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"The pilgrimage of Parthenius the Mount Athos Monk to Russia, Moldavia, Turkey and the Holy Land" by Parthenius the Monk (Ageev) as a primary source for the Bulgarian and Turkish ethnography of the mid-nineteenth century (for the 1000th anniversary of Russian monks on Mount Athos: 1016-2016)

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Abstract

In the context of globalization and the interaction between both Christian and Islamic civilizations it is necessary to take into account the cultural diversity and the uniqueness of each civilization to learn them. It leads to the growing interest in comparative studies, in learning the "others" representation in one's own picture of the world based upon the values system of their own civilization; this is a way to maintain the cultural identity of our own society. This article considers "The pilgrimage of Parthenius the Mount Athos Monk to Russia, Moldavia, Turkey and the Holy Land", a document of mid-nineteenth century, as a primary source. The author analyzes the representation of both Bulgarians and Turks who contacted with Parthenius the Monk during his journey to the Mount Athos. Having analyzed the text of Parthenius' "Pilgrimage" and having used the comparative method, the author shows the Parthenius' representation of "others", i.e. Bulgarians and Turks. The genre of "pilgrimage" was quite common in both Russian and European literature. The genre was popular in Russia; it shows the importance of Russian ties with both the Balkans and the Western Asia during that period. Russians then identified themselves as an integral part of Christian civilization. Parthenius' representation of the lands visited is full of contrasts. Parthenius underlines the contrast between Islam and Christianity using such terms as "faithful" and "infidel". There are two main themes in Parthenius' "Pilgrimage". First of all, Parthenius describes Bulgarians as hospitable and hardworking people who do their best to conserve their language and religion. The second theme is the description of "the enemy", i.e. Turks and Muslims who persecuted Eastern Orthodox Christianity. Representing Muslims as enemies Parthenius has reproduced the stereotypes common in the nineteenth century in both Russia and European countries.

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Parthenius the Monk (Ageev), a pilgrimage diary, a pilgrimage, Mount Athos in the nineteenth century, representation, Turks, Eastern Orthodox Christianity and Islam, the Ottoman Empire, Christian Bulgarians.

Introduction

Russia's links with the East existed from ancient times. Since the early Middle Ages, they were largely realized through pilgrimage to the Orthodox shrines of Jerusalem of Christians who made "walks" into the "holy land" that was in the possession of Muslim rulers. However, the pilgrimage was supported by the spiritual zeal of individuals only; and until the nineteenth century "the holy land remained an unknown, remote place for the Russian people" [Bushueva, 2008, 127]. Nevertheless, Russia and the Islamic world are connected by centuries-old cultural and historical relations; "Orthodoxy and Islam have always shown a stable readiness for coexistence based on great value and spiritual closeness, despite the religious confessions" [Naumkin, 2007, 8] and the wars that happened sometimes.

In the modern globalizing world, the process of expanding the Christian-Muslim intercivilizational dialogue requires taking into account the cultural diversity and uniqueness of each civilization, the need to know itself and the neighbor. In this connection, there is an increasing interest in comparative study of various countries and peoples, the study of the system of representations, the perception of each other, the evaluation of "otherness of foreign" on the basis of its own value system, which contributes to the self-identification of the nation. As the researcher N.A. Erofeev states, "images occupy a key position in the mentality: it is in the images that the most important thoughts and feelings stirring society are cast in this epoch; they fix the picture of the world, indirectly reflect the social institutions and established forms of life" [Erofeev, 1982, 9].

The recent events in Turkey, Syria, and other countries of the Islamic world and in Europe, which feels the pressure of surging Muslims refugees, are the evidence of the relevance of the topic of the article. In the face of migrants and refugees, the East "mentally penetrates, permeates and internally transforms the West to some extent" [Belokrenitskii, www]; and it's relevant for Russia,

where the number of its own Muslim population is approaching 20% and a large number of devout people come to work from abroad.

In this aspect, the problem under consideration acquires special scientific and practical importance for understanding the image of the East as an image of "other" in building relations between Russia and the Muslim world, which has become one of the important factors of international politics of the 21st century. It should be noted immediately that the purpose of the study and the scope of the article do not allow us to disclose the underlying mechanisms of folding the ethno-confessional stereotypes under consideration. In this case, we only fix the stereotypes used by the monk Parthenius, so please do not take them for retransmission or even produce.

Briefly about the Russian pilgrimage to the East

In different periods of time the number of Russian pilgrims who went to the "holy land" varied depending on a number of objective and subjective reasons, political and natural disasters. Russian pre-revolutionary science has accumulated a solid experience of studying the cultural and religious ties of the Russian state with the Muslim East. And the first known written mention of the ancient Russian monasticism on Athos dates from 1016.

Researchers distinguish several stages in the dynamics of Russia's relationship with the Orthodox East and its study. The first half of the XIX century, which is the topic of this research, is referred by N.F. Kapterev to the second stage, Moscow one, covering the time since the XVI century to the 50-ies of the XIX century, the period of independence of the Russian church, "the emergence of a view of Russia as the representative and keeper of a true, intact Orthodoxy, on Moscow as the heiress of the fallen Byzantium, as a new Third Rome" [Kapterev, 1885, 11]. It is no accident, beginning with the Grand Duke Vasily III, that the Russian rulers considered it their duty to render material and political support to the Russian monastery on Athos. The researcher A.A. Pypin convincingly showed that more conscious and critical attitude toward the study of the Orthodox East in Russia begins only in the eighteenth century, from the journey of Vasily Grigorovich-Barskii [Pypin, 1907, vol. 2].

However, the chronological frameworks of the stage proposed by O.A. Perenizhko seem to us more accurate with reference to the Russian Svyatogorsky monastery, although they cover the history of Russia's relations with Palestine. As the third stage, it identifies the last third of the XVIII century, 1856 [Perenizhko, 2003].

This stage is characterized by the decline of the Russian pilgrimage movement, which, however, was not interrupted. One of the reasons was the anti-monastic policy of Peter I, and the second was the aggravation of the relationship between Russia and Turkey, which has become a barrier to the access of Russian monks to the Holy Mountain. But it was in this period that the official study of the countries of the East in general and of Palestine in particular began. As B.M. Danzig shows, a pilgrimage, "widening the horizons of the traveler himself, gave a certain amount of information

about the Middle East and a significant number of people who came in contact with him on his return to his homeland" [Danzig, 1973, 7].

A significant contribution to the study of "walking" was made by Soviet researchers. Restricted by the dictates of the Soviet ideological attitude not to resort to religious motives of pilgrimage, religious sentiments, etc., Russian scientists viewed them in the genre of geographical travel [Lotman, 1992, vol. 1]. The view that the walks were geographical works was refuted by N.I. Prokofiev, who proved that it was "one of the forms of artistic literature, but of a period when artistry had a special imprint and was significantly different from the literary art of the new time" [Prokofiev, 1970, 27]. The pilgrimage literature of the XIX century is difficult to be correlated with the historically developed genre of walking. The compositions of pilgrims of the XIX century began to assimilate new tendencies, and the best compositions caused a live reaction of contemporaries.

A new stage in the study of the history of the relationship between the East and Russia and the history of Russian pilgrimage began in the last decade of the 20th century. More and more often, religious problems become the subject of scientific research of Russian scientists in various fields of humanitarian knowledge. The attention increased to the confessional themes that arose in recent years, and the various preferences of the Russian Orthodox Church let us to presume some social need for this. Multilateral, including confessional aspects of walking and traveling received an increased attention again, and, as V.P. Litvinov states, the popularity of the genre of walking – pilgrimage – showed how important the role of Russia's ties with the East at that time was. "It was they who enabled Russian people to feel part of the vast spiritual and cultural space of the Christian civilization" [Litvinov, 2015, book. 1, 185].

The quoted author used the phrase "pilgrim feat" for a reason, because, on *epyrsk* way to the Christian oriental shrines, pilgrims had to overcome many hardships of the road with a risk to life. By the time of the establishment of the rule of the Ottoman Turks in the Balkans and in the East, the number of written sources connected with walking has increased. Due to the frequent pilgrimages to Jerusalem and the holy Mount Athos in the XVII century, Russian-Turkish treaties included articles reflecting the interests of pilgrims traveling to Ottoman possessions "from the Moscow side". For example, in the treaty of 1682 "it was said: ... give them expensive, and they should not not repay any insults and oppression" [Complete., 1830, v. 2, 392]. In the Russian-Turkish treaties of July 3, 1700 and September 18, 1739, it was said that from the pilgrims "nowhere a tribute or a *garach* or *sand-sash* (gift, a bribe) should be taken; so do not ask for money, and do not extort money for the travel document; they should not suffer any annoyance and anger and do not repent; and nowhere from the subjects of the Ottoman Empire a tribute or what payment should not be asked; but they will be given the required passports, and in this way, as usual, the Porte will supply the subjects of other nations, with the Ottoman Empire in friendship staying" [Complete, 1830, Vol. 4, 71].

Russia's ties with the Orthodox Athos and Jerusalem were realized not only through pilgrimage trips of Russian pilgrims; they also received generous help with money, furs, etc. It was in

this form that the patronage of the Russian Empire was expressed to the Orthodox East until the 18th century [Yuzefovich, 1869, 28-31]. The situation had somewhat improved after the conclusion of the Kuchuk-Kainardzhy agreement in 1774, according to which Russian pilgrims formally received legal support from the Ottoman authorities during their stay in the Holy Land. During the XVIII – first half of the XIX century, Russia in various ways, from diplomatic to military, tried to wrest certain benefits from the Porte for the Orthodox [Eliseev, 1885, 7]. Pilgrims began to pay less tax, but the conditions of their stay in Palestine remained, as before, unsatisfactory. Protection of the interests of Russian Orthodox pilgrims is recorded in many other later treatises and treaties between Moscow and Istanbul.

In connection with the 1000th anniversary (2016) of the ancient Russian monasticism on the holy Mount Athos and the history of the Russian on Athos St. Panteleimon Monastery, the Russian Orthodox Church emphasizes the inextricability and importance of the heritage of the Holy Mountain as a universal Orthodox treasury, a kind of "hotbed" and the center of "monasticism, spirituality and literature, culture and enlightenment throughout Russia" [Russian Athos, www].

The book, published by the Russian Holy Panteleimon Monastery (2015), indicates that the great Russian literature of the XIX century also "almost did not know Athos", since the number of "works written about the Holy Mountain in Russia by professional writers or critics during this period" was insignificant. The authors explain this situation "by a different direction in the spiritual quest of the Russian intelligentsia of that time, divided into Westernizers and Slavophiles". The Orthodox Church "was revered by the Slavophiles as the cornerstone of their social construction, but its universality, its eastern origin, its historicity somehow disappeared behind talk about the Russian way and the national spirit. Another significant phenomenon of social life in Russia in the second half of the 19th century became nihilism and related anti-clericalism". It is clear that these phenomena did not "contribute to the development of interest among the Russian intelligentsia towards the spiritual centers of the Orthodox Church and, in particular, to Afon". It is stated that in the last third of the XIX century, "in the Russian public consciousness, the Orthodox East in general ceased to represent the religious idea and turned into a geopolitical vector of Russian foreign policy". However, after the defeat in the Crimean War, "the position of the Russian Foreign Ministry regarding the Balkans has changed. If Russia previously supported Eastern Christians without distinction of nationality, then from the end of the 1850s, the Slavophilism, which was purely theoretical philosophy before, came into the plane of real politics. This coincided with the rise of the national liberation struggle of the southern Slavs", primarily the struggle of the Bulgarians against the Patriarchate of Constantinople [Afon ..., www] for ecclesiastical independence, for their own exarchate.

The complex military and diplomatic relations of the Russian Empire with the Ottoman Port, their cultural contacts, the growing attention of the tsarist government and society to the South Slavic peoples in the XVIII-XIX centuries created an environment for which the information about foreign Slavs in the Ottoman state became very interesting [Murtuzaliev, 2013]. This contributed

and sharply increased in the XIX century, when many new possibilities of the world's perception arose, which allowed some researchers to liken the activation of travel with some pandemic. Traveling to Muslim countries, researchers, tourists and pilgrims, each in their own way, contributed to the maintenance and dissemination of existing stereotypes, or formed new images, for example, the weakening Ottoman Empire was associated with a sick person.

Returning to our main question, we note that the pilgrimage to holy places as an integral element of religious consciousness and church custom is also a cultural and historical phenomenon. Varied in its genre composition, pilgrimage literature is a huge layer of domestic and Western European culture. The term "walking" begins to emerge from widespread use since the XVI century. In the XVIII century, their authors call pilgrimage the journeys. Travel is considered to be one of the main genres of sentimentalism. In the sentimental journey, the personality of the author is brought to the forefront, where the inner world of a human being is at the center of attention. However, speaking of the pilgrimage of the nineteenth century, it should be noted that it has never received scientific understanding in contemporary literary criticism. The pilgrimage literature of the XIX century is difficult to correlate with the historically formed genre of walking. The works of the pilgrims already absorb new artistic tendencies, reflecting the historical and literary situation, and the best writings evoked the lively reaction of contemporaries.

The history of writing the "Pilgrimage" of Parthenius the Mount Athos Monk

One of these works belongs to the book of the monk Parthenius, or Peter Ageev, and according to other sources, Peter Andreev (1806-1878), "The pilgrimage of Parthenius the Mount Athos Monk to Russia, Moldavia, Turkey and the Holy Land" in four parts (1855). In the history of the Russian Orthodox Church, Parthenius, who went from monk to hegumen, is known as a very outstanding personality, as an Orthodox missionary and a prominent church writer.

The biography of the Moldavian Old Believer, then the monk, the ascetic, the pilgrim and hegumen Parthenius (Ageev/Andreev)¹, the Russian poet on the Mount Athos of the Panteleimon Monastery and the pilgrim has been studied quite well. Therefore, we will highlight only few important details for our study.

It is known that Peter's childhood, as he recalled, "was like a spiritual academy and a school of piety". The family of a wealthy Old Believer merchant who adopted an orphan fed the boy "with food in body and spirit, and prepared ... for a solitary life" [Ageev, 2015]. Living among the schismatics in the Belo-Krinitzky Monastery near the Carpathian Mountains, he was tonsured monk

1 In the Central Historical Archives of Moscow, some unique documents have been found, among which was "The list of the rector of the Berlukovsky desert of Berlukovo, Hieromonk Parthenius" (F. 709. Op. 1. D. 125), where there is a record of his mundane name and surname – Peter Andreev. This document first officially mentions the worldly writing of the data of Father Parthenius. Hence we can conclude that Andreev is either his surname or patronymic (Peter, son of Andreev), which is most likely. There are other versions of the secular patronymic and the surname of Father Parfenia.

under the name of Paisius, but eventually the monk became convinced that the schismatics "only try to observe some external rites", but do not worry about "cleansing the inner nature". His study of Holy Scripture and liturgical literature leads to the fact that in 1837, after wandering around the monasteries and "deserts" of Russia, he finally leaves the schism and goes to Orthodoxy in the Moldovan monastery of the Crow, and dreams of going to Athos, which, in his opinion, along with Russia remained the only stronghold and the only support of Orthodoxy in the world.

By this time, after the devastation of Athos by the Turks in 1821-1829, Russian people again had the opportunity to come to the Holy Mountain. The new stage of the revival of the Russian monastery begins in 1835, when from Russia, for the first time in many decades, monks were able to come to the monastery. Driven by the desire "to travel to the notorious holy Athos Mountain, as in a quiet and uninvited refuge ... This desire I had from the youngest years of my life" [Legend., 1856, part II, 3-4], Peter Ageev in September, 1839, together with the icon painter Nikita, goes on a journey. Moved by the "providence of God", he went s "in a dry way" not as an ordinary traveler, hungry for new impressions, but as a deeply religious person who has heard about the holiness of Athos, admiring the lives of saints and wanting to imitate them. Having reached the coveted Athos, he finds a confessor of Hieroschemonk Arseny. With the blessing of Arseny, Peter Ageev becomes a pupil to the future great eldest Jeronim (Solomentsov, at that time, monk Ioannicius), the confessor of the Holy Panteleimon Monastery, the spiritual pillar of the Russian Athos, to whom the merit of the revival of the Russian monastery belongs. By the hieroschemamonk Arsenius Peter Ageyev was tonsured into a mantle (monastic order) and "named Pamva, that is, the one who traveled a lot" [ibid, 177], and in the first week of Lent in 1841 he adopted a schema with the name of Parthenius.

When in 1841 Nicholas I declared the highest favor for the permission of the collection of alms in Russia for Athosite monks, Parthenius was sent there to collect donations and to convert his adoptive parents to Orthodoxy, which was realized. But because of his impracticality on January 2, 1843, he returned to Athos with empty hands. September 23, 1845 schemamonk Parthenius was instructed to leave Athos, go to Russia "in the Siberian country ... in Tomsk province" to fight the split and establish Orthodoxy and no longer return. But first the confessor tells him to go to Jerusalem to worship the Life-giving Christ's Coffin and the other St. places. Hardly surviving the separation from Athos, but following the injunction, Parthenius arrived in Jerusalem on October 30, where he lived for about six months. Then he returns to Athos and six months later, on November 23, 1846, goes to Constantinople. Here, Parthenius receives from Ottoman Port open firman on the right to go to Russia and on March 18, 1847, by the sea he goes to Moldova, and then on May 28, 1847, to Russia.

September 11, 1847 Parthenius arrived in Tomsk, where he met Bishop of Tomsk and Yenisei Afanasy (Sokolov). It was the Reverend elder Athanasius who "forced him ... to describe a long-term ... wandering and traveling" [ibid, part I, 1] and blessed Parthenius for writing a book. In 1855 the main work of Parthenius, "The Tale of Wandering and Travel", was published with the

participation and supervision of St. Philaret (Drozdov), Metropolitan of Moscow. The journey of selfless pilgrim travels to holy places abroad was immediately appreciated by contemporaries (see below), and in 1856 the second edition of the book followed.

Only in 1870-1871 years the long-standing desire of Parthenius to visit the holy mountain of Mount Athos and Jerusalem once again came true. He returned to Russia on May 31, 1871. Deputy Director of the Renaissance Foundation of the Nikolo-Berluks Monastery, director of the Monastery Church Historical Museum Alexander Panin reports: "According to most of the documents from Trinity, the hegumen Parthenius left the earthly world on May 17, 1878 year, and was buried on the 19th in the Trinity-Sergius Lavra in the Smolensk cemetery" [Panin, www]. The late hegumen left the unreleased fifth volume of The Legends about his wanderings, which contains an autobiography that ends on June 26, 1854 (before his work began on the Moscow land) with the words about the intention to describe all his subsequent wanderings in the sixth part [Autobiography. www], but did not have time to implement the plan.

Archimandrite Nikon (Rozhdestvensky) wrote about Parthenius that he "was a whole Russian man: a straightforward, incapable of those deals with conscience, which the rationalist-European often resorts to in questions of faith and Christian morality. He grew up beyond all European influences, did not study in any schools and all his spiritual mood and literary development owed not to school, not to science, but to the Church upbringing that makes up the distinguishing feature of a truly Russian person" [In Moscow., www].

The Russian readers of the book gave few reviews, although Parthenius pointed out that he had no serious ambitions in describing his travel experiences, that "not learned from outer wisdom, I am rude and ignorant of the word" [Legend., 1856, part I, IV] , but this is one of the traditional preambles inherent in all walks. If our author had in mind that he did not study at school and was not familiar with so-called secular literature, caring about the beauty of the syllable, etc., then his words correspond to reality. But in another case, Parthenius is cunning, because it was in the house of the Tomsk archbishop that he dealt with books: "I collected", writes the author, "from the different books the words and conversations of various holy fathers to the Lord's and Virgin's feasts, in Russian, eighty, in two books, and called this meeting a solemn one. He also compiled a book in three parts, which contains narratives about various particularly remarkable things and cases he have seen and heard". He also used the library of His Eminence Athanasius, a great book-lover and enlightened man of his time. In the library there were books in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Jewish, German, French, English, Russian and Slavic. Parthenius read and studied all this book wealth with the help of Afanasy, who was fluent in several languages. As spiritual friends, they also engaged in history, philosophy, geography, astronomy.

Fears of the author of "Legend" to acquire "short-term fame" proved to be real right after the first publication of the book. In the years 1855-1860, in the various periodicals, five articles were published on the subject of Parthenius and his work. The high talent of Parthenius was noted by the outstanding minds of that time: S.M. Soloviev, N.P. Gilyarov-Platonov,

A.A. Grigoriev, I.S. Turgenev, M.P. Pogodin, M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin [Panin, www]. A.V. Druzhinin wrote about the author of *The Legend*: "If I am not cruelly mistaken, in Russia we had not yet seen such a high talent since the time of Gogol" [From a letter ..., 1930, 215]. Paying tribute to the outstanding pilgrim, spiritual writer and publicist of the XIX century Parthenius (Ageev), since 2008, the Pilgrim Center of the Moscow Patriarchate holds church and scientific conferences, exhibitions of photographs devoted to him [Church-scientific., www; Zaitsev, www] and the holy mountain Athos.

Thus, we came to the next part of our study devoted to the unique literary work of the XIX century, the book of Parthenius in four parts (1855), reprinted in 1856.

Islam and Turks-Ottomans in the work of Parthenius

The main source for us is the second corrected edition of *The Legend* [Legend ..., 1856]. The book is interesting because a significant part of the path of Parthenius to Athos ran through the Balkan Peninsula, through the territory of Romania, Macedonia and through the Bulgarian lands conquered by the Turks. Which is relevant for us, this source has not yet attracted the attention of researchers. In his book Parthenius describes the journey "in dryness through European Turkey in St. Mount Athos and accommodation on Athos before traveling from there to Russia". However, some of the materials and subjects that we are interested in are also available in the remaining three parts of the book. In the "Preface" of his work, Parthenius states: "And about what I did not mention in the Legend on oblivion or for other reasons, and after judging to mention, I put it in additions" [Legend., 1856, part I, III]. The author informs the reader that "he wrote all these things without bias, according to conscience, where he walked with his feet, and that he saw with his own eyes, or that he heard from people, all the likelihood of worthy and testified" [ibid, IV].

Starting with the analysis of the journey of Parthenius, we must first emphasize once again that the author of the book belonged to the spiritual estate based on the affirmation of the truth of the Orthodox Church, and the author's worldview is based on Holy Scripture, tradition and patristic tradition. The specificity of the author's religious perception and everything related to the Orthodox dogma and the church, we do not touch, this is a separate issue. In the work of Parthenius, we are primarily interested in the Turkish-Bulgarian and the accompanying Christian-Islamic information, painted, of course, by the confessional and political sympathies and antipathies of the author, who produces some stereotyped images of Bulgarians and Turks.

The researcher Kozak points out that, "despite the varying degree of authenticity of texts, all notes on other civilizations and cultures, even if some are written on the basis of a long stay in the country, have (necessary limited) chronotope. The eye of the author, as a kind of "eye" of the camera, has its limitations: from the perspective of phenomenology, it can see and fix only phenomena of a certain moment or a certain time, which does not detract anything from the importance of travel essays" [Kozak, 2014, 197].

The next important point is that it is on the basis of foreign cultural stereotypes so-called images emerge that differ from stereotypes by completeness, greater flexibility, less emotional component; they include, as a rule, personal experience and arise on an individual basis, and are not transmitted ready-made, as stereotypes are [Golubev, Porshneva, 2012, 9]. The image of the "other" as a complex, synthetic category is a dynamic system of representations and opinions, possessing both stereotyped and differentiated features, both rational and emotional components.

Going to Athos, Parthenius learns that the pilgrims must "pay the Turks great tribute, and each person has to pay *kharach*. And if you go on dry land, that is, a great mountain, and in them there are a lot of robbers" [Legend ..., 1856, part II, 9-10]. This information was confirmed just during the trip.

Being a deeply devout Christian, Parthenius, of course, associated all the negative features of the Turks with their religion, Islam, the history of the emergence and dissemination of which is set out in the spirit of their religion and time. Apparently, he was not familiar with the content of the Koran, therefore, in his interpretation, Christ shamed his enemy the devil, and he "fled with shame to the south, into the wild desert; and there wandered on the mountains and cliffs, like a defeated warrior, found a shepherd named Mohammed, and chose him his dwelling and convenient vessel, and settled in him, and then he began to act on them what he wanted, and the savage peoples began to read him as a prophet. Mohammed, inspired by the devil, to the charm and death of men, invented a new law that indulges human passions, and deceived many wild peoples wandering, and began spreading his bad law through the sword" [ibid, part I, 153-154].

For Parthenius, the Turks and Turki are inseparable, they are fused in the image of the Turks, whom Islam "deceived into its law", as well as the "Turkish prince, or the Sultan. And they rushed to the Holy Church of Christ and to her children, and those who did not want to receive their law were crucified with a sword; all the Christian churches and monasteries, the cruel serpent, the Turks, ravaged and destroyed, and turned many into their filthy mosques" [ibid, 154].

Turning to the times of growth of the power of the Ottoman Empire, where Islam became not only a state religion, but also a system-forming axis around which the life of society was centered, Parthenius reports that the Turks then "conquered this fierce serpent", "the Greek countries and islands, and mercilessly shed Christian blood, and reaped the Christian race as unripe wheat. Then he moved to Europe, and everywhere the Christian church ruined, and turned into his mosques, and everywhere in the churches of God he delivered the abomination of desolation". However, "the Church of Christ was not overcome and destroyed. She is still irresistible today; even in captivity, but shines with the right faith, and shines with ancient piety; and the Christian strives and the people have not much lessened, and although the pagan Mohammedans of some and exterminated, but then forwarded them to the eternal blissful life. And so the enemy, the devil, was put to shame with his servants" [ibid, 155].

In the East, the author writes, "godless and pagan Mohammedans prevailed in Constantinople, Syria and Egypt, and throughout Greece, and turned the ancient Christian churches into their Turk-

ish mosques; and in them the charity service ceased to be performed, and a bloodless sacrifice is offered, and became the abomination of desolation in the place of the holy. However, until the end of the city and in the villages and in monasteries, God-pleasing service is performed, and the body and blood of Christ were never brought (that is, the sacrament of communion was performed under both species – S.M.); but Christians built other small churches in which they daily perform charity work" [ibid, 142-143].

In the text of *The Legend*, the image of the Turk is always drawn with one black paint with a constant negative refrain: "the evil hand is Turkish", the Turkish atrocities against churches and people, "Christians began to build a new large stone church, but the Turks do not allow completing it. That's what a wicked Turkish hand does!" and so on. While "there are only thirty Turkish mosques in one Tatar city of Bazar-Chuk" [ibid, II, 37-38, 43, 46-48, 55-56, etc.).

The only bright spot is "a miracle that more than four hundred years, Mount Athos is under the heavy yoke of Turkey, that throughout Turkey, through villages and hail, all churches and monasteries are ruined, and although there are newly built, but without domes and without crosses, without bells and without bells, like houses; but here (on Athos) we see not such a situation, but the churches in full Christian splendor" [ibid, 85].

Parthenius reports that in April 1841, St. Nicholas appeared to some Turk in Constantinople at night. On his advice, and then under threat of the Turks, he began to dig in the place where, as the saint said, his icon was located and he had to hammer the source. To the horror of that Turk, water began to appear. He went to the Sultan and said: "The Sultan of Light! Cut my head: for I will praise another's faith". The Sultan, together with the patriarch, arrived at the place and ordered to dig, "and suddenly water rushed, and the icon came out with water". The Sultan ordered to bring the sick man, who was given water and washed, and he "became healthy". And in seven days "many miracles were created". Then "the great spiritual Turkish authorities rebelled, they went to the Sultan, and with anger they said: "when you want to be a Christian, then accept the Christian faith, and on both sides you do not limp; you must stop it, otherwise you will be punished". Frightened, the Sultan "sent the army in an hour and everyone was kicked out of the yard, where they showered the water. But the icon was lost; the owner was taken out of the house, and the house was sealed, and they put two sentries at the gate" [ibid., part III, 27-29].

Very interesting is the plot connected with the mosque built by the Sultan more than a hundred years ago, "but the Turks do not go there to pray, and they shun her, calling her abominable; because the Sultan who built it, he believed in Christ". It's said that the sultan asked himself: "What is Christian faith? And what is Mohammedan faith? Who was the Christ, and who was Mohammed?". The sultan called "the great muftis, dervishes and mullahs, and all senior pasha" and demanded an answer to his questions. They answered: "the God saw that Jesus did not listen to the nations, and his law could not be accepted, because it is very strict and heavy; then God sent another great prophet, Mohammed, to give the nations an easier law". To the Sultan's question: "Who will judge the human race at the second trial?", they answered: "Great Prophet Jesus

Christ". The Sultan asked: "And what will Mohammed do?". They answered: "For Mohammed with his Mohammedans the God will give a special place, where he will rest; but Jesus Christ will be the judge for all other world and their Christians". To the Sultan's question: "Why should He judge His Christians when they believe in Him?", they answered: "For the fact that they worship Him as equal to God and as the Son of God they call". The sultan was surprised: "Only for that? This is something unfair. He will torment them for that; but we hate and persecute him, and He will have mercy on us, that's not necessary at all. Go and think carefully; and give me an answer in three days". After this period, they gave the same answer as before. Then the Sultan declared: "And when so, that the Judge will be one Jesus Christ, then He will never condemn His Christians; because they believe in Him, and He is loved and honored, and His will is fulfilled. And He will condemn those who do not believe in Him, and do not obey His commands; those who betray will have eternal torment". After this the sultan rose and announced: "Now you do as you know; but I believe Him who will judge, that is, Jesus Christ". Then the Turks "all went mad, jumped up and rushed at him, and killed him. And so he was baptized with his blood, and took the crown of the torment for the great Judge, Jesus Christ. And now the Turks do not go to this mosque" (ibid., Part III, 30-33).

In the official history of the Ottoman Empire, such incidents are unknown. However, various versions of the debates on the topic: whose god is stronger, whose faith or religion is more correct, which one should be adopted, etc. wandered with enviable constancy through pages of medieval manuscripts and the walks of previous pilgrims and chroniclers long before Parthenius.

The real story connected with the above plot is connected with the Sultan Mahmud, who died in 1839. The priest accompanying Parthenius in Constantinople (the pilgrim did not like the new name of the city, Istanbul), said that after the Russian-Turkish war of 1828 the Sultan "became kind and merciful to Christians ... Christians looked upon him as a father; The Turks hated him, and he was called an infidel and a Christian. And he changed many Turkish customs. And his death, they say, was violent" [Ibid, 34].

For Russia, the sources of this information were fresh and linked to the Egyptian crisis of 1831-1833. The emperor Nicholas I actively supported Sultan Mahmud II against the rebellious Egyptian pasha Mehmed (Mehmet, Muhammad, Muhammad) Ali, having concluded a defensive Russian-Turkish alliance, which is known in history as the Unkiyar-Isklessi Treaty of 1833. In November 1832, General N.N. Muravyov-Karsky was sent by the emperor to Constantinople and Alexandria to render diplomatic assistance to the Turkish sultan during the period of aggravation of relations between Turkey and the Egyptian Mehmed-Ali Pasha. There was an interesting Muravyov's message directed to the settlement of the Egyptian-Turkish conflict, about the suspicion of the emperor, that, based on the severity of the situation, "the Sultan is inclined to accept, in case of extreme, the Christian faith", about which the tsar warned the general in case he will hear or notice something like that in conversations with the sultan. "Finally, if he (Sultan) was expelled from his kingdom, he would find shelter in Me", concluded Nicholas I.

Muravyov notes: "Upon my return from Turkey, I noticed that the Sovereign had changed his the way of thinking on this account; the conversion of the Sultan to Christianity seemed to him a matter unrealizable and even inaccessible". Incidentally, we note that Mahmud II, the Sultan-reformer, was really perceived by the Turks as "Sultan-Gyaur", that is, the Sultan the Infidel [Murtuzaliev, 2014, 268, 282-283].

The life of the Bulgarian people

The pilgrim paints the image of his fellow Bulgarian Christians in a completely different way; Father John the Hermit said about them, blessing the pilgrimage of Parfthenius to Athos: "Bulgarians will feed you with bread" [Legend., 1856, part II, 12, 33-36].

Having reached the Balkans, Paisii reports of Turkish atrocities against churches and people (see above). In the city of Machin (modern Romania), explaining the road to Athos, the townspeople informed him that "from Rushchuk (today Rousse, Bulgaria) you will meet the Bulgarians, who speak your language, almost up to the Holy Mountain. And there you will go a little Greeks" [ibid, 39]. The pilgrim notes that in the town of Turtukay (Tutrakan, Bulgaria) and in many other settlements, the Bulgarians called and welcomed travelers to their homes, gave them new clothes, washed their feet, fed them, and provided lodging for the night. And in the morning they returned their clothes, already "washed and dried", repaired sandals and explained the way forward [ibid, 48-49].

Very interesting are the capacious and lengthy observations of the pilgrim, concerning various aspects of the life of the Bulgarians. Coming to the settlements, the pilgrims were to be noted by the Turkish authorities. In the town of Rushchuk, travelers were given passports, and Christians "said ... that before St. Mount Athos from Rushchuk there are eighteen days to go and named us all the villages on the way". Coming out of the hail, the travelers turned from the Danube to the left, into the interior of Bulgaria, and for three days they went by all Bulgaria, all over the mountains. On the fourth day ... they approached the Bulgarian capital's Ternov Hill (Veliko Tarnovo, Bulgaria)". Passing the city, the travelers "walked through the Bulgarian villages, large as towns", which, according to Parthenius, numbered "three or two thousands of houses, built of stone; churches of the great stone, but without crosses and without domes, decorated inside with icons and chandeliers, and many lamps; around the churches the stone fence is high, like monastic, not as on the Danube". To the author's surprise, "their villages are not ruined, and the people are rich, even if they live in captivity, even under the Turkish heavy yoke, even more hampered and burdened by the Turkish yoke than the Greeks: for the Greeks have protection, the spiritual authorities: the Patriarch, Metropolitans, Archbishops and Bishops. He writes that while "poor Bulgarians are not only burdened by the heavy yoke of the Turkish, but also they suffer from the Greeks". This is explained by the fact that "in the cities where there are Bishops who come from the Greeks, they do not allow the Bulgarians to sing, read or teach children in Slavs: however", the author notes, "in the villages they

do not look at the Bishops, and sing and read books in Slavic and Russian. The Bulgarian dialect is closer to the Slavonic than to the Great Russian".

The pilgrim especially stresses: "The Bulgarian people of all praise and honor are worthy: ambitious and gracious, much zeal for The Church, they love the splendor of the temples of God much, and are very zealous for St. Places, St.. Woe to Athos and to St. Jerusalem, so that they surpass all the Christian families, such as Greeks, Syrians, Georgians, Serbs, Vlachs, Moldavians and even Russians. And no one is as good at worship, like Bulgarians, and no one brings so many donations as the Bulgarians. And they are so zealous, that to take a monk into a house is honored for happiness; and no nation goes to monasticism as often, as Bulgarians. Mount Athos is filled with Bulgarians; and there are a lot of monasteries all over Bulgaria, all of them are filled with monks from Bulgarians". This made a particularly strong impression on Parthenius, who exclaimed: "How good is Bulgarian country, and blessed is the people living in it!" [Ibid, 50-51].

The pilgrim states: "The Bulgarians are very industrious, so they cultivated all the land: the cultivation of crops, gardening and even silkworm breeding flourish there. The people are trading, courteous and affectionate; and many have locations to Russia, because of the similarity of tribe and language and customs. Many of them humbled and burdened the Turkish yoke; and if this nation was free, it would have been more excellent". Describing the religious aspects of the life of the Bulgarians, the author reports: "The churches do not have their bells; on cities they do not strike and in a board; and churches are always full of people. They stand in a church like monks; and the wives are not seen in the church: the wives are all standing on the choirs; and where there is no choir, the left country is fenced with bars, and the wives are standing there in good order. This good custom is observed throughout Greece, from Constantinople and to Jerusalem itself. Bulgarian wives cover their heads on the ancient Russian custom".

"Leaving the town of Turns in the left hand", the pilgrims spent two days "through the frequent villages; they spent the night and dined with strange people and their Christ-loving shepherds. When ... they passed through the streets, they not only did not have ask for food, but women from almost every house stopped us, and asked: "Where are we going?". Then they asked to remember them in prayers on Mount Athos "and we were rewarded with bread, cheese, linen. And they asked us not to drink water, so as not to damage our health, and pour our roadside pumpkin with wine" [ibid, 51-52].

On the sixth day, "from the Danube, they came ... to the great village of Gabrovo" (now Gabrovo, Bulgaria), that looked like a city, having "seven bazaars with one church". On the tower there were bells ringing for the whole village, it surprised us a lot; the climate was very cold; there were no grape or other gardens". After leaving the city, "they began to ascend to the main and great Balkans" and ascended to the very top of the ridge. Parthenius notes that before this place was "almost impassable: with great difficulty passed on foot and riding; but now without any difficulty it can be driven on wheels. The Russian soldiers cleared everything and made the road during the war of 1828, and then transported all the military artillery. God also told us to go this way". Having

reached the village Shipka (since 1977 the town of Shipka, Bulgaria), the travelers spent the night at the "Christ-lovers" and went to church in the morning, since there was a feast of the holy martyr Demetrius. "There is the monastery order in the church, as in the former villages; they read Russian books, sing a melody in Bulgarian". Parthenius says: "There is a lot of rose oil in this Shipka village: a lot of roses are planted around the village, that is, a dog rose, or *shipovnik*, so the village is called Shipka", All day travelers traveled saw clean and level fields, frequent villages, Bulgarian and Turkish gardens. They passed three villages of the Turks, but there were no Christian settlements. Toward evening they came to the great Bulgarian village of Kalofer (Kalofer, Bulgaria), where they were welcomed with love, and were settled down with food and drink. "This village of Kalofer, glorious throughout Bulgaria, is large and populous, like a great town; and it is rich with merchants, having trade with Europe; there are a lot of factories and factories in it, producing silk and snooks, and they work with the water." The pilgrim explains this in the following way: "In the middle of the village there flows a decent river, which is channeled throughout the village, to almost every house, and in almost every house there is the factory. Water is spinning wheels and weaving machines, to which we were much surprised. There are many churches in it, and two monasteries: on the edge of the village there is a women's monastery, glorious throughout Turkey; there are more than a thousand nuns. The monastery for male monks stands in the mountains, in the desert. In all the churches and monasteries they read Russian books, sing melody in Bulgarian. And a lot of us were asked by the Christ-lovers that we stayed with them for a week, that they liked Russian very much, and they never saw a Russian in their village, and that they asked us to go to their monasteries and to collect alms". But fearing "not to get to the destination by winter: for the time was too late, already on October 26", in the morning the travelers said goodbye and again "walked in plain fields, through the Bulgarian and Turkish villages, and spent the night and had dinner with the Bulgarians. In the left hand, not far, twenty versts away, remained the ancient city of Filibe, Filippopol" [ibid, 53-55]. Thus, Parthenius did not make a description of Plovdiv.

Then the travelers "came to the Tatar town of Bazar-Chuk", where local "Bulgarians said there was no church inside the city" and sent the travelers across the city to the church "on the field". In the morning, "they went to church, and listened to matins, without expenditure and the Liturgy. All the morning they read and sang in Greek. Christians here are all Bulgarians; they do not understand anything in Greek". "The city is very large; with thirty Turkish mosques. The greater part of the populations is Christians; there is only one church, and it is expelled, standing united in the desert, scolded and apart". There were several thousands of Christians, but "the church is so small that hardly a hundred people can be accommodated. In it there are only the altar and the choir; people are standing almost in the open air, inside the fence. Although the Christians have built up a new stone church, so great that there will be seven thrones in a row, and have already made above the windows, and they are admiring and rejoicing at it; but the Turks did not allow to complete the building. At this church there are twenty-five priests and fifteen deacons, and the Bishop" [Ibid, 56-57].

About the village called Bystrica (probably the present village of Bystrets) Parthenius reports that it is "large as a town; it stands under the Balkans; and the Christ-lovers of the Bulgarians accepted us, and gave us food. In the village there are two churches of the great stone: in one they read Slavic in Russian books, and in another in Greek; and the inhabitants are all Bulgarians. In this village there was a plague, but we did not know, and after that we were told in another village; the Lord has mercy for us" [ibid.].

Travelers were surprised that "this country is similar with Russia in everything. Thrace has already ended, Macedonia has begun. Towards evening we came to the village of Batak" (modern city of Batak, Bulgaria), where "the priest welcomed us in his house, and gave us a shelter with love, and asked us about various circumstances, and more about Russia and about Russian piety". Then the priest said that he would not let them go without some fellow travelers, because "the path is very dangerous: all the forests and mountains, and the desert is wild, filled with robbers" [Ibid, 58].

In the morning pilgrims went to church, which was ""a great stone one, surrounded by a stone high fence; inside there was the beautiful iconostasis, and many icons of the highest Greek work, all praise worthy, that I have rarely seen in all my wanderings; they were written by a monk of Svyatogorsk; there were books, the entire circle of the Moscow church press, and a decent vestry, and many lamps, and five crystal chandeliers". Parthenius notes that in the village "there were only three hundred houses: all the wooden, felled from the logs and on the moss, covered with grass, many of them were two-story; you could not even think that the village is Bulgarian, it looked absolutely Great Russian. There were no gardens, because of the cold climate". Bread here is made from barley, because other bread could not be planted.

The author reports that from the village of Batak is "not far from another Bulgarian village: before there were Christians, but the Turks seized them (converted to Islam), for which many Christians regret them; but they speak before and now in Bulgarian" [ibid, 58-59].

In the mountains, the pilgrims met "a cart of Turks with goods, all armed, and we were stopped, and began to ask in Bulgarian: where do we go from and where are we going? ... They asked: "How are you not afraid to walk in this wild desert without weapons? There are many robbers here. We are a hundred men with weapons, and even then we are afraid". And we answered them: "You have hope for weapons, and have hope for God". The Turks shook their heads, and parted. In five versts "some four people armed with rifles, sabers, pistols and daggers came to us on the road; their eyes were full of blood; they stopped us, and began to speak in Turkish". Having found out that travelers know only Moldovan and Bulgarian, the conversation continued in Bulgarian. Parting, the robbers gave "us one leva, that is, twenty coppers, and said: "For our health at the khan (or at the inn), drink wine, but do not say that you saw us". ... The next day the travelers "passed two villages: the villages are Bulgarian, and the faith is held by the Turkish, and they speak in Bulgarian; for they are made Muslims by force. And late in the evening we came to the Bulgarian Christian village Petrelich". Parthenius mentions that in a day and a half there was a "great monastery, the Monastery of St. John, where he escaped. His imperishable relics rest there. There are more than three hundred monks,

all pure Bulgarians. The church service is read and sung by Russian books; the monastery is very rich, but not dormitory one. We wanted to visit it, but we were advised against it", because of the difficulty of the way to it, which is impossible to find without a guide. Describing the further path, Parthenius notes: "This country is very good, it is upraised by grain growing and grape gardens, and there are many Bulgarian villages, and sometimes there are Turkish ones" [ibid, 60-62].

When the pilgrims reached the monastery of St. John the Baptist, they were invited "to the library, and they showed us a lot of leather and paper manuscript Slavic books, more than a thousand; lying without any breach, of which we have had many condolences and regrets; many have been damaged already". When asked about the reason for such negligence, they were told: "And what are these books for us? We do not know what to read. Although all the brothers are Bulgarians, none of them can read Slavic; because we are all from Macedonia. And we do not read anywhere in Bulgaria, anywhere in Greece, but everywhere in Macedonia, in hail and villages. Although all the Bulgarians live here, although they do not understand anything in Greek, neither the laity, nor the priests, but since it was introduced from time immemorial, they are already accustomed: because from the youth we learn to read and sing in Greek. And this library is granted by the Bulgarian and Serbian kings. Then throughout Thrace and Macedonia, they read and sang in Bulgarian, and now only in the village of Patak and in the monastery of St. John Rylsky" [ibid, 67].

Approaching Afon, pilgrims tried to avoid the Turkish outposts, since they were told that the Turks take pay "for the beards: two by twenty-five levs per person, that is, five rubles for each one with a beard" and other requisitions: "in total, we had to give one hundred twenty-five leva, or twenty-five rubles". Parthenius reports that they did not have such money, "and did not want to give them away to mean Turks". Therefore, without knowing the way, for several days they wandered "through the mountains and through the forests", until they reached their cherished goal, the holy mountain of Athos [ibid, 70-78].

Further in the "Legend" the author talks about the period of the stay of Parthenius on Athos. Here he also describes the Christianity of the Bulgarians, the orders of the aponites; describes churches and monasteries, expounds the history of the Russian Saint Panteleimon Monastery and the Holy Mountain, the special status of Athos in the Ottoman Empire², etc., but this is the topic for another article.

Conclusion

In the context of a brief analysis of the topic I have raised, I have tried only to outline a small number of issues deserving a more detailed study of the work in question, which was included in the treasury of nineteenth-century Russian culture.

2 Due to the complication of modern relations between Greece and Turkey and Russia, there is a direct threat to Athos, and in particular to the Russian monastery located here, which in case of aggravation of the military confrontation may be in danger. URL: <http://afonit.info/novosti/novosti-afona/turtsiya-ob-yavila-afon-i-drugie-rajony-egejskogo-morya-territoriej-svoikh-voennykh-uchenij>

For the *Legend* of the pilgrim, as for the travel literature, the individual-duality of style and the subjectivity of the view are characteristic, since objective reality is perceived through the prism of the observer; Parthenius looked through the prism of Orthodox optics. As a result, the travel text speaks much more about the author himself, about his world, than about anything else [Hulme, 2002, 88].

The study of the image of "other" requires consideration of such a factor as the confessional isolationism that Parthenius felt towards other Turks, supported by the realities of their actions towards the conquered Christian peoples. The constant opposition of Islam to Christianity, originating from the period of the early Middle Ages, consolidated in the mass consciousness and reached the nineteenth century without any special changes. Negative perception of the Turks in this case was bound to the creation of a negative image. Speaking of similar phenomena, L.Z. Kopelev noted that from the prejudices associated with the image of the enemy, "the mankind has suffered from the very beginning of its existence. And still cannot be healed" [Kopelev, 1994, 25].

It seems that in the course of further research on the *Legend*, in combination with other travel notes and other sources, it will be possible to study the problems of the formation and existence of common ideas about the Turks (like other peoples) among Russians more deeply; to study the foreign images of representatives of a different culture, which are an integral part of the picture of the external world, from the standpoint of the historical and imagological approach. The researcher S.K. Miloslavskaya offers a Russian version of the term imagology, *obrazovedenie* [Miloslavskaya, 2008, 29].

Summarizing, it should be noted that the Russian pilgrimage movement was of great religious and cultural importance for the development of Russia's relations with the Ottoman Empire and other countries of the East. Although the works of pilgrims of the first half of the XIX century largely relied on the traditions of Old Russian literature, the work of Parthenius, overcoming the ancient tradition of walking, does not fit into any of the well-known literary studies of genre forms.

Impressions of the pilgrim are very contrasting. Islam is constantly counter-supplied to Christianity in terms of faithful and infidels. *The Legend* traces two main lines.

The first one describes the Bulgarians. Parthenius positively assesses such their features as guest-hospitality, openness, sincerity, benevolence; he admires the devotion of the Bulgarians to Orthodox faith and their love for Christ, diligence, perseverance in preserving their language and faith. Parthenius is repeatedly convinced in such a perception getting acquainted with the way of life of the Bulgarians, their confessional sights on the way to the ultimate goal, Afon. At times he finds parallels between Russians and Bulgarians, which strengthens his sympathy for the local inhabitants.

The second line clearly depicted the image of the "enemy", which appears in the face of the Turks, who were persecutors of Orthodoxy. Parthenius follows stereotypes that are firmly entrenched in the mass consciousness of other Russian theologians (as well as Europeans) and

openly denied the legitimacy of the prophecy of Muhammad himself. Explicit antagonism is seen not only for Muslims, but also for Catholics, and Protestants. But Parthenius does not construct new phobias, he only reproduces some common historical stereotypes: it is a kind of cliché of the mass consciousness of the 19th century, with which the pilgrim stepped onto the Balkan territory, and his observations contributed to the formation of images of Bulgarians and Turks.

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Паломническое «Сказание» инока Парфения (Агеева) и образы болгар и турок середины XIX в. (к 1000-летию русского монашества на Афоне: 1016-2016 гг.)

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Аннотация

Основной целью статьи является анализ источника XIX в. «Сказание о странствии и путешествии по России, Молдавии, Турции и Святой Земле постриженника святыя горы Афонския инока Парфения» (1855). Автор «Сказания» с позиций глубоко верующего православного человека, исходя из всего увиденного и услышанного во время путешествия, описывает это в своей книге. В итоге вырисовываются инокультурные образы «другого»: негативный – турок-османов и положительный – болгар-христиан. Парфений дает свое представление об исламе и политике Османской империи в отношении завоеванного христианского населения.

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Ключевые слова

Инок Парфений (Агеев), сказание, паломничество, Афон XIX в., образ, турки, православие и ислам, Османская империя, болгары-христиане.

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