

ORTHODOX CLERGY AND SPECIAL PURPOSE UNITS OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE: FORMS AND FEATURES OF INTERACTION

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Abstract: *The investigation followed the forms, methods, directions, and mechanisms of interaction of the Russian Orthodox Church, particularly its clergy, with the Ministry of Interior's gendarmerie and police bodies, with the institutions and divisions of the military and naval departments, with the prison services of the Ministry of Justice, with the separate corps of border guards of the Ministry of Finance as well as the courier body of the Ministry of War. The gradual increase of this category of Orthodox clergy and the extension of their position and influence on the relevant population is proved based on the examination of sources. Russian Empire clerics of these structures have played a critical role in providing authorities and employees with basic intellectual, moral, and educational training. Their activities ranged from strictly religious obligations to educational and moral-spiritual activity, as well as charity, all of which contributed to the inviolability of autocratic principles. Fulfilling the mission of aligning the Russian Orthodox Church with the political institutions of the Russian autocracy, the clergy of state departments acted as an ideological and educational tool for ensuring the efficient functioning of the branch's control mechanism of the Empire.*

Keywords: *Orthodox clergy, autocracy, special units, military clergy, ideological activities, religious and educational work.*

Rezumat: *Clerul ortodox și unitățile cu scop special ale Imperiului Rus: forme și caracteristici ale interacțiunii. Cercetarea a vizat formele, metodele, direcțiile și mecanismele de interacțiune a Bisericii Ortodoxe Ruse, respectiv a clerului ortodox cu jandarmeria și organele de poliție ale Ministerului Afacerilor Interne, cu instituțiile și diviziile departamentelor militare și navale, cu serviciile penitenciare ale Ministerului*

Justiției, cu corpul distinct de gardieni din Ministerul Finanțelor, precum și cu unitatea de curierat a Ministerului de Război. Creșterea numerică, treptată, a acestei categorii de clerici ortodocși ca și rolul și importanța lor în rândul populației influente sunt analizate în temeiul documentelor ruse. Preoții din cadrul acestor structuri ale Imperiului Rus au jucat un rol cheie în instruirea și educarea ideologică și morală a oficialităților și angajaților. Acțiunile lor au contribuit la asigurarea inviolabilității principiilor autocratice, îmbrăcând diferite forme: de la manifestări cu caracter pur religios, la activități educaționale și moral-spirituale ori caritabile. Îndeplinind misiunea de aliniere a Bisericii Ortodoxe Ruse la instituțiile politice ale autocrației ruse, clerul departamentelor de stat a acționat ca un instrument ideologic și educațional în vederea asigurării unei funcționări eficiente a ramificatului mecanism de control al imperiului.

INTRODUCTION

One of the critical tasks of any state is to ensure the long-term and progressive development of society, as well as the ability to preserve national interests, even if it requires adopting force. At the same time, it is critical to ensure that human rights and freedoms are effectively protected. In this regard, the position and values of the clergy, which should operate as a moral guiding force of society, play an essential role, particularly in light of the lack of corresponding mechanisms at the legislative level, certainly compared to past historical times. The above is undeniably important to the Russian Empire of the XIX – early XX century with its autocratic model of public administration as a system in which the disregard for the individual interests of the subjects was a determining element necessary to defend the inviolability of monarchical principles. In light of this, as well as the problem's current social significance, a study of the Orthodox clergy's relations with individual state institutions and special units of some Russian Empire ministries, primarily of power, was conducted, taking into account the meaning of the interaction's characteristics, directions, and value.

The study's historiography includes works of authors from various historical periods, such as Timofey Barsov¹, Vladimir Gagen², Mikhail Gernet³,

¹ T. Barsov, *Ob upravlenii russkim voyennym dukhovenstvom* [On the management of the Russian military clergy], Sankt-Peterburg, 1879. 168 s.

² V. Gagen, *Dukhovno-nravstvennoye i prosvetitel'skoye vozdeystviye na zaklyuchennykh* [Spiritual, moral and educational impact on prisoners], in "Tyuremnyy vestnik" [Prison Herald], 1913, vol. 8-9, s. 1217-1219.

³ M. Gernet, *Istoriya tsarskoy tyurmy* [The history of the imperial prison], Moskva, 1951, vol. 1, 328 s.

Tetiana Gubskaya⁴, Vladimir Rogoza⁵, Mikhail Sizikov⁶, Mikhail Trifanov⁷, etc. Pre-revolutionary works are characterized by the idealization of status and some exaggeration of the social role of the Orthodox clergy (Timofey Barsov, V. Gagen). The lack of mechanisms in the Russian Empire to separate the state from religion, and even more so, its use as an instrument of public policy, was fully reflected in the works of that time. Most vectors of interest are entirely critical in the case of Soviet historians, who are known for not tolerating any religious subject. (Mikhail Gernet, Aleksandr Klibanov).⁸ In their works, to some extent not without the support of an archival source base, the clergy embodied the archaic nature of the imperial era, excessive enrichment, and bureaucracy. Only the studies of the modern period (Tetiana Gubskaya, Mikhail Sizikov, Mikhail Trifanov) provide a more or less impartial picture of the clergy-state institution interaction. Mykola Yeremenko and Ihor Lyman, in particular, researched the history of only one type of Orthodox clergy we studied – military – and on a regional scale (Southern Ukraine, the second third of the 18 – middle of the 19 century).⁹ Konstantin Kapkov's research has a broader perspective, focusing on the coverage of pastoral duties and priestly sacrifice without a specific historical context.¹⁰

⁴ T. Gubskaya, *Voyennoye dukhovenstvo i svyashchenniki Nikolayeva. Istoricheskiye ocherki* [Military clergy and priests of Nikolaev. Historical sketches], Nikolayev, 2006, 212 s.

⁵ V. Rogoza, *Vzaimodeystviye Russkoy Pravoslavnoy Tserkvi so spetsialnymi strukturami, obespechivavshimi vnutrennyuyu bezopasnost Rossiyskoy imperii* [Interaction of the Russian Orthodox Church with special structures that ensured the internal security of the Russian Empire], in "Gosudarstvo, religiya, tserkov v Rossii i za rubezhom. Informatsionno-analiticheskiy byulleten" [State, religion, church in Russia and abroad. Information and analytical bulletin], Moskva, 2002, vol. 1 (29), http://www.religare.ru/2_2324.html

⁶ M. Sizikov, *Istoriya politsii Rossii (1718–1917). Vyp. 1: Stanovleniye i razvitiye obshchey regulyarnoy politsii v Rossii XVIII v.* [History of the Russian Police (1718–1917). Issue. 1: Formation and development of the general regular police in Russia in the XVIII century], Moskva, 1992, 66 s.

⁷ M. Trifanov, *Feldyegerskaya svyaz Rossii* [Courier service of Russia], Moskva, 1994, 239 s.

⁸ A. Klibanov, *Istoriya religioznogo sektantstva v Rossii (60-e gody XIX veka – 1917 g.)* [The history of religious sectarianism in Russia (60s of the 19th century – 1917)], Moskva, 1965, 348 s.

⁹ M. Yeremenko, I. Lyman, *Viiskove dukhovenstvo na pivdni Ukrainy (1734-1853 rr.)* [Military clergy in the south of Ukraine (1734-1853)], Melitopol, 2014, 436 s.

¹⁰ K. Kapkov, *Ocherki po istorii voyennogo i morskogo dukhovenstva Rossiyskoy imperii XVIII – nachala XX veka: Itogi k 1917 godu* [Essays on the history of the military and naval clergy of the Russian Empire in the 18th – early 20th centuries: Results by 1917], Moskva, 2009, 256 s.

Representatives of modern Western historiography address relevant issues indirectly within the stated topic, such as the social history of the Orthodox clergy (Freeze Gregory)¹¹, its functions and role in some wars involving the Russian Empire, especially with the Ottoman Empire (Anastasiya Pashova, Petar Vodenicharov)¹² and the First World War (Kamila Pawełczyk-Dura).¹³ These studies complement the general picture and provide the most up-to-date view of the mechanisms of using religion for military purposes at the time, based on specific examples and in the context of continental socio-political processes.

Thus, a comprehensive and diverse analysis of the importance and role of different categories of clergy in the activities of various state institutions and special units of the ministries of the Russian Empire has not previously been the subject of any synthetic research.

The periodicals of the time (the Police Bulletin, the Prison Bulletin, etc.) and the regulations codified in the Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire formed the source base of this research. The study of this information block, which documented the evolution and distinctiveness of the Orthodox clergy's place in the power structure, has enabled the material provided to be concentrated on a documentary basis.

ORTHODOX CLERGY OVERVIEW DURING THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

The Ministry of Internal Affairs' gendarmerie and police bodies, the military and naval departments, the penitentiary units of the Ministry of Justice, and the separate corps of border guard are among the special units of the Russian Empire's power ministries with which the study is concerned. The Orthodox clergy, as well as the interaction of its representatives with political institutions, were influenced by peculiarities in their internal organization, characteristics of operating, and implementation of their unique roles, all of which contributed to the overall research outcome.

The system of law enforcement agencies and special services of the Russian

¹¹ L. Freeze Gregory, *The Parish Clergy in Nineteenth Century Russia. Crisis, Reform, Counter Reform*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1983. 315 p.; L. Freeze Gregory, *Subversive piety: Religion and the political crisis in late Imperial Russia*, in "Journal of Modern History", 1996, p. 308-350.

¹² A. Pashova, P. Vodenicharov, *The Military Clergy in the Russo-Ottoman War 1877-1878 – East Orthodoxy and Other Confessions*, in "Balkanistic Forum", 2015, vol. 3, p. 94-107.

¹³ K. Pawełczyk-Dura, *The influence of World War I on the activity of the Russian military and naval clergy*, in "Great War: insights and perspective", New York, 2016, s. 47-58.

Empire in the early twentieth century included (in generalized form) the following bodies and departments: police units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, penitentiary units of the Ministry of Justice, convoy guards and courier corps of the Ministry of War, and others. The division of these entities was based on their primary mission — to maintain the state's internal security.

It is important to note that the Orthodox clergy refers to the clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church, who, in addition to officially fulfilling the autocracy's ideological tasks, occupied one of the key positions and provided an appropriate ideological and educational influence on the top positions of the empire's above-mentioned special bodies, departments, and agencies.

The prison staff, governed by law and subordinated to the Ministry of Justice, had the largest clergy representation. Thus, in May 1831, the Russian Empire's Committee of Ministers approved the "Instruction on the Rules of Internal Prison Rules", which included, among others, the chapter "On Churches", which established the legal status of prison churches, as well as the order for convicts to attend church services, religious rites, duties of priests, etc. It was expressly specified that the prison authorities must ensure "that there was no obscenity on the part of the detainees during the church service".¹⁴

Similarly, the Guidelines for Priests Serving Prisons and Hospitals of 1831 explicitly stated that church representatives must assist the prison authorities and the prison committee. It was, however, about spiritual and moral influence, with no mention of the judiciary or the police. The task of "informing the authorities if [the priest] notices cruel acts on the part of the guardians"¹⁵ was specified separately.

In the second half of the 19th century, the role of the clergy in the organization of prison life and religious and moral education of prisoners increased. At the same time, given the general political context, the desire of state bodies and agencies to help unite the relevant efforts of the prison administration and priests became quite noticeable. This is evidenced by specific examples of active construction (in some cases – the arrangement in special rooms) of temples and chapels in prisons. The legal status of priests also changed during this time. From now on, they are formally included in the prison administration. This state of affairs was codified in legislation in 1887 when priests were admitted to the ranks of officials in charge of prison management.

¹⁴ M. Gernet, *Istoriya tsarskoy tyurmy ...*, s. 106.

¹⁵ *Rukovodstvennoye nastavleniye svyashchennikam. sluzhashchim pri tyuremnykh zamkakh i bolnitsakh* [A guide for priests in prison castles and hospitals], Vologda, 1851, s. 17-18.

The parishioners of the prison churches were not only convicts but also personnel and even ranks of guards who were subordinated to the military department but could not attend church services separately. It is worth noting that in 1826, all "free" people were allowed to enter the prison churches, and limitations were imposed only after disputes between them and the prisoners became increasingly common. The guards' powers included escorting detainees, suppressing riots in detention centres, and securing prisons from the outside. This determined the terms of their subordination not only to the heads of the military department but also to the head of the Main Prison Department. As of 1886, 530 teams of guard convoys were formed in the Russian Empire, consisting of 100 officers and 11,738 lower ranks.¹⁶

According to official data, in 1891, there were 407 churches in the office of the archpriest of the military and naval clergy (among them: 306 regimental and 24 hospitals, 10 prisons, 12 cathedrals, etc.), with 569 clergymen serving (337 priests, 106 archpriests, 68 psalmists, 55 deacons, two protodeacons).¹⁷ According to Vladimir Gagen, a Russian researcher of the early 20th century, 346 priests, 30 deacons, and 208 psalmists served in 1911 in 273 prison churches and 77 churches located in prisons. There were 40 additional churches in the correctional facilities, operated by 44 priests, four deacons, and 30 psalmists.¹⁸

At the turn of the 19th-20th centuries, prison officials have repeatedly acknowledged that a "smart priest with the gift of speech and the ability to arouse the hearts of prisoners" has the greatest influence on them. Not only sermons and general teachings were practised, but also private conversations. Official reports recorded the zealous service and positive impact of the priests of the Voronezh Disciplinary Battalion, Moscow Military Prison. In the latter, there was at least a weekly general meeting in the corridor. Priests in the Berdychiv and Kherson battalions just developed spiritual communion with the flock since they had no prior experience in this area. The military prison in Riga faced an unusual situation. To meet religious demands, a priest from one of the city's battalions was invited. As a result, he did not have enough time to communicate spiritually and morally with the local prisoners. It is worth noting that music and singing were practised in these institutions in Voronezh and Kherson.

¹⁶ V. Rogoza, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ *Voyennoye dukhovenstvo* [Military clergy], in *Entsiklopedicheskiy slovar* [Encyclopedic Dictionary], Sankt-Peterburg, 1892, vol. 6a, s. 846.

¹⁸ V. Gagen, *op. cit.*, s. 1217.

Guardianship and patronage organizations also conducted religious activities in prisons. In particular, on January 1, 1909, more than 50 such organizations were registered with the Main Prison Administration, whose members organized religious readings, provided books for the prison library, and cared for the spiritual literature needs of convicts, prison administration officials, and guards.¹⁹ In addition, these organizations were quite actively involved in charitable activities such as transferring considerable quantities of money spent on church requirements and additional payments to the clergy. In 1908 alone, these organizations supplied 105,053 rubles for this purpose.²⁰

Through the efforts of the Orthodox clergy of the penitentiary service, schools were established for prisoners and juvenile prisoners, children of prison officials, and guards. At the same time, the priests not only oversaw these schools but also taught them several subjects, the most important of which was God's law. At the beginning of the twentieth century, in particular, during the First World War, there was a further increase in the number of clergy in the penitentiary service of the Russian Empire. In particular, under the instructions of the Ministry of Justice of December 28, 1915, priests were included in the prison council on internal affairs. In addition, the instructions indicated the need for joint prayers for prisoners in the morning, evening, before lunch and dinner. The goals and objectives of religious influence were formulated as follows: "Formation of correct ideas about religion and general civic responsibilities, requiring devotion to the Throne and the Fatherland and obedience to the law, strict observance of relevant laws and respect for institutions of power".²¹

Thus, according to regulations and departmental instructions, the clergy of the penitentiary service provided religious and moral education for prisoners while clearly serving the state interests of the Romanov Empire.

At the same time, in addition to state authorities and various departments, the activities of the clergy from the penitentiary service were also under the constant control and supervision of the top leadership of the ROC. Thus, members of the Holy Synod and eparchial bishops visited prisons from time to time, held services, read sermons, and were engaged in the urgent concerns of prison churches.

In comparison to the Ministry of Justice's prison department, the Orthodox clergy's relationship with the Russian Empire's Ministry of Internal Affairs had

¹⁹ "Tyuremnyy vestnik" [Prison Herald], 1910, no. 2, s. 164.

²⁰ *Ibid*, no. 12, s. 1610.

²¹ V. Rogoza, *op. cit.*

its distinct peculiarities. This was based on the fact that the latter did not have its separate churches or full-time priests and instead relied on a flock of parish clergy and, less frequently, military clergy in the military department's garrisons. The latter was particularly common among retired officers and lower ranks who re-entered the police force while remaining parishioners of a regimental or garrison church.²²

It should be noted that the "Charter of the Deacon, or Policeman" approved in 1782 established not only police principles but also defined the place and role of the clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church. It was the Orthodox priests, in particular, who were to promote the education of such virtues in the ranks of the police as integrity, a desire to save lives, kindness, and so on.²³

Gradually, police units developed a tradition of celebrating annual church rites and religious holidays, which were usually celebrated on the day of honouring a particular Orthodox saint or shrine, such as Nicholas Ugodnik, Alexander Nevsky, Archangel Michael, St. Alexis, the icon of Kazan of St. George and Alexander Nevsky and others. Relevant holidays, as a rule, were held as processions and necessarily included a solemn prayer and a solemn service with the preaching of moral and spiritual direction.

Orthodox priests also participated in teaching at police schools. When the non-commissioned officers passed the exam for the first-class rank (14th grade of the "Table of Ranks"), they had to demonstrate Catechism knowledge. In this regard, Orthodox priests were included in the examination commissions. It is worth noting that after the events of the revolution of 1905-1907 in several educational institutions, especially newly established, such a subject as "God's Law" was no longer included in the list of compulsory subjects, and the expediency of its teaching depended on the decision of local police chiefs. In 1913, in the "Police Creation Project" prepared by the Ministry of the Interior, in the chapter "Police Schools and Courses", the study of the "Law of God" was not referenced at all.²⁴

The leadership of the ROC paid particular attention to the necessity for priests to conduct moral and spiritual work with detainees held in police units,

²² V. Kuritsyn (ed.), *Istoriya politsii dorevolyutsionnoy Rossii (sbornik dokumentov i materialov po istorii gosudarstva i prava). Uchebnoye posobiye* [The history of the police in pre-revolutionary Russia (a collection of documents and materials on the history of state and law). Tutorial], Moskva, 1981, s. 7.

²³ M. Sizikov, *op. cit.*, s. 61.

²⁴ *Proyekt uchrezhdeniya politsii* [Police institution project], Sankt-Peterburg, 1913, s. 107.

namely providing them with religious literature and participation in collective religious readings.²⁵

Following the decree on religious tolerance of April 17, 1905, some changes in the activities of the Orthodox clergy among the Russian Empire's law enforcement forces occurred. In particular, priests began to take an active part in explaining to police officers the peculiarities of different religions. This was because the police ranks granted permission for sectarian temples and houses of worship to hold worship services and prayer meetings. The primary condition was that "the creed be legalized by a government decision and that it should not be among those prohibited by law".²⁶ In other words, the probability of granting a permit in such cases was minimal.

Another area of active interaction of the Orthodox clergy with the gendarmerie and police bodies is educational work aimed at combating drunkenness, as well as prevention of crime in general, education of the population of the empire as law-abiding subjects, loyal to the "king and homeland, and Orthodoxy". Instead, police officers were instructed in 1878 to ensure that "there was no noise, outrage, or obscenity near churches, especially during worship services, as well as during processions".²⁷

It should be noted that the police, in turn, had to "protect the rights of the Orthodox Church". This meant that the police must ensure: 1) that in temples and churches, as well as during processions and other rites, "the proper devotion was not violated in any way, and that no one was hindered or interrupted the Divine Service"; 2) that the population could freely attend church on Sundays and holidays; 3) that on the days of the liturgy alcoholic beverages "from drinking houses, taverns and inns" were not sold; 4) that no loud events be held near churches, especially during the service; 5) that new churches, prayer houses, chapels, etc. should not be arranged without the permission of the higher authorities; 6) that persons who profess the non-Orthodox faith "do not attempt to lure the Orthodox, or to include the opinions and personalities of others into their image".²⁸ Current legislation strictly forbade the setting up of tents to sell food and drink inside church fences and cemeteries.

²⁵ "Tyuremnyy vestnik" [Prison Herald], 1910, no. 1, s. 127.

²⁶ "Vestnik politsii" [Police Bulletin], 1910, no. 42, s. 1029.

²⁷ *Istoriya politsii Rossii: Kratkiy istoricheskiy ocherk* [History of the Russian police: A Brief historical sketch], Moskva, 1998, s. 121.

²⁸ P. Tsvetkov (com.), *Sbornik zakonov i rasporyazheniy pravitelstva: (Sost. po ofits. istochnikam 1857–1894 gg.): Sprav. kn. dlya chinov politsii i dr. uchrezhdeniy i lits* [Collection of laws and government orders: (Compiled from official sources 1857-

There was a particular specificity in the relationship between the Orthodox clergy and the Courier Corps, formed by the decree of Emperor Paul I on December 17, 1796. From January 26, 1808, the Courier Corps was subordinated to the Minister of War and from 1869 to the General Staff.²⁹

From 1815 to 1862, couriers, in connection with the corps' location on the territory of the former barracks of the Life Guards of the Lithuanian Regiment (later – Moscow) (St. Petersburg), visited the regimental church of St. Faithful Grand Duke Aleksandr Nevsky; from 1862 to 1865 – the temple of the Moscow Life Guards Regiment. Only in 1865 was the Feldjeger Corps' church finished and consecrated – the Church of the Presentation of the Lord, which had the status of a parish but was maintained at the expense of the corps. Administratively, until 1894, it was subordinated to the diocesan administration, and on September 6 of that year, it was transferred "to the office of the archpriest of the military and naval department".³⁰

The service of couriers was related not only to secular institutions and ranks but also involved in the tasks of the senior clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church. Thus, it was common practice to involve officers and ranks of the Courier Corps in the transportation of church property. They escorted and protected the Golden Cross in the Far East during the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905).³¹

Much attention of the Russian Orthodox Church was paid to the religious work of the Separate Border Guard Corps, which had been in departmental affiliation with the Ministry of Finance of the empire since 1893.³² The staff of each brigade provided for the position of a priest (until October 1917, they were in 17 units out of 31). The latter was subordinated to the diocesan bishops and was not part of the department's staff, as priests also worked with the local population, especially in conflict situations, acting as a mediator between the people and the ranks of the border service.

Orthodox priests played a significant role in the military units and army structures of the Russian Empire, forming a separate category of military clergy.

1894): A reference book for police officers and other institutions and individuals], Sankt-Peterburg, 1895, s. 62-63.

²⁹ N. Nikolayev (ed.), *Stoletiye Feldyegerskogo korpusa: 1796–1896: Istoricheskiy ocherk* [Centenary of the Courier Corps: 1796-1896: historical sketch], Sankt-Peterburg, 1896, s. 4, 19-20.

³⁰ Ibid., s. 1-6.

³¹ M. Trifanov, *op. cit.*, s. 120.

³² A. Plekhanov, *Otdelnyy korpus pogranichnoy strazhi. Kratkiy ocherk* [Separate border guard corps. Brief outline], Moskva, 1993, s. 62.

The turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries marked a turning point in the evolution of this category's property status. The decrees of Emperor Paul I of April 4, 9, 22, and 28 and May 9, 1800, in particular, introduced the position of the high priest of the army and navy, who was granted the authority to manage all the guard, army and navy clergy independently.³³ The newly created position was taken by Archpriest Pavel Ozeretskovsky, directly subordinate to the Holy Synod and equal with the diocesan bishops in terms of authority and status. In general, high priests received administrative and disciplinary authority over the military clergy, as well as the right to appoint and dismiss clergy, and military department clergy without the special permission of the Holy Synod (these powers were somewhat limited after the death of Paul I in 1801). Assessing the importance of separating the above category from the Orthodox clergy, it can be stated that this led to the separation of the military clergy from the eparchial clergy.

At the same time, in 1801, it was decided that only army priests should be appointed to priestly positions in hospitals, fortresses, and other similar places, because "they have served in the army for several years, and therefore deserve these dead places". Separate legislation regulated the clergy of churches to receive military commands from the Military Department or other authorities. At the same time, parishioners had to consist exclusively of military ranks. At that time, the Ober-priest of the armies and navies ruled over 32 churches: 16 hospitals, six garrisons at the battalions, two – at the regiments, six – at the fortresses, one – at the port of Sevastopol, and one – at the military-labour brigade of the railways.³⁴

According to Mykola Yeremenko and Ihor Lyman, modern Ukrainian historians, the military clergy played a significant role in the spread of Orthodoxy in the territories annexed to the Russian Empire as a result of a series of wars with Turkey. According to them, it was the "spiritual support of the Orthodox population in the Crimea, where for a long time after joining the Russian Empire, the 'dominant faith' position remained quite weak".³⁵

Subsequently, the system of management of the military clergy was decentralized: in 1816, the position of the second chief priest for the General Staff and the Guard was created; in 1840, this was the third chief priest of the Separate

³³ T. Gubskaya, *Voyennoye dukhovenstvo i svyashchenniki Nikolayeva ...*, s. 17.

³⁴ *Polnoye sobraniye postanovleniy i rasporyazheniy po vedomstvu pravoslavnogo ispovedaniya Rossiyskoy imperii* [Complete collection of decrees and orders for the department of the Orthodox confession of the Russian Empire], Petrograd, 1915, vol. 1 *Tsarstvovaniye gosudarya imperatora Nikolaya I. 1825 (dekabrya 12) – 1835 gg.* [Reign of Emperor Nicholas I. 1825 (December 12) – 1835], s. 136-137.

³⁵ M. Yeremenko, I. Lyman, *op. cit.*, s. 153-154.

Caucasian Corps (47 army priests served in units), and since 1845 he has been in charge of more than 100 churches of the Cossack line troops.³⁶

In the late 1820s and early 1830s, the authorities paid considerable attention to improving the material well-being of military priests and the governing bodies of this category. Initially, in 1827, the Chancellery staff of the Ober-Priest of the Army and Navy was changed. In particular, the Secretary of the Office began to receive 1200 rubles, instead of 500, his newly appointed assistant 750 rubles, 600 rubles instead of 300 for the Registrar, and 400 rubles for the two newly appointed clerks. Various costs (firewood, candles, supplies, etc.) began to be allocated twice as much – 600 rubles instead of 300.³⁷ It should be noted that, during the period of the previous staffing (1800-1827), the number of troops, and, as a consequence, military priests, increased almost fourfold. Moreover, churches and clergy in certain fortresses, hospitals, garrison battalions, two flotillas (the Black Sea and Caspian), etc., were additionally subordinated to the Ober-Priest and military workers' brigades, engineering teams, and some garrisons. Accordingly, the number of cases that passed through the Office increased significantly, reaching more than 2,000 incoming and up to 4,000 outgoing annually.

A few years later, in 1829, the decision was taken to improve the material situation of the military priests by raising their pay (since 1831). The remuneration of the Ober-priest of armies and fleets was increased to 3 thousand rubles per year, that of the senior priests of armies to 2.5 thousand rubles, and that of the main priests of the corps to 1.8 thousand rubles. Priests in all regimental and line battalions began to be paid in accordance with the infantry captains' salaries in the troops in which they served. Senior priests in the divisions were paid a surcharge of 50 rubles per year, and those who were on trips abroad – double payment by banknotes. In making this decision, Emperor Nicholas I expressed confidence in the clergy's "faithful service to the Church and the Throne and ardent diligence in the performance of their sacred duties".³⁸

The enactment of the "Regulations on Pensions and One-Time Benefits" for the "Guards, Army, and Navy Clergy" in 1832 was the final measure of a series of legislative changes aimed at improving the welfare of the "Guards, Army, and Navy Clergy." From now on, all priests who served flawlessly in the Guards, Army, and

³⁶ P. Znamenskiy, *Istoriya russkoy tserkvi (uchebnoye rukovodstvo)* [History of the Russian church (study guide)], Moskva, 2000, s. 333.

³⁷ *Polnoye sobraniye postanovleniy i rasporyazheniy ...*, s. 161-162.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, s. 389.

Navy, line battalions and internal guards, admiralty and port churches, crews, naval and land hospitals, fortress churches, brigades of roads, were entitled to appropriate payments for service in the military and penitentiary institutions. This required more than 20 years of service. For a term of service of 20 to 30 years, the clergyman was entitled to a pension of one-third, two-thirds for 30-35 years, and full pay for 35 years and over. Special warnings have been issued in the event of deteriorating health or incurable disease. Later, the minimum term of compulsory service was reduced to 10 years.³⁹

Nevertheless, the position of military clergy remained unattractive. For a long time, the military priest "remained in duty for life, with very few exceptions, retaining the same rights as when he first entered service". Such attachment to a certain rank had negatively impacted the material condition, all official rights, and the moral condition. Material poverty, especially with a large family, and sometimes the insistent requests of those dissatisfied with their parish clergy forced some military priests to intervene in correcting the needs of foreign parishes, which caused "dissatisfaction on the part of parish priests and complaints from eparchial authorities".⁴⁰

In the 1860s, the regulation of the military clergy intensified. Special rules were issued for teaching the Law of God to the lower ranks in particular. They assigned the duty of conducting Christian faith interviews with lower grades to the regimental priests. Almost simultaneously, all military educational institutions increased the number of lessons based on the Law of God.

"A new regulation on the official rights and salaries of the military clergy", approved in 1887, gave the latter new higher official ranks. The general official rights of this clergy were defined with greater precision and clarity. Priests were given many rights along with other servicemen. Salaries increased significantly, with "priests being entitled to a salary supplement for the first ten years of service in the amount of a quarter of the salary, and half the salary for the next ten years." It is believed that "the new provision also allowed the military clergy to rise in service rights and preferences, as they serve, along with all officer ranks".⁴¹

³⁹ *Polnoye sobraniye zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii* [Complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire], Sankt-Peterburg, 1833, vol. VII, no. 5310 (1832), s. 219-222.

⁴⁰ *K voprosu o proshlom i sovremennom sostoyanii voyennogo dukhovenstva* [On the question of the past and present state of the military clergy], in "Vestnik voyennogo dukhovenstva" [Military clergy bulletin], 1890, no. 1, s. 11.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 1890, no. 2, s. 38-40.

On June 12, 1890, the Regulations on the Management of Churches and Clergy of the Military and Naval Departments were approved, introducing the position of "Protopresbyter of the Military and Naval Clergy" (held by Aleksandr Zhelobovsky), to which all regimental, fortress and military churches, hospitals and educational institutions were subordinated.

The military clergy's administrative subordination system followed the same principles as the empire's interaction system between church and secular authorities, with one exception. Thus, the clergy of the military department was not subordinate to the local bishop. According to the "Regulations", the archpriest of the military and naval clergy and the diocesan bishops were appointed by the Holy Synod and approved by the emperor. Divisional deacons (a mediating role between the higher military clergy and the subordinate clergy) were identified as the archpriest's main assistants. At the same time, the deacons were obliged to supervise the temples and clergy under their jurisdiction.⁴² The "Regulations" of 1890, on the other hand, transformed the military clergy's independent standing in respect to diocesan authority, subjecting military priests to the control of the diocesan hierarchy within which they were stationed. As a result, the bishop's authority within his diocese was restored to its full canonical significance, and the possible reasons for the elders' previous indifference to the concerns of the military clergy were removed. The government's attention to the institute of military clergy is evidenced by the fact that in the same year, 1890, the official printed organ of the military clergy began to be published – the Bulletin of the Military Clergy (in 1911-1917 – the Bulletin of the Military and Naval clergy). The magazine published not only official laws, decrees and orders (including military and naval authorities related to the military and naval clergy), but also had an unofficial part, which contained: 1) words and speeches delivered by military clergy at the regimental holidays, or considered beneficial for utterance on the mentioned holidays and in other special cases of military life; 2) articles and notes on theological, canonical, church-historical and liturgical issues; 3) historical and statistical information on stationed, itinerant, camp and naval churches of the naval department; 4) a description of special spiritual celebrations at military churches; 5) various cases from the life and activity of the military clergy; 6) notes, records and memoirs about regimental priests who distinguished themselves in the wars; 7) information on the spiritual,

⁴² *Polnoye sobraniye zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii* [Complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire], Sankt-Peterburg, 1893, vol. X, no. 6934 (1890), s. 470-481.

educational, missionary and teaching activities of the military clergy (in schools, libraries, etc.); 8) various cases of pastoral practice, etc.⁴³

In addition, the clergy were granted the ability to receive orders for years of service via a military department order dated January 31, 1890.⁴⁴

As a result, near the end of the nineteenth century, the Russian Empire eventually established a single structure for the institute of military clergy, which encompassed the following levels: 1) protopresbyter of the military and naval clergy (the status of lieutenant general); 2) chief priests of the districts (status of major general); 3) corps, divisional, brigade and garrison deacons (colonel status); 4) regimental (battalion), hospital and prison priests.

The number of priests in the Russian army was determined by the payrolls approved by the Minister of War. Thus, according to the staff of the ten regiments of the Life Guard in 1856, the presence in each unit of one priest with an annual salary of 253.5 rubles was established. In comparison, the yearly salary of a lieutenant was 307.05 rubles.⁴⁵

The duties of military priests were most fully and clearly defined in 1869 (Book VII of the Code of Military Decrees):

- conducting services in the regimental church on a strictly defined time on all Sundays and holidays;

- preparation of servicemen for confession and reception of the Holy Sacraments, teaching and conducting extracurricular interviews (in coordination with the regimental military command);

- performing sacraments and prayers for servicemen in temples and their homes;

- preparation of the church choir for singing during services;

- conducting instructive conversations of moral and ethical orientation, teaching soldiers the truths of the Orthodox faith and piety, spiritual support of patients in hospitals;

⁴³ *Programma periodicheskogo izdaniya* [Periodicals program], in "Vestnik voyennogo dukhovenstva" [Military clergy bulletin], 1890, no. 1, s. 1-3.

⁴⁴ *Prikaz po voyennomu vedomstvu № 37 ot 31.01.1890 g. O pravakh svyashchenoslužhiteley na polucheniye ordenov za vyslugu let* [Order for the military department No. 37 of January 31, 1890 "On the right of the clergy to receive orders for length of service"], in "Vestnik voyennogo dukhovenstva" [Military clergy bulletin], 1890, no. 6, s. 159-160.

⁴⁵ V. Kotkov, Yu. Kotkova, *Voyennoye dukhovenstvo Rossii. Stranitsy istorii: Ucheb. posobiye* [Military clergy of Russia. Pages of history: Study guide], Sankt-Peterburg, 2005, s. 97.

- teaching the Law of God in regimental schools, soldier's children, training teams;
- during mobilization and hostilities, military priests were obliged to follow the assignment with military units and to be unconditionally subordinate to the military command.⁴⁶

CONCLUSIONS

Thus, Orthodoxy served as the ideological and spiritual basis of the Russian Empire and one of the most important factors in determining the subjects' worldview. The Russian Orthodox Church acted as the autocracy's main communicator with ordinary subjects, including the military. The place of this communication was primarily in Orthodox churches, where priests acquainted their parishioners with the imperial manifestos and decrees, carried out spiritual and moral education of personnel in the language of sacred books, and acquainted them with the lives of saints. Through prayers during worship services, the Orthodox clergy were to inspire believers with love for the king and the homeland and the military with the sanctity of their duty and the life sacrifice for the emperor and the empire. In religious conversations and sermons, priests had to reinforce the truths of the Christian faith and love for God and neighbour, respect for the supreme monarchical authority, reveal the importance of the oath, warn against the pernicious consequences of violating the military, imminent condemnation after death, explain the important principles of military service in the service of the king and the Fatherland as Christian virtues, as the way "to the salvation of one's soul" and the opportunity to "get to heaven". Thus, during wars (for example, with Turkey, Japan, or the First World War), the clergy explained to the soldiers their sacred role in defending the Fatherland, as well as the importance and prestige of the position of a soldier called to "defend the faith, homeland, and sovereignty".

Despite modest material support, the severity of military discipline, the constant change of residence, and therefore the inconvenience, often combined with the lack of personal savings, family separation (during war and camp meetings), climate change and damage to health, the life of a military priest was an attractive position for the representatives of the diocesan clergy, especially in

⁴⁶ G. Golov, *Prokhozheniye sluzhby po voyennomu vedomstvu. Kn. VII Svoda voyennykh postanovleniy 1869 goda* [Passage of service in the military department. Book VII of the Code of military orders of 1869], Petrograd, 1917, s. 9.

cases of socio-political crises. As a result, a fairly typical occurrence, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, was the eparchial clergy's numerous demands for admission to the military department. This tendency can be partly explained by the nature and spirit of the principles that ensured military priests' position and leadership by the heads of military departments. The main forms of interaction of the Orthodox clergy with state institutions and special units of individual ministries of the Russian Empire were: participation in the general moral and ethical education of servicemen and police officers, meeting the religious needs of officials, performing religious rites for prisoners, performing ideological functions, etc. Promoting communication with the priests in the conditions of the unity of the autocracy and the Russian Orthodox Church was an essential tool of policy to ensure the inviolability of the principles and effective functioning of the power units of the institutions of imperial power. At the same time, despite all the specifics of the institution of the Orthodox clergy, invariably the main direction in its activities remained religious and educational work: formation of moral virtues in the parishioners from among the military and servicemen based on Biblical principles and canons of Orthodoxy during worship, prayers, the celebration of secular and church holidays. It should be noted that the military clergy, as a special institution in the Russian Orthodox Church, had a relatively high social status and enjoyed considerable influence among the military.

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