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The struggle of the Moscow Patriarchate for Russian monastic presence on Mount Athos in the 1960s – early 1970s

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This article acquaints the reader with the efforts of the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church to preserve the Russian monastic presence on the Holy Mount Athos. A special role in this endeavor belonged to the Department for External Church Relations and its chairman, Metropolitan Nikodim (Rotov). The resolution of the Athonite issue involved not only the church leadership but also Soviet authorities, including at the highest levels of the Communist Party, as well as the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church (Council for Religious Affairs), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, and the Soviet Embassy in Athens.

A key role in the Athonite issue was assigned to the replenishment of the monastic ranks of the St. Panteleimon Monastery, as the aging and decreasing number of its brethren threatened the loss of this ancient monastery and its legacy, and the interruption of the centuries-old tradition of Russian monasticism on the Holy Mountain. An ally of the Russian Church in the struggle for Athos was the Bulgarian Church, which faced a similar problem regarding the Zograph Monastery.

The author of the article concludes that the Greek side's unwillingness to allow monks fr om Slavic Local Orthodox Churches to replenish the brethren of Athonite monasteries had a nationalistic and political character. The Greeks feared losing their national monopoly over the Holy Mountain and perceived a threat fr om what they considered to be communist influence coming from Russian monks.

The Dire Situation of Russian Monasticism on Athos

The 1960s to early 1970s in the foreign activity of the Russian Orthodox Church were marked by the struggle to preserve Russian monasticism on the Holy Mount Athos. Considerable effort toward this struggle was made by the chairman of the Department for External Church Relations, Metropolitan Nikodim (Rotov). The stronghold of Russian monasticism on Athos, the St. Panteleimon Monastery, was in a pitiful state: monastic life was fading, and the monastery's economy was in decline. Other monasteries inhabited by Russian monks were also in poor condition. Their ties with the Russian Church had been severed since the beginning of Soviet times and remained so until the end of the Great

Patriotic War. The monastic brotherhood had not been replenished for decades, which led to its aging and decline in numbers.

Patriarch Alexy of Moscow and All Rus' drew the attention of the Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople to the dire state of Russian monasticism on the Holy Mount Athos.[1] The situation was serious. In 1959, the Russian monastery had only about fifty monks, all of whom were of advanced age: the youngest was fifty-four years old, and most of the brethren were seventy to eighty years old.[2] The abbot of St. Panteleimon Monastery, Archimandrite Ilian (Sorokin), reported in February 1961 that thirty-five monks remained in the monastery.[3] According to Soviet diplomats, in 1963 the monastery housed thirty-two monks, of whom twenty-eight were Russian,[4] and by 1972, there were only nineteen monks remaining.[5] A clergyman of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia, Igumen Modest (Shut'),[6] wrote in July 1960: "The Russian inhabitants of the Holy Mountain are melting away like wax, many cells are empty, and the monasteries are in complete depletion of brethren."[7] The decrease in the number of monastics on Athos affected all monasteries.[8] The lack of young recruits and the aging of the brethren led to a gradual decline, to the point of the threat of complete depopulation. According to existing rules, if a monastery was left without a brotherhood, it would be transferred to the jurisdiction of the Holy Kinot - the permanent governing body of the Holy Mount Athos - which would then determine its future fate. The Russian monastic establishments, among which were, in addition to St. Panteleimon Monastery, also the Old Russik and the Skete of St. Andrew, were considered a prized catch: over the centuries, their churches had accumulated many relics adorned with jeweled covers, valuable donations made at the time by Siberian merchants, and their libraries contained ancient Byzantine manuscripts, volumes of theological works and spiritual literature of great scholarly significance. Additionally, St. Panteleimon Monastery owned significant land holdings and real estate in Thessaloniki and other locations.

The lack of a sufficient number of able-bodied monks led to the deterioration of churches, monastery buildings, and structures. The inspector of the Moscow Theological Academy, Archimandrite Pitirim (Nechaev), who accompanied the chairman of the Department for External Church Relations, Archbishop Nikodim of Yaroslavl and Rostov, on a pilgrimage to Athos in June 1962, painted the following picture:
"The Skete of St. Andrew, with six elderly monks, is in neglect and gradually falling into ruin. The great church of the Holy Apostle Andrew is completely intact, but services are not held due to a lack of strength; a layer of dust lies everywhere, paint is peeling, covers have not been removed in a long time. The ruins of the library building present a grim picture."[9]

Archimandrite Pitirim noted the lack of young educated monks in St. Panteleimon Monastery, as well as the neglect and dilapidation of the Old Russik Monastery.[10]

Although the head of the Church of Constantinople showed a favorable attitude toward the replenishment of the Russian St. Panteleimon Monastery, and the French historian Olivier Clément asserts that Patriarch Athenagoras fought for Slavic and Romanian monks to be able to return to the Holy Mountain and breathe new life into its mission,[11] little progress was made.

Soviet Diplomacy in Resolving the Athonite Issue

Russian monks appealed to the USSR ambassador in Athens, M.G. Sergeyev, inviting him to visit the holy monastery and thereby demonstrate its protection.[12] In November 1961, the head of the Soviet diplomatic mission in Greece reported to the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs A.A. Gromyko that it was impossible for the Soviet state to protect the property of St. Panteleimon Monastery and Russian sketes through legal means due to the absence of any link between the monastery and the Russian state. According to the Soviet diplomat, the Russian monasteries could remain Russian only as long as they were inhabited by Russian monks, and to ensure this, it was “extremely necessary” to replenish the number of monastics.[13] Responding to a letter from the Russian monastics on the Holy Mountain,[14] the ambassador in January 1962 appealed to the Chairman of the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church, V.A. Kuroyedov, requesting that the issue of replenishing the brotherhood be expedited.[15] In a reply memo to the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Council representatives reported that work was underway both to sel ect monastics for St. Panteleimon Monastery and to prepare a visit of a delegation of the Russian Church to Athos.[16]

The involvement of the Soviet embassy in Athens in the fate of St. Panteleimon Monastery continued earlier attempts by Soviet diplomacy to protect Russian church property on Athos. Such attempts date back to 1925. The Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs responded to the Soviet embassy’s verbal notes by stating that interference by a foreign power in resolving property issues of monks on the Holy Mountain was inadmissible.[17] This was followed by an exchange of verbal notes, which revealed the Greek side’s unwillingness to make any concessions.[18]

At the same time, the Phanar demonstrated a favorable attitude toward Soviet diplomats; through its official representatives, it extended an invitation for a sightseeing trip to St. Panteleimon Monastery on Athos and promised assistance in this regard.[19]

Material Assistance to St. Panteleimon Monastery fr om the Russian Church

The Russian monastic communities required considerable material support. The monastery churches and buildings were in need of major repairs, and the monastery’s economy required equipment. Thus, the monastic brotherhood addressed a request to the Moscow Patriarchate to donate motor vehicles for the monastery's needs.[20] The Soviet embassy in Athens was involved in resolving this matter. It was

from its vehicle fleet, and funded by the Moscow Patriarchate, that a GAZ-51 truck was purchased and presented to the monastery as a gift from Patriarch Alexy.[21] According to Soviet diplomats, the Greek authorities did everything in their power to prevent both the delivery of the Patriarch's gift and the diplomats' trip to Mount Athos for this purpose. As the monks told the Soviet diplomats, the Greek authorities, through the governor of Athos, persistently urged the abbot of St. Panteleimon Monastery, Archimandrite Ilian, to refuse the gift from the head of the Russian Church, promising similar assistance from the Greek government instead. Archimandrite Ilian resisted this pressure.[22]

In 1963, the Russian monastery received another gift from the Russian Church—a "Belarus" bulldozer and a "Moskvich" passenger car. Funds, construction materials, and supplies necessary to restore the monastery façade, cells, and utility buildings damaged by the fires of 1962 and 1968 were sent from Moscow. The head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Jerusalem, Archimandrite Antony (Zavgorodniy), discussed with Greek authorities the possibility of the Russian Church sending a Soviet merchant vessel to Athos carrying specialists and construction materials.[23] However, such shipments were met with resistance by Greek diplomats, who claimed that the Greek authorities were already managing the restoration of the Russian monastery after the fire.[24]

Starting in 1961, the St. Panteleimon Monastery received food supplies and clothing materials 3–4 times a year through the Department for External Church Relations (DECR). In 1965, the brotherhood received leather boots as a gift. These parcels were gratefully received by the monastic community.[25] Their significance was not only material but also moral, serving as a sign that the Russian monks had a homeland and compatriots who supported them. Thanks to such gestures, Greek monks began to realize that behind the Russian monks stood the Moscow Patriarchate, and thus they treated them with respect and were cautious not to offend the elders.[26] Nevertheless, the Greek authorities did not hesitate to open parcels from Moscow or to inspect the monks' letters, attempting to hinder communication between the monastery and the Moscow Patriarchate.[27]

Pilgrimage to Mount Athos as a Form of Support for Russian Monasticism on the Holy Mountain

The Russian Orthodox Church sought every opportunity to send its representatives to Mount Athos to support Russian monasticism. In May 1960, Patriarch Athenagoras granted permission for the head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Jerusalem, Archimandrite Avgustin (Sudoplatov), to visit Athos.[28] The Church leadership advocated for the participation of its representatives - delegates to the First Pan-Orthodox Conference on the island of Rhodes (September 24 – October 1, 1961) - in a pilgrimage to the Holy Mountain. In correspondence with the Patriarch of Constantinople, the question of visiting Athos was linked with the participation of the Moscow delegation in the Rhodes meeting.[29] However, despite publicly declaring goodwill toward Russian pilgrimages to Athos, Patriarch

Athenagoras in practice sought to restrict them. In his letter to Patriarch Alexy, the head of the Church of Constantinople granted permission to visit Mount Athos only to the head of the Russian delegation, Archbishop Nikodim of Yaroslavl and Rostov, accompanied by one cleric and one layman,[30] although the request from Moscow had concerned all participants of the Rhodes meeting from the Russian Church (which included three bishops, one presbyter, two lay advisers, and a translator).[31]

The Greek authorities also opposed the visit. According to a Greek Foreign Ministry representative, such a trip was deemed inadvisable, allegedly because the majority of monks on the Holy Mountain were against it.[32] Archbishop Nikodim and the other members of the Russian delegation returned to Moscow without visiting Athos.

To avoid a direct conflict, both the Phanar and the Greek government eventually began accommodating requests from the Russian Church for pilgrimages to the Holy Mountain. Delegations and individual representatives of the Church visited Athonite monasteries, including St. Panteleimon Monastery. Soviet Ambassador to Greece N. I. Koryukin spoke positively of such pilgrimages from the USSR as a means to strengthen ties with the Russian monks on Athos.[33] A particular reason for sending delegations was the annual commemoration of the monastery's heavenly patron, the Great Martyr Panteleimon. One such visit encountered serious difficulties due to the Greek authorities. In August 1969, a Russian Church delegation led by Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod was to attend celebrations marking the monastery's 800th anniversary. However, despite Patriarch Athenagoras's support for the pilgrimage, the Greek Foreign Ministry issued visas to only five of the fifteen Russian pilgrims. Metropolitan Nikodim was personally denied a visa.[34] This move seriously strained relations between the Moscow Patriarchate and the Greek authorities. The DECR prepared letters from Patriarch Alexy addressed to Greek Prime Minister G. Papadopoulos, Patriarch Athenagoras, and leaders of the World Council of Churches. Metropolitan Nikodim also wrote to the monastery's brotherhood, encouraging them in their monastic struggle: "You have grown few in number, but your spiritual struggle is all the more valued before God."[35] Three years later, the Russian Church succeeded in sending a delegation from Moscow to the Holy Mountain.

At times, the Patriarch of Constantinople himself took the initiative in inviting high-ranking representatives of the Russian Church to Athos. One such invitation was extended to Patriarch Alexy for the celebration of Athos's millennium, originally planned for May 24–28 (later moved to June 22–24), 1963.[36] A Russian Church delegation led by Archbishop Nikodim of Yaroslavl and Rostov, chairman of the DECR, was sent to Athos. The delegation included Archbishop Antony (Bloom) of Sourozh, acting patriarchal exarch of Western Europe; Bishop Bartholomew (Gondarovsky) of Saratov and Volgograd; DECR deputy chairman Professor Archpriest V. Borovoy; and Archpriest F. Berki, dean of the Moscow Patriarchate's parishes in Hungary. The Athonite celebrations provided the Russian Church an opportunity to voice its concerns about the situation of Russian monasticism on the Holy Mountain.[37]

On June 23, Archbishop Nikodim led an evening service at the Russian Skete of St. Andrew, attended by heads and representatives of Local Churches, King Paul of Greece, and other guests. The Moscow delegation spent three and a half days at St. Panteleimon Monastery, wh ere they were warmly welcomed by the brotherhood. These days were devoted to participating in joint liturgical services, serving as a sign of spiritual support for the monks.

During the celebrations, the Russian monastery was also visited by WCC General Secretary W. A. Visser ’t Hooft, who later recalled: “There were many signs that the future of the monasteries on Athos was not cloudless. It was especially sad to visit one of the Russian monasteries and find only three or four very old and frail monks. I asked some of my Greek friends to support the Russian Church’s request to the Greek government to allow monks fr om Russia to enter Athos for these Russian monasteries.”[38]

The Struggle to Replenish St. Panteleimon Monastery with Russian Monks

At a meeting with Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople on June 24, 1963, Archbishop Nikodim presented a list of Russian monks willing to join the brotherhood of St. Panteleimon Monastery. According to the travel report from Mount Athos, the head of the Church of Constantinople promised every possible assistance regarding the arrival of non-Greek monks on Athos. During his visit to St. Panteleimon Monastery on June 29, he assured the brethren that Russian monks would indeed come to the monastery. “All Churches may send [to the Holy Mountain of Athos – S. Z.] as many monks as they deem necessary… It is not good to have too few monks in our Orthodox monastic life. We must immediately report the names of those wishing to come to the Holy Mountain,” declared Patriarch Athenagoras to participants of the June 24, 1963 evening meeting with heads and representatives of the Local Churches.

However, according to Theodor Baizos, head of the Greek Foreign Ministry’s Department for Religious Affairs, there was a long road between the patriarch’s formal approval and the actual resolution of this painful issue. Hoping to shorten this path, Archimandrite Ilian, the abbot of St. Panteleimon Monastery, attempted to appeal to the Phanar and Greek authorities.

Patriarch Alexy formally requested Patriarch Athenagoras to bless the settlement of Russian Orthodox monks in St. Panteleimon Monastery. The appeal was reviewed by the Holy Synod of the Church of Constantinople and sent to the Holy Kinot of Mount Athos for consideration. The Russian Church intended to send eighteen monastics: two archimandrites, nine hieromonks, five hierodeacons, one monk, and one novice from the Trinity-Sergius Lavra, Pskov-Caves Monastery, Dormition Monastery in Odessa, cathedrals, and parish churches. All proposed candidates were approved by the Council for Religious Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church, and their dispatch was sanctioned by the Central

Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Necessary documents were coordinated with the Greek Embassy in Moscow and sent to Patriarch Athenagoras in June 1964 via the Greek diplomatic mission. Later, the Greek diplomats returned the documents requesting translation into French. This was done, and in August 1965, biographies of the monks were also translated and resent via the Greek Embassy. However, in a letter dated July 19, 1965, Patriarch Athenagoras stated that he had not received the documents. Only on December 3 of that year did he telegraph that he had received the list of monks.

One of the obstacles delaying the process was the requirement for those arriving on Athos to obtain Greek citizenship. Each candidate was reviewed by Greek state institutions, which took time. Whether the delays were due to Greek diplomatic sluggishness, bureaucratic inertia in Athens, or deliberate stalling by the Phanar, the result was the same: the issue remained unresolved.

Efforts to accelerate visa issuance for Russian monks involved the Council for Religious Affairs, the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Soviet Embassy in Greece. The visa issue was raised in 1965 during meetings between Metropolitan Nikodim (head of the Moscow Patriarchate's Department for External Church Relations) and Greek officials, and later by Patriarch Alexy in a telegram to King Constantine of Greece in February 1966. "We do not understand why, despite the consent of His Holiness Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople, we have been unable for several years to receive permission from the royal Greek government to send our monks to the Holy Mountain and allow them to stay there," Patriarch Alexy wrote.

In 1966, several meetings took place between Patriarch Alexy, Metropolitan Nikodim, Bishop Juvenaly of Zaraisk (Deputy Chairman of the Department for External Church Relations), and Greek diplomats to resolve the visa issue. Eventually, the Greek authorities agreed to allow five of the eighteen Russian monks to settle at St. Panteleimon Monastery. The others were denied. Of these five from the Pskov-Caves Monastery, one could not go due to illness, and another was rejected by the monastery leadership. In effect, only three monks joined the elderly brotherhood of the Russian monastery.

Despite the unsatisfactory outcome, the arrival of even a few new monks encouraged the brethren. Archpriest D. Netsvetaev, studying at the University of Athens' theological faculty at the time, wrote to Metropolitan Nikodim: "After the arrival of our monks, the Russian monastery was heartened. The oppressive sense of neglect and abandonment is no longer felt there."

According to contemporary church historian M. V. Shkarovsky, the gradual softening of the Greek authorities' stance was the result of international public opinion. Olivier Clément attributed the eventual permission for Slavic and Romanian monks to the persistence of Patriarch Athenagoras.

Soviet Ambassador to Greece N. I. Koryukin reported that Greek officials stated the partial resolution could set a precedent for future similar requests. Thus, in February 1969, Greek Foreign Minister Panagiotis Pipinelis received a new request to allow four more Russian monks to settle in St. Panteleimon Monastery. A similar appeal was addressed to the Patriarch of Constantinople in April of the same year. These monks were selected from the original group of eighteen proposed six years earlier. On April 24, 1969, Metropolitan Nikodim met with Greek Ambassador Angelos Vlachos in the USSR to inquire about the fate of the petition. The diplomat, however, had no information and could not promise a positive outcome.

Greek opposition to the settlement of non-Greek monks on Athos, restrictions on pilgrims, and Law No. 124 of February 14, 1969, which expanded the authority of the Greek Foreign Ministry and the Governor of Athos over the Holy Mountain, triggered negative reactions from the Russian Church's Holy Synod. The Synod proposed raising the Athonite issue at a Pan-Orthodox meeting. In accordance with this decision, Patriarch Alexy appealed on April 25, 1969, to Greek Prime Minister G. Papadopoulos, Patriarch Athenagoras, and WCC General Secretary Eugene Carson Blake. Copies were urgently sent to the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

To involve Archbishop Ieronymos of Athens and All Greece in possibly repealing Law No. 124/1969, Patriarch Alexy wrote to him on April 30. Subsequent correspondence revealed Ieronymos’s lack of support for repealing the law, which he described as “good, since it does not violate the Charter of the Holy Mountain.” The Russian Church’s leadership did not accept this position.

Concerns about the implications of the new Greek law for the status and property of St. Panteleimon Monastery were raised by the Soviet Embassy and studied by the Council for Religious Affairs.

As a result of active efforts by the Russian Church’s leadership in both church and state spheres, permission was finally granted for Russian monks to settle at the monastery. However, the Holy Kinot approved only three of the four proposed candidates.

Tensions between the Russian and Constantinopolitan Churches flared again in January 1971, after the death of Archimandrite Ilian (Sorokin), abbot of the Russian monastery. Archimandrite Abel (Makedonov) was appointed acting abbot. In response, Patriarch Athenagoras sent a letter rejecting this decision, claiming it violated Athonite statutes and the Phanar's jurisdiction. According to Article 116 of the Athonite Charter, a monastery must be governed by a commission and elder council until a new abbot is appointed. Furthermore, the term “acting abbot” was said to be “unknown” and “unacceptable” on the Holy Mountain.

The Russian and Bulgarian Orthodox Churches Unite Efforts in the Struggle to Replenish the

Slavic Brotherhood on Mount Athos

The Athonite issue was not exclusive to the Russian Church. The Bulgarian Orthodox Church also faced difficulties concerning the Zograf Monastery: obstacles were being placed in the way of young monastic recruits. In March 1965, the Holy Kinot appointed as abbot of Zograf Monastery a Romanian-born archimandrite, Dometius (Trichenea), who had no prior connection to the monastery. This appointment provoked a protest from the Bulgarian Church and became the subject of correspondence with the Patriarch of Constantinople. The head of the Russian Orthodox Church wrote to his Bulgarian counterpart:

"Such an action by the Ecumenical Patriarchate, aimed at eradicating Slavic influence on Athos and imposing Greek dominance on the Holy Mountain, deserves condemnation from our side, for it contradicts the spirit of Christian freedom and fraternal love in Christ." [67]

The Moscow Patriarchate joined forces with the Bulgarian Church in the fight for Athos. During the celebration in May 1969 in Sofia of the 1100th anniversary of the repose of the Equal-to-the-Apostles Cyril, enlightener of the Slavs, Bulgarian Patriarch Kirill (Konstantinov) and Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod informed Patriarch Athenagoras that if he could not resolve the Athonite issue through dialogue with representatives of the Kinot and Athenian authorities, they would insist on convening a Pan-Orthodox meeting dedicated to this problem [68]. According to Patriarch Kirill, Romanian Patriarch Justinian supported the proposal to convene a meeting to discuss the Athonite issue, though not a pan-Orthodox one, but a meeting of the primates and representatives of the Orthodox Churches that have monasteries on the Holy Mountain [69].

The critical condition of the Slavic monasteries on Athos prompted the hierarchies of the Russian and Bulgarian Orthodox Churches in June 1970 to issue a joint statement addressed to Orthodox and non-Orthodox churches, as well as to the global public [70]. Three months later, the patriarchal locum tenens, Metropolitan Pimen of Krutitsy and Kolomna, voiced the position of the Russian Church, according to which the Athonite question should be included in the agenda of a Pan-Orthodox meeting [71]. Patriarch Kirill was acquainted with the draft of the corresponding message even before its publication and expressed full support for the document’s content, its reasoning, and its style and language [72].

A Historic Visit: Patriarch Pimen on the Holy Mountain Athos. Further Steps in Cooperation with the Bulgarian Church

Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Rus', accompanied by a Moscow church delegation, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Mountain Athos in the second half of October 1972 after completing a peace visit

to the Church of Greece. He visited Karyes, the Monasteries of St. Panteleimon and Iviron [73]. This was the first visit to Athos by a primate of the Russian Church and was of great significance for the St. Panteleimon Monastery and its brotherhood [74]. In his speech at the Protaton, Patriarch Pimen expressed concern about the dwindling number of brethren in the Russian monastery and expressed hope that the Holy Kinot would respond positively to the desire of Russian monks to labor on the Holy Mountain [75]. His interaction with the monks at St. Panteleimon Monastery was especially heartfelt. After the fraternal meal, Patriarch Pimen said:

"We came here with great joy and with a desire to help this holy monastery. Everything that depended on us, we have done and will continue to do, and we will help in every possible way." [76]

According to Father P. Buburuza, a member of the Moscow church delegation, the Greek church and state authorities showed attention and hospitality to the guests from Moscow, though this did not prevent the state agencies from establishing a regime of surveillance and control over all the delegation's movements, including on the Holy Mountain [77].

Fulfilling his promise to help the brotherhood, Patriarch Pimen in October 1972 addressed Regent and Prime Minister of Greece, Georgios Papadopoulos, with a request that the Greek authorities grant permission for a monastic brotherhood from the USSR to settle at St. Panteleimon Monastery on Athos. That same month, the head of the Moscow Patriarchate presented this request personally to Papadopoulos during a meeting in Athens. According to Soviet diplomats, the regent and prime minister replied:
"There has never been a case wh ere I failed to fulfill a request from the Church." [78]

A year passed, but the matter made no progress. The lack of response from the Greek side prompted the primates of the Russian and Bulgarian Orthodox Churches to send a joint appeal to Mr. Papadopoulos on November 1, 1973. In it, they noted the continuing difficulties concerning the entry of novices and monks to the Holy Mountain for the replenishment of the Russian St. Panteleimon and Bulgarian Zograf Monasteries [79]. This letter was delivered on November 12 by Metropolitan Juvenal (Poyarkov) of Tula and Belev, Chairman of the Department for External Church Relations, and Archimandrite Nestor (Krystev), head of the Bulgarian representation in Moscow, to Greek Ambassador to the USSR A. Demetropoulos.

Patriarch Pimen wrote three times - in April 3, September 10, and November 12, 1973 - to Patriarch Demetrios (Papadopoulos) of Constantinople, asking him to confirm the blessing earlier given by Patriarch Athenagoras for the arrival of six monks to the St. Panteleimon Monastery. In November 1973, the head of the Russian Church telegraphed the Patriarch of Constantinople: *"The inexplicable silence is perceived by us as an ignoring of our appeals to Your Holiness, causes us distress, and, to our*

deep sorrow, contributes only to the weakening of the fraternal bonds that unite our Holy Churches." [80]

In Conclusion

What was the cause of the "rigid" stance of the Greek side regarding the arrival of monks from the Slavic Autocephalous Orthodox Churches to the Holy Mountain, whether this position was expressed by the Athenian authorities, Greek diplomats, the Phanar, or the Holy Kinot? It can be confidently stated that the opposition was based on national and political fears. The Holy Mountain was viewed by the Greeks as their own domain, in which any other national presence was undesirable. Referring to the statute of the monastic republic, the Greek side refused to recognize national monasteries on the Holy Mountain, allowing only national features in some of the Athonite monasteries. Therefore, the Greek policy aimed at curbing the possible strengthening of non-Greek monasticism in individual monasteries. Furthermore, there was a fear of ideological influence from monks arriving from the countries of the socialist bloc.

The opposition of the Greek side was particularly evident in relation to the Russian monks. The Greeks had not forgotten that in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, Russian monastic presence on the Holy Mountain was expanding: monks from Russia were settling not only in the St. Panteleimon Monastery, but also in sketes and individual cells, and new churches and utility buildings were being erected on newly acquired plots of land. This expansion became possible thanks to the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, concluded between St. Petersburg and the Ottoman Porte following the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–1829. Russian subjects were granted free access to the Holy Mountain, including the right to join the brotherhood of Athonite monasteries. However, over time, the authorities of the newly independent Greece began to fear that with the growth of Russian monasticism, there would also be a growth in the political influence of the Russian Empire. This fear bordered on ingratitude, as it was Russia that had played a crucial role in Greece achieving national and political sovereignty. In the 1960s and early 1970s, the fear of political influence from the now even more foreign Soviet state led Greek authorities to take measures to lim it even monastic presence from the Soviet Union, despite the fact that Russian monks were not much more sympathetic to the communist ideology than the Greek authorities themselves.

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[1] Letter from the Patriarch Alexy of Moscow and All Rus' to the Archbishop of Constantinople-New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras, dated 7 June 1961 // Archive of the DECR. File 31.

1961.

[2] Letter from the abbot of St. Panteleimon Monastery, Archimandrite Ilian, to the Chairman of the DECR, Metropolitan Nikolai of Krutitsy and Kolomna, dated 29 October 1959 // GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 2. File 293. Sheet 61.

[3] Vasily (Krivoshein), Archbishop. Correspondence with Athos. Letters and Documents. Moscow: St. Catherine's Men's Monastery; Brussels: Conference Sainte Trinité du Patriarcat de Moscou ASBL, 2012. P. 64.

[4] Report on the visit to the Russian Monastery of St. Panteleimon on Mount Athos by third secretaries of the USSR Embassy in Greece, I. A. Krivoguz and V. I. Koblikov. Appendix to No. 0232 dated 7 October 1963 // GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 1. File 2131. Sheet 88.

[5] On the Situation in the Greek Orthodox Church. Memorandum by Third Secretary of the USSR Embassy in Greece G. Volkov, No. 323 dated 25 September 1972 // AVPRF, Fund 084, Inventory 63, Section 203, File 9, Sheet 10; GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 6. File 522. Sheet 33.

[6] Nivier, A. Orthodox Clergy, Theologians, and Church Figures of the Russian Emigration in Western and Central Europe, 1920–1995: A Biographical Reference. Moscow: Russian Way-YMKA-PRESS, 2007. P. 330.

[7] Letter from Igumen Modest to Archpriest R. Gann, dated [27 June O.S.] 10 July 1960. Quoted in: Gann, S., Archpriest. Archpriest Rostislav Gann (1911–1975) and His Correspondence with Russian Athonite Monks // Church and Time. 2017. No. 1 (78). P. 78.

[8] According to G. Volkov, third secretary of the USSR Embassy in Greece, census data showed that by 1971 the monastic population on Mount Athos had decreased by 500 over the previous decade, totaling 1,732 individuals, of whom 1,500 were monks. See: On the Situation in the Greek Orthodox Church. Memorandum by Third Secretary G. Volkov, No. 323 dated 25 September 1972 // AVPRF, Fund 084, Inventory 63, Section 203, File 9, Sheet 10; GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 6. File 522. Sheet 33.

[9] Report on the Visit of the Delegation of the Russian Orthodox Church to Mount Athos. 1962 // Russian State Library Manuscript Department (RSL MD). Fund 938. Box 38. Storage Unit 17. Sheet 4.

[10] Ibid. Sheets 7–8.

[11] Clément, O., Prof. Conversations with Patriarch Athenagoras. Brussels: Life with God Publishing, 1993. P. 63.

[12] Copy of a letter from the abbot of St. Panteleimon Monastery on Mount Athos, Archimandrite Ilian, to USSR Ambassador to Greece M. G. Sergeyev, dated 18 June 1961 // AVPRF, Fund 84, Inventory 44, Section 54, File 14, Sheet 11; GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 2. File 435. Sheet 146.

[13] Letter from the USSR Ambassador to Greece M. G. Sergeyev to USSR Foreign Minister A. A. Gromyko, No. 417 dated 5 November 1961 // AVPRF, Fund 084, Inventory 51, Section 180, File 16, Sheets 37–38; GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 1. File 1936. Sheets 204–205.

[14] Letter from Russian Monks to USSR Ambassador to Greece M. G. Sergeyev [undated] // AVPRF, Fund 84, Inventory 45, Section 57, File 11, Sheets 2–3; GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 2. File 470. Sheets 21–22.

[15] Letter from USSR Ambassador to Greece M. G. Sergeyev to Chairman of the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church V. A. Kuroyedov, No. 7 dated 13 January 1962 // AVPRF, Fund 84, Inventory 45, Section 57, File 11, Sheet 1; GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 2. File 470. Sheet 18.

[16] Memorandum from Deputy Chairman of the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church V. G. Furov to the Head of the 5th European Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, S. T. Astavin, No. 438 dated 10 February 1962 // AVPRF, Fund 84, Inventory 45, Section 57, File 11, Sheet 5; GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 2. File 470. Sheet 35.

[17] Verbal Note of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the USSR Mission in Greece, No. 9432 dated 28 March 1925 // GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 2. File 470. Sheet 64.

[18] Verbal Note of the USSR Mission in Greece to the Greek MFA, No. 794 dated 16 April 1925; Verbal Note of the Greek MFA to the USSR Mission in Greece, No. 5785 dated 2 July 1925; Verbal Note of the USSR Mission in Greece to the Greek MFA, No. 1249 dated 18 October 1925 // GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 2. File 470. Sheets 65–66, 67, 68–69.

[19] Record of a Conversation between USSR Consul General in Istanbul B. A. Savinov and Patriarch Athenagoras of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Members of the Synod on 1 January 1965. From the diary of B. A. Savinov, No. 42 dated 5 February 1965 // GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 2. File 596. Sheet 8.

[20] Report on the Visit of the Delegation of the Russian Orthodox Church to the Millennium Celebration

of Mount Athos, 19 June – 2 July 1963 // Archive of the DECR. File 9-a. 1963. P. 6 (70).

[21] Letter from P. V. Makartsev, Member of the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church, to V. S. Semyonov, Head of the Currency and Finance Directorate of the USSR MFA, No. 31/c dated 9 February 1963 // GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 1. File 2131. Sheet 19.

[22] Report on the Visit to the Russian Monastery of St. Panteleimon on Mount Athos by USSR Embassy Third Secretaries I. A. Krivoguz and V. I. Koblikov. Appendix to No. 0232 dated 7 October 1963 // GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 1. File 2131. Sheet 86.

[23] Conversation between the Head of the Russian Orthodox Mission in Jerusalem, Archimandrite Anthony, and the Director of the Department of Religions of the Greek MFA, Kozmadopoulos, on 30 December 1968 // GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 6. File 218. Sheet 4.

[24] Record of a Conversation between USSR Embassy Counselor in Greece V. A. Vorobyov and Acting Director of the Department of Religions of the Greek MFA, A. Koundakis, on 3 March 1970. From Vorobyov's diary, No. 69 dated 13 March 1970 // GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 6. File 288. Sheet 54.

[25] Letter from the Abbot of St. Panteleimon Monastery, Archimandrite Ilian, to Archbishop of Yaroslavl and Rostov Nikodim, Chairman of the DECR, dated 4 March 1962 // GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 2. File 470. Sheet 92.

[26] Memorandum by Archbishop Nikodim of Yaroslavl and Rostov, Chairman of the DECR, dated 1 September 1962 // GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 2. File 470. Sheet 208.

[27] Record of a conversation between USSR Embassy Third Secretary V. I. Koblikov and Attaché E. A. Akopyan with the Abbot of the Russian Monastery of St. Panteleimon on Mount Athos, Archimandrite Ilian, on 20 March 1963. From the diary of V. I. Koblikov and E. A. Akopyan, No. 202 dated 26 March 1963 // GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 2. File 516. Sheet 51; Letter from Archbishop Vasily of Brussels and Belgium to Archbishop Nikodim of Yaroslavl and Rostov, Chairman of the DECR, dated 25 June 1962. See: Vasily (Krivoshein), Archbishop. Correspondence with Athos. Moscow: St. Catherine’s Monastery; Brussels: Conference Sainte Trinité du Patriarcat de Moscou ASBL, 2012. P. 74.

[28] Report from the Head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Jerusalem, Archimandrite Augustin (Sudoplatov), to Metropolitan Nikolai of Krutitsy and Kolomna, Chairman of the DECR, dated 17 June 1960 // GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 2. File 291. Sheets 234–135.

[29] Letter from the Patriarch Alexy of Moscow and All Rus' to the Archbishop of Constantinople-New

Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras, dated 2 September 1961 // Archive of the DECR. File 31. 1961. P. 1.

[30] Letter from the Archbishop of Constantinople-New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras to the Patriarch Alexy of Moscow and All Rus', dated 22 November 1961 // Archive of the DECR. File 31. 1961.

[31] Letter from Patriarch Alexy of Moscow and All Rus' to the Archbishop of Constantinople–New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras dated September 2, 1961. // Archive of the Department for External Church Relations (DECR). File 31. 1961. p. 1.

[32] Report by Soviet Embassy attaché in Greece B. V. Panov on the conversation of Moscow Patriarchate official I. V. Varlamov with Theodor Bayzos, Director of the Department of Education and Cults of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs on October 5, 1961. From the diary of B. V. Panov No. 355 dated October 19, 1961. // State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF). Fund R-6991. Inventory 2. File 435. Sheet 201.

[33] Letter from the USSR Ambassador to Greece N. I. Koryukin to the Council for Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church No. 163 dated May 5, 1966. // Archive of the Presidential Administration of the Russian Federation (AVPRF), fund 84, inventory 57, file 191, document 8, sheet 12.

[34] Note from the Greek Royal Embassy in the USSR to the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs No. 2337 dated August 4, 1969. // AVPRF, fund 84, inventory 52, file 66, doc. 3, sheet 17; GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 6. File 219. Sheet 44.

[35] Message of Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod to the brethren of the Panteleimon Monastery on Mount Athos dated August 6, 1969. // Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate. 1969. No. 11. p. 4.

[36] The millennium of the Holy Mountain is associated with the founding date of the Great Lavra of St. Athanasius of Athos.

[37] Letter from Patriarch Alexy of Moscow and All Rus' to Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople

dated May 20, 1963. // Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate. 1963. No. 7. p. 4.

[38] Visser't Hooft W. A. Memoirs. London: SCM Press, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1973. p. 271.

[39] Report on the trip of the delegation of the Russian Orthodox Church to the celebration of the millennium of the Holy Mountain Athos, June 19 – July 2, 1963. // Archive DECR. File 9-a. 1963. pp. 3 (67), 4 (68).

[40] Transcript of the meeting on the evening of June 24, 1963, at the Athos Lavra of St. Athanasius. // Archive DECR. File 9-a. 1963. p. 3 (3).

[41] Record of the conversation of the Third Secretary of the USSR Embassy in Greece V. I. Koblîkov with the Head of the Department for Religious Cults of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs Theodor Bayzos on December 27, 1963. From the diary of V. I. Koblîkov No. 845 dated December 28, 1963. // GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 2. File 555. Sheet 1.

[42] Letter of Archimandrite Ilian to Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople dated June 13 (26), 1963; letter of Archimandrite Ilian to the Greek Foreign Minister dated [undated] February 1964; letter of Archimandrite Ilian to Patriarch Athenagoras dated [undated] February 1964. See: Vasiliy (Krivoshein), Archbishop. Correspondence with Athos. Letters and documents. Moscow: St. Catherine’s Monastery, Brussels: Conference Sainte Trinite of the Moscow Patriarchate ASBL, 2012. pp. 95–96, 112–113, 116–117.

[43] Resident of the Trinity Sergius Lavra hierodeacon Nikon (Melkov), resident of the Trinity Sergius Lavra hieromonk Vissarion (Velikiy-Ostapenko), resident of the Trinity Sergius Lavra hieromonk Andronik (Nekrasov), resident of the Trinity Sergius Lavra novice Ioann Kolbin, resident of the Assumption Monastery in the city of Odessa hierodeacon Zosima (Matychin), resident of the Assumption Monastery in Odessa hieromonk Euthymius (Shutak), resident of the Assumption Monastery in Odessa archimandrite Boris (Nikitiuk), rector of the church of Venerable Barlaam of Khutyn in the city of Pskov hieromonk Stefan (Kursin), resident of the Pskov-Caves Monastery monk Theophan (the name of monk Theophan in the list concealed hieromonk Theophan (Molyavko)), resident of the Pskov-Caves Monastery hierodeacon Eustathius (Markelov), resident of the Pskov-Caves Monastery hieromonk Irenaeus (Ponomaryov), resident of the Pskov-Caves Monastery hierodeacon Dosifey (Sorochko), resident of the Pskov-Caves Monastery hierodeacon Kensorin (Fedorov), resident of the Pskov-Caves Monastery hieromonk Hippolytus (Khalin), cleric of the Holy

Spirit Cathedral in Minsk archimandrite Mikhey (Kharkharov), rector of the Church of the Nativity of John the Baptist (Resurrection of the Word) in the village of Karelskoye, Kalinin Diocese hieromonk Nikon (Stepanov), cleric of the Cathedral of Saints Princes Boris and Gleb in Ryazan hieromonk Abel (Makedonov), resident of the Assumption Monastery in Odessa hieromonk Jeremiah (Alyokhin). See: Letter of Patriarch Alexy of Moscow and All Rus' to Archbishop of Constantinople-New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras dated October 14, 1963, with an attached list of monastics // Archive DECR. File 31. 1963.

[44] Resolution of the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee No. 69/123 gs dated April 29, 1963. // GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 1. File 2042. Sheet 34.

[45] Letter of Archbishop of Constantinople-New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras to Patriarch Alexy of Moscow and All Rus' dated July 19, 1965. // Archive DECR. File 31. Part 2. 1965.

[46] Telegram of Archbishop of Constantinople-New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras to Patriarch Alexy of Moscow and All Rus' dated December 3, 1965. // Archive DECR. File 31. Part 2. 1965.

[47] Letter of member of the Council for Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church P. V. Makarcev to the Head of the 5th European Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs S. T. Astavin No. 166/s dated December 20, 1965; note of S. T. Astavin to Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR N. P. Firubin No. 828/5eo dated December 28, 1965. // AVPRF, fund 84, inventory 56, file 188, doc. 16, sheets 7–8, 9.

[48] Telegram of Patriarch Alexy of Moscow and All Rus' to King Constantine of the Hellenes dated February 18, 1966. // Archive DECR. File 56. 1966.

[49] The reason for refusal as a version is presented by a participant of the celebrations dedicated to the 1100th anniversary of the beginning of the educational activities of the holy enlighteners of the Slavic peoples Cyril and Methodius (October 22–27, 1966, Thessaloniki), Exarch of Ukraine Archbishop Filaret (Denisenko): “In the Kynot (the Holy Mountain council) they say that the Greek government did not allow all eighteen monks to go to Athos because they feared communist propaganda, as they did not know who the Russian monks were. The four monks who arrived dispelled the fears of the Greeks.” See: Report on the trip to Greece for the jubilee celebration of the 1100th anniversary of the apostolic activity of the holy brothers Cyril and Methodius dated November 23, 1966. // Archive DECR. File 56-B. 1966. p. 18.

The unwillingness of the Kynot itself to see new Russian monks on the Holy Mountain already in 1964 was pointed out by the hegumen of the Russian Athos Panteleimon Monastery Archimandrite Ilian. See: Letter of the hegumen of the Russian Athos Panteleimon Monastery Archimandrite Ilian to Archbishop of Brussels and Belgium Vasily dated August 5, 1964. // Church and Time. 2008. No. 2 (43). p. 220.

[50] Letter of hierodeacon David to Archbishop of Brussels and Belgium Vasily dated November 19 (old style), 1971. // Church and Time. 2007. No. 4 (41). p. 238.

[51] Record of conversation between the Manager of Affairs of the Moscow Patriarchate Metropolitan Alexy of Tallinn and Estonia and the Greek Ambassador to the USSR Angelos Vlachos on August 16, 1968. // GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 6. File 15. Sheets 155–156.

[52] Report of Archpriest D. Netsvetaev to the Chairman of the DECR Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Ladoga dated November 20, 1966. // Archive DECR. File 56-a. 1966. p. 6.

[53] Shkarovsky M. V. A Thousand Years of Russian Athos: (the spiritual feat of Russian monasticism). St. Petersburg: SPbPDA Publishing House, 2016. p. 248.

[54] Clément O., Prof. Conversations with Patriarch Athenagoras. Brussels: "Life with God" Publishing, 1993. p. 646.

[55] Letter of the USSR Ambassador to Greece N. I. Koryukin to the Council for Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church No. 163 dated May 5, 1966. // AVPRF, fund 84, inventory 57, file 191, doc. 8, sheet 11.

[56] Letter signed by the Chairman of the DECR Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod (No. 235 dated February 17, 1969) was delivered to the head of the Greek foreign ministry by the Deputy Chairman of the DECR Bishop Juvenaly of Zaraisk, who was in Athens in connection with a trip to Athos.

[57] Rector of the Cathedral of Ryazan Archimandrite Abel (Makedonov), resident of the Trinity Sergius Lavra hieromonk Vissarion (Velikiy-Ostapenko), resident of the Pskov-Caves Monastery hierodeacon Kensorin (Fedorov), and resident of the Pskov-Caves Monastery hegumen Theophan (Molyavko).

[58] Visit of Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod to the Greek Embassy in Moscow on April 24, 1969. // Archive DECR. File 56. 1969. pp. 1–2.

[59] Decision of the Holy Synod dated April 25, 1969. // Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate. 1969. No. 5. p. 2.

[60] Letter of the Deputy Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs P. V. Makarcev to the Head of the 5th European Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs S. T. Astavin No. 892 dated April 25, 1969. // AVPRF, fund 84, inventory 52, file 66, doc. 3, sheet 4.

[61] Letter from Archbishop Ieronymos of Athens and All Greece to Patriarch Alexy of Moscow and All Rus' No. 4359 dated August 7, 1969 // Archive of the Department for External Church Relations (DECR). File 56. 1969. p. 1.

[62] Letter from Patriarch Alexy of Moscow and All Rus' to Archbishop Ieronymos of Athens and All Greece dated December 2, 1969 // Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate. 1970. No. 1. p. 4.

[63] Letter from the USSR Ambassador to Greece K. D. Lyovychkin to the Council for Religious Affairs No. 85 dated March 14, 1969 // Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation (AVPRF), fund 84, inventory 52, file 66, doc. 3, sheet 1.

[64] Hegumen Theophan (Molyavko) was excluded from the list by the Holy Kynotos as having a conviction in 1937 under Article 57 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. Only Archimandrite Abel and Hieromonk Vissarion were sent to Mount Athos.

[65] Letter from Archbishop of Constantinople-New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras to the locum tenens of the Moscow Patriarchal Throne Metropolitan Pimen of Krutitsy and Kolomna dated February 2, 1971 // Archive of DECR. File 31. 1971. pp. 1–2.

[66] Ibid. p. 2.

[67] Letter from Patriarch Alexy of Moscow and All Rus' to Patriarch Kirill of Bulgaria dated June 1, 1965 // Archive of DECR. File 15. 1965.

[68] Letter from Patriarch Kirill of Bulgaria to Patriarch Alexy of Moscow and All Rus' No. 8486 dated November 15, 1969 // Archive of DECR. File 15. 1969. pp. 1–2.

[69] Letter from Patriarch Kirill of Bulgaria to Patriarch Alexy of Moscow and All Rus' dated June 28,

1969 // Archive of DECR. File 15. 1969.

[70] Joint statement of Patriarch Kirill of Bulgaria and the locum tenens of the Moscow Patriarchal Throne Metropolitan Pimen on the Athos question dated June 8, 1970 // Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate. 1970. No. 7. pp. 1–2.

[71] Message on the Athos question to Patriarch Athenagoras dated August 31, 1970 // Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate. 1970. No. 10. pp. 2–3.

[72] Letter from Patriarch Kirill of Bulgaria to the Chairman of DECR Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod No. 471-I dated August 24, 1970 // Archive of DECR. File 15. 1970.

[73] Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Rus' was accompanied by a delegation of the Russian Church including Metropolitan Nikodim (Rotov) of Leningrad and Novgorod, Metropolitan Juvenaly (Poyarkov) of Tula and Belev, Metropolitan Sergius (Petrov) of Kherson and Odessa, Archbishop Ionafan (Kopolovich) of Tambov and Michurinsk, Archbishop Pitirim (Nechaev) of Volokolamsk, Archimandrite Kirill (Gundyaev), Protopriests A. Novikov and D. Netsvetaev, Priest P. Buburuz, Archdeacon A. Shapoval, Hierodeacon Anthony (Kuznetsov), as well as V. A. Alekseevich, B. S. Kudinkin, and G. N. Skobey.

[74] Nikitin V. A. Patriarch Pimen: The Path Directed Toward Christ. Moscow: EKSMO, Publishing House of the Moscow Patriarchate, 2011. p. 188.

[75] Speech at the reception in Protaton of Holy Mount Athos in Karyes on October 23, 1972 // Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Rus'. Words, speeches, letters, appeals. 1957-1977. Moscow: Moscow Patriarchate Publishing, 1977. p. 381.

[76] Speech of His Holiness Patriarch Pimen in the Athonite Panteleimon Monastery on October 25, 1972 after the fraternal meal (from tape recording). Program of the visit, delegation list, welcome speeches and other materials related to the official visit to Greece by His Holiness Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Rus', October 18–25, 1972 // Russian State Library Manuscripts Department. Fund 938. Box 39. File 3. Sheet 13.

[77] Report of Priest P. Buburuz to the Chairman of DECR Metropolitan Juvenaly of Tula and Belev on the visit of the delegation of the Russian Orthodox Church led by Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Rus' to the Serbian, Greek, and Romanian Orthodox Churches October 12–31, 1972 dated November 5, 1972 // GARF. Fund R-6991. Inventory 6. File 526. Sheet 42.

[78] On the visit of Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Rus' to Greece. Memo by advisor of the USSR Embassy in Greece V. Pushkin No. 388 dated November 10, 1972 // AVPRF, fund 084, inventory 63, file 203, doc. 9, sheet 18.

[79] On the question of Athos // Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate. 1973. No. 12. pp. 5–6.

[80] Ibid. p. 5.

Abbreviations:

Arch. DECR
Archive of the Department for External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate

GARF
State Archive of the Russian Federation

AVPRF
Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation

OR RGB
Manuscripts Department of the Russian State Library

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