

Introduction: Iosif Volotskii

A Half Millennium Retrospective

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1 – From Iosif's 16th c. Grave Icon

September 9, 2015, marked the 500th anniversary of the passing of one of the most commanding and remarkable figures in Russian history, Iosif Volotskii. It was in his honor that our Association for the Study of Eastern Christian History and Culture held its biennial conference in March 2013, where the first drafts of this volume's essays were presented. Steeped in traditions and sacred writings, Iosif would probably have approved of the subject matter of our first section that looks at early Eastern Church history. And as a passionate and engaged activist, he likely would have been curious about our middle section devoted to him and how some of his interests played out in early modern Russia in places where religion

remained paramount, though our unavoidable secular approach would have left him cold. How he or any other zealous late medieval abbot, teacher, and father confessor would have related to the issues of our third section on our modern, technologically explosive era is impossible to fathom, except, probably to remind us, as he did his monks, of such timeless wisdom as “it is a great calamity where laws and canons do not dwell.”¹ So who is the man whom we are honoring with this volume?

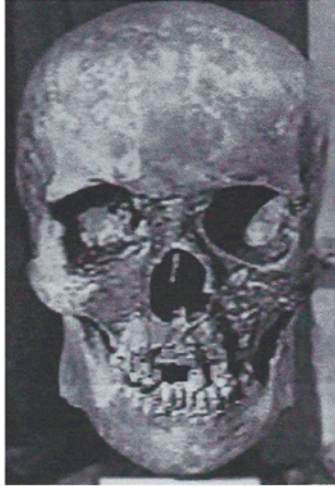
Iosif was a monastery founder, the initiator of his era’s greatest ‘start-up,’ who not only left his mark on almost every important aspect of the church life of his day, but even influenced the powerful Muscovite monarchy’s ‘scenarios of power.’ His monumental *Book Against the Heretics* (known later as *Prosvetitel’* {*Enlightener*}) evinced a unique combination of rhetoric, logic, apologetics, dogmatics, homiletics, invective polemic, sacred history, and strictures for rulers and ruled. This work elucidated, fortified, and protected Muscovy’s brand of Orthodoxy and helped to educate Russian churchmen and form their mentalities well into the seventeenth century.² His testamentary monastic Rule articulated Muscovite cenobitic principles, foregrounding communal prayer, meals, and labor, as well as the positions of the superior, council elders, and specific officers,³ while his related *synodicon* likewise furthered the rationalization and standardization of the lucrative and mission-supporting commemoration practices of Russia’s abbeys.⁴ And his well-administered monastery itself, with its networks of personnel connected also to his abbey of tonsure, Pafnutiev-Borovskii, nurtured and matriculated a cohort of writers and prelates, including two major collective-project organizers, Metropolitans Daniil (r. 1522-1539, earlier hegumen of Iosifov, 1515-1522) and Makarii (r. 1542-1563, earlier Archbishop of Novgorod, 1526-1542, and also, perhaps, Iosif’s great-great nephew).⁵ This cohort collectively dominated the Muscovite Church and culture into the 1560s, their disciples’ and followers’ continuing to be of capital importance through the Time of Troubles of the early seventeenth century.⁶

What can we say with certainty about Iosif himself in the light of scanty reliable sources? Dating his birth to 12 November 1439 or 1440,⁷ we can pretty well trust the reports of the (maybe 1518) “Little Annal (*letopischik*) of Iosif” and other such straightforward

evidence to sketch a biography. He was a monk from February 1460 in Pafnutiev (Rozhdestvo Bogoroditsy) Monastery in Borovsk, then served briefly as hegumen there, from 1477 to 1479,⁸ and founded the Volokolamsk Monastery in June, 1479, near his family's ancestral lands under the protection of his territorial prince, Boris (d. 1494).⁹ The text indicates that Iosif himself initiated his *synodicon* (commemoration book) in 1479, when he founded his monastery.¹⁰ The abbey's land records and the "Little Annal" trace the growth of the cloister and erection of two major masonry edifices in Iosif's lifetime, the masonry Uspenskii Sobor (Cathedral of the Dormition) during 1484 to 1486, and the refectory in 1506.¹¹ The monastery's donation book adds the commencement of the octagonal Hodigritia Church at the base of bell tower in 1511 to 1512,¹² and allows a ca. 1490 dating of the initial Uspenskii Sobor burial enclosure.¹³ Archeology then permits us to specify some of the dimensions and building materials of these structures.¹⁴

We learn from the document itself of Iosif's serving as father confessor for and of his presence at the preparation of the will of Boris's younger son, Ivan of Ruza, who in 1503 testated his appanage (*udel*) not to his older brother, Fëdor of Volok, but to their uncle Ivan III (r. 1462-1505).¹⁵ Extant epistles and *Prosvetitel'* reveal Iosif's crucial political-literary involvement in the suppression of the "Jewish reasoning Novgorod Heretics" in 1504 and 1505.¹⁶ The testament of the monastery as a corporate entity supplies 1507 as the date for the transfer from subordination to his local prince Fëdor over to Grand Prince Vasilii III (r. 1505-1533).¹⁷ Other extant epistles contain the quarrel over this transfer with Fëdor and with Iosif's diocesan archbishop, Serapion of Novgorod (r. 1505-1509),¹⁸ and they provide some intriguing information about the rival Vozmitskii Cloister in the town of Volokolamsk itself.¹⁹

Dating Iosif's two major compositions is much more difficult, since they both appear as works in progress, composed over time in several recensions. The oldest recorded date—on the donation inscription of a codex containing complete brief versions of both his Rule and *Prosvetitel'*—is 1513/1514 (7022). But the earliest known death date of one of its major copyists (Nil Sorskii) is 1508, and then internal evidence and extant working manuscripts from the monastery's library send us back earlier in time.²⁰ The Iosifov Monastery



2 – Thanks to the work of archeologists and forensic medicine experts in 2001-2002, scholars are certain they have Iosif's well preserved skull.

"Little Annal" has Iosif dying 9 September 1515 at the age of 75 or, more likely, 76,²¹ but physical weakening may have led to Daniil's *de facto* succession as early as 1511 or 1512.²²

Allowing us some further glimpses into the founder's life is the apparently later copying from what may have been Iosif's personal archive by two of his more powerful trainees from the 1510s and 1520s, Nifont Kormilitsyn (hegumen of Iosifov, 1522-1544, archimandrite of Moscow's Novospasskii, 1543-1554, and bishop of Sarai (Krutitsy, 1554-1561) and Feodosii (hegumen of Novgorod's Khutynskii Monastery, 1531-1542, and Archbishop of Novgorod, 1542-1551), as well as by the latter's disciple Evfimii Turkov (hegumen of Iosifov Monastery, 1575-1587), and Iosifov trainee, Vassian Koshka (hegumen of Vozmitskii. ca. 1554-1568).²³ Iosif claimed that he quit as successor hegumen of Pafnutiev and left due to Grand Prince Ivan III's court officials' appropriating the monastery's dependents.²⁴ Several of his later letters to clerics and laymen indicate his readiness to lower a hellfire-homiletic boom in defense of his establishment, as he insisted not only on the propriety of tonsuring someone else's bondsman, but also on the cloister's right to have runaway monks returned.²⁵ Other sets of epistles show how he argued the church's deadly case against dissidence and his own case against Serapion.²⁶

Autobiographical references in his “Response to the Censorious and Brief Account of the Holy Fathers of the Monasteries of Rus’” (*Slovo* 10 of his testamentary Rule), recount some of the influential elders whom he claims to have encountered in his early career—Hegumen Savva (d. 1467, not the founder) of Tver’s Savvin Monastery, his long-time anchorite brother Varsonofii, (Prince) Efrosin (Teprinskii) of Tver’s Savvateev Monastery, founder-hegumen Makarii of Kaliazin (d. 1483), and Spiridon of Troitsa-Sergiev (hegumen, 1467-1474), besides, of course, Iosif’s own mentor, founder-hegumen Pafnutii of Borovsk (1394-1477).²⁷ And in this Rule Iosif likewise indicates that he settled at first at the site of his monastery with like-minded comrades.²⁸ This is amplified by Iosif’s most factual *vita*, composed in 1546 by his last personal cell-servant and entomber, Bishop Savva Chernyi of Krutitsa (r. 1544-1554).²⁹ The most famous of Iosif’s original comrades was Kassian Bosoi (“Barefoot”), who lived into his early 90s, and whom Vasili III venerated.³⁰

Disciples and admirers recounted Iosif’s life in four separate guises—another sign of his impact. Slightly earlier than Savva’s Life of Iosif stands his nephew-writer Dosifei Torporkov’s comparatively late “Funerary Oration” and related *Volokolamsk Patericon* (both maybe 1545-1546),³¹ and a bit later came an ‘anonymous,’ more literarily flourishing, anonymous “Life,” written by the 1550s, maybe by the South Slav Lev Filolog.³² There is no reason for us not to recast in real-life terms, and thereby more or less trust, the following hagiographic data: the story of the great-grandfather Sania’s immigration from “Lithuania” (likely from today’s Belarus); Iosif’s early literacy-education at the local Volokolamsk Vozdvizhenskii monastery;³³ his prodigious liturgical memory (“learned all the divine writings by heart”); his informed and calculated selection, on the advice of Savva of Tver, to take the tonsure at Pafnutiev; the 13 February 1460 date of that tonsure noted earlier from the “Little Annal;” Iosif’s laboring both in the bakery and as *ustavshchik* (in charge of the liturgies); his personal care for his disabled and soon tonsured father; and his simultaneous rise to a leading position among Pafnutii’s monks to be a logical choice, on the basis of manifest abilities, for the succession.

Regarding Iosif’s devotional mentality, one might speculate on the exemplary effect on Iosif of the raising of Pafnutiev’s masonry

church “painted by the elder, Mitrofan, [and] Dionisii, the most skilled masters” in 1467/1468, according to the “Little Annal of Pafnutii,”³⁴ since in 1486 Dionisii headed the team of iconographers that included Iosif’s nephews or junior cousins, Vassian and Dosifei Toporkov and painted the monastery’s masonry Uspenskii Sobor.³⁵ We can also note a Iosifov manuscript inscription of a heavily hesychastic codex as “Iosif’s old miscellany,” which also contains the pseudo-Hippolytus “Discourse on Revelation,”³⁶ signaling both a desire to understand if not master stillness (hesychasm) and a typical concern about end times for a person of his era. He also owned, and partially or fully copied, two gospels, a psalter, liturgical works, and collections of the rhetorically and theologically useful sermons of Gregory Nazianzus, as well as the ascetic favorite, *Ladder* of John Climacus, which Iosif partially or fully copied as registered in the 1591 Iosifov inventory.³⁷ But when Savva tells us that as a youth Iosif acted after services totally as a devout monk would, in constant prayer in his cell, one has to recognize in this depiction a hagiographic trope concerning a saint’s youth.³⁸ For Iosif’s behavior, as well his writings, shows him eagerly founding and building up a cenobium, where the stillness stood as only one option, along with reading or handcrafts, for the monks’ individual cell time, while their participation in collective liturgies, meals, and whatever labor or service the superior assigns or approves was mandatory.³⁹

Savva’s *Life of Iosif* makes the witting or unwitting mistake of conflating the non-lethal 1490 and lethal 1504 synods against the “Novgorod Heretics” under the presiding secular presence of the future Vasilii III (not his father, the reigning Ivan III),⁴⁰ but Savva at least, correctly in my opinion, limits the recounting of Iosif’s public quarrels to those conflicts for which we have his credible paper trail: over the alleged “heretics” and their suppression and over his imbroglios with Prince Fëdor and Archbishop Serapion.⁴¹ The anonymous “*Life*,” however, adduces two more interesting episodes, one that can be corroborated by other reliable sources, and one that cannot. Accordingly, Iosif blessed two disciples, Nil Polev and Dionisii Zvenigorodskii, to travel to Nil Sorskii’s hermitage to study stillness,⁴² which they actually did. Polev served as one of Sorskii’s literary executors,⁴³ and both disciples contributed to Iosifov’s becoming, so far as we can ascertain, the single richest re-

pository of Sorskii's writings, more so than either his Sora hermitage or its patron abbey, Kirillo-Beloozerskii,⁴⁴ while Sorskii himself participated in the copying of the earliest extant complete copy of *Prosvetitel'*.⁴⁵

The second episode would have Iosif attending a Moscow synod in 1503 that considered the propriety of monastic landholding.⁴⁶ Here the paper trail leads us not only to codices no earlier than the 1550s and 1560s, but also to contradictory writings that conform completely to the issues that clearly raged at that time, better so, if not completely, than to those of 1503, as Donald Ostrowski and the late Andrei Pliguzov have demonstrated.⁴⁷ Iosif's own defense of monastic property (or one written as if by him, but surviving only in post-1518 versions) is connected to Prince Fëdor's specific attacks on Iosif's monastery, not to any threats of secularization by Ivan III or to any writing by Nil Sorskii or his followers.⁴⁸ But very knowledgeable and respected contemporary scholars differ completely on this matter, with some such as G.M. Prokhorov, R.G. Skrynnikov, N.V. Sinitsyna, and A.I. Alekseev, adhering to the older paradigm that accepted the notion of a fundamental rift between Nil Sorskii and Iosif,⁴⁹ rather than compatible outlooks with complementary differences in monastic pedagogy, as do this writer and some current Russian churchmen.⁵⁰ And for a commemorative volume, it is necessary to underscore the open nature of this issue and in fact concede that to date, the Ostrowski-Pliguzov position concerning the monastic lands issue has not caught on in Russia, though some specialists, like Elena Romanenko, occupy a middle ground. Accordingly, she allows that the issue of monastic land was raised at the synod in 1503, but that Nil only gave his "personal opinion," while, as with the Nil-specialist Fairy von Lilienfeld's later judgment, there was no fundamental rift with Iosif.⁵¹

The all-important question of the nature of these "Novgorod Heretics," as Iosif, and before him, Archbishop Gennadii of Novgorod (1486-1503), termed them—sometimes with "Jewish-reasoning" attached⁵²— is even more complex to disentangle. For here the issue of Iosif's honesty, or maybe the degree of his exaggeration and dishonesty, in depicting their views and actions, is at stake. By means of meticulous analysis of extant manuscripts in the 1950s, the late Ia. S. Lur'e sketched a credible progression and escalation of related accusations and name-calling, starting with Gen-

nadii's epistles, then several of Iosif's, followed by his "Account of the Recent Heresy of the Novgorod Heretics" introducing the Brief *Prosvetitel'*, and finally his later Extended *Prosvetitel'* discourses—all of this indicating a lack of trustworthiness on his part and pointing to the utility for the accusers, rather than credibility regarding the accused, of the "Judaism" charges.⁵³ Andrei Pliguzov challenged and tried to modify some of Lur'e's textual schemata, but not his characterization of these dissidents simply as "Novgorod" and also, due to location, "Moscow" heretics.⁵⁴ And Anatolii Gri-gorenko, profiting from, among others, Jana Howlett's attempt to decipher the inconsistencies of Gennadii's epistles⁵⁵—our earliest sources for these dissidents—hypothesized that the real issue in Novgorod centered on objections to the liturgy and communion, while Metropolitan Zosima's real offence was to downplay the efficacy of services for the dead.⁵⁶ Among current specialists honoring Iosif and his legacy, N.N. Lisovoi stated flatly:⁵⁷

... the term *zhidovstvo* used by Iosif does not have in view either Judaism as a religion, or Jewishness as a ethno-religious or cultural community, nor the historians' and archeologists' fabricated Judaeo-Christianity of the Early Church, but means a specific type of *deviation*.

On the other hand, simultaneously with Lur'e and down to the present, Slavicist adepts in Hebrew, most notably, Moshe Taube, linked the translations from Hebrew into East Slavic in the latter 15th and early 16th centuries to these dissidents. He has pointed out the similarities of the brief chain "Poem on the Soul," recorded by the influential diplomat-*d'iak* and accused heresiarch, Fëdor Kuritsyn, under the name "Laodicean Epistle," to analogous Hebrew compositions and thus has shown that it may represent such a translation or adaptation.⁵⁸ And in successive publications A. I. Alekseev has challenged Lur'e's paradigm and argued that in every case the *Prosvetitel'* version is the source of what Lur'e envisioned as its source in an epistle or separate *slovo* (discourse).⁵⁹ Alekseev has likewise contended that in the light of the translations of medieval Roman Catholic anti-Jewish treatises which Archbishop Gennadii commissioned, the burden of proof over whether contemporary Ju-

daism and Jews were in some way central to these dissidents lies with the detractors of the common sobriquet “Judaizers,” not with the proponents.⁶⁰ And among current specialists honoring Iosif, A.V. Shcherbakov, without worrying how Judaic the alleged heresy was, but following Iosif in seeing it as the rejection of all Christian dogmas and hence a capital danger, argues:

The feat of the destroyers of the heresy of the “Judaizers,” Archbishop Gennadii and Saint Iosif Volotskii, registered by grace in the assembly of the saints, is immortal. We, living in the 21st c., are indebted to these strugglers for their having smashed the plot of the “Judaizers” to conquer Holy Rus' from within by means of penetrating the sphere of the highest authority⁶¹

Perhaps all of these views about the dissidents contain elements of historical truth, insofar as some Slavic Judaica was available in Russia and stimulated a modicum of fresh thinking about philosophical, theological, calendrical, and governmental matters, and also revealed to certain discerning minds the intellectual limitations of even the most well-read among the Russian clergy. But at the same time, the accused heretics themselves left no traces of their having been genuine Judaizers in any meaningful sense of the term, that is, using the Old Testament to dispute central doctrines and practices of Eastern Orthodoxy. They rather would have been more open-minded and bold critics of the Orthodox leadership of the day, and so, in Gennadii's and Iosif's eyes, required suppression *à tout prix*. Whatever the case here, one fact stands out: Iosif was a masterful pedagogue-polemicist and defender of Orthodoxy as he understood it.⁶²

When we attempt to characterize Iosif's legacy to Russia and its Church, we are perforce at times speaking collectively of him and his closest comrades and collaborators, which is how he for the most part he presented himself. With *Prosvetitel'* he divides the world into the correctly believing and worshiping Orthodox, who achieve eternal salvation if they live properly, and everyone else, headed by “Satan's army” of heretics, who aim to bring down the Orthodox faith,⁶³ just as his army of demons strives to lead monks

and other practitioners of pious living astray:⁶⁴ hence Thomas S. Seebohm's characterization of Iosif's theology as "monastic."⁶⁵ Not at all Manichaean, Iosif depicts the real world as a fine place to be fully enjoyed within the confines of piety,⁶⁶ and he displays full optimism in the saving power of saints' intercessions and of commemorative prayers for the dead.⁶⁷ Implicitly, Russia, as the only remaining sovereign Orthodox realm, is the ideal country in which to dwell, but its rulers must remain steadfast in the faith and vigilant against heresy, lest the realm perish as other Orthodox realms have fallen.⁶⁸ So the Orthodox should be ever watchful and employ every trick in the book to expose such dissidents.⁶⁹ The church canons may prescribe receiving the genuinely penitent back into the fold, but untrustworthy and deceitful heretics must be either executed or confined for life.⁷⁰

For almost a century and a half specialists have been trying to figure out how to characterize Iosif's legacy in the realm of monarchical thinking, since his writings promoted non-obedience and even resistance to a brutal and blaspheming "tsar," who is really a "tyrant" (*muchitel'*), yet at the same time not only assumed the divine establishment of rulers' authority to punish or be clement,⁷¹ but also repeated early Byzantine strictures vaunting the "tsar's" authority as "like unto God."⁷² Some modern scholars have found the differences between these two positions to be explainable chiefly as utterances occasioned by Iosif's original opposition to Ivan III's protection of some dissidents in contrast to the late-life need of Vasilii III's backing against Fëdor and Serapion and for a continued hard line against dissidence.⁷³ Other specialists have considered these positions to be essentially reconcilable,⁷⁴ which is substantiated elsewhere in Iosif's compositions⁷⁵ and by the corpus of writings and compilations produced or commissioned by Dosifei Toporkov, Metropolitans Daniil and Makarii, and Archbishop Feodosii. Regarding crowned authority, these works contained homiletics prescribing Orthodox piety and the promotion and protection of it and also historical accounts idealizing harmony between prince and prelate,⁷⁶ while not neglecting historic tyrants to be opposed.⁷⁷ Iosif for his part, while normally lauding pious and saintly churchmen, also called for and explicitly praised opposition to the alleged heretic Metropolitan Zosima.⁷⁸ But later, if Savva's Life is to be be-

lieved, Iosif quite realistically urged Vasilii III's brother Iurii (then suspected of disloyalty and contemplating flight), to submit completely to the sovereign and trust in his clemency.⁷⁹ So the litmus test for everything in Iosif's legacy was strict Orthodoxy, "according to the Divine Writings," as he so often stated.⁸⁰ And it was thus no accident that in the seventeenth century, first Patriarch Nikon, then an Old Believer opponent of Nikon's reforms, and finally a polemicist against the Old Belief, each of whom considered himself nothing but Orthodox, revered and borrowed freely from Iosif.⁸¹

Iosif's reputation and legacy, however, certainly did not enjoy smooth sailing within the modernization process of his native land and church. More so than Nil Sorskii, Iosif was his generation's most productive writing teacher, and his authority and influence were seemingly unmatched, so long as two generations of his disciples and their allies dominated the Russian Church into the 1560s. In the 1550s his authority was mobilized authentically in the interest of both Church reform and suppression of dissidence,⁸² and inauthentically, perhaps, though not at all betraying his values, in defense of ecclesiastical property.⁸³ His authority in dogmatics, however, ceded somewhat, especially after the 1580s, to the persecuted, yet productive, immigrant, Italian-educated Maksim Grek (Michael Trivolis fl. in Russia, 1517-1556), whose overall erudition and literary sophistication foreshadowed the gradual westernization of Russian intellects in the seventeenth century, and whose overall manuscript copies of his works outnumbered Nil's and Iosif's combined.⁸⁴ Iosif's Rule, however, served as the most authoritative model in Muscovy, even for a female cloister, in the sixteenth century,⁸⁵ as well as for Patriarch Nikon in the seventeenth century.⁸⁶ But after Peter the Great's (r. 1682-1725) secularization policies and the advent of Enlightenment thinking to Russia, the monastic resurgence initiated by Paisii Velichkovskii's revival of hesychasm, which was as friendly to cenobiticism as Iosif and his disciples had been to Nil Sorskii's hesychasm, the latter's spiritual writings were placed on recommended reading lists, but Iosif's were not.⁸⁷

Iosif's seeming demise as an authoritative monastic father was paralleled by much more respect for Nil or Maksim than for Iosif in nineteenth-century scholarship, as he was seen as too formal, ritualistic, uncritical, authoritarian, and fanatic for the type of Ortho-

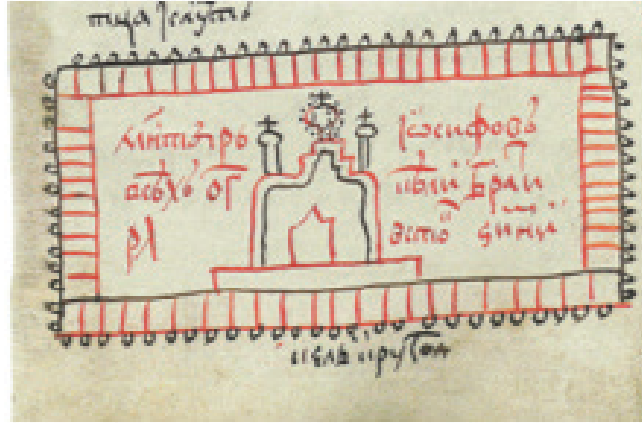
doxy that many educated people of the day wished to promote.⁸⁸ This occurred in part due to the discovery and initial publication of the mid-sixteenth century depiction of enmity between Nil and Iosif.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, in the model “Regulations” (*Pravila*) prepared by Church authorities as late as 1910, one can sense Iosif’s practical, Studite-inspired organizational principles.⁹⁰ Most of Iosif’s key works, it should be noted, had been published, albeit uncritically, by the end of the 1860s. Later, two incomplete manuscript catalogues were published: one in 1882 by Hieromonk (*Ieromonakh*) Iosif of the 236 codices that were transferred to the Moscow Seminary library in 1859, and then to the present Russian State Library in the 1930s; and another in 1891—that which P.M. Stroev in 1817 made of 690 codices (there had been 1150 in 1573, 707 in 1778).⁹¹ A catalogue of the 435 Iosifov codices transferred to the Eparchial Library at Moscow’s Vysokopetrovskii Monastery in 1863, and then to the State Historical Museum in 1921, was issued only in 1991.⁹²

Twentieth-century Russian scholarship in emigration certainly recognized Iosif’s pastoral talents, preaching of social peace, dedication to charity, and other services to society that accompanied his brutal intolerance of heresy. Kologrivov and Fedotov, for example, characterized Iosif’s authoritative and stern caring as a type of late medieval Russian sanctity original to his mentor Pafnutii.⁹³ We know Pafnutii, however, mostly from the hagiographic portrait painted by Iosif’s brother Vassian (hegumen of Simonov, 1502-1505; archbishop of Rostov, 1505-1515), plus a few additional comments by Iosif himself and Dosifei Toporkov.⁹⁴ Meanwhile, Iosif enjoyed an interesting fate at the hands of different Soviet scholars, one of whom presented him as a spokesman for Russia’s “Church Militant” of his time,⁹⁵ and another of whom treated the entire monastic colonization movement as that of peasant-exploiting ecclesiastic “signiors” (*feodaly*).⁹⁶ But the best of these scholars not only accomplished splendid codicological and textological work on Iosif’s manuscript convoys and a good deal of critical publication of his works and monastery’s records, but also produced fine history, highlighting his role and accomplishments.⁹⁷

Thomas Seebohm took the analysis of our subject’s work to a new plane with his rather neglected in-depth study, issued in 1977, of the thought of Nil, Gennadii, and Iosif, following which it would

be difficult to dismiss Iosif's capabilities as a theologian, writing pedagogue, and disputer. Seebohm used the translated patristics, Western scholasticism, and Hussitism as points of reference, and examined closely as well the translated "Arabic-Hebrew" works that circulated in Western Rus' around 1500 in order to create a very rich monograph. Swimming against the standard tide in religious scholarship, pointing, rather, to the role of the different positions and basic interests along with the similar foundations of all three Russians, and emphasizing Iosif's profound sense of the complex and many-sided human-God relationship evident in Scripture, liturgies, and monasticism, Seebohm flatly rejected any characterizing of Iosif's spirituality as "external formalism."⁹⁸ In a curious fashion, the slightly earlier, simultaneous codicological and orthographic work of Boris Kloss and Gelian Prokhorov, proving that Nil had copied forty per cent of the earliest extant complete manuscript of *Prosvetitel'* (brief redaction),⁹⁹ proved to be a cogent counter, with Nil's prestige as the clincher, to the modern dismissal of consideration of Iosif as an Orthodox authority to be taken seriously on his own terms. The best example of this transformation of attitudes toward Iosif may be the call by the late Fairy von Lilienfeld, author of the first profoundly patristics-based study of Nil's thought, for a thorough study of Iosif, whom she considered to have been Russia's "first genuine theologian in the contemporary meaning of the word."¹⁰⁰

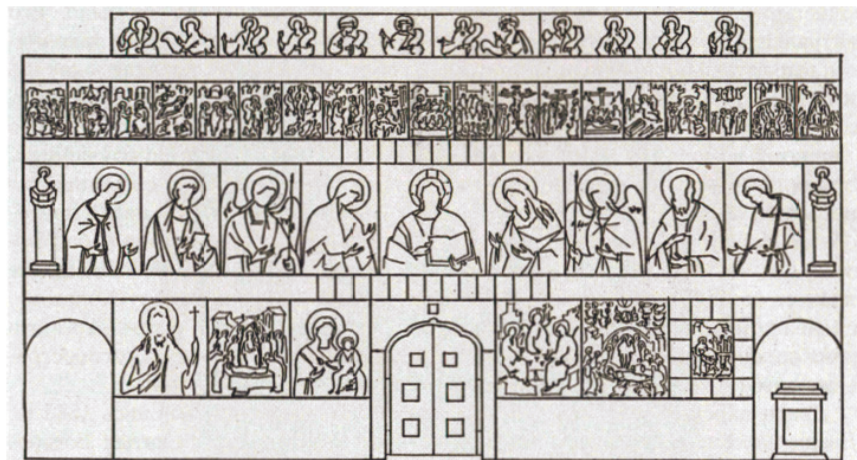
Meanwhile the Russia's Orthodox revival, commencing in the late Soviet period, and continuing with gusto as these pages are being written, has led to a many-sided analysis of Iosif and his legacy, with archeological and other material-culture investigations and an even richer appreciation of the various sides of religious culture that the 1970s and 1980s witnessed in Russia. Examination of the soil and masonry structures indicates a forest or man-made fire at the site of Iosifov's original, wooden Uspenskii Sobor and point to the 1422 Sergiev Monastery Troitsa Sobor as the model for the dimensions of Iosif's masonry rebuild in 1484-1486.¹⁰¹ The design of Iosifov's ultimately Italian-influenced octagonal church falls midway between those of the Moscow kremlin's Ivan Velikii (John Climacus, not Ivan III) Bell Tower (1505-1508) and Suzdal's (female) Pokrov Monastery Church of the Venerable Wood of the Venerable



3-4 – The 1581/2 *Obikodhnik* (Customary) of Iosifov *igumen* Evfimii Turkov (r. 1575-1587) contains these simplified sketches by him first of the monastery and with its cells and the Uspenskii Sobor (Dormition Cathedral) accompanying the feast of the Dormition (15 August), and then of the Trapeza with its Theophany (*Bogoiavlenie*) church (or maybe the octagonal bell tower) accompanying the feast for that holiday (6 January).

Cross (1520s-1530s),¹⁰² while the decorative aspects evince similarities with the early 1500s Moscow churches, the local Volokolamsk Church of the Resurrection, and the Suzdal-Pokrov octagonal church.¹⁰³ Earlier studies indicated the Iosifov refectory was similar in design and size to its contemporaries, such as that of Andronnikov Monastery in Moscow.¹⁰⁴ And comparisons of shrouds point to a connection between the ateliers of the wives of both Boris (d. 1494) and his son Fëdor of Volokolamsk (d. 1515) to Iosifov's iconography and book production.¹⁰⁵

As for the significance of Iosif's dedications of his major edifices, M.S. Serebriankova has proposed that the selection of *uspenie Bogoroditsy* (Dormition of the Theotokos) for the sobor and *bogoiavlenie* (Theophany) for the refectory church symbolized respectively the monk's potential "ascent to heaven" and "spiritual transfiguration, divinization" on earth.¹⁰⁶ In contrast, Hegumen-became-Archimandrite Sergii Voronkov claimed that Iosif's honoring the Theotokos as the "receptacle of the godhead" in *Prosvetitel'* is the key for why he chose to dedicate his monastery to her.¹⁰⁷ Affirming the earlier scholarship of Viktoriia A. Meniailo, Archimandrite Sergii has argued from the monastery inventories that Iosif's seven-meter high iconostasis placed a Rublev-type Old Testament Trinity icon to the viewer's right of the church's *tsarskie vraty* ('royal doors' – between



5 – Diagram of the imagined original Iosifov iconostasis.

the congregation and the sanctuary), where we normally see an icon of Christ; that this iconostasis contained Russia's first-known waist-high icons; and that Iosif's deesis tier included on the flanks, outside the normal seven icons,¹⁰⁸ two great martyrs and two pillar saints. Accordingly, the latter were linked to Iosif's recommending continuous praying,¹⁰⁹ and the entire complex interpreted as representing hesychastic and eschatological divinization of the monk,¹¹⁰ to which I would adduce that for Iosif, the monastic's *ascesis* is his or her form of sacrificial witness or martyrdom for his faith, as Iosif adapts from Ephesians:

And likewise our Lord Jesus Christ, the eternal King, as he also gave, some to be apostles, others prophets, others evangelizers, others pastors and teachers, martyrs and confessors, monks and ascetics to the perfection of the saints in the work of the creation of the body of Christ ...¹¹¹

Is Iosif's legacy part of this revival? I would think so. A 1994 modern Russian translation of *Prosvetitel'* sold out a 30,000 print run,¹¹² and conferences devoted to Iosif and the monastery held in 2006 and 2009 have led to two massive volumes, somewhat devotional-adulatory, but largely scholarly, exploring all sorts of issues, many of which have already been addressed and cited in the foregoing paragraphs.¹¹³ In addition, we might note that one specialist interpreted Iosif's Rule as evincing a compromise between the regulated, cenobitic "*Studite typicon (ustav)*" and likewise disciplined, but more individualistic "*Jerusalim*" or "*Sabbaite*" "*typicon*".¹¹⁴ Another suggested a progression in the Iosifov Monastery-generated depictions of saintly types from Pafnutii's eschatological concerns, to Iosif's anti-heretical emphasis, to his successors' concentration on *ascesis*.¹¹⁵ Still another researcher made a daring stab at breaking down Iosif's use of symbols according to scriptural and patristic types.¹¹⁶ And since Iosif's sources and his use of them have yet fully to be identified and sorted out, much work in that domain, as well as other aspects of analyzing Iosif's work, remains to be done. This could be helped, as another scholar indicates, by the publication of two of the four unpublished Kazan Seminary "*kandidat* composi-

tions” from 1858 to 1917 now housed in the Tatarstan National Archive.¹¹⁷ Among the most important recent research into Iosif’s theology, however, stand the perceptive, penetrating, and thorough works of the Hungarian scholar Ágnes Kriza, which analyze his defense and doctrines of icon veneration within the context of not only his Byzantine iconophile sources, but also liturgical passages, hesychasm and Orthodox, as opposed to Catholic, teachings concerning the nature of the Son.¹¹⁸

But for me and maybe also some of our readers, perhaps the most intriguing is work done with Iosif’s physical remains, showing him not as having the stylized long, thin nose and hands so typical of iconography of ascetics. Rather, he appears to have been muscular and about 116.4 cm. or 5'4" at death, and hence, likely a robust, solid 5'6" in his prime (a good size for the period), capable of the physical labor and lengthy, attentive chanting he demanded of others and himself. So our versatile, charismatic, reforming, theologically-inclined, pedagogue-abbot and saint of the Russian Church maybe would have looked in his forties, if shaved and sheared (which he would not have been as an adult monk) and without his cowl (which he sometimes was), calm and energetically contemplating (which he probably often was), something like this (Illust. 6):¹¹⁹



Abbreviations

- AfED:* *Antifeodal'nye ereticheskie dvizheniia na Rusi XIV-nachala XVI veka.* Edited by N.A. Kazakova and Ia.S. Lur'e. Moscow-Leningrad: Akademii nauk SSSR, 1955.
- ChOidr:* *Chteniia v Imperatorskom Obshchestve istorii i drevnosti rossiiskikh.*
- DRIU:* *Drevnerusskie inocheskie ustavy. Ustavy rossiiskikh monastyrenachal'nikov* (expanded reissue of *Istoriia Rossiiskoi ierarkhii.* Compiled and edited by Metropolitan Evgeni Bolkhovitinov and Bishop Amvrosii A. Ornatskii. 6 vols in 7. Moscow: Holy Synod, 1807-1815; 2nd ed.,1822). Edited by T.V. Suzdal'tsev. Moscow: Severnyi palomnik, 2001.
- KTsDRIVM:* *Kniznye tsentry Drevnei Rusi: Iosifo-Volokolamskii monastyr' kak knizhnyi tsentr.* Edited by Dmitrii S. Likhachev. Leningrad: "Nauka," 1991.
- MRIV:* *The Monastic Rule of Iosif Volotsky,* rev. ed. = Cistercian Studies 36. Translated and edited by David Goldfrank. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2000.
- NSAW:* *Nil Sorsky: The Authentic Writings* Translated and edited by David Goldfrank. Cistercian Studies 221. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2008.
- PIV:* *Poslaniia Iosifa Volotskogo.* Edited by Ia. S. Lur'e and A. A. Zimin. Moscow-Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1959.
- PIVO:* *Prepodobnyi Iosif Volotskii i ego obitel'. Vol. 1: Materialy nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii, posviashennoi piatietiiu obreteniia Sviatykh moshchei Prepodobnogo Iosifa, 520-letiiu osviiashcheniia pervogo monastyrskogo kamennogo khrama – Uspenskogo sobora – i 80-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia Mitropolita Volokolamskogo i Iur'evskogo Pitirima. Vol 2: Materialy nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii, posviashennoi 530-letiiu osnovaniia Iosifo-Volotskogo monastyria i 20-letiiu vrozozhdeniia v nem monasheskoi zhizni.* Moscow: Iosifo-Volotskii stavropigial'nyi muzhskoi monastyr'/Istoriko-Arkhitekturno i khudozhvestvennyi muzei "Novyi Ierusalim", 2008, 2013.
- PSRL:* *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei.* 41 vols. to date. St. Petersburg-Petrograd-Leningrad-Moscow: Arkheograficheskaiia komissiia, Nauka, and Arkheograficheskii tsentr, 1841–

- 1995.
- SKKDR: *Slovar' kniznikov i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi*. 8 vols. to date. Edited by D. S. Likhachev, et al. Leningrad, St. Petersburg: Nauka, Dmitrii Bulanin, 1987-2012.
- VMCh: *Velikiia Minei chetii, sobrannye vserossiiskim Mitropolitom Makariem*. 22 vols. St Petersburg: Arkheograficheskaiia komissia, 1868-1917.
- VPW: Smith, T. Allen. *The Volokolamsk Paterikon. A Window into a Muscovite Monastery*. Studies and Texts 160. Toronto: Pontifical Institute, 2008.

Notes

- 1 VMCh, Sept., col. 561; and DRIU, 110: trans. MRIV, 240—attributed to Ephrem the Syrian.
- 2 *Prosvetitel', ili oblichenie eresi zhitovstvuiushchikh: Tvorenie prepodobnago ottsa nashogo Iosifa, igumena volotskago*, 4th ed. (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia Imperatorskogo universiteta, 1903); see the list of manuscripts in AfED, 461–466.
- 3 VMCh, Sept., cols. 499–615; and DRIU, 57–157: trans., MRIV, 163–308. Iosif's earlier and hardly regulatory "Brief Rule" is found in PIV, 296–319; and DRIU, 187–215; trans., MRIV, 117–161: see below, note 20.
- 4 Ludwig Steindorff, *Memoria in Altrußland. Untersuchungen zu den Formen christlicher Totensorge = Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa* 38 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994), 164–166, 172, 195–196; for the text, as well as further analysis, T. I. Shablova, *Sinodik Iosifo-Volokolamskogo monastyria (1479-1510-e gody)* (Moscow: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2004), 97–207 (texts); and I. V. Dergacheva, *Drevnerusskii Sinodik: issledovaniia i teksty = Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi mysli. Issledovaniia i teksty* 6. (Moscow: "Krug," 2011), 154–163.
- 5 A. A. Zimin, *Krupnaia feodal'naia votchina i sotsial'no-politicheskaia bor'ba v Rossii konets XV- XVI v.* (Moscow: "Nauka," 1977), 281–314; idem, *I. S. Peresvetov i ego sovremenniki. Ocherki po istorii russkoi obshchestvenno-politicheskoi mysli serediny XVI veka* (Moscow: Izd. ANSSR, 1958), 71–101; Tom E. Dykstra, *Russian Monastic Culture. "Josephism" and the Iosifo--Volokolamskii Monastery, 1479-1606 = Slavistische Beiträge* 450 (Munich: Otto Sagner, 2006), 83–193; Zhmakin, *Mitropolit Daniil i ego sochineniia* (Moscow: 1881) (also ChOIDR, 1881.1, rpt. Moscow: "Kniga po trebovaniu," 2012), 110–750; B. M. Kloss, *Nikonovskii svod i russkie letopisi XVI-XVII vekov* (Moscow: Nauka, 1980), 96–103; David Miller,

- "The *Velikie Minei Chetii* and the *Stepennaia kniga* of Metropolitan Makarii and the Origins of Russian National Consciousness," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 26 (1979): 263-382; David Goldfrank, "Nil Sorskii's Following among the Iosifo-Volokolamsk Elders," in *The New Muscovite Cultural History. A Collection in Honor of Daniel B. Rowland*, edited by Valerie Kivelson et al. (Bloomington IN: Slavica, 2009), 207-222; and Arkhimandrit Makarii (Veretennikov), *Moskovskii Mitropolit Makarii i ego vremia. Sbornik statei* (Moscow: Izdatel'tsvo Spaso-Preobrazhenskogo Valaamskogo monastyrnia, 1996), 132-133.
- 6 Zimin, *Krupnaia feodal'naia votchina*, 314-318.
 - 7 A. I. Alekseev, *Sochineniia Iosifa Volotskogo v kontekste polemiki 1480-1540-kh gg.* (St. Petersburg: Rossiiskaia natsional'naia biblioteka, 2010), 16, 152n24 for 1439; *Iosif Volotskii* (Moscow: Molodaia Gvardiia, 2014), 25; but see below, note 21.
 - 8 A. I. Pliguzov, "Letopischik Iosifa Sanina," in *Letopisi i khroniki. Sbornik statei. 1984 g.*, edited by V.I. Buganov (Moscow: Nauka, 1984), 184.
 - 9 Pliguzov, "Letopischik," 184-185; Zimin, *Krupnaia feodal'naia votchina*, 53.
 - 10 Shablova, *Sinodik*, 46; Dergacheva, *Drevnerusskii sinodik*, 149.
 - 11 *Akty feodal'nogo zemlevladieniia i khoziaistva XIV-XVI vekov*. 3 vols., edited by L. V. Cherepnin and A. A. Zimin (Moscow: ANSSSR, 1951-1961), 2: 10-65; and Pliguzov, "Letopischik," 185.
 - 12 Iu. V. Ratomaskaia, "Stolpoobraznyi khram ikony Bogoroditsy Odigitrii Iosifo-Volotskogo monastyrnia 1510-x godov i pamiatniki arkhitektury vremeni pravleniia Vasiliia III," in *PIVO*, 2: 240-41.
 - 13 S. Z. Chernov, "Nekropol' Iosifo-Volotskogo monastyrnia v svete arkheologicheskikh issledovaniia 2001 g. Staryi i novyi predely," in *PIVO*, 1: 292.
 - 14 See the diagrams and pictures in I. A. Shalina, "Zakhoronenie prepodobnogo Iosifa Volotskogo i simvolicheskaia traditsiia mesta pogrebenii russkikh chudotvortsev," in *PIVO*, 1: 135; Chernov, "Nekropol' ... Staryi i novyi predely," in *PIVO*, 1: 305; idem, "Nekropol' Iosifo-Volotskogo monastyrnia v svete arkheologicheskikh issledovaniia 2001 goda. Pogrebenii 'za tserkov'iu' i 'za starym pridelom'," in *PIVO*, 2: 393-395; L. A. Belova, "Trapeznaia tserkov' Bogoiavleniia," in *PIVO*, 1: 391-392; idem, "Tserkov' Odigitrii pod "kolokolami" Iosifo-Volotskogo monastyrnia," in *PIVO*, 2: 119.
 - 15 *Dukhovnye i dogorvoornye gramoty velikikh i udel'nykh kniazei XIV-XVI vekov*, edited by L. V. Cherepnin and S. V. Bakhrushnin (Moscow: ANSSSR, 1950), 353; L. V. Cherepnin, *Russkie feodal'nye arkhivy XIV-XV vekov*, 2 vols. (Moscow: ANSSSR, 1948-1951), 1: 216-219—excellent timing in light of the vicious church and state politics of the time: see,

- inter alia*, Ia. S. Lur'e, *Ideologicheskaia bor'ba v russkoi publitsistike kontsa XV-nachala XVI veka* (Moscow-Leningrad: ANSSSR, 1960), 407–427.
- 16 *AfED*, 305–309, 320–373, 391–510.
- 17 *Akty istoricheskie sobrannye i izdannye Arkheografichskoi komisseiui*, 5 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1841-1842), 1, no. 288 (p. 524): trans., *VPW*, 183: not to be confused with Iosif's later testamentary Rule (our term, not his) for the monastery.
- 18 *PIV*, 187–221. Iosif's chief hagiographer subsequently relied on these letters but also papered over Iosif's truculence and what others saw as his unreasonable and offensive actions in this affair and depicted him as more conciliatory than his letters showed him to have been: *VMCh*, Sept., cols. 475–482: trans., *VPW*, 167–175.
- 19 A. G. Avdeev, "Epigraficheskie pamiatniki kontsa XV-XVI v. Vozmitskogo monastyria 'Prechistoi Bogoroditsi chestnago Eia Rozhdestva i sviatago prepodobnago ottsa nashego Kirila chiudotvortsia,'" in *PIVO*, 1: 335n1. Aleksei Pil'emev's attempt to build up Vozmitskii with Fëdor's support and at Iosif's expense (enticing away monks with their icons, according to Iosif) included rededicating the cloister to Iosif's proclaimed model cenobiarch, Kirill Belozerskii, as well as to the Birth of the Theotokos. So it would seem that towards the very end of Nil Sorskii's life or soon afterwards, potential or real opponents of Iosif connected to Nil and to Kirillov Monastery (maybe German Podol'nyi and Vassian Patrikeev, but less likely the genuinely conciliatory Gurii Tushin), as well as opponents connected to Troitse-Sergiev Monastery and either Novgorod (Archbishop Serapion), or the city of Moscow and its Simonov Monastery (ex-Metropolitan Zosima), became involved in a web of intrigue associated with Pil'emev, Vozmitskii, and Fëdor. On the leading Kirillov elders connected with Nil, see *NSAW*, 37–44, 58–61.
- 20 *PIV*, 296–297. For suggested dates of *Prosvetitel'* and its component parts, see David Goldfrank, "The Anatomy of the Key Codices and the Ontogeny of *Prosvetitel'*," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 49, no. 2-3 (2015): 159-172; for the Rule, *MRIV*, 51–52. Note that what Soviet scholars called the "brief redaction of Iosif's Rule," and I have called his "Brief Rule" is much more homiletic than regulatory and never could function as a genuine monastic rule.
- 21 "... and he died on September 9 And all of his years of the life of Iosif to his dormition from his birth—70 and 6 years—and he died in the year 7024 [1 Sept 1515 to 3 August 1516], ...and after he founded the Monastery of the Immaculate [*Prechistyiya*, as substantive] 36 years:" Pliguzov, "Letopischik," 185. Since the monastery was founded on June 1489 ("6997"), reckoned as "36 years" before 9 Septem-

- ber “7014,” Iosif would have been born forty years earlier in “6967” (1438/1439) as well as 76 years before “7024 (1439/1440).
- 22 According to Alekseev (*Sochineniia Iosifa Volotskogo*, 42), codex Vol. 564, folia 79–80, notes that Daniil was hegumen for 11 years (i.e., 1511/1512–1522). This also contains Bishop Leonid’s 1584/1585 list of eminent Pafnutiev and Iosifov monks in codex No. 92 (P. Stroev’s original enumeration): *Akty istoricheskie*, 1, no. 216 (pp. 410–411). On the correlation of these Iosifov codex enumerations, see Zimin, “Iz istorii, sobraniia rukopisnykh knig Iosifo-Volokolamskogo monastiria” in *Zapiski otdela rukopisei GBL* 38 (1977): 24.
- 23 *PIV*, 101–116.
- 24 *PIV*, 144–145.
- 25 *PIV*, 143–152; see also David Goldfrank, “Litigious, Pedagogical, Redemptive, Lethal: Iosif Volotskii’s Calculated Insults,” *The Russian Review* 75, no. 1 (2016), 90–91.
- 26 *PIV*, 160–229, passim; and *AfED*, 305–309, 323–325, 419–438, 513–520; Goldfrank, “Insults,” 91–92.
- 27 *VMCh*, Sept., cols. 552–559; and *DRIU*, 102–109: trans., *MRIV*, 230–238.
- 28 *VMCh*, Sept., cols. 586; and *DRIU*, 131: trans. *MRIV*, 269.
- 29 *VMCh*, Sept., col. 464: trans., *VPW*, 156.
- 30 *Drevnerusskie pateriki*, edited by L. A. Ol’shevskaia and S. N. Travnikov. (Moscow: Nauka, 1999), 213–222: trans., *VPW*, 194–201: see also 137–140.
- 31 *VPW*, 32–137.
- 32 *Zhitie prep. Iosifa Volokolamskogo sostavennoe neivestnym*, edited by S. A. Belokurov, in *ChOIDR*, 1903, 2: 1–46; see Ia. S. Lur’e, “Zhitie Iosifa Volotskogo,” in *SKKDR*, 2.1: 273–276., and L. P. Dmitrievskii, “Lev Filolog,” In *SKKDR*, 2.2: 3–6, representing, respectively, Lev Filolog and ‘Anonymous’ as the author: the issue is not yet resolved.
- 33 *VMCh*, Sept., col. 455: trans., *VPW*, 145.
- 34 Pliguzov, “Letopischik,” 178, noting that the very entry of this “Little Annal” textually influenced the analogous one in the “Little Annal of Iosif;” see also G. V. Popov, “Drevneishie monastyrskie ikony. Dionisii ikonnik i prepodobnyi Iosif,” in *PIVO*, 1: 182–186.
- 35 Pliguzov, “Letopischik,” 185.
- 36 *KTsDRIVM*, No. 357 (pp. 369–370).
- 37 *KTsDRIVM*, 55–56.
- 38 *VMCh*, Sept., col. 457: trans., *VPW*, 146.
- 39 *VMCh*, Sept., cols. 502–520, 528–519, 530–542; *DRIU*, 61–75, 82–83, 84–94; and *PIV*, 297–306, 309–310, 311–317; trans., *MRIV*, 120–134, 142–143, 146–154, 169–188, 199–200, 203–216 (*slova* 1, 2, 4, 6 of Iosif’s actual, testamentary Rule, and *slova* 1, 2, 3, 6, 8 of his programmatic

- “Brief Rule”).
- 40 *VMCh*, Sept., col. 474: trans., *VPW*, 165; there is the slightest possibility that this stems from a chronicle alteration, as in the mid-17th century Shumilovskii recension of the *Nikon Chronicle*, where both synods remain, but Vasilii opens the earlier one: *PSRL* 12: 225; on the dating, see Kloss, *Nikonovskii svod*, 20, 270.
- 41 *VMCh*, Sept., cols. 472–482: trans., *VPW*, 168–175.
- 42 “Zhitie ... neizvestnym,” 30; cf. *NSAW*, 46–47.
- 43 *NSAW*, 44–46.
- 44 Goldfrank, “Nil Sorskii’s Following,” esp., 221–222.
- 45 B. M. Kloss, “Nil Sorskii i Nil Polev-‘spisateli knig’,” in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: Rukopisnaia kniga*, 3 vols., edited by O. I. Podobedova et al. (Moscow: Nauka, 1972–1983), 2: 155; and G. M. Prokhorov, “Avtografy Nila Sorskogo” in *Pamiatniki kul’tury. Novye otkrytiia. 1974 g.* (1975): 52–53.
- 46 “Zhitie ... neizvestnym,” 35–39.
- 47 Ostrowski has been promoting this argument in various writings since his dissertation appeared in 1977—most recently in debunking the veracity of a source also regarding Iosif: Donald Ostrowski, “The *Letter concerning Enmities* as a Polemical Source for Monastic Relations of the Mid-Sixteenth Century,” in *Essays in Russian Monasticism*, edited by David Goldfrank = *Russian History* 39, nos. 1–2 (2012): 77–105; see also, Pliguzov, *Polemika v russkoi tserkoi pervoi treti XVI stoletii* (Moscow: Indrik, 2002), 253–277, exposing pseudo-Vassian Patrikeev’s “Dispute with Iosif,” as well as Ostrowski’s contribution to this volume.
- 48 Pliguzov, *Polemika*, 295–304.
- 49 G. M. Prokhorov, *Prepodonbyi Nil Sorskii i Innokentii Komel’skii. Sochineniia* (St. Petersburg: Oleg Abyshko, 2005), 27–28; N. V. Sinitsyna, “Spornye voprosy istorii nestiazhatel’stva ili o logike istoricheskogo dokazatel’stva,” in *Spornye voprosy otechestvennoi istorii. XI–XVII vekov: tezisy dokladov i soobshcheniia Pervykh chtenii, posviashchennykh pamiati A. A. Zimina*, edited by Iu. N. Afanas’ev and A. P. Novosel’tsev (Moscow: Institut istorii SSSR, 1990), 250–254; R. G. Skrynnikov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov’ na Rusi XIV–XVI vv. Podvizhniki russkoi tserkoi* (Novosibirsk: “Nauka,” Siberskoe otdelenie, 1991), 156–173; and A. I. Alekseev, *Pod znakom kontsa vremeni. Ocherki russkoi religioznosti kontsa XV–nachala XV vv.* (St. Petersburg: Aleteiia, 2002), 245–303, the only one of these who attempts a source by source analysis.
- 50 David Goldfrank, “Recentring Nil Sorskii: The Evidence from the Sources,” *Russian Review* 66, no. 3 (July 2007): 359–376, and *NSAW*, 44–55; Pitirim (Nechaev), Mitropolit, “Estetika prepodobnogo Iosifa Volkotskogo,” in *PIVO*, 1: 11–18. (Reprint from *Zhurnal Moskovs-*

- koi patriarkhii*, 1989, 1: 60-65); note also, T. L. Aleksandrova, and T.V. Suzdal'tseva, "Traditsii prepobodnogo Iosifa Volotskogo vo vzgliadakh Mitropolita Volokolamskogo i Iur'evskogo Pitirima, in *PIVO*, 1: 19-28.
- 51 E. V. Romanenko, *Nil Sorskii i traditsii russkogo monashestva* (Moscow: Pamiatniki istoricheskoi mysli, 2003), 124; and Fairy von Lilienfeld and E. M. Vereshchagin, *Zhizn', tserkov', nauka i vera: Professor Feri fon Lilienfel'd rasskazyvaet o sebe i svoem videnii pravoslaviia i liuteranstva. Besedy s prof. E. M. Vereshchaginy, sostoivshiesia v Germanii v 1996-2002* (Moscow: Indrik, 2004), 162.
- 52 *AfED*, 310, 466, 475-476, et al.
- 53 *AfED*, 438-466; and Lur'e, *Ideologicheskaia bor'ba*, 102-111, 459-470.
- 54 A. P. Pliguzov, "'Kniga na eretikov Iosifa Volotskogo.'" *Istoriia i paleografiia* 1 (1993): 90-139.
- 55 Jana Howlett (Khoulett, Ia. R.), "Svidetel'stvo arkhiepiskopa Gennadiia o eresi," *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 46 (1993): 53-73.
- 56 Anatolii Grigorenko, *Dukhovnye iskaniiia na Rusi kontsa XV v.* (St. Petersburg: "Eidos," 1999), 18-79.
- 57 N. N. Lisovoi, "Prepodobnyi Iosif Volotskii i ego vremia v istorii bogoslovskoi mysli," in *PIVO*, 1: 32.
- 58 Moshe Taube, "The Fifteenth-Century Ruthenian Translations from Hebrew and the Heresy of the Judaizers: Is There a Connection?" in *Speculum Slaviae Orientalis: Muscovy, Ruthenia and Lithuania in the Late Middle Ages*, edited by Vyacheslav V. Ivanov and Juia Verkholtantsev, (Moscow: Novoe izdatel'stvo, 2005), 185-208; idem, "The 'Poem on the Soul' in the *Laodicean Epistle* and the Literature of the Judaizers," in *Kamen' Kraeug"Vn". Rhetoric of the Medieval Slavic World. Essays Presented to Edward L. Keenan on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*, edited by N. S. Kollmann et al. = *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 19 (1995): 671-685.
- 59 Alekseev, *Sochineniia Iosifa Volotskogo*, 213-310; idem, *Religioznye dvizheniia na Rusi poslednei treti XIV-nachala XVI v.: strigolniki i zhidovstviushchie* (Moscow: Indrik, 2012), 306-378.
- 60 Alekseev, *Sochineniia Iosifa Volotskogo*, 109.
- 61 A. V. Shcherbakov, "Zarozhdenie ideologii iosiflianstva: Prepodobnyi Pafnutii Borovskii i sviatitel' Gennadii (Gonozov)," in *PIVO*, 2: 309, indicates that he continues, fearfully: "—this is a device which more than once would still be employed in our history by the enemies of Russia."
- 62 See, inter alia, David Goldfrank, "Adversus Haereticos Novgorodensis: Iosif Volotskii's Rhetorical Syllogisms," in *Dubitando: Studies in History and Culture in Honor of Donald Ostrowski*, edited by Brian J. Boeck,

- Russell E. Martin, and Daniel Rowland (Bloomington, IN: Slavica), 254-274; Goldfrank's contribution to this volume; and his forthcoming "Iosif 'Ritorikos-Sillogistkos': k izucheniiu *Prosvetitel'ia*," within the projected third *PIVO* volume.
- 63 *AfED*, 468, 472; and *Prosvetitel'*, 31, 41.
- 64 *VMCh*, 505, 507, 509, 510, 514, 522, 529-530, 531, 537, 540-41, 545; *DRIU*, 63-64, 66-67, 70, 77, 82, 84, 89, 93, 96; and *PIV*, 298-299, 300, 302, 310-311, 312, 315, 316, 318-319: trans., *MRIV*, 122, 124-125, 126, 127, 137, 144-145, 146, 152-153, 158-159, 170-171, 175-176, 181, 191, 201-202, 203, 210, 212, 214, 221.
- 65 Thomas M. Seebohm, *Ratio und Charisma. Ansätze und Ausbildung eines philosophischen und wissenschaftlichen Weltverständnisses im Moskauer Russland* = Mainzer Philosophische Forschungen 17 (Bonn: Bouvier, 1977), 485.
- 66 *VMCh*, 562-563; *DRIU*, 111; and N. A. Kazakova, *Vassian Patrikeev i ego sochineniia* (Moscow-Leningrad: ANSSSR: 1960), 355-356: trans., *MRIV*, 241, 310.
- 67 *AfED*, 342; *Prosvetitel'*, 158-159, 166, 168, 274-275; Kazakova, *Vassian Patrikeev*, 357; *VMCh*, Sept., cols. 549, 559; and *DRIU*, 100, 108-109: trans., *MRIV*, 227, 237, 311.
- 68 *PIV*, 230-231; *Prosvetitel'*, 535-536.
- 69 *AfED*, 498-503; *Prosvetitel'*, 503-509.
- 70 *AfED*, 505-508; *Prosvetitel'*, 510-551.
- 71 *AfED*, 346; *Prosvetitel'*, 287.
- 72 *PIV*, 184; *Prosvetitel'*, 547.
- 73 Among them, M.A. D'iakonov; Ia. S. Lur'e, and Marc Szeftel.
- 74 Among them, Vladimir Val'denberg and Ihor Ševčenko. On the conflicting pre-1917 positions, see Marc Szeftel, "Joseph Volotsky's Political Ideas in a New Historical Perspective," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, New Series.13, no. 1 (April, 1965): 19-23.
- 75 Note "Slovo 16" of *Prosvetitel'* esp. pp. 541; also "Slovo 11" on the superior and "Slovo 13" (misnumbered as "14") on the council and council elders of Iosif's testamentary Rule: *VMCh*, Sept., cols. 563-566, 570-587; and *DRIU*, 112-115, 118-131: trans., *MRIV*, 242-246, 252-270.
- 76 For example, the *Nikon Chronicle*, *Stepennaia kniga*, and Metropolitan Makarii's and Archbishop Feodosii's epistles to Ivan IV: see, inter alia, Kloss, *Nikonovskii svod*; David Miller, "The *Velikie Minei Chetii* and the *Stepennaia kniga*;" and Zimin, *I. S. Peresvetov*, 80-81.
- 77 For example, the 1512 *Khronograf*: *PSRL* 22: 241, 260-261, 274-275, 302-303 (on the emperors Nero, Diocletian, Julian the Apostate, and Phocas). Cf. Nils Sorskii's autograph version of the "Life" of Theodore of Sykeon, who personally reproved Emperor Phocas for murdering

- subjects, while six others of Nil's subjects risked their lives to oppose heresy: *NSAW*, 28–29, found in a codex Nil Polev donated to Iosifov Monastery.
- 78 *AfED*, 419–430, 471–472, 473, 488–498; *VMCh*, Sept., cols. 548–549; and *DRIU*, 99–109: trans., *MRIV*, 227–238.
- 79 *VMCh*, Sept., cols. 485–488: trans., *VPW*, 178–180. Keeping the chronological order of incidents as in the *Nikon Chronicle*, Savva might have been inspired by Iosif's known ties to Iurii and the latter's brother's Semën's fear for his life and then reconciliation with Vasilii III soon after the trial of Serapion: *PSRL* 13: 13; cf. *PIV*, 232–236.
- 80 Note Iosif's titles or introductions, and closes to his major works and many of his discourses: *AfED*, 474–477, 483–486; *VMCh.*, Sept., cols. 499, 501–502, 546, 605, 615; and *DRIU*, 57, 59–60, 97–98, 147, 154–155: trans., *MRIV*, 163, 166–167, 233–234, 295, 307–308. On the primacy of these writings for Iosif, see Seebohm, *Ratio und Charisma*, 485.
- 81 See below, the contribution of Kevin Kain to this volume. One can add Metropolitan Ignatii Korsakov of Siberia and Tobolsk to the Nikonians who utilized Iosif's writings: V. M. Kirillin, "Literaturnoe nasledie prepodobnogo Iosifa Volotskogo," in *PIVO*, 1: 50; see also S. K. Sevast'ianova, "Traditsii isikhastskoi literatury v monastyrskoi ustava prepodobnogo Iosifa Volotskogo i ikh razvitie v trudakh Patriarkha Nikona," in *PIVO*, 1: 87–100.
- 82 E. V. Emchenko, *Stoglav. Issledovanie i tekst* (Moscow: Indrik, 2000), 328–338, 339–343, 381–385 (maybe); and Zimin, *I. S. Peresvetov*, 178, and note 282.
- 83 Pliguzov, *Polemika*, 330–384, for a total rejection of authenticity of Iosif's authorship of the (putative) "Synodal Response of 1503" on monastic lands. For a counter-argument, which this author rejects, see Alekseev, *Pod znakom*, 249–255; and for the document itself, *PIV*, 293–294, 323–329.
- 84 Hugh Olmsted, "Modeling the Genealogy of Maksim Grek's Collection Types. The 'Plectogram' as Visual Aid in Reconstruction," in *Medieval Russian Culture*, 2 vols., edited by Michael Flier et al. (Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984–1994), 2: 107–131.
- 85 David Goldfrank, "Sisterhood Just Might Be Powerful: The Testament-Rule of Elena Devochkina," in *A Festschrift for Richard Hellie*, Part 1, edited by Lawrence L. Langer and Peter B. Brown = *Russian History* 34, nos. 1–4 (2007): 189–205.
- 86 See below, Kevin Kain's contribution to this volume.
- 87 *NSAW*, 104; David Goldfrank, "Nil's and Iosif's Rhetoric of *Starchestvo*," in *Essays in Russian Monasticism*, 75–76.
- 88 Lur'e, *Ideologicheskaia bor'ba*, 10–21.
- 89 See, inter alia, Ostrowski, "The Letter concerning Enmities," 78n1.

- 90 *Pravila blagoustroistva monastyrskoi zhiznii*, edited by Sviateishii Sinod (Kazan: 2010); Ieromonakh Serafim, *Muzhskoi obshchezhitel'nyi ustav* (Nizhnii Novgorod: 1910); idem, *Zhenskie monastyrskie ustavy*, vol. 3 (Kungur: 1910); on the direct Studite influence on Iosif's Rule, see MRIV, 265, 295–296.
- 91 Zimin, "Iz istorii," 15–18; see Arkhimandrit Iosif, *Opis' rukopisei perenesennykh iz biblioteki Iosifova monastyr'ia v biblioteku Moskovskoi dukhovnoi akademii*. Moscow, 1882. = ChOIDR, 1882, 3; P. Stroev, *Opisanie rukopisei monastyreii Volokolamskogo, Novyi Ierusalim, Savvina Storozhhevskogo, i Pafnutieva Boroovskogo* (St. Petersburg, 1891).
- 92 KnTsDRIVM; Zimin gives both a concordance of Stroev's enumeration with the State Library (Volokolamsk) and Historical Museum (Eparchial) collections and listing of the other manuscripts, some of which were sent elsewhere earlier or lost during World War II: "Iz istorii," 18–28. See also V. V. Kashirina, "K istorii biblioteki Iosifo-Volokolamskogo monastyr'ia, in PIVO, 2: 340-362.
- 93 Ivan Kologrivov, *Essai sur la saintété en Russie* (Bruges: Ch. Beyaert, 1953), 214–243; George Fedotov *The Russian Religious Mind*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press: 1946-1966), 2: 285–315.
- 94 Ia. S. Lur'e, Vassian Sanin, " in SKKDR. 2: 125-126.
- 95 For example, B. A. Rybakov, "Rybakov, B.A. "Voinstvuiushchie tserkovniki XVI v.," *Antireligioznik*, 3-4 (1934): 21-31, 31-40, who is not reliable here.
- 96 I. U. Budovnits, *Monastyr'i na Rusi i bor'ba s nimi krestian v XIV-XVI vv.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1966), 226–258.
- 97 Lur'e in AfED, PIV, and *Ideologicheskaiia bor'ba*; and Zimin in *Krupnaia feodal'naia votchina*.
- 98 Seebohm, *Ratio und Charisma*, 244–249 et al., vastly surpassing in analytical depth the critically sympathetic, quite insightful Thomas Špidlik, S.J., *Joseph de Volokolamsk, Un chapitre de la spiritualité russe* = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 146 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1956).
- 99 Kloss, "Nil Sorskii i Nil Polev;" and Prokhorov, "Avtografy."
- 100 Lilienfeld and Vereshchangin, *Zhizn', tserkov', nauka i vera*, 161.
- 101 Sergii, Igumen, "O vybore posviashcheniia," 173; the exterior floor plan is about 16.83m x 15.17m: see the diagram in Chernov, "Nekropol' ... Staryi i novyi predely," 305.
- 102 Ratomskaia, "Stolpoobraznyi khram," 255–257. The exterior of the octagonal is about 5.35m across and 2.3m per side: see diagram in Belova, "Tserkov' Odigitrii," 119.
- 103 Ratomskaia, "Stolpoobraznyi khram," 257–259.
- 104 *Istoriia russkogo iskusstva*, edited by I. E. Grabar, 13 Vols. (Moscow:

- ANSSSR, 1953-1964), 3: 362, 365, 369. The interior dimensions of the refectory were about 22m x 20m: see the diagram in Belova, "Trapeznaia," 391.
- 105 V. V. Kashirina, "Osobnosti sviazi v litsevom shit'e Anny Volotskoi," in *PIVO*, 2: 191-205.
- 106 M. S. Serebriankova, "O nekotorykh osobennostiakh posviashcheniia tserkovnykh prestolov Drevnei Rusi IX–serediny XVI vekov (po letopisnym istochnikam)," in *PIVO*, 1: 155. This characterization of Theophany, she claims, holds for other aspects of Christ and also for the Trinity. She does not discuss the Hodigitria, with its obvious path-directing symbolism, but it is interesting that the presumed architectural model was dedicated to John Climacus, whose *Ladder of Divine Ascent* served as the most popular spiritual handbook and as a path-indicator to perfect prayer and to heaven for Russia's ascetics.
- 107 Sergii (Voronkov), Igumen, "O vybore posviashcheniia glavnogo monastyrskogo khrama Iosifo-Volotskogo monastyria," in *PIVO* 1: 167: see *AfED*, 337; and *Prosvetitel'*, 259.
- 108 From viewer's left to right: St, Peter, Archangel Michael, the Theotokos, Jesus, John the Forerunner/Baptist, Archangel Gabriel, and St. Paul.
- 109 See *AfED*, 356; *Prosvetitel'*, 319–320.
- 110 Sergii, Arkhimandrit, "Sobranie ikon Uspenskoii tserkvi XV veka kak vyrazhenie bogosloviia prepodobnogo Iosifa," in *PIVO*, 2: 219–230.
- 111 *Prosvetitel'*, 439; cf. Eph 4:11-12 (the words from Scripture in the text to this note in italics).
- 112 L. P. Medvedeva, "Prepodobnyi Iosif Volotskii i 'inzhenernoe myshlenie': K voprosu o perevodakh," in *PIVO*, 2: 66; for the translation, <http://www.wco.ru/biblio/books/iosifv1/Main.htm> (accessed 4 February, 2015).
- 113 *PIVO*: so far in this essay eighteen *PIVO* contributions by fifteen scholars have been cited, and five more follow.
- 114 T. V. Suzdal'tseva, "Drevnerusskie inocheskie ustavy i ikh mesto v russkoi monasheskoi traditsii," in *PIVO*, 140–144. The specific terms, as used in the Eastern Church, refer chiefly to the liturgical order, not to the disciplinary aspects of a monastic rule, which also may be called *ustav* or *tipik*. See, for example, Spock, "Regarding the Good Order of the Monastery: The Tipik Solovetskago and the Integration of the Spiritual with the Temporal in the Early 17th Century," in *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom Revisited: Essays in Russian history and Culture in Honor of Robert O. Crummey*, edited by Chester S. L. Dunning, Russell E. Martin and Daniel Rowland, (Bloomington, IN: Slavica, 2008), 251-267.
- 115 L. A. Ol'shevskaia, "Vassian Koshka – redactor Volokolamskogo pa-

- terika,” in *PIVO*, 2: 68-73.
- 116 O. V. Chevela, “Allegoricheskaia i tipologicheskaia ekzegeza v tvore-niiakh prepodobnogo Iosifa Volotskogo ee otnoshenie k vizantiiskoi traditsii,” in *PIVO*, 2: 80-85.
- 117 Lipakov, “Izuchenie prepodobnogo Iosifa Volkotskogo v Kazanskoj dukhovnoy akademii,” in *PIVO*, 2: 44-46.
- 118 Ágnes Kriza, “Vizantiiskie istochniki bogosloviia ikony v ‘Poslanii ikonopistsu’,” *Studia Slavica Hungarica* 54.1, 2 (2009): 161-87, 407-27; “Isikhazm i ikonopochitanie. Analogicheskaia funktsiia v bogoslovskikh trudakh Moskovskoi Rusi i Kievskoi mitropolii v XV-XVI vv.,” *Pravoslavie Ukrainy i Moskovskoi Rusi v XV-XVII vekakh: obshchee i razlichnoe*, edited by M. V. Dmitriev (Moscow: Indrik, 2012), 14-34; “Slavonic Translations of Greek Iconophile Texts: the Problem of Reception of Byzantine Theology in Medieval Rus’,” in *Fontes. Studies Presented to Róbert Sikon on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday*, edited by Monika Pesthy-Simon (Budapest: Corvina, 2014), 134-143.
- 119 V. N. Zviagin, M.E. Berezovskii, and M.A. Grigor'eva, “Identifikatsiia moshchei prepodobnogo Iosifa Volotskogo” (in Table of Contents: “O rezul'tatakh mediko-kriminalisticheskogo issledovaniia po identifikatsii chestnykh ostankov prepodobnogo Iosifa Volotskogo”), in *PIVO*, 1: 114-12.