

A FURTHER NOTE ON PATRIARCH SERAPHEIM II'S SOJOURN
TO RUSSIA

In a recent *Balkan Studies* number devoted to Greco-Slavic themes, my attention was drawn to the interesting article by Constantin Papoulidis, "Le Patriarche Oecuménique Sérapheim II et les Russes" (Vol. XVII, no. 1, 1976, 59-66). Mr. Papoulidis, whose important contributions to the study of Greco-Russian relations are well known, here extends traditional accounts of Serapheim II's life (d. 1779) in order to include his final years spent within the Russian Empire.

In that connection, the riches of Soviet archival holdings, especially those of the Russian Holy Synod, offer additional information on the topic introduced by Papoulidis. There is, in particular, one large file from the papers of the Holy Synod devoted entirely to the life of the Ecumenical Patriarch Serapheim II (Aninos) in Russia¹. From that file and other Soviet archival records it is possible to reconstruct the main lines of Serapheim's sojourn.

It is probable from the first document of the Synodal file—a copy of the edict from Catherine the Great granting Serapheim II a pension of 200 rubles monthly—that Serapheim did not arrive in the Russian Empire until 1775². Catherine's edict of December 2, 1775, authorizing Serapheim's pension, mentions no prior activity of Serapheim in the Empire, and carries with it the assumption of Serapheim's recent arrival.

Although Papoulidis dates Serapheim's arrival in Russia from the 1771 date of the Patriarch's departure from Mount Athos, Serapheim's arrival is not verified in Russian sources, to my knowledge, until shortly before his presence at the episcopal ordination of Eugenios Voulgaris in Moscow, October 1, 1775³. The likelihood is that Serapheim would have been unable to migrate to Russia until after the cessation of Russo-Turkish hostilities and the provisions of the 1774 Kuchuk-Kainardji Peace which granted safe conduct into Russia for those Greeks who had fought at the side of the Orlov expedition in the Aegean⁴.

1. *Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv v Leningrade* (TsGIAL), fond 796, opis' 56, delo 575, leaves 1-149.

2. *Ibid.*, leaf 1.

3. For notation of Serapheim's official arrival in Moscow on September 21, 1775, see the unpublished manuscript, "Spisok ierarkhov Rossiiskoi Tserkvi do 1775 gg.", in the Library of the Academy of Sciences (BAN-Leningrad), Manuscripts Room, no. 32. 13. 3, leaves 132-3.

4. See Article XVII, point 4, of the Kuchuk-Kainardji Treaty, reprinted in J.C. Hurewitz,

In a related matter, Papoulidis considers that Serapheim was instrumental in the invitation of Eugenios Voulgaris to Russia in 1771, thereby necessitating his presence at an earlier date. While Serapheim may well have been in communication with officials regarding the learned Voulgaris, there is no indication of Serapheim's direct involvement in the Voulgaris invitational correspondence now preserved in Moscow⁵.

Following Serapheim's presence at the episcopal ordination of Eugenios Voulgaris in October, 1775, and his receipt of the pension from Catherine II, Synodal records indicate that Serapheim retired to the Maksakov Spaso-Preobrazhenskii Monastery in the Chernigov Diocese near the town of Borzna, arriving there on February 11, 1776⁶. Not entirely pleased with his placement there, Serapheim requested and finally was granted a transfer to Mgarski Spaso-Preobrazhenskii Monastery near the town of Luben in Eugenios Voulgaris' new Diocese of Kherson and Slaviansk. The Mgarskii Monastery to which Serapheim moved in late 1777 or early 1778 was considerably closer to Voulgaris' diocesan administrative center situated near Poltava⁷. Synodal documents confirm the death of Serapheim at Mgarskii Monastery on December 7, 1779⁸.

What is noteworthy with respect to the Russian Synodal record following Serapheim's death is the protracted conflict which developed concerning the disposition of Serapheim's library and related effects⁹. Ultimately, much of the library was given over to Grigorii Potemkin, Governor-General of New Russia and court favorite often linked with Catherine's "Greek Project". Potemkin's acquisition of several major collections, including that, subsequently, of Eugenios Voulgaris, was intended to be used as a basis for the establishment of a major academy or university in the southern Ukraine. The bulk of that Potemkin-Voulgaris collection was eventually transferred to the Kazan University Library where it now remains¹⁰.

ed., *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: A Documentary Record*, Vol. I (New York, 1956), 58. For accounts of this migration, see S. Safonov, "Ostatki grecheskikh legionov v Rossii", *Zapiski Obesskogo Obshchestva Istorii, i Drevnostei*, Vol. I (1844), 209-225; and G. L. Arsh, "Grecheskaia emigratsiia v Rossiiu v kontse XVIII — nachale XIX v.", *Sovetskaia Etnografiia*, 1969, no. 3, 85-95.

5. *Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov* (TsGADA-Moscow), *fond* 18, *delo* 249, leaves 1-9.

6. *TsGIAL*, *op. cit.*, leaf 13.

7. *Ibid.*, leaf 28.

8. *Ibid.*, leaf 42.

9. *Ibid.*, leaves 65-149.

10. On the content of the Potemkin-Voulgaris collection, see *TsGADA*, *fond* 17, *delo* 262, leaves 1-59 ("Opis' knig i estampov, byvshikh v Biblioteke Kniazia Potemkina-Tavrcheskago i Arkhiepiskopa Evgeniia"). For an account of the subsequent fate of the collection, see this

In the final analysis, the importance of the Papoulidis article rests not upon the detail of Serapheim's Russian sojourn, much of which can be clarified by appeal to Soviet archival repositories. Rather, the article holds special significance in pointing to the very considerable migration of Greek clergy to Russia following the Russo-Turkish War, 1768-1774. In this regard, the Russian career of Serapheim II is parallel to that of numerous other high ranking Greek clerics who either accompanied Greek legionnaires to Russia or otherwise came to receive Russian patronage. These clergy served as the nucleus for the development of thriving Greek diaspora communities in the southern Ukraine by the beginning of the nineteenth century¹¹.

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writer's unpublished doctoral thesis, "Eugenios Voulgaris in Russia, 1771-1806: A Chapter in Greco-Slavic Ties of the Eighteenth Century", University of Minnesota, 1975, pp. 186-189.

11. It is likely that the most complete account of these immigrating clergy is now located in the Archive of Russian Foreign Policy (AVPR) in Moscow. However, the importance of the Russian Synodal Chancellory records on this question should not be ignored. The short biographical sketches of Greek and other East European clergy forwarded to the Synod by Archbishop Eugenios, Nikiphoros Theotokes and others provide a virtually untapped resource for the history of diocesan leadership under the Ecumenical Patriarch. Thus, for example, the careers of Metropolitan Venediktos of Nauplion, Metropolitan Anthemos of Monemvasia, Metropolitan Serapheim of Lakedemonia, as well as those of several other Greek archbishops and bishops then in Russia are traced in *TsGIAL*, *fond 796, opis' 57, delo 241*, leaves 1-356. Included in the *delo* is information regarding the pensions allocated to the clergy, last wills and testaments, and other material holding relevance for the Greek question in Russia, as well as for local Greek diocesan history. Though this *delo* is the largest such report on migrating clergy, it is by no means the only such account. In a helpful, but incomplete, report submitted to the *ober-prokurator* of the Holy Synod in 1798 on the number of Greek hierarchs in Russia under Russian patronage, 23 Greek clergy of the rank of archimandrite, bishop or higher were listed, covering the period from 1776 to the date of the report. Though some of these had died, the total amount of patronage expended yearly was given as over 9000 rubles (see *TsGIAL*, *fond 797, opis' 1, delo 1753*, leaf 3). This substantial figure does not include accounts of lower ranking immigrant clergy, whose records are often absent from central Synodal repositories. This Greek ecclesiastical presence in the Ukraine needs to be added to G. L. Arsh's valuable account of Greek migration to Russia in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. See Arsh, *Eteristskoe Dvizhenie v Rossii* (Moscow, 1972), 129-166.