

Russian Imperial Policy in the Orthodox East and its Relation to Byzantine Studies

The first half of the 19th century is known as the period of penetration of the Great Powers into the Near East. Thus the famous Eastern question was born, which focused mainly on two items: first, control over the Straits, the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, and the city of Constantinople; and second, establishing a presence in Palestine and Jerusalem. France and Great Britain started activities in both directions long before the 19th century, by direct political actions, and by missionary work among the local Christian population. After several successful wars against the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, Russia also joined this rivalry. Without having the economic and naval potential of the western powers, Russia had a strong ideological weapon, the Orthodox faith it shared with several million Eastern Christians¹.

The links between Kievan Rus' and Byzantium had led to the former's Christianization under Prince Vladimir in the 10th century. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the Russian learned clergy started regarding the Muscovite principality as the only keeper of the Orthodox faith. This idea, formulated in the 16th century as the theory of »Moscow, the Third Rome«, at first was purely theoretical. Nevertheless, the proclamation of the Russian czardom by Ivan the Terrible and the establishment of the Patriarchate of Moscow in 1589 moved the idea closer to practical implementation. Finally, with the military confrontation with the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 17th century, the Third Rome theory was once again revived. The extraordinary position of the Russian state towards the Christian churches under Ottoman domination was constantly stressed by the numerous abbots, monks, and bishops who arrived in Moscow during the 16th and 17th centuries asking for material aid. For their part, they brought icons and relics of saints, which often remained in Russia. According to the mentality of that time, the sacred sense of the centre of the only true Orthodox kingdom was thus translated and transferred to Moscow, the heir of Byzantine glory; thus, a new messianic ideology developed².

In the 18th century, under the reign of Peter I, the Russian state and Church were radically reformed. The flow of dona-

tions was placed under control, but it did not cease. In parallel to the general spirit of westernization, it was in the second half of the 18th century that Russians first came into contact with Ottoman Christians on a large scale, during the Russo-Ottoman wars under Catherine II. Their success seemed obvious, and it was in the first decades of the 19th century that Russia had maximum of influence over the affairs of the Near East. In the 1830s and especially 1840s, however, the situation changed, and the czar's government could hardly oppose the British and French offensive. Actually Russia did not lose control over the Orthodox Patriarchates of the East till the very end of the 19th century, manoeuvring between intrigues, bribery, exploiting their internal rivalry, and above all sending enormous sums of material aid.

By the beginning of the 1840s, Russia was the only great power not to have an ecclesiastical representative in Palestine. Catholics and Protestants, financed and supported by France and Britain, created a whole network of schools and charitable institutions. Many Arab Christian families converted and left the church they had been baptised into. As the traditional supporter of Orthodoxy in the East, Russia felt obliged to counteract Western proselytism. Thus, the Russian ecclesiastical mission in Jerusalem was founded in 1847, with Archimandrite Porphyrij Uspenskij at its head³ (fig. 1). Porphyrij was a well-educated clergyman, whose main idea was that no Church policy in the East was possible without a serious study of the history and archaeology of Eastern Christianity. Due to the uncertain status of the first mission, his practical activities in Jerusalem were limited, and left him enough time for research work on the Christianity of Byzantium and the Near East. Porphyrij is famous for his long journeys to Mount Athos and his work in the libraries there. He was one of the first learned Europeans to visit Mount Sinai and the library of its monastery. He travelled to the Egyptian desert and explored the ancient ruins of Palestine and Syria. Being both a scholar and Church diplomat, Porphyrij wrote detailed reports on the state of the Orthodox Church in the East, its history and perspectives. His ideals of a common Orthodox »house«, which would include all Eastern Christians under

1 Saul, Russia. – Jelavich, *The Ottoman Empire*. – Jelavich, *St. Petersburg and Moscow*. – Sumner, *Tsardom*. – Kinjapina, *Balkany*. – Nežinskij, *Rossia i Černomorskie proliivy*. For a long time, the ideological factor in Russian policy in the Near East was either neglected or underestimated in the scholarly literature. Meanwhile, it played an important role till the October Revolution of 1917. See: Gerd, *Russian Policy* 20-39.

2 Kirillov, *Tretij Rim*. – Toumanoff, *Moscow the Third Rome*. – Schaefer, *Moskau das Dritte Rom*. – Rowland, *Moscow*. – Sinicyna, *Tretij Rim* (see especially the bibliography on pp. 372-395).

3 Stavrou, *Russian Interest*. – Dmitrievskij, *Ep. Porphyrij Uspenskij*. See also the recent publication of documents on the history of the Russian mission in Jerusalem: Lisovoj, *Rossija v Svjatoj Zemle*.



Fig. 1 Portrait of Porphyrij Uspenskij. – (After Cat. Moscow 2011, 29).

the patronage of the Russian czar, were in fact in keeping with the old Byzantine ideas of a Christian *oikoumene*, and with the mainstream of Russian foreign policy of that period. Moreover, Porphyrij was looking forward to converting to Orthodoxy the non-Orthodox peoples of the East, i.e. the Copts (both Abyssinian and Arab), Armenians, etc. After his return to Russia in 1854, Porphyrij made research on his rich collections of manuscripts and copies he had made during his stay in the East, and wrote and edited many articles and texts. His manuscript collection was finally acquired by the Imperial Public Library in Saint Petersburg in 1883⁴. Most of his papers were edited in the late 19th and early 20th century; nevertheless, his rich and well-preserved archives still attract the attention of all specialists on the Christian East⁵.

The Crimean War interrupted the activities of the Russian mission in Jerusalem and paralyzed any further projects. After 1856, however, interest in the Orthodox East in Russian educated society revived, for which there were several reasons. First of all, the bitter experience of the war provoked an analysis of mistakes in foreign policy. The lack of attention



Fig. 2 Antonin Kapustin, ca. 1860. – (After Gerd, Archimandrit Antonin, frontispiece).

paid the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean was among the first factors to be mentioned. Grand Duke Constantine Nikolaevič became the main actor in the revival of the interest in the Near East. With his assistance, and especially after his journey to the Mediterranean in 1859, the Russian mission in Jerusalem was restored. Another organization for the exploration of Palestine, the Palestine Committee, was founded at the same time, as was the Russian Shipping and Trade Society, aiming at further exploration of the Near East. All these activities had several aims at the same time: better organization and promotion of Russian pilgrimage to the Holy Land, creating closer links with the Orthodox population and especially with the clergy, and research on the history and archaeology of the Near East.

Since 1850, the Russian Church in Athens had been headed by a prominent priest, Archimandrite Antonin Kapustin (fig. 2). During the ten years of his tenure in Greece (1850-1860), he systematically studied the history, Church rites, and archaeology of the Balkans. Later he became the Russian priest in Constantinople (1860-1865) and head of

4 Innokentij, Pamiati Episkopa Porphyrija. – Gerd, Ep. Porphyrij Uspenskij.

5 Porphyrij's papers (now preserved in St. Petersburg department of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences, fond 118) and activities in the Near East became a focus of attention already a few years after his death. A special commission was appointed by the Imperial Academy of Sciences for systematization

of his archives, and by the beginning of the 20th c. a catalogue of his archives with a list of his published works had been edited (Syrku, Opisanie bumag). This publication was followed by the edition of two volumes of Porphyrij's official reports and eight volumes of his journals (Uspenskij, Kniga. – Bezobrazov, Materialy).



Fig. 3 Petr Sevast'janov. – (Photo N. N., private property).

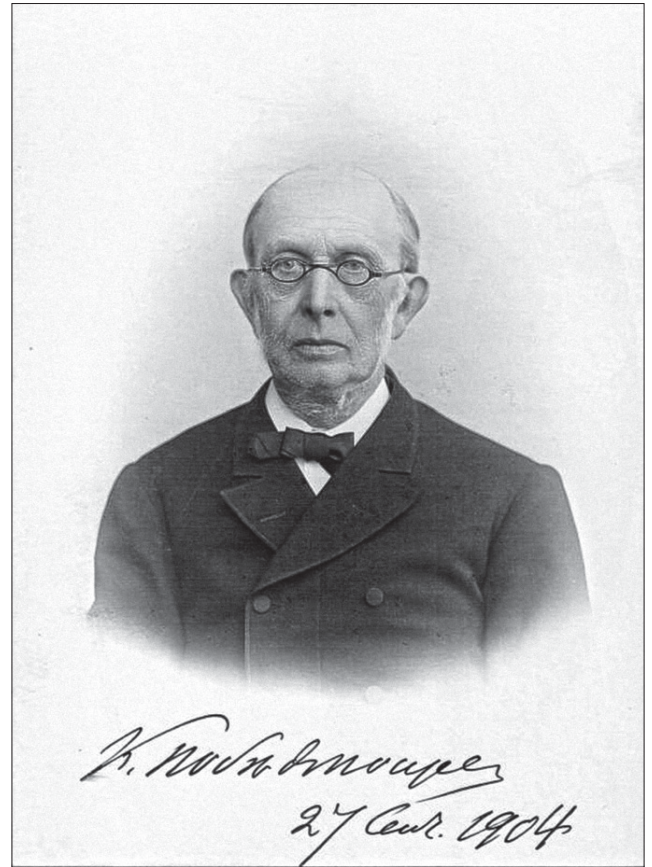


Fig. 4 Konstantin Pobedonoscev. – (After Vach, Pobedonoscev, frontispiece).

the Russian mission in Jerusalem (1865-1894)⁶. His numerous research works on Byzantine manuscripts, coins, and seals, as well as his archaeological research, greatly contributed to the Byzantine and Bible studies of that time. The Russian church of the Holy Trinity in Athens was restored under his guidance in 1852-1855. This medieval monument, actually rebuilt by Antonin and the German architect Tiersch, is a vivid demonstration of the tastes of the Europeans of the middle of the 19th century. Very few of the original Byzantine frescoes inside were preserved, being replaced by Italian-style paintings; the exterior was, however, not radically modified. Antonin planned to organize a school of Byzantine studies in Athens, similar to the French Archaeological school, which had already been founded in 1847. In his mind, this school was to foster not only Byzantine studies, but spread the Byzantine style of architecture and icon painting throughout Russia⁷. During the years spent in the Orthodox East, Antonin travelled several times, observing the remains of Byzantine churches and other historical monuments in Greece and around Constantinople. In 1859, together with Petr Sevast'janov, he worked on

Mount Athos, exploring Byzantine church architecture and especially the manuscript collections⁸. During his service in Constantinople, Antonin was constantly busy with research on old Greek and Slavonic manuscripts, acquired by him on Mount Athos and the markets of the Ottoman capital. Antonin's vision of Church life was strongly influenced by his Byzantine studies. In the second half of the 1850s, he proposed to the Russian Holy Synod a number of projects of possible reforms in the Russian Church, its administration, liturgical practices, and ecclesiastical education. All these projects, in fact rather conservative and orientated along the Greek and Byzantine lines, were nevertheless regarded as rather revolutionary by Metropolitan Filaret Drozdov (the highest authority in the Russian Church of that time) and completely rejected. One of Antonin's strongest ideas was creating more active links between the Russian Church and the Churches of the East. At the same time already in Athens he started creating Russian »islands«, small monastic compounds. Thanks to generous donations in the 1870s and 1880s, and being head of the Russian mission in Jerusalem,

6 Dmitrievskij, Načal'nik. – Kyprian, O. Antonin Kapustin. – Frary, Russian missions. See also the edition of Antonin's journals and reports from Constantinople: Lisovoj/Butova, Archimandrit Antonin. – Gerd/Vach, Archimandrit Antonin 1. – Gerd/Vach, Archimandrit Antonin 2. – Gerd, Archimandrit Antonin. More on Antonin's research work in Byzantology see: Fonkič, Antonin Kapustin. – Dmi-

trievskij, Naši kolekcionery. – Guruleva, Archimandrit Antonin. – Gerd, Naučnaja dejatel'nost.

7 On Antonin's activities in Athens (1850-60) see: Gerd, »Attičeskie noči«.

8 Antonin, Zаметki.

he managed to purchase a number of estates where Russian monasteries and pilgrimage houses were founded.

The expedition of Petr Sevast'janov (fig. 3) to Mount Athos in 1859 was the first attempt to carry through a large-scale exploration of the treasures of the Holy Mount, and one of the first times that Byzantine monuments and documents were photographed. The expedition received financial support from several official bodies, including the Synod, as well as Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaevna, who also shared an interest in ancient Christianity in the 1850s. The impressive results of the expedition (hundreds of photos and drawings, as well as a collection of original Byzantine icons) were demonstrated at exhibitions in Moscow and St. Petersburg that attracted wide circles of educated society⁹.

After the Crimean War, Russian foreign policy turned to support the South Slavs of the Balkan Peninsula. Thus, the romantic and theoretical Slavophile ideas of the 1830s and 1840s came into practical policy under the name of Pan-Slavism. Alexander II's government followed the line of protecting the South Slavs: Slavonic committees were founded all over Russia, and huge amounts of material aid were sent to the Balkans. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 was the summit of these activities¹⁰. During the period of Panslavism in Russian political thought, the Byzantine background of Russian culture and history was never forgotten¹¹. At the same time, a parallel current of traditional support of the Greeks and the patriarchate of Constantinople also continued. In the 1850s it was represented by the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, Count Aleksandr Tolstoj, and the priest of the Russian mission at Constantinople, Archimandrite Petr Troickij¹². In fact, Antonin Kapustin was also close to these ideas. In the 1870s, the pro-Greek line in Russia was shared by the statesman Tertij Filippov and the diplomat, writer, and philosopher Konstantin Leont'ev. Without being a scholar, Leont'ev was one of the most popular conservative authors of the 1870s, famous for his publications on the Byzantine legacy in ecclesiastical and public life of the Balkans and Near East of his time¹³. While Russian public opinion and diplomacy were wavering between the traditional pan-Orthodox concept on one side and Pan-Slavism on the other, the rapidly rising nationalism in the Balkans lead to an open conflict. The outbreak of the Greek-Slavic controversy came in the 1860s and 1870s and ended in the proclamation of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870 and the schism of 1872¹⁴.

The congress of Berlin of 1878 brought frustration to Russian politicians. The idea of pan-Slavic union under Russian

patronage had failed. After the assassination of Alexander II in 1881 came a new wave of the revival of Byzantinism. The ideologue of the new policy was the Chief Procurator of the Synod, Konstantin Pobedonoscev (fig. 4). According the new concept of foreign policy, Russia was large enough to dispense with further territorial expansion and should concentrate on its internal affairs. So imperial nationalism and neo-Byzantine universalism came to replace pan-Slavism. In Near Eastern policy, a conservative line of general non-interference was proclaimed. Nevertheless, the idea of pan-Orthodox unity was revived during the reign of Alexander III. Russia was the only great power to have an Orthodox monarch, and all the other Orthodox nations, both independent and under Ottoman rule, should be concentrated around the glory of the northern empire. St. Petersburg would thus replace Constantinople¹⁵.

It is not surprising that in the place of the wave research in Slavic history and culture of the 1860s and 1870s, an outbreak of Byzantine studies should begin in the 1880s. It would be completely wrong to suspect a »state order« in this case. The representatives of the golden age of Byzantine studies in Russia were independent scholars of quite different political views – right monarchist, liberal, and even left. Starting with the »father« of this academic school, the professor at St. Petersburg university Vasilij Vasil'evskij, they explored all sides of Byzantine history: liturgy (Aleksij Dmitrievskij), canon law (Vladimir Beneševich), acts and documents (Vasilij Regel), social and economic history (Fedor Uspenskij), literature and manuscripts (Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus), and art history (Nikodim Kondakov). More engaged in Church policy were some professors of the theological schools. Ivan Troickij, professor in Byzantine studies of St. Petersburg Theological Academy, was at the same time the closest advisor of Pobedonoscev in the East church affairs, keeping in touch with correspondents in Constantinople¹⁶. Ivan Sokolov, a professor at the same institution and editor-in-chief of the journal *Cerkovnye vedomosti*, wrote regular articles on the present-day ecclesiastical policy in the Near East and Balkans. An extreme philhellene, he held Byzantium to be an ideal of a theocratic monarchy and a model for the reorganization of the Russian empire¹⁷. Aleksij Dmitrievskij, professor of Byzantine liturgy at the Kiev Academy, became secretary of the Imperial Palestine Society in 1907, and wrote articles about Russian Church policy and its actors in the Near East in the 19th century¹⁸.

In the last decade of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the activities of Byzantine studies in Russia culminated

9 Dvogallo, *Sobirateľ'skaya dejatel'nost'*. – Kyzlasova, *Novoe o kollekci. – Pjatickij, Proizhozhenie ikon. – Pivovarova, Ešče raz.*
10 Nikitin, *Slavjanskije komitety. – Kohn, Panslavism. – Petrovich, Emergence. – Walicki, The Slavophile Controversy. – Milojkovic-Djuric, Panslavism.*
11 It found its reflections in the works of famous Russian poets and writers, F. Tjutčev and F. M. Dostojevskij. – Pigarev, F. I. Tjutčev. – Florovsky, *The Historical Premonitions. – Dostojevskij, Dnevnik pisatelja.* See: Skotnikova, *Vizantijskaja tradicija.*
12 [Petrov], *Vzgljad očevidca. – Gerd, »V delach Vostoka«.*

13 See a selected bibliography on Leont'ev in: Dmitriev/Dmitrieva, *Christianstvo. – Stamatopoulos, To Byzantio.*
14 Boneva, *Balgarskoto carkovno-nacionalno dviženie.*
15 Gerd, *Russian Policy 20-39. – Vovchenko, Containing Balkan Nationalism.*
16 The history of Russian Byzantine studies in St. Petersburg was during a research project in the 1990s: Medvedev, *Archivy. – Medvedev, Rukopisnoje nasledie. – Medvedev, Mir.*
17 Stamatopoulos, *From the Vyzantinism. – Stamatopoulos, To Byzantio 244-252, 282-285. – Gerd, Russian Policy 30-36.*
18 Dmitrievskij, *Graf. – Dmitrievskij, Očerk. – Dmitrievskij, Ep. Porphyrij Uspenskij.*

in two major events: the foundation of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (1894) and the annual periodical for Byzantine studies, *Vizantijskij Vremennik* (1895). The idea of founding of a Russian research institution in the Ottoman capital was born among the staff of the Russian embassy. In his note of 1887, Pavel Mansurov stressed the necessity of such institution for raising the authority of the country in the Near East. Moreover, all great powers by that time already had their own research centres in Constantinople. Russia should not leave studying the history of Orthodoxy to her Western rivals. The initiative was supported by different Russian institutions, who presented their own projects. In all of them, written by historians and archaeologists, the political side of the question was always kept in mind. The East could be conquered not by military force, but »by spreading the light of the true knowledge and revealing the spiritual links which connect us with it«, the author of one of such note proclaimed¹⁹. The founders of the institute, a group of professors of Novorossiisk (Odessa) University – Fedor Uspenskij, Nikodim Kondakov, and Aleksandr Kirpičnikov – also stressed the contribution in the »moral influence« of such an institution to the success of Russian policy in the Near East²⁰. The project of a new Russian institution in Constantinople provoked the suspicion of the British diplomats; however, they lost interest after finding out that the Russians were preoccupied mainly with Byzantine monuments and not with ancient ones. The institute worked under the direct protection of the Russian embassy, and the diplomats regularly attended its sessions and took part in some of its activities. Nevertheless, director Fedor Uspenskij carefully avoided any suspicion of engaging in political propaganda. Thanks to this line, an impressive body of research accrued, and 16 volumes of the journal of the institute (*Izvestija Russkogo Archeologičeskogo instituta v Konstantinopole*, 1896-1912) were published²¹ (fig. 5), as well as work conducted in cooperation with French and other foreign Byzantinologists in the Ottoman capital. At the same time Fedor Uspenskij, maybe more so than his colleagues in the archaeological institute, was interested in a wider reception of Byzantine studies in Russia. His foundational *History of the Byzantine Empire* (vol. 1 published in 1913) starts with an explanation of the term »Byzantinism« as a cultural phenomenon. During the discussions on the project of the institute, Uspenskij published a work on the Eastern question in Russia²².

The development of Russian messianism and neo-Byzantinism peaked during the First World War. After October 1914, the idea of »Constantinople patrimony« and »Russian Constantinople« became extremely popular. During the Dardanelles operation of the Allies in the first months of 1915, political romanticism took on fantastic forms. While liberal and left-oriented journalists concentrated on the future colonial acquisitions of Russia in the Near East, the right royalists and

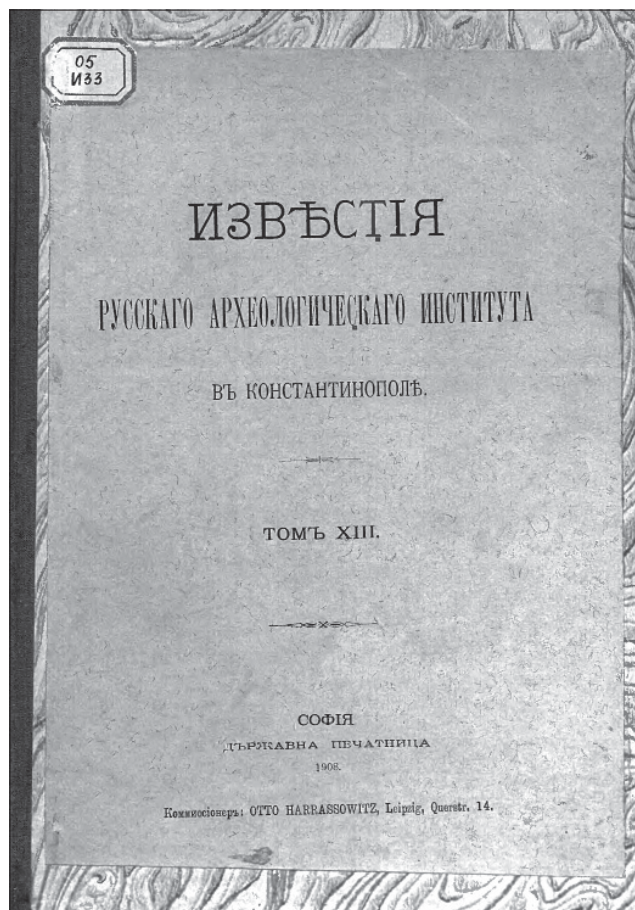


Fig. 5 Front page of the journal »Izvestija Russkogo Archeologičeskogo instituta v Konstantinopole«, Vol. 13, 1908.

Church politicians were dreaming about the restoration of the Byzantine Empire. Leading articles in the press proclaimed imminent victory, calling the war »the last crusade«. According to some authors, liberated Constantinople would become the cradle of the Kingdom of Christ on Earth, and the appearance of a cross on St. Sophia would heal the division of the Christian world. It is not surprising that in this atmosphere money started being collected for this cross throughout the Russian provinces. After the secret treaty of March 1915 between Britain, France and Russia, when the future division of the Ottoman Empire was agreed upon, so-called »Russian Constantinople« became a matter of discussion on the governmental level. Leading specialists in economics and education, as well as high-ranking military officers, were asked to contribute opinions. The Holy Synod ordered the composition of a note on the future ecclesiastical organization of the great city from a professor of Petersburg Theological Academy, Ivan Sokolov. In his text, »Constantinople, Palestine and the Russian Church«, Sokolov drew a broad picture of the Byzantine background of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the double power of the

19 Project of the Oriental commission of Moscow Archeological society (Basargina, *Russkij archeologičeskij institut* 24).

20 Ibidem 25.

21 Papoulidis, *To Rössiko*.

22 Uspenskij, *Kak vznik*.

ecclesiastical and temporal heads of the Empire. The Ottoman period concentrated the whole administration over the Orthodox population of the country in the hands of the Patriarch. In future Russian Constantinople the Ecumenical Patriarch should preserve, in the opinion of Sokolov, his first place among all bishops of the Eastern Church. The Russian czar was expected to replace the Byzantine emperor as the chief protector and keeper of the Orthodox faith and Church. Thus, the desired ideal Orthodox universal empire would be reconstructed and, Sokolov adds, the Russian Emperor might make Constantinople if not his main residence, then at least a temporary one²³.

Other Russian Byzantinologists were also involved in the discussion. Fedor Uspenskij, the former director of the archaeological institute in Constantinople, found possible to express his point of view in a special note, as well as in two articles in the newspapers. He concentrated on the cultural importance of St. Sophia as a symbolic church for Eastern Christianity. This church should be specially protected, and Orthodox liturgy should be celebrated there. The author warned about plans of unification of the Patriarchate of Constantinople with the Russian Synod, and other infringements of canon law. At the same time Uspenskij did not hesitate to express his own opinion that the Patriarch of Constantinople, as a Turkish official, would be better advised to retreat to central Asia Minor, sharing the fate of his government²⁴.

The »Byzantine dream« found its reflection in the articles of the influential Archbishop Antonij Chrapovickij. Without being a professional scholar, Antonij was in correspondence with many Greek bishops and deeply interested in the life of the Eastern Church. He proposed that after the »liberation«

of Constantinople, the city should be given to the Greek kingdom, St. Sophia to the Patriarch, and thus the Byzantine Empire would be restored²⁵.

The second centre of the Christian world, Jerusalem, also became a matter of passionate discussion. During several decades after the Crimean War of 1853-56, due to generous donations and the activities of the Russian ecclesiastical mission and the Imperial Palestine society, a number of Russian compounds were built on the estates acquired in Jerusalem and Palestine; the Society ran many schools for Christian Arabs. The Russian properties and institutions in the Holy Land were a subject of special attention and worries during the First World War. Most specialists and journalists understood well enough that in this complicated situation, the best outcome for Russia would be an international condominium over Palestine. Nevertheless, even this option seemed rather doubtful. The secretary of the Imperial Palestine society, Aleksej Dmitrievskij, in his public speech before the Slavonic benevolent society in Petrograd on 2 March 1915, discussed two possibilities – a British or a French protectorate – and was inclined to support the former. The reason he gave was that the British showed themselves more moderate towards Orthodoxy and, in his opinion, would not create difficulties for Russian pilgrims and institutions in the country²⁶. In this situation, the messianic calls of Antonij Chrapovickij or of some other clerics that Russia should do its best to »liberate« Jerusalem and install a Russian Patriarch there sounded completely fantastic²⁷.

The revolution of 1917 put an end to Byzantinism in Russian political thought and to using a medieval political ideology in 20th-century foreign policy.

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23 Sokolov, Konstantinopol'.

24 Gerd, Ešče odin proekt.

25 Antonij, Čej dolžen byt'.

26 Russian National Library, Manuscript Department. Fond 253, d. 37.

27 Antonij, Vselenskaja. On the discussions in Russian press about the future of Jerusalem see: Gerd, Russkie proekty.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Russian Imperial Policy in the Orthodox East and its Relation to Byzantine Studies

In the first half of the 19th century, the period of Great Power rivalry in the Near East, Russia also founded an Orthodox mission in Jerusalem with Porphyrij Uspenskij at its head. His research in the history and archaeology of Eastern Christianity was the first serious research in Byzantine studies in Russia. The beginnings of a school of secular Byzantine studies in Russia in the 1870s and 1880s coincided with »Imperial Byzantinism« in Russian policy. The heritage of the Third Rome and messianic ideas were developed by some Russian scholars. The peak of this political romanticism came in 1915, with the plans for a »Russian Constantinople« and restoration of the Byzantine Empire.

Russische imperiale Politik im orthodoxen Osten und ihre Beziehung zur Byzantinistik

In der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, der Zeit der Rivalitäten der Großmächte im Nahen Osten, gründete Russland eine Orthodoxe Mission in Jerusalem, an deren Spitze Porphyrij Uspenskij stand. Seine Forschungen zur Geschichte und Archäologie des östlichen Christentums waren die ersten ernsthaft betriebenen byzantinistischen Forschungen in Russland. Die Anfänge einer Schule weltlicher byzantinistischer Studien in Russland in den 1870er und 1880er Jahren fielen mit dem »imperialen Byzantinismus« in der russischen Politik zusammen. Von einigen russischen Gelehrten wurde der Gedanke vom Erbe des Dritten Rom sowie messianische Ideen entwickelt. Der Höhepunkt dieser politischen Romantik wurde 1915 mit den Plänen für ein »russisches Konstantinopel« und die Wiederherstellung des Byzantinischen Reiches erreicht.