie (circa 1125), in effect his testament, is frequently mistakenly cited as the first example of Russian autobiography. It is, however, unclear whether Monomakh himself wrote the Pouchenie, whether he dictated it to a scribe, or whether it was reconstructed from

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22 See, for example, A. T. Shashkov, 'Avvakum, Petrov' in SKiK Vyp. 3 (XVII v.). Chast' 1, A-Z, ed. D. S. Likhachev, St Petersburg, 1992, pp. 16-29.
23 For a full list of the various redactions and their variants, see N. S. Demkova, zhitie protopopa Avvakuma (tvorcheskaia istoriia proizvedeniia), Leningrad, 1974 (hereafter Demkova, zhitie protopopa Avvakuma), pp. 12-66 and 140.
24 It is published in full, together with a selection of his other written works, as 'Zhite Avvakuma' in PLDR: XVII vek. Kniga vtoraja, eds L. A. Dmitriev and D. S. Likhachev, with notes and commentary by N. S. Demkova, Moscow, 1989, pp. 351-97 and 636-57 (hereafter 'Zhite Avvakuma').
25 However, the tendency to amend or even totally rewrite manuscripts according to expediency leaves doubts over authenticity in some cases. See, as an example, the case of laroslav the Wise's Pouchenie as discussed in Franklin and Shepard, Emergence, p. 248.
26 'Pouchenie Vladimira Monomakha' in PLDR: XI-nachalo XII veka, eds L. A. Dmitriev and D. S. Likhachev, Moscow, 1978, pp. 392-413 and 459-63; this text is published using the only extant manuscript GPB, F. p. No. 2.
posthumous third-party memories. The second of these alternatives raises the possibility of scribal interference in an attempt to 'refine' or clarify the contents or style, while the third nullifies it as autobiography. The so-called autobiography forms the final section of the tripartite Pouchenie and describes various incidents from Vladimir's life which illustrate the advice given in the first two sections of the Pouchenie. Although the life story constitutes a novel part of the work, the evidence suggests that Vladimir did not intend the piece as a whole to function as pure autobiography: a more accurate term for it is perhaps 'didactic autobiography'.

Rather more common than the deathbed testament tradition was the monastic custom of recording the events of a holy man's life story in the form of biographical notes (biograficheskie zapiski), with the primary intention of aiding a future hagiographer to accomplish his task accurately. Likhachev remarks that, although these biographical notes do not pretend to be literary masterpieces, they unconsciously present us with a precisely outlined individual long before the more solemn forms of ecclesiastical literature were to produce studied character portraits. Moving a significant step closer to the notion of autohagiography, there are several such works which claim to be based on autobiographical notes (avtobiograficheskie zapiski). This tradition probably arose from the need to record the experiences of lone monks who travelled far from the urban centres of the country, especially during the periods of monastic expansion. Such records would have served to inspire others to follow in their steps as well as demarcate certain territories as belonging to the tsar or the Church. Autobiographical notes

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27 For more on the Pouchenie, see Likhachev, Chelovek, p. 62, and Franklin and Shepard, Emergence, pp. 313-15.
28 Franklin and Shepard, Emergence, p. 314.
29 Notes of this type were almost routinely kept for the founders of the larger monasteries.
30 Likhachev, Chelovek, p. 143. Biographical notes were, however, cleansed of all individuality during composition of the vita.
31 This occasionally led to problems: falsification of ecclesiastical documents could help monasteries establish historical land rights and privileges. One early example of such abuse is found in the life-story of Lazar of Murom, founder of the Murom Monastery on the banks of Lake Onega, who died on 8 March 1391. His vita was composed by the Abbot Feodosii of the Uspensk Monastery at the end of the fourteenth century in the form of an autobiography, apparently based upon notes made by the Abbot from Lazar's own account of his life. Although Feodosii attempted to follow the traditions of the spiritual testament, he also could not resist adding information necessary to secure and reinforce the monastery's land rights. Krushel'niitskaia calls this a pseudo-autobiographical work; see E. V. Krushel'niitskaia, 'Povest' Martiriia Zelenetskogo i avtobiograficheskoe povestovanie v pamiatnikakh russkoi literatury XIV-XVI vv.',
were also frequently used to record the wishes of an elderly monastery founder as a form of future instruction for his monastery.

One work often cited as an example of this is the *Zaveshchanie-ustav Gerasima Boldinskogo,* rather misleadingly classified by Kliuchevskii as a deathbed autobiography. This work is divided into two parts, the first a fragmented biography of the main events in Gerasim's life (originally from the town of Pereiaslavl', he was tonsured in the Danilov Monastery before leaving for the Boldinsk wilderness where he died in 1554), and the second the Rule (*zakon/ustav*), which spells out the order of monastic discipline established by Gerasim in the four monasteries he founded. In much the same vein as Monomakh's *Pouchenie*, it does not set out to be primarily an autobiographical document; according to the Rule, Gerasim was dying when it was written and probably more eager to remember his most important spiritual achievements than to compose a structured work of self-analysis. Thus, almost every event and detail of the work relates directly to the founding of the four monasteries. The text is sober, factual and, although precise in details concerning the monasteries, always emotionless and impersonal. Only one very brief instance of interaction with the brethren is recorded and even in this case dialogue is presented within a third-person narrative rather than as personal recollection:

Вратия же рекоша: «Отеч Герасиме, кто нам да будет пастырь и учитель в большой обители сей?» Преподобный же нарец и приказа: «Да будет вам игумен...»

The mixing of first- and third-person narrative hinders the logical progression of the work as well as confusing its autobiographical nature. We know, however, that Gerasim did not compose the work himself for he specifies...
that he is merely dictating to a scribe,\textsuperscript{37} and the concluding paragraph of the Rule reveals the identity of the scribe as the deacon Prokhor.\textsuperscript{38} Prokhor is at pains to point out that he in no way tampered with the text, but writes "с подлинно
слова в слово",\textsuperscript{39} and the style and content of the final document confirm this.\textsuperscript{40}

E. V. Krushel'niitskaia, suggesting that the autobiographical part of the testament-rule constitutes a form of confession, accurately describes this type of writing as a "духовное завещание, записанное со слов автора, а основное содержание — устав".\textsuperscript{41}

A far more interesting work is the \textit{Avtobiograficheskaya povest'} \textit{Martirii Zelenetskogo;} Martirii was born in Velikie Luki and tonsured in the local Sergii Trinity Monastery before leaving to found the Zelenetsk Trinity Monastery in the Tikhvin region, where he died on 1 March 1603.\textsuperscript{42} Dated by Krushel'niitskaia to the 1580s, this work is composed in the style of a last will and spiritual testament (\textit{dukhovnoe zaveshchanie}) addressed to Martirii's Father Confessor Dosifei. Although it runs as continuous narrative, there are four distinct parts: first, a short biographical description of Martirii's life before the founding of the monastery, his years in the wilderness with one other monk and then alone, secondly, an admonition (\textit{pouchenie}), thirdly, six short tales of visions of the Mother of God, all concerning the building of the monastery and the sanctity of this mission, and finally, a short passage on the reason why Martirii chose to come to the Zelenetsk area.

It is highly doubtful that Martirii wrote his account in a conscious effort to produce either biography or hagiography; judging by the weight and focus of the work, his intention appears to be glorification of the monastery rather than of the self. Yet this composition still reveals far more about the author than the \textit{Zaveshchanie-ustav Gerasima Boldinskogo}. The first part, for example, tells us not

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{38} Ibid., p. 212.
\item \textsuperscript{39} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{40} See E. V. Krushel'niitskaia, 'Zaveshchanie-ustav Gerasima Boldinskogo', \textit{TODL}, 48, 1993, pp. 264-70 (266-67).
\item \textsuperscript{41} Krushel'niitskaia, 'Povest' Martirii Zelenetskogo i avtobiograficheskoe povestovovanie', pp. 31-32.
\item \textsuperscript{42} The text of the 'Avtobiograficheskaya povest' Martirii Zelenetskogo' is published in Krushel'niitskaia, \textit{Avtobiografia}, pp. 285-92 (hereafter 'Avtobiograficheskaya povest"'), using the only known manuscript (dating to the second half of the seventeenth century), RNB, O. I. 424, ll. 161-76 (v). No later than the 1670s, the \textit{Zhitiie Martirii Zelenetskogo} was composed based upon the 'Avtobiograficheskaya povest" and most likely by someone from the Trinity Zelenetsk Monastery; it remains extant in two redactions, the first of which is also published in Krushel'niitskaia, \textit{Avtobiografia}, pp. 293-322.
\end{itemize}
only where Martiriia was born and where he was tonsured, but also who tonsured him and gave him religious instruction (in both cases the priest Bogolep), as well as his duties in the Sergii Trinity Monastery (cellarer, treasurer and gate-man). Martiriia tells us in realistic detail of his secret flight from the monastery to the wilderness and how it snowed so heavily that he and his companion, the monastery cook, walked in drifts up to their knees and were unable to build a shelter in the place of their choice. This type of detail is convincingly presented as remembered experience by the author and adds a personal flavour to the work which is carried over into the second part, the admonition, in which Martiriia advises the brethren never to ask God for anything as He will provide, a rule Martiriia himself always followed: 'я, идя в пустыне, носил с собой напев на Живоначальную Троицу на Рождество Богородицы'. By emphasizing that he has lived by the precepts he is now preaching to the brethren, Martiriia introduces a new level of personal experience and realistic achievement to testament and admonition accounts which previously tended to be enumerations of Christian, and specifically monastic, ideals. Similarly, in terms of narrative style and technique, Martiriia's work is very different to that of Vladimir Monomakh and Gerasim of Boldinsk. Written in a colloquial style, replete with detailed real-life descriptions, the reader-audience is able to form an (albeit limited) impression about the author as well as the monastery.

Against this background, the major changes apparent in seventeenth-century autohagiography stand out as moving away from a conventionally didactic mode of composition which merely touches on a varying but always small number of details from the life story of the protagonist, towards a freer, more creative and individualized portrait of the subject, his psyche and motivation.

44 Ibid.
45 Ibid., p. 278.
46 Krushel’nitskaia, ‘Povest’ Martiriia Zelenetskogo i avtobiograficheskoe povestvovanie’, p. 27.
**Functions of the First-Person Narrator**

One of the most innovatory literary developments found in the autohagiographies is, of course, the shift from third- to first-person narrative. By metamorphozing from distanced and faceless narrator into a subjective narrator, the author/subject gains control over the direction and content of the text as well as responsibility for accurate communication of his message. In stark contrast to the rhetorical canons and clichés commonly adopted by earlier, usually anonymous, third-person hagiographers, the autohagiographer now chooses which aspects of his own life story he wishes to relate (assuming the abstract portrait of moral and spiritual value is no longer the aim pure and simple), which he wishes to stress, gloss over or even entirely ignore, from a position of a much wider range of material, both of an ecclesiastical and of an everyday nature, from which to chose.47

Freedom in authorial scope and creativity also, however, brings new problems. Autobiographical narrative in general presents a complex relationship between author and narrative; in the words of Roland Barthes, 'When a narrator (of a written text) recounts what has happened to him, the "I" who recounts is no longer the one that is recounted'.48 The extent to which the 'narrator' and the 'recounted' differ is often dependent upon the heightened sense of subjective critical identity evident in first-person narrative, as well as a greater degree of introspection. In autohagiography one of the most important consequences of such subjective introspection is that the author is encouraged to reveal more of his character than is perhaps intentional, and in so doing breaks the convention which strips the hagiographical protagonist of individual characteristics. In turn, great potential for confusion lies in the triangular relationship of author-text-reader: no longer is there a clear demarcation of roles and positions within this relationship and misunderstanding can thus easily arise concerning the identity of narrator and narrator-protagonist. Børtnes notes that epic distance can no longer be absolute.49

' [...] the distance between the narrator and audience on one hand, and the narrative on the other, no longer exists. The narrative is

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tied to the narrator's point of view, as opposed to the epic mode of representation, where the narration now takes place in the third person, now is seen through one of the characters, but where the boundary line between narrated and narrative is absolute.50

Despite such problems of identification and distortion of epic distance, the first-person narrator commonly commands increased credibility in comparison to the third-person narrator; most often imparting a sense of reality to the narrative situation, 'The greater the personalization of this "I" who is regaling us and the more intimate our contact with him [...] the greater is the tendency to grant him such credibility in human terms'.51 William Riggan warns, however, that this credibility, based on authorial subjective perception, is not infallible, that 'first-person narration is [...] always at least potentially unreliable'.52

Most important of all for these later autohagiographers, however, is the opportunity provided by their work for the evangelical dissemination of their religious views through praise or condemnation — it is not by chance that the most powerful of the seventeenth-century autohagiographers were Old Believers. Autohagiographical writing embodied the passions of a persecuted religious minority as well as the need of the persecuted to communicate with and encourage their followers. To this end, the Old Believer autohagiographers developed the art of authorial manipulation: prior to captivity they had spent much time actively preaching, thereby learning effective means of direct communication with an audience. It should also be remembered that after they had been banished to Pustozersk and had their fingers and tongues cut off, active sermonizing had to be conducted via their only remaining weapon, the written word. It was to serve them well.

Mention should briefly be made here of the question of propriety concerning the traditional humility topos. Any author who composes his own life story within an obviously hagiographical framework, risks the implication that he puts himself forward as a candidate for canonization and hence is guilty of overweening pride, as well as undermining his own saintly image of which humility formed an important component. What is relevant, however, is authorial intention, not merely the perceived result. Every hagiographer aimed to convince

50 Ibid., p. 235.
52 Ibid., pp. 19-20.
his reader-audience of his subject’s saintly humility and at the same time to convey genuine authorial humility. If he failed in this, the hagiographer would have failed also in his mission of ecclesiastical edification. Such fundamentals of hagiographical writing apply equally to first- and third-person narratives, although are slightly more complex in the case of first-person narrative because of the author’s subjective portrayal of himself, the subject. The autohagiographies examined in this chapter paint convincing portraits of men whose many saintly attributes include humility, religious dedication and the desire to serve God and teach His word, while following the example of Christ’s life and works. Furthermore, although the works are very different from each other and the individual authors’ methods of expression are markedly distinguishable from earlier hagiographies, the critical element of humility is also ever-present in the works examined below, albeit in varying degrees. Both Epifanii and Avvakum can be seen as offering their lives as models of inspiration without actually viewing themselves as saints.

Eleazar, on the other hand, died before the Schism and his work is simply an interesting precursor to the later autohagiographies. Of the texts examined in detail in this chapter, it reveals least about the author’s character and life, for the simple reason that it is unlikely that the work was intended primarily as an autobiography. There are very few signs of autobiographical consciousness, reflected in a paucity of personal observations. Where they do occur they are simple expressions of fear or joy, concise comments supporting the mood of the situation Eleazar is describing: for example, ‘Я ощути сердце моё исполнено радости многие зло’, and ‘Я от глаза того страшного ужаса душа моя и вострепета вся внутренняя моя зла’.53 In this light, potential problems concerning the author-text-reader relationship are forestalled and epic distance is preserved. One can, however, go further and suggest that as the text progresses the central role of Eleazar is often eclipsed by that of the island and, by extension, the monastery. Right from the beginning, Eleazar spells out his priorities, namely, his search for a life of isolated religious pursuit and the importance of the island itself: ‘Повел меня, принцу Елеазару, никто от христолюбивых мужей о острове Анзерском — возможно на немъ имъ житье пустынное’.54 Arguably, and in a similar fashion to both the Zaveshchanie-ustav Gerasima Boldinskogo and the Zhitie Stefana Komel’skogo, this work was

54 Ibid., p. 299.
ultimately composed in honour of the monastery, determined to prove the sanctity of the environs and the monastery. For instance, accounts are given of divine signs over the island, ranging from Eleazar's own vision indicating where it should be built, to the similar visions of several others (the monk Feofil sees a church high in the sky over the place indicated to Eleazar, an unnamed monk from Solovki sees a pillar of fire on the island, a group of brethren see an indescribable light shining from the monastery one night, as had also the elderly Abbot Iakov at an earlier date). Such an important main theme encourages a formal and controlled narrative style; Eleazar is a determined, if not very innovative, author, anxious to convey the factual information concerning his time on the island and the building of the monastery as well as the sanctity of these places and does not allow himself to be distracted from this primary aim by digressions or revelations about himself.

One novel and distinctive feature of Eleazar's writing, however, is his capacity to vividly evoke a scene. When relating his visions, for example, he draws parallels with iconographical types with which his reader-audience would have been familiar. He describes the Trinity 'яко же описуют иконописцы', and later the Mother of God appears to him in the form of the Smolensk Mother of God ('образъ пречистыя божородицы подобие смоленския'). In Eleazar's work this type of description constitutes the most personalized element. We know from documentation in the Monastery on Solovki that Eleazar trained as an icon painter, and it is likely that he used this training and knowledge to illustrate his written work, through words rather than pictures. Visual elements in hagiography before the seventeenth century were strictly limited, rarely an element afforded creative thought by the hagiographer. Simon Franklin, for example, explains that in the Kievan period 'there are no expansive descriptions of works of art in a native context. Un schooled in neo-classical rhetoric, Kievan writers never embraced the genre of ekphrasis, the rhetorical description and evocation of art'. Commonly described were the richness, value and miracle-

55 Ibid.
56 Ibid., p. 300.
57 Ibid., p. 301.
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid., p. 302. He goes on to pinpoint how the figures of the Trinity are seated in relation to one another, and how the angels around them are dressed and holding censers.
60 Ibid., p. 303.
working powers of icons and other such treasures, but not what was actually depicted on them. Only much later were the Muscovites ready to begin describing iconographic art not merely as they believed it ought to be perceived as a part of sacred ritual, but as a way of adding to their own narrative art. Such use of visualization not only stimulates interest, but also creates a more intimate bond between author and reader-audience, revealing the former's visual chain of association and depiction through familiar iconographic images. A notable late sixteenth-century vita which uses this technique is the Autobiograficheskaia povest' Martiriia Zelenetskogo in which Martirii describes actual icons seen in his visions; for instance, 'Я видел им Пречистую Богородицу в девичьих образе [...] Умилено бо лицем, благолепна образом, долги этины и брови черны, носъ же средний и похилъ, на главѣ же ей втнец златъ и мношими цветы украшен разными.' It is interesting to note that what Franklin would term examples of 'physical specificity of individual portraiture' appear more often in works of an autohagiographical nature than those composed by third-person narrators. Quite possibly, this is linked to the presence of a first-person narrator who, instead of an objective third-person narrator recounting cliched dream and vision sequences, actually remembers and preserves the specifics of the visual image for use as a memory or narrative enhancer.

In contrast to Eleazar's work, the function of the first-person narrator is far more developed in the Zhitie Epifaniia. In stark contrast to Eleazar, Epifanii wrote both parts of his vita in a state of near isolation and, in the case of Part Two, probably increasing desperation. Seldom before had a reader-audience glimpsed the thoughts and emotions of a protagonist so clearly. He is an able communicator keenly aware of his reader-audience and, responding to Avvakum's request that he tell him about his life, treats his written work as an oral sermon. Throughout the vita, and especially in Part Two, he continually addresses observations of varying length and detail to his reader-audience and, at the very end of Part Two, while repeating the familiar humility topos, he brings himself closer to them by enumerating who he believes them to be: 'чада моя, и братья моя, и отцы, и вси раби Христовы, чушии и слышаша сия вся'.

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62 Franklin points to one brief exception found in the twelfth-century vita of Avraamii of Smolensk whose hagiographer describes him as 'the image and likeness of Basil the Great, with just such a black beard, except that he had a bald head'; ibid., p. 674.

63 'Avtobiograficheskaia povest', p. 290.

64 'Zhitie Avvakuma', p. 397.

65 'Zhitie Epifaniia', p. 336.
Addressing the reader-audience, an integral part of homiletics, serves several purposes: first, it checks that attention is still focused upon the sermon (or, in Epifanii’s case the vita); secondly, it creates a bond between the sermon-giver (the author) and reader-audience; and thirdly, as a result of this deliberate intimacy and by playing to the reader-audience’s response, it cajoles the latter into acceptance of the subject of the sermon. Note should also be made of Epifanii’s awareness that he is addressing both clergy and laypeople, both literate and illiterate. His conscious decision to state this indicates a very different and broader approach to his task than earlier hagiographers who would have known they were writing primarily for monastic reception.

Such developed interaction with the reader-audience undoubtedly affects epic distance, although Epifanii appears to be aware of this and tries to correct it as far as possible. Right from the beginning of the work, he makes clear the difference of ‘во свят и на явлъ’;66 in his dream-visions he sees ‘сердечнымъ очима моимъ’67 and in reality with ‘очи мои тѣлесныя’.68 He seems to describe two protagonists in one: the first who belongs on earth and whose evangelical mission is to return the Russian Orthodox Church to true belief — the evangelical protagonist; and the second who communicates directly with the divine while enduring torments that reflect Christ’s Passion (see below, Structure) — the divine protagonist. Epifanii thus manages not to compromise fully the epic distance between narrator and reader-audience by creating a type of distanced divine alter ego of the mortal protagonist, who represents Epifanii’s own human state. Thus he is able to choose through which protagonist to present certain events.

One favoured device which requires interaction of the dual aspects of the protagonist, however, is to use the dreams and visions of the divine protagonist to illustrate what should be done or believed by the mortal protagonist, or to answer the latter’s dilemmas. For example, after his fingers and tongue have been cut off in Pustozersk, he cries out to God to give him a sign indicating whether he will be saved, whether all his pain is worthwhile. He then falls asleep:

И вижу сердечнымъ очима моимъ: темничное око мое на всѣ страны широко стало, и свѣтъ великъ ко мнѣ в темницу сняет [...] И нача той свѣтъ отустевати, и сотворися ис того свѣтта воздушнаго лице, яко человѣческое: очи, и нос, и брада [...] И рече ми той образъ сице: «Твой сей путь, не скорби» [...] Аз же отвори очи мои тѣлесныя и [...] рекох: «Слава тебѣ господи!

66 Ibid., p. 311. This expression is repeated throughout the work.
67 Ibid., p. 332.
68 Ibid., p. 331.
Similarly, the divine protagonist of sleep transfers to the mortal evangelical protagonist the healing of pain brought by the Mother of God in a dream after Epifaniī’s fingers have been cut off.70

One of the most immediately striking features of Epifaniī’s work is that his style, like Eleazar’s, also lends itself, and far more successfully, to the technique of creating verbal pictures. Using a more refined technique, Epifaniī aids the reader-audience’s concentration. As he describes the places through which he passed or where he settled, he gradually builds up a detailed picture, drawing the reader-audience closer into both the text and his own thoughts and interpretations. The reader-audience thus imagines clearly the scene of Epifaniī’s adventures and empathizes with him. For example, the small cell constructed by him on Viden’k Island is verbally reconstructed in detail:

This description impresses on the reader-audience Epifaniī’s concrete living and working space, which in turn underlines the reality and day-to-day concerns of his life (the ‘на яве’). Epifaniī’s obvious affection for his cell further enhances the closeness with his reader-audience, drawing them into his emotional response to his environment. The use of diminutives emphasizes his fondness for the cell; he consistently uses the diminutive keleitsa to refer to his own accommodation, whereas Kirill and other brethren always inhabit kel’ia. Another, far more extreme use of visualization, is the episode at the end of Part One in which insects infest Epifaniī’s cell for three months, driving him to desperate measures and intimate descriptions of the irritation:

И началу у меня т’ черви-мураши тайныя уцы ясти эльо горько и больно до слезы [...]. И напоследи уже стель обздать, а
The vivid image of Epifanii not being able to sit still and continually being bitten by the ants draws the reader-audience closer by invoking both pity and comedy—a realistic reaction.

At times Epifanii’s descriptions of his fear also take on a visual perspective: in Part One, for example, when Kirilo sends him to live in the cell where Ivan had been suffocated to death, he tells us that 'Н нача сердце мое трепетаться во мн̄т, кости и т̄ло дрожати, и власы на глав̂ь востали, и нападе на мя ужас велик̄ э̄ло'.73 Likewise, when he mistakenly believes that the cell he had built with such care and attention only two days previously has burnt down, there is an almost filmic quality to his reaction: 'Н вострепета во мн̄т сердце мое, и потекоша от очей моих слезы на землю, и нападе на мя печаль велик̄я, и не могох с того мьста никамо ж двигнутися от горькия печали'.74 Returning to his cell from the wilderness, he sees the conflagration from afar and is paralysed by his own emotions; Epifanii’s natural and genuine reaction adds a new dimension to hagiographical description of this type. Plenty of hearts have beaten fast and tears been shed in earlier hagiographies, yet the admission that in a state of shock his legs will not move tells us about his physical reaction as well, an intimacy that a third-person narrator would have found hard to reproduce, and a detail which helps the reader-audience to develop further the picture of Epifanii’s character, to understand him as a human being subject to familiar physical and emotional reactions.

The visualized context of the work provides not only an excellent means of developing a more intimate author-reader relationship and, ultimately, of reassuring the reader-audience of the author’s determination vis-à-vis his religious fight, but it also provides a key to understanding the creative thought which Epifanii puts into the descriptions of his own physical and emotional state. The work is full of passages where Epifanii appears to dwell on his own response to various situations or events, both major and minor. Although this tendency may perhaps indicate that the first-person narrative medium encourages authorial introspection, it was also probably a natural consequence of the solitary environment in which Epifanii wrote. For instance, according to the text, one of the most difficult elements for Epifanii to combat when isolated either in the

72 Ibid., p. 317.
73 Ibid., p. 312.
74 Ibid., p. 313.
wilderness or in prison was loneliness and depression. However inspired the one short lyrical declaration in Part One on the joys of life in the wilderness may appear, cut off from urban settlements and with only a few people occasionally passing through his locality, Epifanii had to devise his own way of coping with isolation and maintaining morale while on Vidan’sk Island. Immediately prior to the above-mentioned lyrical passage, he stresses the necessity of keeping himself busy with handicrafts not merely to barter for essential supplies ('А живя в пустыне, сподобился Бог питаться от рукоделия'), but also to prevent the onset of depression: ‘в пустынте жить без рукоделия невозможно, понеже находит уныние, и печаль, и тоска велика’. No longer does a conventional hagiographical statement claim that the protagonist spends his time exclusively engaged in prayer or religious contemplation, long deemed sufficient to provide for body and soul. Epifanii gives an honest account of his psychological needs, allowing a glimpse into the more personal problems arising from a life of religious retreat in the wilderness.

He is not always successful in his attempts to chase away depression, however, and he documents these moments just as faithfully as his stronger expressions of belief, with equal emphasis on self-castigation as on self-pity. On one occasion in Part Two, bemoaning the smoke in his underground dungeon in Pustozersk which is causing great pain to his eyes, he tries hard to rationalize his position and compares his wretched condition to others — all in vain.

Having begun by strongly rebuking himself for self-pity, Epifanii is then unable to prevent himself from remembering that Feofil was not a prisoner held in terrible conditions and with debilitating physical ailments. Indeed, the contrast between the poetic legend of the Kievan Caves monk who saved all his tears (only to be reprimanded by the archangel for his lack of honesty) and Epifanii’s own

75 ‘Добро в пустынте псалмы, молитва, рукоделие, и чтение. Так о Христе Иисусе зело красно и весело жить. О пустыня моя прекрасная!’, ibid., p. 316.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid.
78 Ibid., p. 332.
position merely emphasizes the latter’s grim determination and religious zeal as well as the distinctly unpoetic reality of the resultant persecution. Typically, however, Epifanii also scolds himself for regretting having passed up the opportunity for a more predictable and possibly easier life:

Epifanii rarely appears to be totally overwhelmed by feelings of self-pity, yet when the situation becomes unbearable, even quasi-jocular attempts to boost his flagging morale finally give out. In Part Two, for example, just after his tongue has been cut out and the group of prisoners have been taken to the village of Bratovshchina, he rues his fate:

The pain was intolerable, blood flowed down his throat whenever he tried to lie down, and he could eat nothing. The following passage, where Epifanii tries to pray but finds the pain too great to bear and intersperses his prayers with appeals to God to return his tongue, is an example of true pathos. Clearly desperate after this new act of barbarity, he cannot imagine how he will be able to continue even saying prayers and singing God’s praise with no tongue. Not only does this passage ring true, but it is also a fine example of how Epifanii communicates directly with God: he does not stand on ceremony, he needs no intermediary or guidance on how to seek divine advice or comfort. His relationship with God is based upon an individual understanding of his situation and needs, and episodes such as this help to illustrate to his reader-audience the active processes of a more individualistic form of belief and worship.

Isolation and torture would quite naturally also have inspired much self-questioning and perhaps even doubt as to whether the cause was worth the

80 ‘Zhitie Epifaniia’, p. 331.
81 Ibid., p. 327.
suffering. Epifanii does not try to hide the fact that he experiences times of great self-doubt and seeks divine reassurance:

Although another dream-vision inevitably rewards Epifanii with the necessary reassurance (see above, note 69), such nagging doubts reinforce the image of him as a real and fallible human being, subject to the vagaries of fear and doubt. Dream-visions also function as a barrier to scepticism, however; Epifanii would most likely never have failed to balance a description of depression and doubt with a miraculous sign reassuring him and his reader-audience.

Thus we see how Epifanii very deliberately presents himself as a strong-willed, complex and credible character, yet one who also shares the psychological and physical weaknesses of ordinary folk. He appears to have a clear sense of identity, of his strengths but also his limitations, and he shares his emotions and psychological self-examinations with the reader-audience. In this way, the mode of first-person narration allows the subject/author to open up to his reader-audience, to reveal elements of the psyche not readily evident in earlier hagiography. Working hard to establish a close author-reader relationship, Epifanii at times shamelessly manipulates emotive situations, yet also seems to remain aware of the tricky duality of his role as narrator and hagiographical protagonist. The result is a finely balanced tightrope between reality and the hagiographical context, across which Epifanii subtly and skilfully guides his reader-audience, all the time trying to reconcile the real world with the spiritual needs of man. While this vita has definitely progressed from the more documentary and impersonal type of autohagiography, such as the Zhitiie Eleazara Anzerskogo, and lacks much of the latter’s formal style, it still does not reach the individualistic levels of the life story of the Archpriest Avvakum.

Much of what has been said of Epifanii is also true of Avvakum, although the two men have markedly different literary styles and approaches to their reader-audience.83 This is understandable: whereas Epifanii spent well over a

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82 Ibid., p. 330.
83 For a history of the relations (both spiritual and literary) between Epifanii and Avvakum, see A. N. Robinson, 'Avvakum i Epifanii. (K istorii obshcheniia dvukh pisatelei)', TODL, 14, 1958, pp. 391-403.
decade during his formative years in the Monastery on Solovki, which housed one of the most extensive libraries in contemporary Muscovy, allowing him to study the Holy Books and writings as much as he desired. Avvakum, a member of the white clergy, spent his early years as an active evangelical preacher. He no... 

A notably lesser degree of formality during his years of training and several years of preaching in the provinces meant that Avvakum was able to communicate very well — and perhaps more fluently than Epifanii — with ordinary people. He lived among them in towns and villages and his vita continually illustrates how much everyday contact he had with a wide cross-section of society, and how important these relationships were to him. This type of social contact is, for the main part, far removed from earlier vitae in which the saint would, at best, have contact on a regular basis only with the brethren of his own monastery and possibly a small group of neighbouring clergy and outsiders, and, at worst, have lived a life of near total solitude in the ‘wilderness’. Furthermore, social relations in earlier works were of minor importance as the focus was on the deeds of the saintly figure. In Avvakum’s case, however, the most relevant implication of this human contact is that he will have understood not only the spiritual cares and complaints of the local people, but also their daily material concerns. As a consequence, with a better awareness of his reader-audience, he would have found himself better able to preach effectively and compassionately than a member of the black monastic clergy.

The range of characters who are woven through the narrative by Avvakum is remarkable by the standards of hagiography: from the pinnacle of Church and State hierarchies to simple villager, traveller and even lunatic, Avvakum appears to have blessed, baptized, beaten, healed or instructed the whole array. This ‘gallery of genuine, living people’ does not so much intrude into the text as actually form an integral and vital part of it, indeed to such an extent that Avvakum could at first glance be accused of composing socio-ecclesiastical history instead of hagiographical or autobiographical work of any kind. However, it is against the background of these secondary characters and what Avvakum himself tells us about their actions and his response to them, that he reveals a wealth of detail about his own character, psyche and attitudes.

His relationship with his own family, for example, is extraordinary; very loving and supportive, his long-suffering wife, Anastasiiia, and numerous children are ever-present characters in the narrative. This is one of the very few times in Russian hagiography that family and relatives are not dispensed with in the introduction, and testifies to Avvakum's strong desire to portray the reality of his life in place of stereotypes. As the narrator of his own vita he was, furthermore, free to select events for inclusion and emphasize or de-emphasize at will; it is highly likely that his family's loyalty and support played such a crucial role during his long years of persecution that he viewed them all as worthy of sustained inclusion in the vita. Anastasiiia's words of comfort and encouragement to her dispirited husband, for instance, are documented, as is the episode of the 'bright little thing' (svetelnik) which tells Avvakum through his young daughter Agrafena that he must maintain his religious practices (pravilo): 'Скажи отцу, чтобы он правило по-прежнему правил, так на Русь опять всё выведете. А буде правило не станет править, о нем же онъ и самъ помышляешь, то здсь всё умрете, и онъ с вами же умретъ'.

Avvakum's family is a source of great concern to him, however, and he often recounts their woes. Such passages digress from the hagiographical intention of the work and tend to include details of a very ordinary secular nature. For example, he remembers a time when Agrafena would bring food back from a benefactress and now regrets that his daughter is an old maid: 'Тогда невелика была, а нынѣ ужъ ей 27 годов — девицею, бѣдная моя'; and he also sympathizes with Anastasiiia when her servant Kseniia 'мучила зиму ту всю, зляла да укоряла'. Interestingly, he is seen occasionally to mark the passing of time not so much by the Christian calendar as by the birth of his children. On the way to exile in Siberia, for example, Avvakum notes that Протопопица младенца родила — больную в телгѣ и повезли до Тобольска; три тысячи верстъ недель с тринаццать волокли телгами'. Such realistic portrayal of family relations and domestic concerns have not played such a prominent role in any Russian hagiographical work since the tale of St Feodosii and his mother in Zhitie Feodosiia Pecherskogo, and even there they occupy only part of the first third of the vita. One might even

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86 See for example, 'Zhitie Avvakuma', pp. 368 and 375.
87 Ibid., p. 378.
88 Ibid., p. 366.
89 Ibid., p. 365.
90 Ibid., p. 361.
suggest that Avvakum’s family become models for emulation by other mothers, wives and children.

The result of intimate family reminiscences is to draw the reader-audience much closer to Avvakum and to foster empathy. Eliciting empathy is perhaps one of the best methods of developing trust between author and reader-audience, although it simultaneously destroys epic distance. Avvakum, however, seems to have believed that credibility, more easily achievable through first-person narration, was more important than convention. Much in the same way as Epifanii examined his own emotions and reactions to certain events, gradually gaining the confidence of the reader-audience, Avvakum relates family tales and his innumerable meetings with friends and strangers to reinforce the notion that he is sympathetic to their everyday plight and, in turn, is appreciated, loved and trusted by them. For instance, the healing of the hens even though they belonged to Pashkov’s wife, as ‘Кормилица то есть наша; дети у нея, надоибо ей курки’; the feeding of the hungry Cossacks sent by Pashkov to detain Avvakum; the sable hunters by Lake Baikal who gave Avvakum’s party forty fresh fish; and, most importantly, Anna’s dream vision which spells out clearly the reaction Avvakum valued above all: ‘Отца твоего, протопопа Афанасия, полата сия. Слушай ево и живи такъ, какъ онъ твѣт наказываетъ версты слагать и креститца, и кланятца, богу моляся, и во всемъ не противъ ему, такъ и ты будешь съ нимъ здѣсь’. Anna’s vision, one of the last episodes related in the vita, stresses the main edificatory message of the entire work, the need to obey the teachings of Avvakum, rather than follow the Nikonian reforms, in order to join him in righteous glory.

Avvakum differs from Epifanii in that he very rarely doubts his own reactions and emotions. He believes unquestioningly that his fight against the Nikonians is just and, moreover, is convinced of his personal ability to determine
the boundaries of right and wrong. These are also the limits within which he judges others in terms of absolute good or evil. Yet it is this same conviction which allows us to chart the decline and eventual breakdown of objective authorial perspective throughout the vita — one of the potential hazards of first-person narration. Avvakum appears to believe that he is the mouthpiece of God,\(^\text{96}\) yet he becomes increasingly blind to the various inconsistencies in his own relationship with Him. Epifanii had charged Avvakum to write down his life story so that God's true word was not silenced by Nikonian heresy, but by the end of the vita this task seems to have been obscured by grander ideals. The long years of isolation, and the certainty of eventual execution,\(^\text{97}\) seems to have bred in Avvakum a fanatical desire to produce a work which focuses more on the fact that his own life was devoted to protection of the true faith than on inspiring others to continue the fight against Nikonian heresy. By controlling the direction of his work through an overtly subjective first-person narrator, Avvakum can be seen as attempting to depict himself as not only the people's champion (through acts of charity and succour), but also champion of the 'православия' and 'истинный христианин'.\(^\text{98}\) In this light, Avvakum's sense of humility appears challenged by his desire to leave an authoritative work for future generations of 'true believers'.

Through a powerful first-person narrative, Avvakum employs a skilful blend of encouragement, cajoling, outright bullying and subtle persuasion to manipulate the emotional responses of his reader-audience. He writes with passion and intimacy drawing in the reader-audience. Avvakum most likely realized that, without the function of the first-person narrator, his strength of persuasion and manipulation would have lost much of its impact. He rarely observes the function of epic distance and appears unconcerned that the mortal author is one and the same as the increasingly sanctified protagonist. Only in the passages of high ecclesiastical drama, such as the description of the anathematization in Moscow ('И протопопа Аввакума, бднной горемыку, в то время с прочими остигли — в соборной церкви'\(^\text{99}\)), and high personal pathos,

\(^{96}\) It is not only through Anna and Avvakum's daughter that the audience is warned by an apparently divine force to obey Avvakum's words; further incidents with Eremei, Pashkov's son (ibid., p. 372), Nikodim, the cellarer at Pafnutev Monastery (ibid., p. 381), and Fedor the Holy Fool (ibid., p. 393) all appear to be intended to testify to Avvakum's mystically divine authority.

\(^{97}\) 'и велел онъ, а завтра я так же умру' (ibid., p. 392).

\(^{98}\) Ibid., pp. 351-52.

\(^{99}\) Ibid., p. 353.
such as the wretched winter journey to Lake Irgeń ('А дёти маленьки были, едиков много, а работать нёному: один бёдной гонемька-протопопь! Карту здёлальъ и зиму всю волочильь за волокъ'\textsuperscript{100}) does he attempt to use a third-person narrative form. Such moments, however, do not suffice to maintain epic distance throughout the work.

Thus we see three varying approaches to the use of the first-person narrator in a hagiographical context. Eleazar is an almost unwilling first-person narrator and we learn only minimal details about his character through descriptions dedicated to the founding and building of the monastery on Anzersk Island. Epifanii, on the other hand, uses the first-person narrative mode to novel effect in terms of critical self-analysis and the creation of a sympathetic relationship with his reader-audience, although at the same time managing to preserve some degree of epic distance. And finally, first-person narrative allows Avvakum blatantly to manipulate his reader-audience through empathetic response and put himself forward as the people's spiritual champion and warrior. Expression of religious zeal in all three cases was the primary motivation for composition, and the first-person narrative provided an ideal medium for the authors' views to be presented in an individualistic, convincing and innovative manner.

Structure

As seen in previous chapters of this thesis, interesting variations, both obvious and subtle, on the structural division of \textit{exordium}, central narrative and \textit{conclusio} common to rhetorical hagiography appear in Muscovy with notable frequency during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The evolution of hagiography is illustrated by a growing authorial awareness of the impact of certain elements in their works and a conscious decision to direct emphasis accordingly. This process is clearly at work also in the framework of the autohagiographies where a subjective narrator knows what he wishes to communicate to his reader-audience and rarely hesitates to lead and/or manipulate them to this end.

We also know, however, that not all such structural variations were successful in terms of maintaining to a convincing degree the hagiographical nature of the work and debate has often arisen concerning, in particular, hybrid

\textsuperscript{100} Ibid., p. 365.
forms of hagiography. Such debate applies to the autohagiographies, which can be described loosely as a hybrid of 'semi-autobiographical hagiography' and 'semi-hagiographical autobiography'. While some of the vitae examined in earlier chapters cannot be said to lose hagiographical value because of a lack of some of the conventional elements of rhetorical hagiography, this problem becomes more acute in the case of the autohagiographies. For example, the fact that an autohagiographer could never include the structural elements of description of death, posthumous miracles and eulogy means that, even if every other structural requirement is fulfilled, the hagiography will never conform completely to what is expected. On the other hand, this deficiency may have acted as an incentive for the autohagiographer to adapt the structure as a whole in order to foresee, and if possible compensate for, the inevitable omission of the final structural elements. Furthermore, it should be noted again that the autohagiographer's intentions were not the same as that of the hagiographer; the former was simply recounting a life story which he considered worthy of emulation, while the latter was almost without exception interested in the official canonization of the subject. Both Epifaniy and Avvakum's composition cope with this hazard in a skilful and creative fashion, producing a novel type of structure, one which hovers between hagiography and autobiography, but leans more towards a secular form of narrative than ecclesiastical tradition.

The Zhitie Eleazara Anzerskogo, however, neither follows a traditional nor introduces a novel hagiographical structure. Instead, it is composed in simple chronological narrative more in the style of a chronicle account than an attempt to relate a life story, a feature that would appear to support the notion of the monastery as the central character of this text. The narrative begins only at the point of Eleazar's life which is relevant to the building of the monastery — his learning of and arrival on Anzersk Island — and, although Eleazar uses the humility topos in the first line ('Пов'да мн', пр'шниму Елеазару'), there is no conventional exordium and no prayer. Neither does the reader-audience learn anything of his early life or tonsure. The central narrative section, where one expects to find details of the subject's podvig, instead simply lists the miracles and visions of Eleazar and the many other characters directly concerned with the establishment of the monastery. At the end, we find no formal conclusio, but rather a short statement informing the reader-audience that this is indeed the

101 'Zhitie Eleazara Anzerskogo', p. 299. This is also a typical opening topos in a dukhovnoe zaveshchanie.
work of Eleazar and that it is kept in the monastery along with other documents also composed by him. The lack of any recognizable formal hagiographical structure in this work further corroborates the idea that it was never meant primarily as an autobiographical work, and it is merely through the account of the history of the monastery that we are incidentally able to form an idea of a certain part of Eleazar's life and character.

One important structural development in the Zhitie Eleazara must be noted, however. Although Eleazar's autohagiographical work is clearly not as advanced as that of either Epifanii or Avvakum, Eleazar, by contrast to the pre-seventeenth-century works discussed above, not only introduces the concept of first-person narration (testament or admonition apart), but also breaks away from the multi-part pattern seen in the tripartite Pouchenie of Vladimir Monomakh, the two-part Zaveshchanie-ustav Gerasima Boldinskogo and the four-part Autobiograficheskaia povest' Martiriia Zelenetskogo. Instead, Eleazar's work is chronological and follows a linear approach. This represents a significant step in the direction of a more coherent type of hagiographical writing in which the author has chosen the most effective way of glorifying the monastery (by recounting his own life story) rather than following conventional hagiographical structures which he might deem inappropriate to apply to himself. The adaptation of alternative structures demonstrates the extent to which seventeenth-century writers were conscious of the need for effective presentation of their work and how different frameworks would suit the requirements of the subject matter.

In the Zhitie Epifanii there is evidence of a far greater degree of effort being applied to the structure through considerable reworking. Contrary to A. N. Robinson's suggestion that, unlike Avvakum, Epifanii did not modify the Ranniaia redaction of the vita to any significant degree when working on the Okonchatel'naia, the Ranniaia actually shows clearly how Epifanii chose to edit, expand and cut the original text in his transformation of it into the Okonchatel'naia. Comparison of the Ranniaia with the Okonchatel'naia reveals no major structural change in Part One, although the Ranniaia includes neither the lyrical digression on the joys of living in the wilderness, nor the short prayer at the end, and the episode about the ant infestation lacks detail and is far

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102 Ibid., p. 304.
shorter. The Ranniaia does include, on the other hand, reworkings of Biblical passages as well as direct citation from St Paul’s first and second Epistles (from Paul to Timothy), forming a far more substantial exordium which is absent in the Okonchatel’naia. These differences suggest that Epifanii allowed a greater level of subjectivity into the Okonchatel’naia redaction, dictating the selection and omission of material. Of course, the fact that he was writing the Okonchatel’naia redaction in the Pustozersk dungeon more than likely accounts for some of his more lyrical descriptions and memories; even the ant infestation might have been remembered in hindsight with a more nostalgic mellowed irritation. Editing out the Biblical quotations, on the other hand, is harder to explain: perhaps Epifanii felt that inclusion of such lengthy Biblical passages in such a direct manner would have shown a lack of humility, as if he was actively trying to write a conventional hagiography, to put himself forward for canonization rather than simply as an example to inspire others in their religious zeal. Perhaps he also considered them to be out of place in a work so rooted in real-life detail.

Part Two of the Ranniaia presents a very different picture: it is much shorter than Part Two of the Okonchatel’naia, the chronology is more obviously linear and there are several elements which have not yet been worked into the structure. For example, the principle of structuring the narrative around a series of miracles (see below) does not operate here and Epifanii resorts to clichéd expressions for introducing each episode, such as ‘Да еше новем вам...’ and ‘И еше скажу...’. We have already seen above how Epifanii described his own emotional and physical state in terms to which the reader-audience could relate, yet many of these passages in Part Two of the Ranniaia are shorter, less expressive or even completely absent. With the passage of time and the

104 ‘Ranniaia redaktsiia’, p. 239.
105 The Epistles from Paul were favoured Biblical passages for the Old Believers, warning of evil-doers who try to corrupt the word of God.
108 Cf., for example, in the Ranniaia, ‘Что се творится надо мной, бедным? [...] то бы аз с радостью терпел вся сия о Христе Исусе...’ (p. 241), with the Okonchatel’naia, Пощель к Москвѣ ис пустынні [...] Какъ до конца доживать?’ (p. 327), ‘Гдѣ темничное то [...] И досаду темничную’ (p. 331), and ‘А не втѣсано [...] о Христѣ Исусѣ’ (p. 330). One passage in the Ranniaia has in this way effectively been split up to form at least three different passages in the Okonchatel’naia (which, furthermore, do not adhere to the chronology of the Ranniaia). Episodes which are totally absent from the Ranniaia include, inter alia, the lyrical digression on the joys of living in the wilderness, in Part One (‘Zhitiie Epifaniia’, p. 316), and Epifanii’s comparison of himself to Feofil of the Kievan Caves Monastery (ibid., p. 332).
vagaries of memory it is natural that certain events would be recalled differently. It seems probable that in this case incarceration and isolation affected his memory. Furthermore, as time passed the urgency of his mission increased, and Epifanii would have grown increasingly aware of the potential value of his work, his main method of continuing to preach to the outside world. In this light, it is easy to understand that a powerfully emotive account which elicits sympathy was a more desirable narrative option for Epifanii than the more measured approach taken in Part Two of the Ranniaia redaction.

Despite the personalized intrusions in the narrative, the revised version of Epifanii’s work follows conventional hagiographical structures much more closely than does the earlier redaction. Part One of the Okonchatel’naia redaction opens with an unmistakably hagiographical exordium replete with traditional justification for writing,\textsuperscript{109} authorial humility topos and apologies for his simplicity and lack of education (‘помеже грамотики и философии не учился’\textsuperscript{110}), before a short concluding prayer asking for Avvakum, Afanasii and the reader-audience to offer prayers to help him achieve his mission. He continues to follow a common hagiographical pattern, albeit with scant detail until the time of his tonsure in the Monastery on Solovki after seven years as a novice, when Nikon started printing revisions of the Holy Books as part of his Church reforms. After leaving the monastery in 1657, he travels to Vidan’sk Island where his ascesis begins. The remainder of Part One relates his everyday routine on the island, his struggles with demons, visions and dreams, as well as the problems arising from his solitary life, before ending with another short prayer. Part Two, written from his underground dungeon in Pustozersk comprises an address and advice to Afanasii, and prayers,\textsuperscript{111} before once again picking up the story of Epifanii’s life on Vidan’sk Island. The narrative is then structured around a series of ‘miracles’, as Epifanii calls them, and describes his imprisonment, interrogation, subsequent torture and final incarceration in Pustozersk. Finally he brings the \textit{vita} to a close, not without reminding the reader-

\textsuperscript{109} In fact, Epifannii offers first of all three reasons — Christ, Avvakum and Afanasii: Прослушания ради Христа и твоего ради повеления и святаго ради твоего благословения, отче святый, и прощения ради раба това Христа...; ‘Zhitie Epifannia’ (ibid., p. 310) — and three lines later another reason: ‘сего ищу, како бы ми Христа милоспия сотворити себѣ и людым’ (ibid.).

\textsuperscript{110} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{111} In some places Epifanii repeats practically verbatim the prayer with which he began Part One: see, for example, ‘не позари простот моей, понеж аз грамотики и философии от нуности моей не учился и не искал сего; и нынѣ не ищу того, но сего ищу, како бы ми Христа Иисуса милостива сотворити себѣ и людым’ (ibid., p. 319), and compare with the opening paragraph of Part One (ibid., p. 310).
audience that he was writing for the instruction of Afanasii and all ‘раби Христовы, чуши и слышашши сия вся’, repeating the traditional humility topos, and adding a short prayer. The only structural deviation from the formal pattern is the absence of a prediction of his own death (although, on this, see below), actual death, posthumous miracle tales and (optional) further eulogy.

Thus, a near perfect hagiographical structure helps underpin another important hagiographical aspect of the work: the saintly subject is seen, through his ascesis, to strive towards an imitation of the Passion of Christ. Epifanii achieves this through martyrdom, a point seldom lost on him, yet rarely expressed quite as obviously as the following:

Всех сподобилъ причастились тела Христова и крови и кровь мою, помощию Христовомъ, пролилъ за старую върш его святую, и за люди его, и за церкви его святыя. Благодарю тя, господи, яко сподобилъ мѣ еси пострадати за вся сия и кровь мою излиянія!

The final and very lengthy ‘miracle’ (‘Чудо о глазах моих креста ради Христова’) presents a similarly suitable theme. Epifanii calculates how many crosses he has carved over the years and reaches a total of several hundred, as well as relating in the greatest detail his ritual of prayer with each cross.

Although he may not have been able to tell the reader-audience about his martyr’s death at the stake, he was surely aware that death awaited him in the same violent manner at the hands of his captors as so many dissenters before him. The image of Epifanii sculpting the crosses for his own Calvary, if not actually ever mounting them, presents a powerful parallel to the Passion of Christ.

Just as in their use of the first-person narrator, Epifanii and Avvakum’s vitae share many structural features. Avvakum, for example, is known to have been even more zealous than Epifanii in the editing of his vita. Demkova’s study and chronological re-arrangement of the four basic redactions of the vita show the development from the earliest redaction (the Prianishnikov), a factual historical document composed between 1667 and 1672, through the commonly labelled B and A redactions (composed respectively in the first half of 1672 and the first
half of 1673), to the final C redaction, composed as late as 1675. In each progressive redaction, Avvakum increases not only the length of the text, but also the number of quotations from Holy Scripture, theological writings and earlier hagiography, as well as a host of other features designed to contrast other characters unfavourably with his own. By injecting these elements into his literary self-portrait, Avvakum gradually and subtly shifts the emphasis of his entire work from the simple exploits of an arguably far from saintly archpriest to the life of one who is increasingly conscious that he shall die a martyr:

The gradual process of emphasizing his sanctity can be seen as restoring some degree of epic distance into this *vita*. Interestingly, while Epifanii’s creation of a dual (divine-mortal) protagonist is a novel if somewhat crude method of establishing epic distance, Avvakum’s more subtle change of emphasis throughout the reworkings of his *vita* reveals a far less humble quality to his saintly self-perception.

The text of the *vita* being used in this study (redaction A) opens with a conventional *exordium*, including justification for writing, humility *topoi* and a prayer. Before embarking on his own life story, however, Avvakum launches into a vitriolic attack on the Nikonian reforms and warns of impending disaster before proffering a lengthy justification of the traditional Russian Orthodox ritual. A pattern becomes clear which is repeated throughout the *vita*: a familiar hagiographical *topos* will be used in its conventional context either immediately preceded or followed by an unpredictable and original element. Another early example:

Отецъ мя есть священник Петръ, мати – Марія, инака Марфа. Отець же мой прилежаше пития хмельнова; мати же моя постница и молитвеница бысть, всегда учаще мя страху божию. Аз же ныкогда видвзь у сосздъ скотную умершу, и той моши,

117 For example, redaction C makes no mention of Pashkov having given food to Avvakum on the return journey from exile in Siberia. The blacker Pashkov’s character is rendered, the brighter Avvakum’s robes of martyrdom seem to shine.
118 Demkova, *Zhiznie protopopa Avvakuma*, p. 100.
The conventional *topos* of pious parents, with which Avvakum opens the story of his life, is here given a unique slant by mention of his father's inclination to drink. Although the following description of his mother's piety returns the text to hagiographical convention, the next sentence introduces another highly unusual image; unlike the majority of saintly figures who are summoned to a holy life by innate or divine signs, Avvakum claims that the prosaic image of a dead cow spurred him to pray every night. The tendency to mix familiar hagiographical *topoi* with unusual elements such as these occurs throughout the work to the point where, sometimes, the hagiographical *topoi* are obscured under a mass of personal reminiscence and detail, and the narrative adopts the mode of pure autobiography. A long central narrative describes Avvakum's ascesis: his fight against demons (real men such as Nikon and his supporters instead of the non-human external demons of the past), his continual preaching of God's word, his struggle with very real material hardship, episodes of seemingly miraculous healing, and the innumerable trials sent to test his patience as much as his spiritual strength. Finally, having won the battle and remained loyal to the 'true faith', Avvakum prepares himself for martyrdom, having already predicted his own death. He repeats in a short *conclusio* his reason for writing and commands Epifanii to write down his life story as well: 'Пускай раб-оть Христовь веселится, чтучи! Какь умрем, такь онь почитеть, да помнеть пред богомь нас'. He finishes with the assurance that the righteous will be 'там у Христа, а мы их — во веки веков, аминь.' A highly unusual form of 'prayer', these words contain no hint of humility, no thanks offered for the successful conclusion of a sacred literary task, but rather, typically for Avvakum, it presumes salvation for himself and his flock. Seldom has any work of medieval Russian literature been so forcefully concluded and the 'message' driven home so pointedly. Thus, most of the familiar conventions of hagiographical framework are satisfied (if not always in the clearest manner) apart from the description of death, posthumous miracles and eulogy, although, as with Epifanii, this is merely the basic structural level of Avvakum's work.

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120 Ibid., p. 355.
121 See note 97 above.
122 'Zhitie Avvakuma', p. 397.
123 Ibid.
To a far greater degree than Epifanii, Avvakum supplies evidence to promote the idea of his life as an *imitatio Christi*. The narrative is replete with Biblical quotations and references; at times the natural flow of the prose is so choked with Biblical allusion as to suggest over-anxiety to prove his point. Indeed, quotations appear to be avoided where not directly furthering the image of Avvakum as an *imitatio Christi* figure. Biblical quotations (often paraphrased) are commonly concealed in the words of various characters to enhance the image of Avvakum as a divine figure: when Avvakum is brought to the dying Evfimei Stefanovich who cries out for forgiveness — *Проси, государь, сопрьшил пред богом и пред тобою* — almost repeating verbatim the apology of the Prodigal Son to his father. Later, when Pashkov is made to realize by his son that he beat and tortured Avvakum with no justification, he exclaims, in the words of Judas having betrayed Christ, '«Сопрьшиль, окаянной, пролить кровь неповинну...»'. Avvakum frequently also draws parallels between events in his life and those of Biblical figures. For example, Pashkov's violent beating leaves Avvakum questioning Christ, almost challenging him; 'За что ты, сын Божий, попустили мне ему таково болно убить тому [...] Кто даст судию между мною и тобою?' Although not a direct quotation, this strongly echoes passages in the Book of Job.

Such comparisons are not Avvakum's only tool to further his own *imitatio Christi* image. In terms of structure, the entire *vita* can be read as a parallel to Christ's life and suffering. As Christ journeyed through Israel, across seas and mountains, so Avvakum spends his years travelling all over Russia, disseminating God's word, likening life to a journey, crossing seas and traversing the wilderness, making much of the image of the spiritual journey. In the *exordium*, Avvakum even rearranges historical records to suit his allegory: having mentioned the eclipse which began during the sixth hour of the crucifixion of Christ, he claims that


\[\ldots\text{ в час шестый, там бысть; солнце померче, луна подтекала от запада же, п	ebь божий являя. И протопопа Аввакума,}\]

\[\]
What he fails to mention is that he was unfrocked and anathematized in the Moscow Kremlin's Cathedral of the Assumption on 13 May 1666, and the eclipse actually occurred several weeks after this date. It is possible that, unable to describe his own death, Avvakum chooses the moment of his anathematization as the nearest allegory to death on the cross. The description of how he is brought before the Ecumenical Council of Patriarchs in 1666 continues the parallel to Christ's life: his inquisition by the Patriarchs carries distinct overtones of the trial of Christ by the High Priests. Just as Christ refused to renounce his words concerning the destruction and rebuilding of the temple, prompting the High Priests to condemn him, Avvakum categorically refuses to betray the rituals of the Old Faith, despite both verbal and physical persuasion from the Patriarchs. A Pontius Pilate figure also appears in Avvakum's *vita* in the form of his last persecutor, Captain Ivan Elagin in Pustozersk, where Elagin attempts to interrogate Avvakum regarding his beliefs as Pilate questioned Christ. Many other similar details are included in the *vita*: Avvakum claims, for example, that people brought their children to him to be cured of illness, just as children were taken to Christ, while the entertainers being thrown out of the village by Avvakum is reminiscent of Christ ejecting the money-lenders from the temple. Both Christ and Avvakum escape attempts on their lives: the Jews plot three times to assassinate Christ, failing on each attempt; Avvakum attributes the two misfirings of a crazed official's pistols to divine intervention, and when starving in the Andronikov Monastery, he suggests that God sent an angel to him with food.

Indeed, Avvakum seems at times to exist on the threshold of life, frequently beaten half to death yet always resurrected (by God) to continue his mission of preserving the true faith. Avvakum, it could be suggested, is writing so that followers of the true faith will remember him as man's saviour in the drama of the Church Schism, as Christ is honoured in the Bible. Mortality and immortality, present time and eternity are confounded. In the words of Børtønes:

128 Ibid., p. 353.
129 See ibid., pp. 384-85.
130 Elagin is actually referred to by Avvakum as Pilate; see ibid., p. 387.
131 Ibid., p. 396.
132 Ibid., p. 357.
133 Ibid., pp. 356-57.
134 Ibid., p. 360.
‘Avvakum’s death [is] the moment in time when his sufferings will cease, when he shall win the martyr’s crown, and no longer remain a figure of the abased Son of Man, but become united with his prototype in death’s rebirth to immortality’.\textsuperscript{135} The underlying intertextual relationship with Christ’s Passion is a highly effective tool of manipulation, especially when so skilfully concealed within a text so full of realistic detail and historical fact.

In contrast to Avvakum’s determination to reveal his life as a parallel to Christ’s, Epifanii’s references to his own imitation of the Passion of Christ appear rather modest. Although both Epifanii and Avvakum were working towards the same goal and both died as martyrs to the same cause, Epifanii displays a genuine sense of humility which prevents him developing the same degree of fanaticism as his fellow prisoner and does not create the same imbalance between the original intention and final content of his vita. Avvakum, on the other hand, although professing throughout the whole vita his sinfulness and unworthiness before both God and his Father Confessor, appears to have only a limited sense of true humility: ‘Осмысяля себя как воплощение Боже в человеке, Аввакум считает, что его существоование способно обновить Россию и весь мир’.\textsuperscript{136} His character is full of contradictions; although literate, he is extremely narrow-minded and lurches from violence to tenderness in his relations and attitudes to those around him. His fanaticism arguably leads him to the point where he can no longer distinguish between the essential and secondary in religion, that is, between substance and ritual.

Thus, innovative structural change operates on more than one level in these works. The Zhitie Eleazara Anzerskogo makes a decisive move from multi-part narrative commonly found in earlier works of an autobiographical nature to a linear form of narrative, focusing on one main subject and theme (although arguably the monastery rather than Eleazar himself), yet remains far less developed in terms of structural innovation than the two later works. The painstaking reworking of their vitae by Epifanii and Avvakum, while trying to maintain as much hagiographical integrity as possible, appears to be part of a calculated effort to increase the impact of their message. Structural changes made during this process can be seen to develop, subtly yet unequivocally, the empathetic response of the reader-audience to a first-person narrator. Such reworkings also indicate how time and isolation encourages distortion of memory.

\textsuperscript{135} Bertnes, Visions of Glory, p. 267.
\textsuperscript{136} P. Hunt, ‘Samoopravdanie protopopa Avvakuma’, TODL, 32, 1977, pp. 70-83 (72).
and the admixture of a small degree of fantasy into the written works. Furthermore, the parallels with Christ’s life and Passion in the two later autohagiographies help, in varying degrees, to present the protagonists as martyrs whose lives, and beliefs, are to be seen as unquestionably worthy of emulation.

Narrative Style and Technique

We have already determined how crucial active communication with the reader-audience was for the seventeenth-century autohagiographers; their desire to inform was born of the need to convince the reader-audience of the sanctity of Anzersk Island and the monastery in the case of Eleazar, and to win widespread support in the fight against Nikon in the case of Epifanii and Avvakum. Although the narrative style of Eleazar’s vita cannot be described as novel, it does continue to observe the changes (such as increased use of realia and dialogue) in the evolution of hagiographical narrative already established in earlier chapters of this study. Epifanii and Avvakum, on the other hand, introduced many innovations into their vitae, a process which extends also to their narrative style and technique. Just as the autohagiographer possesses greater freedom in the emphasis and presentation of structure and contents, he also has more choice in vocabulary, tone and nuance and is thus able to produce an accessible work. The resulting effect is far more immediate and, it could well be argued, remains in the memory more easily than high-style works written in ecclesiastical rhetoric, the primary aim of which was never to ensure the full understanding of the reader-audience and hence could not suit the purposes of Epifanii and Avvakum.

In the Zhitie Eleazara Anzerskogo, we see an occasional departure from the traditional vocabulary and style of hagiography, but for the most part Eleazar’s language is simple, factual and easily understandable, much as would be expected in a work intended to document events such as the building of a monastery. A mixture of Church Slavonic verbal forms helps to produce syntactic simplicity. Only occasionally does Eleazar adopt a more modern verbal usage and without exception when quoting what others have told him: Ърате, аще пришелъ...';\(^{137}\) and 'Сынь, де, мой духовной, инокъ, сиделъ на тони, со

\(^{137}\) ‘Zhitie Eleazara Anzerskogo’, p. 300.
Quotations from the Bible or ecclesiastical writing, however, always appear in Church Slavonic. Apart from a few local expressions, there is little linguistic novelty in this work.

On a wider level, however, Eleazar introduces a sense of reality found in some episodes and descriptions (where previously one would have found clichéd *topoi* deliberately distanced from the real world). For example, anxious that the monastery be appropriately revered and that the connected visions be accepted as authentic, Eleazar continually stresses the crowds of witnesses to miracles and visions, recalling names, times and places. This factual style of reportage is carried over into other aspects of the work and, in a manner similar to that of the *vitae* of Stefan of Perm and Trifon of Pechenga, Eleazar describes hostility from the local people in place of the common hagiographical *topos* of demons tormenting the saint:

Психологически, по крайней мере, Елеазар видит демонов в форме людей, которых он знает ('знаемых съёмских людей'), хотя в итоге остается неясным, является ли он обладателем или реальными людьми. Изменение демонов этого традиционного *topos* в реальность местных жителей усиливает реальность описания Елеазара, не передавая при этом злобу или намерение демона/человека. Ему говорят, что он неприемлем на острове, и он оставался в безопасности, только когда он цитирует Псалмы. Цитирование Псалмов придает этой картине тревоги демонов, преследующих святого в более ранних *vitae*; это также говорит о том, что этот *topos* действительно заменен на картину реальной сцены врагов, показывающих уважение. Они не прекращались — 'до сего дня безпрестанно' — и часто бывают внезапными, оставляя его в постоянной опасности. Он не детали, что жизнь была легкой на острове, а только говорит безупречно, что 'Это мне тяжело — не давайте счастья и покоя мне в день, ни в
Although this is a modest example of what can be done with the comparative freedom available to Eleazar as first-person controlling narrator, the impact of his frankness is nevertheless heightened, for the description is original and presents his problems as those of the real world with real enemies.

Both Epifanii and Avvakum display a far more developed understanding than Eleazar of the potential impact of their narrative technique. As mentioned above, the written word became for these later autohagiographers a weapon during their imprisonment in Pustozersk, their only method of self-justification and communication with the outside world. No longer able to use their powers of persuasion through preaching, they transformed their experience of the spoken sermon into a written form of sermon and vita delivered against a background of real life and people. References to realia are especially noticeable in the case of Epifanii, who introduces a mass of everyday detail into the text of the Okonchatel'naia redaction, such as exact dates, the precise amount of money he accepted for the crosses he carved, and what he bought with this payment, the methods he employed to wipe out the ants in his cell, and even an anatomical description of his new ‘divine’ tongue. Nor does Epifanii shrink from graphic detail when recounting his torture, commonly sharing the details of his pain with the reader-audience: for instance, ‘А на Москве, как первой язык мой палач отрезал, тогда яко лютая эмия укусила, и всю утробу мою зашемило, и до Вологды тогда у меня от той болезни кровь шла заднимъ проходомъ’. The reader-audience thus gradually becomes intimately aware of the degree of pain and distress, made all the more real as it is the tortured person himself who is recalling the agonies. Furthermore, by rendering these passages more emotionally and at greater length in the Okonchatel'naia redaction than the Ranniaia, he appears to be seeking the reader-audience’s sympathy by reminding him even more forcibly of his own human state.

Epifanii’s sense of narrative timing is well developed by seventeenth-century standards; the descriptions of his moods and the pain of torture are
always carefully placed at the most effective points in the narrative, in other words, just where the reader-audience (albeit subconsciously) expects them. For example, Epifanii does not mention his doubts as to whether his struggle was worth the agony (see page 208 above) until the reader-audience is expecting it (after numerous graphically described trials and tribulations). Neatly reinforcing in this way the author-reader bond, Epifanii succeeds in eliciting a sympathetic response as well as reminding them of the principal reasons for his struggle at the points where they may begin to question Epifanii's sanity.

Avvakum's use of everyday realistic detail throughout his vita has already been discussed elsewhere and need not be repeated here. Instead, one may note some narratorial devices commonly used by Avvakum to manipulate the reader-audience. For example, once he has gained the reader-audience's trust that he is the true people's champion, both spiritual and physical, Avvakum works hard to flatter and maintain their confidence. To this end, he employs a rather primitive yet effective technique of narrative implication. When he wants his reader-audience to reach a certain conclusion, yet believe they are reaching it independently and free from any authorial suggestion/interference, he plants the seed of the idea in their heads and leaves it to flower: for example, during an early experience of imprisonment when, having been brought soup when he was starving in a monastery cell, he suggests that 'Дивно только человечь, а что же ангелъ? Ино н'чему дивитьца...', and later, driving spirits out of Pashkov's servant girls, he tells us that 'Слезами и водою покроплю [...] И сила божия отгоняше от человечь бесы [...] не по достоинству моему, ни, никако же', and later still, when the Tsar visited his cell in Moscow, 'около темницы моей походилъ и, постонавъ, опять пошелъ из монастыря. Кажется по тому, и жаль ему меня, да уш то воля божия такъ лежить!'. By way of such innocent-sounding remarks, Avvakum effectively instills in the reader-audience's mind, first, the notion of an angel saving him which, in turn, implies that his religious path is indeed the correct one and that Avvakum himself is worthy of

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151 'Zhitie Avvakuma', p. 360.
152 Ibid., p. 367.
153 Ibid., p. 381.
divine protection, secondly, the idea that he may possess the power to purge people of evil spirits, and finally, that his plight is so great even the Tsar, a supporter of Nikon and therefore an adversary, feels sorry for him. Casting these remarks in, respectively, the form of a question, an emphatically negative declaration and a supposition allow Avvakum to suggest various images by implication, often a more effective (albeit here not overly subtle) means of communication than direct reportage and claims. Thus we see how the first-person narrator can direct not only the flow and emphasis of his narrative in minute detail, but also the chain of association made by the reader-audience.

Avvakum’s *vita* is, furthermore, one of the most dynamic narratives in Muscovite literature and he relates his life story at the same frenetic pace he lived. In the main, he has little time for rhetoric, unless it can be used to justify his argument, and his liberal use of vulgar expressions is already well-documented. Such coarseness appears to suit Avvakum’s approach, however, both to life and his written work: passionate, fast-moving and startling, even shocking, doubtless an effective device in oral preaching. One example of this is Avvakum’s ‘shocking humour’: describing the guards after inquisition by the Ecumenical Council, he claims ‘Что за разбойниками, стрельцов войско за нами ходит и срать провожаятъ. Помяняется, — и смехъ и горе, — как-то омрачилъ дьявольъ’;\(^{154}\) and talking of Pashkov, he says ‘Десетъ летъ онъ меня мучилъ, или я его — не знаю’.\(^{155}\) Quite possibly, the response from the reader-audience to such remarks probably justified to Avvakum the semi-jocular thought.

Despite many similarities of narrative technique shared by Epifanii and Avvakum’s *vitae*, there is a marked difference to be found in their personal styles of composition. Epifanii is overall a restrained and conservative author compared to Avvakum, both in content and style, even occasionally veering towards old-style didacticism which contrasts sharply with his outbursts and passages of more lively and active language. Avvakum prefers a more radical and free method of composition, far more similar to informal oral preaching and conversation than to traditional rhetoric. Yet both of these autohagiographers contribute powerfully to the secularizing tendencies at work in hagiographical narrative of this time. No longer do language and expression act as a barrier to the understanding of the Orthodox faith, no longer does high-style rhetoric deter the ordinary believer from trying to comprehend. As a result, communication with

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\(^{154}\) Ibid., p. 385.

\(^{155}\) Ibid., p. 372.
God and the rituals of worship were put into a context of familiarity, of everyday life and events which, in turn, encouraged more direct and private forms of faith.

**The Treatment of Time**

In the seventeenth-century autohagiographies we find a continuation of the trend towards emphasizing a concrete temporal framework rather than one of the absolute past. Considerable changes in the author's use of epic distancing in the context of author-reader relationship have already been noted in this chapter; in the Zhitie Epifaniia and the Zhitie Avvakuma the temporal definition of epic distance likewise produces significant change in the treatment and function of time.

Choosing to bring contemporary time into the vitae through reference to historical and political events allows the authors to establish a vital living bond with their audience, bringing them ever closer to the subject of the vita. Only the Zhitie Eleazara Anzerskogo consistently observes epic time; many abstract time references such as 'в оном же время' and 'в некое время' are scattered throughout the text in line with hagiographical conventions of avoiding intrusions of real time. Epifanii and Avvakum, on the other hand, and especially the latter, saturate their work with countless episodes related in a specific socio-historical and/or political context, many of which have been mentioned above. Furthermore, approaching their written work in a manner similar to that of an oral sermon, Epifanii and Avvakum's habit of directing short remarks to their reader-audience reinforces the latter's sense of active involvement. Sustained use of real time stresses the contemporary nature of their vitae, which helps strengthen author-reader identification, and at the same time moves significantly away from ecclesiastical temporal constraints towards a freer secularized approach to narrative.

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156 Eleazar does, however, to a limited degree add small details which note the passing of the days and seasons: 'лето 7123' ('Zhitie Eleazara Anzerskogo', p. 299), 'в день недельный, во святой пост' (ibid., p. 303), 'во ино жь врмя летнее [...] к обеднин' в день суботный' (ibid.), as well as a more generalized historical context not uncommon for seventeenth-century hagiography, 'во время же то, при государе царе и великомъ князе Михаиле Феодоровиче всѣя Русси' (ibid., 300), and the above reference to Kseniia Ivanovna.
The spiritual significance of time remains strong in all three works despite intrusion of *realia* and contemporary historical time. Each author applies to the temporal context of his work whatever is required in order for the spiritual import to be clear. Eleazar, for example, relates in fair chronological order the most important events linked to the founding of the monastery, and his involvement in this project. Every event is a justification that the monastery was meant to be: God willed it, we are told, and manifests in it His divine power. This type of preordination is illustrated by several passages, ranging from Eleazar's account of the former Abbot Iakov who had been assured in a vision of God's desire to sanctify the island with a church and monastery (although Iakov at the time was unable to persuade the Solovki Elders of the worth of the idea), through to the veritable crowd of contemporary characters who witness the divine signs concerning the location of the church. Kseniia Ivanovna Romanova, the mother of Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich, asks Abbot Irinarkh about the possibility of building a church on the island, and gives one hundred rubles for this purpose (which can be interpreted as a quasi-official blessing from the State hierarchy). In this way, the temporal context is superficially limited to the part of his life that Eleazar devoted to the building of the monastery, yet at the same time connected on a far more important level with the eternal sanctity of the island and the monastery. In a similar manner to the treatment of time in the vitae of Stefan of Komela and Varlaam of Vaga, Eleazar emphasizes the eternal spiritual values of the church and monastery rather than his own transient life.

The temporal context in Epifanii and Avvakum's works is strongly reminiscent of the *Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi* in that their primary concern is the restoration of universal Christian time for all Russian Orthodox believers (see pages 180-85). The *imitatio Christi* sub-structure of Epifanii and Avvakum's vitae both blurs the boundaries between mortality and immortality of the subject, present time and eternity, and strengthens the framework of universal Christian time. By presenting themselves not directly as saints but as imitators of Christ's Passion, both authors draw focus away from the mortal world towards Christian eternity.

In light of this, it can be argued that although the later autohagiographers further developed the use of real time, and the accompanying secular context, they did not abandon the overall universal Christian time frame. Quite the

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157 Ibid., p. 301.
158 Ibid., pp. 300-01.
159 Ibid., p. 300.
opposite, they tried to re-establish for their reader-audiences the significance of spiritual time and divine preordination both in the wider issues of the Nikonian reforms and in the more specific context of everyday life.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, it can be seen that the autohagiographies of the seventeenth century comprise an important link in the chain of secularizing influences throughout the Muscovite period and illustrate to what extent a fundamentally ecclesiastical literature was acquiring broader dimensions. Eleazar, Epifanii and Avvakum all present various types of religious model for emulation, strong and determined in their various causes. While the approach of these three autohagiographers differs significantly from that of the traditional third-person hagiographer, it must be remembered that the intention to glorify the sanctity of the Russian Orthodox faith remains the same.

Change is most clearly observed in the function of the first-person narrator in terms of self-perception, subjective analysis and characterization. The autohagiographer is an altogether more complex character than the hagiographical protagonist described by a third-person narrator: we learn far more about his thoughts and feelings, what inspires him and how he reacts to everyday situations. By the seventeenth century didactic absolutes of good and bad seem to have ceased to satisfy entirely the reader-audience, indicating increased interest in complex characterization; the autohagiographers provided fascinating subjective character portraits to fill this void.

The autohagiographies, without any doubt, targeted a far broader social spectrum than pre-seventeenth-century *vitae*. The need of Epifanii and Avvakum, for example, to reach as many Orthodox believers as possible and to convince them of the truth of their claims was of primary importance. To this end, the creation of a written equivalent to oral preaching in place of conventional high-style ecclesiastical rhetoric, provided not only a way of communicating with the reader-audience in their own language and identifiable concepts, but also, through this communication, of establishing author/protagonist/reader empathy and credibility. Establishing such bonds allowed the autohagiographers to manipulate the response and emotions of the reader-audience to a degree rarely evident earlier.
Structurally, the autohagiographies represent important developments in hagiographical writing. Eleazar broke with earlier autohagiographical convention and introduced a continuous chronological narrative comprising one unified theme presented by a first-person narrator. Epifanii and Avvakum attempted to accommodate a far wider, more realistic and at the same time self-analytical dimension within a more or less conventional hagiographical framework. Deliberate reworking of their vitae furthermore illustrates to what extent they were conscious of reader-audience response and that this would play a decisive role in the effectiveness and impact of their work.

Thus we see how hagiography continued to evolve throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries within an increasingly secularized context, absorbing these influences into sacred life-writing.
Conclusion

In light of the evidence presented in this thesis, there can be little doubt that Russian hagiographical writing of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries displays many innovative characteristics by comparison with earlier vitae, and further, that diverse secular influences played a key role in precipitating these changes. By the late medieval era, hagiography had evolved far beyond the essentially edificatory goals of the early Russian Orthodox Church into a more complex form of literature, embracing a much broader range of themes, styles and aims. Many hagiographers had developed not only an approach to the art of sacred life-writing more flexible than that of their predecessors, but also a greater tendency, evident in every vita analysed here, to use their work to raise issues of importance which were neither directly concerned with the sanctity of the subject nor, in many cases, of a purely ecclesiastical nature.

Russian hagiography has been in a continual state of evolution from the time of its arrival in Kievan Rus’. From absolute reliance upon translated Byzantine works, through the birth of a native Russian hagiographical literature and the creation of native Russian saints, to the more complex developments seen in the vitae examined here, processes of change are ever present. The inclusion in each chapter of a section detailing earlier vitae, which fall into similar categories as those under analysis, has allowed for some degree of measurement of these changes, a crucial factor when examining the evolution of a body of writing which has no defining generic absolutes, no one perfect model. Some of these earlier vitae also reflect the effect of external factors on conventional hagiographical patterns, causing the introduction of unusual features; the vitae of Stefan of Perm’ and Kirill of Belozersk, for example, although firmly rooted in the literary and spiritual essentials of hagiography, include (albeit limited) references to secular affairs such as anti-Muscovite political barbs, life as a layman before taking the tonsure, and ethnographic detail. Works such as the Zhitie Ioanna Novgorodskogo and the Zhitie Avraamii Rostovskogo illustrate how oral influences were incorporated into earlier hagiographical writing, although in a far more primitive manner than in the later medieval period. The early vitae examined in Chapter Three, on the other hand, highlight the conservative nature of works depicting female protagonists as well as the apparent lack of a pre-seventeenth-century hagiographical framework based upon the specifically Marian ideal. Chapter Four introduces a nascent form of autohagiography in the Autobiograficheskaia povest’ Martiriia Zelenetskogo. Although
significant in terms of early narrative innovation and the introduction of a slightly more personal authorial perspective, the main focus of this work is clearly still ecclesiastical glorification.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, the pace of change and evolution in hagiographical writing accelerated. The variety of external influences upon hagiography greatly increased and the vitae analysed from this period show such influences to be of a more predominantly secular nature, very closely linked to secularization and modernization processes at work in almost every sphere of Muscovite life. This period of Russian history, approaching the cusp of medieval and modern eras, witnessed not only serious and prolonged turmoil in socio-political and ecclesiastical arenas, but also great change and innovation in both public and private spheres of life, which, in turn, did much to encourage secular thought and interest. Whereas previously, when the Orthodox Church was trying to disseminate the teachings of Christianity through a population which still largely adhered to pre-Christian rituals and belief patterns, hagiography was used to promote a more purely ecclesiastical message, in the later medieval period the inclusion of external secular influences in hagiography often helped to illustrate and encourage acceptance of the inherent crossover of religious and profane in life. In this light, it is easier to understand that secularization processes neither obscure nor damage Christian ideology and practice so much as encourage them to adapt effectively to the modernizing world.

As demonstrated in this thesis, the effects of secular influences upon hagiographical writing of the late medieval period were manifold. One of the most consistently innovative areas of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century vitae is that of authorial motive. Many elements in these later works clearly demonstrate that the hagiographer no longer limited his intentions to the specifics of religious edification, to the exclusive glorification of his saintly protagonist. Instead, he often approached his task with an important secondary agenda of a socio-political nature. The scope of such non-ecclesiastical issues varies enormously: for example, on the one hand there are those of a totally secular nature such as claims to legal ownership of land and water rights, as seen in the Zhitiye Varlaama Vazhskogo, the Zhitiye Trifona Pechengskogo and the Zhitiye Antoniia Rimlianina, and in the accusation of murder made by the author of the Pisanie o prestavlenii i o pogrebenii kniaziia Mikhaila Vasil'evicha Shuiskogo, rekomago Skopina. On the other hand, works such as the Povest' ob Ul'ianii Osor' inoi focus less on secular issues which affect one specific monastery than on the larger question of salvation and even sanctity as achievable aims for laypeople, both men and women, through adherence to a pious Christian
life in the secular world, as opposed to the traditionally monastic path. Although one of Kallistrat's primary intentions was undoubtedly to document Ul'ianilia's extraordinary piety within a hagiographical context, it must be remembered that the nature of his secondary agenda meant that he would inevitably challenge the authority and direction of the official Church. Other works, such as the Zhittie Epifaniaia and the Zhittie protopopa Avoakuma, set out with no intention of addressing non-ecclesiastical matters, but rather, through the description of their own life stories and struggles against the Nikonian heresies, to defend and restore to glory the true Orthodox faith. Despite the religious essence of this type of motivation, however, it clearly moves away from the primary aim of glorifying the hagiographical protagonist and promoting his canonization.

One of the main contributing factors to the widening scope of authorial intention was, doubtless, that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century hagiographers no longer come from an exclusively monastic background. The appearance of lay authors brought to hagiographical writing a new perspective, one based in the secular world which focused on issues relevant to laypeople as well as monastic, and which increasingly drew upon familiar details of everyday life to communicate the author's message more easily and, at times, more effectively than the more abstract approach of earlier hagiographical convention. Another innovative type of author to emerge in the seventeenth century was the autohagiographer, who not only forced a re-examination of the traditional reader-subject-audience relationship, but also introduced through first-person narrative a level of subjective perspective previously unknown in hagiography.

The changing intentions and social status of hagiographers had important associated consequences. First, it was undoubtedly in the interests of any hagiographer seeking to convey a secondary message, one not directly linked to the sanctity of the protagonist, both to present his material in a credible and comprehensible manner, and also to appeal to a wider reader-audience than purely monastic communities. A wide reception was particularly important, for example, in the case of the Povest' ob Ul'ianii Osor inoi, the Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi, the Zhittie Epifaniaia and the Zhittie protopopa Avoakuma, all of which were deliberately aimed at the broadest possible section of the lay population. The frequent use of images and situations from secular life in almost all the vitae analysed furthermore strongly indicates that hagiographers deliberately sought an empathetic response from a lay reader-audience.

The movement of hagiography out of its traditional monastic setting into the everyday secular world contributed, in turn, to evolving perceptions of sanctity.
Linked as much to local environment and population as to the great socio-political and religious crises in Muscovy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a gradual movement away from traditional church practices led in many cases to a shift in religious perception and focus. Such a shift in perception is reflected in hagiographical writing in various ways. In the vitae examined in this thesis, for example, we see not only how different aims and intentions, but also a more complex and broader understanding of sanctity on the part of the hagiographer led to important developments in specifics such as the choice of subject for veneration. Far from the conventional saintly image of pious monk, ascetic or princely defender of the faith found in high-style rhetorical vitae of the past, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Muscovy saw an increasing willingness on the part of the hagiographer to portray ordinary lay people as subjects worthy of emulation, *inter alia*, Varlaam of Vaga, the fictitious hero Merkurii of Smolensk, Ul’ianiiia Osor’ina and Feodosiia Morozova. The authorial decision to venerate a layperson bears witness to important changes in the perception of sanctity, of what constitutes the ideal Christian model of emulation. The *Zhite Varlaama Vazhskogo* illustrates, for example, how the deeds of a rich merchant who developed an outlying region, bringing wealth and stability as well as churches and a monastery, are interpreted in the context of sanctity. Orally influenced hagiographical hybrids show how authors successfully borrowed corresponding types of heroic idealization from the more secular oral tradition in which to present their unusual saintly subjects. Kallistrat promotes the concept of a more personal approach to religious practice and spiritual salvation for laypeople. A highly innovative interpretation of Orthodox Marian idealization is presented in the vitae of Ul’ianiiia and Feodosiia, offering an image of realistic emulation for women in the secular world. In terms of the perception of sanctity, Avvakum and Epifanii not only challenge the teachings of the established Orthodox Church, but also introduce to hagiography the novelty of subjective spiritual evaluation. Thus we see how emulation of Christian piety and virtue was increasingly inspired by unconventional saintly protagonists with whom the reader-audience could often more readily identify than the distanced saints of earlier hagiography.

It is important to remember, however, that the hagiographers who introduced new types of saintly subjects such as these were not trying to undermine the spiritual worth of earlier hagiographical heroes, but rather recognized a need to expand beyond conventional religious parameters the perception of sanctity and emulatory worth, to suit better the demands of everyday real life in the secular world. The *Pisanie o prestavlenii i o pogrebenii kniazia Mikhaila Vasil’evicha Shuiskogo*. 

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_rekomago Skopina serves as an example of how hagiographical idealization, almost exclusively attributed in earlier vitae to the ideal spiritual model, is used in the seventeenth century to glorify a lay warrior in a totally secular context.

Changing perceptions of sanctity and innovative subjects of veneration also affected the manner in which the hagiographical protagonist in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was depicted. The nature of their deeds, for example, is often very different with less emphasis upon a purely spiritual podvig, as seen in the case of Varlaam of Vaga, as well as Trifon of Pechenga who converted the Laplanders and fought hard to safeguard the fishing, hunting and land rights of his monastery, yet whose spiritual podvig is not exhaustively described after his arrival in the northern wilderness. Antonii Rimlianin's vita also focuses more on the monastery's rights to land and water than the progressive spiritual ascesis of its protagonist. Ul’ianii's podvig is defined as a pious Christian life in the secular world, caring for her family and the poor, rather than conventional displays of spiritual asceticism. In the case of the Old Believers Feodosiia, Epifaniiai and Avvakum, the concept of spiritual podvig is presented as their path to martyrdom, although at the hands of the Orthodox Church in contrast to the martyrs of early Christian times who were persecuted by pagans.

Often in the case of an unusual hagiographical protagonist there is also a marked difference in the method of characterization. Whereas the conventions of high-style rhetorical hagiography call for characterization of the saintly protagonist solely in terms of Christian virtues and the omission of individual characteristics, the vitae examined in this thesis provide many examples of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century hagiographers' failure to adhere to this tradition. By the late medieval period didactic absolutes of good and bad had ceased to satisfy a reader-audience which showed increasing interest in complex characterization. Undoubtedly linked to the growing inclusion of secular influences in hagiography, many later medieval saintly subjects are shown to have individual identities and personal characteristics, leading to interesting portrayals of real people with whom the audience could more readily identify. Although present in the northern Russian vitae, this tendency is most noticeable in seventeenth-century works such as the Povest 'ob Ul’ianii Osor 'inoi and the Povest 'o boiaryne Morozovoi, in which realistic character portraits were augmented by elements of psychological reasoning and motivation. Psychological motivation plays an important role in explaining the rationale of the protagonists, at the same time as decreasing the role conventionally attributed to divine predestination. Shifting from the traditional third-person hagiographer to a first-person narrator in the autohagiographies allowed Epifanii
and Avvakum great potential for highly subjective characterization. Innovative use of self-perception and subjective analysis helped to create individual character portraits.

All such novel forms of personal characterization in hagiography were doubtless helped by the fact that many of the saintly protagonists are shown to carry out their deeds in the secular world, marking another significant change in hagiographical writing which previously focused upon a monastic or eremitic setting. When a vita is based in a more realistic and familiar lay context, we tend to learn more about the subject's thoughts and feelings, what inspires him and how he reacts to everyday situations. Furthermore, depiction of the protagonist in a familiar context encourages identification by the reader-audience, from which point the hagiographer is most likely to elicit an empathetic response to the issues, both religious and secular, raised in his work.

Reflecting the changing nature and demands of society, authors of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century vitae understood the need to portray their subjects in a dynamic context and, accordingly, produced works significantly different from those of their predecessors in terms of structure, narrative style and technique. Structural innovation is varied, but in all cases shows a distinct move away from the conventional hagiographical divisions of exordium, central narrative and conclusio, typical of high-style rhetorical vitae. We see clear evidence in all the vitae examined in this study of a growing awareness on the part of the author that adapting the structure of his work allows him to stress certain parts of the narrative, to focus attention on the issues he considers of primary importance and wishes to convey to his reader-audience. As a consequence, the author tends to select those elements of conventional hagiographical structure most suited to his needs, rather than slavishly adhering in toto to the traditional structure. In other words, he allows the function of his work to determine the final form it will assume. This tendency is especially noticeable in orally influenced hybrid texts, in which the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors integrate the two styles of narrative in a far more sophisticated manner than previously in hagiography. The resultant vitae are more fluent, suffering significantly fewer jarring breaks as the narrative alternates between oral and hagiographical elements. In turn, reader-audience confusion is minimized and attention and interest held. Structural analysis of the Povest' ob Ul'ianii Osor'inoi and the Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi illustrates to what extent proximity of the author to his subject can also affect the shape of the narrative. An intimate knowledge of the daily life and routine of their respective protagonists certainly helped Kallistrat and Andrei to produce coherent works
which follow an easily understandable linear storyline, applying conventional structural patterns only where they are useful to promote the message of the text. The autohagiographers, however, more than any of the above authors advanced the art of structural manipulation, combining into a more or less conventional hagiographical framework a wide spectrum of hagiographical features and realistic aspects of a secular nature, together with a strong element of self-analysis. Furthermore, the numerous painstaking reworkings of their vitae indicate to what extent they were conscious of the need to manipulate the response of the reader-audience in order for their message to have the most effective impact possible. All of the vitae examined show that hagiographers of the later medieval period consciously adapted the structural form in order to emphasize the most important aspects of their work.

As part of the hagiographer's effort to present his often innovative material in a convincing and comprehensible manner, narrative technique and style also underwent significant change during the Muscovite period. Once again, it is clear that many hagiographers became increasingly aware of the potential impact they could make by choosing images and a narrative style most appropriate for the relevant subject-matter, rather than simply drawing on the standard pool of clichéd hagiographical topoi. Most relevant to this thesis is the tendency to present unusual saintly protagonists in a secular context which contributed to the inclusion in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century vitae of many more images from the secular world than found in earlier high-style hagiography. Such images help to create a greater sense of realia in the narrative, as well as indicating an increasing acceptance of the inherent overlap between religious and profane in life. The northern Russian vitae, for instance, present not only conventional hagiographical topoi describing the hardships of survival in the wilderness, such as attacks by wild animals and hostile pagan populations, but also detailed accounts of more concrete aspects of life such as the organization needed to construct a monastery in the Zhite Stefana Komel'skogo, the ever-present dangers of flooding in the Zhite Varaama Vazhskogo, and the colourful ethnographic descriptions of local people and their lifestyle in the Zhite Trifona Pechenskogo. The hagiographical hybrids examined in Chapter Two clearly illustrate the diminished role played by conventional didactic topoi, and instead emphasize the incorporation of familiar themes and motifs from the secular oral tradition, through which the author was able more easily to establish the understanding and trust of his reader-audience.

As noted above, lay authors and autohagiographers brought to hagiography a novel perspective and presentation of their material. The vitae of Ul'iania and
Feodosiia are punctuated with reference to historical realia, such as times of plague, famine and the schism of the Orthodox Church, but they also document personal realia including family relationships, friendships and daily routines. Furthermore, the use of emotive narrative to describe either a grief-stricken response to death or else graphic scenes of torture, increases the reader-audience's sympathetic response. Of all the vitae examined here, Epifanií and Avvakum, as autohagiographers, had the greatest range of material available to them, as well as the most developed understanding of how to use their narrative as a manipulative tool. Both men filled their accounts with references to everyday life in the secular world, both of a concrete and of a personal, often intimate, nature, eliciting sympathy and drawing the reader-audience into the events described. Use of the first-person narrative allows the identity of the autohagiographer and his concrete surroundings to become known through his text and the reader can thus better identify with him and grasp his psychological motivation.

Another narrative aspect which sixteenth- and seventeenth-century hagiographers appear to have consciously altered is that of language. The hagiographer was often trying to convey important secondary issues through his work, and any type of narrative innovation would have been of limited use had he not also adopted a more comprehensible means of linguistic expression than Church Slavonic. To this end, we see a marked decrease in the use of rhetorical flourish and embellishment, which is replaced by a simpler form of expression closer to spoken Russian. Hagiographers also began to favour increased use of direct speech and dialogue, neither of which were a standard feature of high-style hagiography. Literary devices such as these helped hold the attention of the reader-audience, vary the pace of the narrative, as well as rendering characters and situations more realistic and credible. The autohagiographers, for example, were highly effective in establishing author/protagonist-reader empathy and credibility through their use of a written equivalent to oral preaching. Ensuring comprehension ultimately allowed the hagiographer to manipulate the response and emotions of the reader-audience to a degree rarely evident in earlier vitae.

Thus we see how many hagiographical works of the later medieval period adapted elements of structure, narrative technique and style in order to present their material in the most convincing and effective way possible. This led at times to narrative that bore a greater similarity to story-telling and historical biography than to conventional hagiography, thereby indicating a more secular approach to the art of life-writing.

The treatment and function of time in hagiography also underwent
significant change during the Muscovite period. Far from adhering to the principles of epic distance, of avoiding reference to historical events and a contemporary timeframe as in conventional high-style hagiography, hagiographers of this period chose instead to emphasize a temporal definition far closer to that of reality by stressing the historical, geographical and social context of their work, and playing up secular elements of realia. The presentation of lay saintly protagonists in a distinctly secular context familiar to the reader-audience, and the fact that many of the vitae examined here were composed so close to the time of the subject's death, minimizes the sense of 'absolute past' and, as a result, the device of epic distance becomes far less effective a tool to magnify the virtues of the protagonist. Many hagiographers used this, however, to strengthen identification between reader-audience and subject, establish trust and reinforce the credibility of their material. In this way, they succeeded in magnifying the virtues of their protagonist in a more realistic manner often closer to temporal definitions of secular biography than hagiography.

Such temporal innovation did not necessarily detract from the spiritual significance of the vitae. In many cases, the increasing closeness of reader-audience and subject, as well as the intrusion of contemporary secular influences, helps to demonstrate the inherent overlap of religious and secular elements in life. As such, a temporal framework closer to reality ties together the subject and reader-audience in a spiritual continuity. Furthermore, it must be remembered that one of the primary intentions of the Old Believers was the restoration of universal Christian time for all believers, and so the secular elements included in their work were intended to be understood in the spiritual context of Christian time.

Bearing in mind the importance of the above changes in hagiographical writing and the fact that many of them were either directly or indirectly a result of secular influences, the critical approach taken by this thesis, a combination of Lenhoff's socio-cultural theories based on the work of the Formgeschichte critics together with a more traditional literary analysis of style, narrative technique and structure, is shown to offer a broad scope in which to determine the importance of secularizing tendencies. An analysis based solely upon the relation of hagiographical writing to other literary texts and generic models would undoubtedly have yielded some insights, yet insufficient consideration of extra-literary factors would have led to a critical lack of context and overall comprehension.

The changes seen in vitae of the Muscovite period are not always radical on their own, every vita being affected differently and to a varying degree, yet when placed in context and understood as part of the overall development of life-writing, their wide-ranging importance becomes clear. A sufficiently large number of vitae
display the same types of innovation (in the choice of saintly protagonist, for example, the manipulation of structure and narrative style, and the growing willingness of many hagiographers to use their work to raise issues of a non-ecclesiastical nature) to be able, first, to establish common features and similar patterns of change and, secondly, to link these patterns to the growing intrusion of secular influences into hagiographical writing.

Moreover, as Russian society was increasingly affected by varying processes of secularization and modernization in the cultural and socio-political spheres, the secular influences absorbed into hagiography were never static, but rather in a constant state of evolution and change which, in turn, is reflected in the common features of the vitae. Perceptions of sanctity and religious practice likewise adapted to meet the needs of an increasingly secularized society, one which began to accept the areas of crossover between religious and secular world-views, and yet recognize that this did not necessarily detract from the essence of Christian belief.

Thus, hagiography is shown to be a highly flexible form of sacred composition, a living literary form, able to absorb and reflect the dynamic processes of change underway in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Russia. Despite the encroaching modern era and the reforms of Peter the Great, the oldest and most enduring form of sacred literature proved itself more than capable of continual and innovative evolution.
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