

The Itineraries of Solomonina Saburova and Elena Glinskaya

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Abstract—This article is focused on the pilgrimage travels and the journeys to towns and settlements by Solomonina Saburova and Elena Glinskaya. The participation of the Grand Princesses of Moscow in different celebrations, formal receptions, weddings, and consecration of churches has been considered. The chronology of the princesses' departures from Moscow has been considerably clarified. The material sources (pictorial embroidery (“needle painting”) items from gold embroidery shops of the princesses, icons), which had not been previously taken for the study of the princesses' itineraries, for the first time provided data on the pilgrimage travels of Solomonina Saburova to the monasteries of Suzdal and to the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery, and of Elena Glinskaya to the St. Paphnutius Borovsk Monastery. As a result of studying the itineraries, the author has come to the conclusion that S. Saburova did not take active part in the affairs of state. The first wife of Vasilii III mainly went on pilgrimages, praying for childbearing to the Lord, to the Most Holy Mother of God, and to Russian saints. The itinerary of Elena Glinskaya is characterized by a higher richness and intensity of travels and a frequent change of location compared to the itinerary of her predecessor. Frequent pilgrimages by Elena Vasilyevna and Vasilii III were dictated by praying to God and Russian miracle workers for an heir and by expectations of conception. After the birth of Ivan IV, the schedule of travels to cloisters and the attendance of official celebrations by the Grand Princess did not become less frequent but, on the contrary, even more busy, being evidence of her increased social status and role in the court life. On the death of her husband and in view of her son's infancy, Elena Glinskaya actually became a regent for Ivan IV from the end of August 1534. From that time she hardly ever departed from Moscow and rarely visited holy places even in the vicinity of the capital so as not to lose control over the internal affairs. The key role of Elena Vasilyevna in politics is demonstrated by her participation with her son Ivan in the negotiations with the Nogai and Kazan ambassadors in 1534–1536, as well as by her guidance, together with the boyars, of suppression of the insurrection of Andrey Staritskii in 1537. One of the additional subjects considered in this publication concerns the debatable issue of Christian double names, the regularities of choosing baptismal (simultaneously dynastic) and secular (with respect to the date of birth) names in representatives of the Moscow Rurik dynasty: Ivan III, Vasilii III, and his sons Ivan IV and Yuri.

Keywords: history of Russia of the first third of the sixteenth century, itineraries, Solomonina Saburova, Elena Glinskaya, the court of the Moscow Grand Princesses, pictorial embroidery items

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The itineraries, i.e., the trips to towns and settlements, the travels to holy places, tours, pilgrimages, as well as stays in and outside Moscow, of the Grand Princesses of Moscow Solomonina Saburova, the first wife of Vasilii III, and Elena Vasilyevna Glinskaya, the second wife of the monarch, have not been an object of special scientific research until now. Among recent publications, we should note the works by I. Thyret, I.B. Mikhailova, and A.G. Melnik, in which they list the pilgrimage travels of the Grand Prince Vasilii Ivanovich with Solomonina Saburova and with Elena Glinskaya,¹ as well as the stud-

ies of N.Sh. Kollmann, N.S. Borisov, A.G. Melnik, and M.M. Krom on the visits to the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery (Trinity tours) of Ivan IV together with his mother in the initial period of his reign.² However, not all travels of the Grand Princesses from the capital were reconstructed, and the cases of partic-

¹ Thyret, I., “Blessed in the Tsaritsa's Womb”: The Myth of the Miraculous Birth and Royal Motherhood in Muscovite Russia. *The Russian Review*, 1994, vol. 53, no. 4 (October), pp. 485–490; Mikhailova I.B.: “I zdes' 'soshlis' vse Tsarstva...: Ocherki po istorii Gosudareva dvora v Rossii XVI veka: Povsednevnyaya i prazdnichnaya kultura, semantika etiketa i obryadnosti” (“And all Kingdoms Have Gathered Here...: Essays of the History of Monarch's Court in Russia of the XVI century: Everyday and Holiday Culture, Semantics of Etiquette and Rituals). St. Petersburg, 2010, pp. 330–337; Melnik A.G., The Grand Prince of Moscow Vasilii III and the Cults of Russian Saints, *Yaroslavsky Pedagogichesky Vestn.*, 2013, vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 7–12.

² Kollmann, N.-Sh., “Pilgrimage, Procession, and Symbolic Space in Sixteenth-Century Russian Politics”// *Medieval Russian Culture*. Vol. II. Ed. M.-S. Flierand and D. Rowland. University of California Press. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1994. P. 163–181; Borisov N.S. The Trinity travels of Ivan the Terrible, In *Troitse-Sergieva lavra v istorii, culture i dukhovnoi zhizni Rossii* (The Holy Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius in the History, Culture and Spiritual Life of Russia), Sergiev Posad, 2010. P. 24–35; Melnik A.G. Pilgrimages of Ivan the Terrible. *Soobshcheniya Rostovskogo muzeya*. Issue XXIII. Rostov, 2018. P. 61–79; Krom M.M. “Vdovstvuyushchee tsarstvo”: Politicheskii krizis v Rossii 30–40-kh gg. XVI veka (“The Dowager Tsardom”: Political Crisis in Russia in the 30–40s of the XVI century. Moscow, 2010. P. 224–225. For historiography of the pilgrimages of Ivan the Terrible over the holy places, see Melnik A.G. Pilgrimages of Ivan the Terrible. P. 61. Footnote 1.

ipation of the monarch's wives in different solemn ceremonies and formal receptions in Moscow in the context of important domestic political events and memorable dates in the princely family were not considered.

Information about the travels of the grand princesses and their attendance at various celebrations can give answers to the question about the extent of participation of the wives of Vasilii III in state affairs. The itineraries are indirect evidence of the political influence of the Grand Princesses and their role in home policy in the reign of Vasilii Ivanovich and in the period of infancy of his son Ivan IV. At the same time, it is possible to reveal interesting details of the household activities and everyday life of the grand princes and princesses of Moscow. In view of the above, the itineraries of Solomonia Saburova and Elena Glinskaya merit special attention.

The main information sources for reconstruction of the travels of the Grand Princesses in the first third of the sixteenth century are the chronicles close in time to the events described. These are primarily the Voskresenskaia and Lvovskaia annals, the Novgorod IV Chronicle according to the list of Dubrovskii, the Postnikovskii Chronicle, the Vladimir Chronicle, the Chronicle of the Beginning of the Tsardom, the Vologda and Perm chronicle, the Nikonovskaia Chronicle, etc.

Let us begin with consideration of the itineraries of Solomonia Saburova and reconstruction of her travels and locations in the years 1505–1525.

The wedding of Vasilii Ivanovich, the Grand Prince of Moscow, and Solomonia Yuryevna took place on September 4, 1505, on a Thursday. The couple were married in the Dormition Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin by the Metropolitan Simon.³

On Sunday, January 25, 1506, in the Cathedral of the Dormition in the Moscow Kremlin there was the wedding of Tsarevich Petr and Evdokia, the sister of the Grand Prince Vasilii III.⁴ The chronicles say nothing about the attendance of Vasilii Ivanovich and his young wife at the ceremony, but it is more than likely, taking into account the kindred relationship between Vasilii Ivanovich and Evdokia. It is known that on February 11, 1506, the Grand Prince was in Moscow, when the letter of grant (“Written at Moscow”) was issued by his order to Euthymius, the archimandrite of the Theotokos Nativity Monastery in Vladimir for lands in the Suzdal uyezd (district).⁵

On Sunday, May 7, 1508, the Grand Prince with the Grand Princess Solomonia left to live in a new

brick-built house funded by Ivan III at the old place near the Annunciation Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin.⁶ S. Saburova became the first mistress of the Golden (later the Corner, or Tsarina) Chamber (a suite of rooms for grand princesses) situated in the eastern part of the ancient Kremlin palace near the Church of Nativity of the Most Holy Theotokos, on the women's side of the monarch's house. The Golden Tsarina Chamber was erected in 1499–1508 by the Italian architect Aloisio da Carcano (Aleviz Fryazin).⁷ In the “Brief chronicle of the Pogodin collection,” the news of the laying of the Grand Duchess's chambers is dated to 1502/1503: “In the summer of 7011, the Grand Duke Ivan Vasil'evich laid the floor for the Grand Duchess and the passages and canopy behind Saint Lazar behind the altar.”⁸

On Sunday, September 8, 1510, on the day of celebration of the Nativity of the Most Holy Theotokos, Vasilii III and the Grand Princess went on a pilgrimage to Pereyaslavl-Zaleskii; then the couple visited the monasteries and churches of Yuryev, Suzdal, Vladimir, and Rostov. The couple prayed for childbearing, asking the Lord to give them a child. The princely couple returned to Moscow on Thursday, December 5.⁹ This tour took place after Pskov joined the Moscow state in January 1510. Vasilii III returned from Pskov to Moscow on Annunciation Day, March 25, 1510.¹⁰ From Moscow, the monarch went alone, without his wife, to the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery, where he “put an ever-burning candle at the tomb of Sergius” on June 16;¹¹ on September 8, he went with Solomonia to the monasteries of Pereyaslavl and to other holy places of Northeastern Russia.

In September 1515, Vasilii Ivanovich and Solomonia Saburova left for the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery, “and from thence he went around the towns.”¹² Obviously, the purpose of this pilgrimage was praying for the gift of a child from the Lord. Almost ten years had passed since their wedding, but they still had no

⁶ CCRC. Vol. 6. 2001. Stb. 383; Vol. 6. 1853. P. 53; Vol. 8. 1859. P. 249; Vol. 13. P. 8–9; Vol. 20. Part 1. P. 380; Vol. 23. St. Petersburg, 1910. P. 198; Vol. 26. Moscow, 2006. P. 299; Vol. 28. Moscow, Leningrad, 1963. P. 342; Vol. 34. Moscow, 1978. P. 9.

⁷ Maslennikova I.A. The Golden Tsarina Chamber of the Kremlin Palace: Problems of Study of the Monument. Vestn. PSTGU. Series V. 2016. Issue 4 (24). P. 122–125.

⁸ Lurie Ya.S., “Brief chronicle of the Pogodin collection,” in *Archeographic Yearbook for 1962*, Moscow, 1962. P. 444.

⁹ CCRC. Vol. 6. Moscow, 2001. Stb. 392; Vol. 6. St. Petersburg, 1853. P. 251; Vol. 8. Moscow, 2000. P. 251; Vol. 13. P. 13; Vol. 20. Part 1. P. 384; Vol. 26. P. 301–302; Vol. 28. P. 345–346; Vol. 34. P. 10; Koretskii V.I. *Solovetskii letopisets kontsa XVI v.* (Solovetsky Chronicle of the Late XVI Century) P. 234.

¹⁰ CCRC. Vol. 30. Moscow, 2009. P. 140.

¹¹ Titov A.A. *Rukopisi slavyanskie i russkie, prinallezhashchie I.A. Vakhrameevu* (Slavic and Russian manuscripts of I.A. Vakhrameev). Issue 3. Sergiev Posad, 1892. P. 60.

¹² CCRC. Vol. 30. P. 142.

³ CCRC. Vol. 12. Moscow, 2000. P. 259; Vol. 20. Part 1. St. Petersburg, 1910. P. 376.

⁴ CCRC. Vol. 13. Moscow, 2000. P. 2.

⁵ Kisterev S.N. The Vladimir Monastery of the Nativity of the Holy Mother of God in documents of the XVI–XVII centuries. *Russkii Diplomatarii*. Issue 6. Moscow, 2000. P. 91–92.

children. The report on this trip to the Holy Trinity is unique, because it is mentioned only in the Vladimir Chronicle. The pilgrimage was timed to the memorial day of St. Sergius of Radonezh (his death) on September 25. It is difficult to ascertain the duration of this trip, because there are no letters of grant (with markings as to the place of their writing) issued by Vasilii III to different monasteries or individuals in the second half of 1515 that have survived to the present day. In the embassy books with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the German Empire, and the Livonian Order, there are also significant gaps in the records of meetings with foreign ambassadors and receptions for 1515.

On Thursday, November 29, 1515, Vasilii III and Solomonia went to the princely residence Vorontsovo in the vicinity of Moscow for consecration of the Church of the Annunciation.¹³

Most likely, in 1515/1516 the Grand Prince and Princess went to Suzdal, where the princely couple could attend the consecration of the Church of the Procession of the Precious Wood of the Life-giving Cross of the Lord.¹⁴ The Church of the Procession of the Precious Wood of the Life-giving Cross of the Lord is dated by researchers as the second half of the 1510s (around 1515).¹⁵ The monastery cathedral was an exact copy of the house church of the Grand Princes of Moscow: the Cathedral of the Annunciation in the Moscow Kremlin.¹⁶ As is known, Solomonia Saburova at her baptism was given a Christian name in honor of St. Salomia (Solomonia) Maccabee, the mother of seven Maccabee brothers, the Old Testament martyrs. The memorial day of the St. Maccabee brothers and their mother Solomonia is August 1.¹⁷ On August 1, the Church also celebrates the Feast to the Most Merciful Savior and the Procession of the Precious Wood of the Life-giving Cross of the Lord. About 1515, an icon depicting the St. Maccabee Brothers, their mother Solomonia, and their teacher Eleazar was painted, probably by the order of Solomonia Saburova. According to the legend, the icon was put by Vasilii III into the Church of the Procession of the Precious Wood of the Life-giving Cross of the Lord at the Monastery of the Patronage of the Most

Holy Mother of God in Suzdal.¹⁸ Simultaneously, the monarch sent the icon “The Procession of the Precious Wood of the Life-giving Cross of the Lord” to the Church of the Procession of the Precious Wood.¹⁹ It is not unlikely that both of these sacred images were brought by Vasilii Ivanovich to Suzdal together with his wife Solomonia in 1515/1516, though this travel was not mentioned in the chronicle monuments.

On Sunday, June 27, 1518, the Grand Prince Vasilii III and the Grand Princess were in the Cathedral of the Archangel in the Moscow Kremlin at the funeral of the brother of Vasilii III, Semion Kaluzhskii, who died the day before, on June 26.²⁰

At the end of June 1521, the Crimean army led by Khan Mehmed Geray I invaded Rus'. When the Crimeans approached the Oka River, Vasilii III left the capital. The monarch departed from Moscow on Sunday, July 28,²¹ or on Monday, July 29,²² and headed for Volok Lamskii to his settlement Mikulinskoye, where “he began to get together with his warriors and people.” In the chronicles, it is indicated that the Grand Prince was together with his brothers Yurii and Andrei.²³ There is no information about where the Grand Princess Solomonia was during the siege of Moscow, but it is quite likely that she was together with her husband and his brothers at Volok. After the Crimean army had left the Russian lands, Vasilii Ivanovich returned to Moscow on August 20²⁴ or August 24,²⁵ 1521. In any way, the monarch was in Moscow on August 30, 1521, when he received B. Voitkov, the Lithuanian envoy.²⁶

¹⁸*Ikony Vladimira i Suzdalya. Drevnerusskaya zhivopis v muzeyakh Rossii: Gosudarstvenny i Vladimiro-Suzdalskii istoriko-arkhitekturnykh khudozhestvennykh muzei zapovednik* (Icons of Vladimir and Suzdal. Ancient Russian paintings in Russian museums: State Vladimir-Suzdal Historical, Architectural and Art Museum Reserve). Authors: Bykova M.A., Gladysheva E.V., Gormatyuk A.A., et al., 2006. Cat. no. 23. P. 150–155.

¹⁹*Ikony Vladimira i Suzdalya. Drevnerusskaya zhivopis v muzeyakh Rossii: Gosudarstvenny i Vladimiro-Suzdalskii istoriko-arkhitekturnykh khudozhestvennykh muzei zapovednik* (Icons of Vladimir and Suzdal. Ancient Russian paintings in Russian museums: State Vladimir-Suzdal Historical, Architectural and Art Museum Reserve). Authors: Bykova M.A., Gladysheva E.V., Gormatyuk A.A., et al., 2006. Cat. 22. P. 146–149.

²⁰CCRC. Vol. 6. St. Petersburg, 2001. Stb. 416; Vol. 6. St. Petersburg, 1853. P. 262; Vol. 8. P. 263; Vol. 13. P. 29; Vol. 20. Part 1. P. 395; Vol. 28. P. 355.

²¹CCRC. Vol. 6. St. Petersburg, 1858. P. 263.

²²CCRC. Vol. 30. P. 145.

²³CCRC. Vol. 24. Pg. 1921. P. 221; Vol. 26. P. 311; Vol. 13. P. 39.

²⁴CCRC. Vol. 30. P. 145.

²⁵CCRC. Vol. 24. P. 221; Zimin A.A. *Rossiya na poroge Novogo vremeni (Ocherki politicheskoi istorii Rossii pervoi treti XVI v.)* (Russia on the Threshold of the New Age (Essays on the Political History of Russia in the First Third of the XVI Century)). Moscow, 1972. P. 242–244.

²⁶*Sbornik RIO* (Collection of the Russian Historical Society). Vol. 35. St. Petersburg, 1882. P. 605.

¹³CCRC. Vol. 30. P. 142.

¹⁴Kavelmakher V.V. When could the Smolensk Hodegetria Cathedral of the Novodevichy Convent have been built? *Novodevichii monastyr v russkoi kulture* (Novodevichy Monastery in Russian Culture). Proc. Scientific Conf. of 1995. Moscow, 1998. P. 158.

¹⁵Petrov D.A. Reflection of the annexation of Pskov and Smolensk by Vasily III in church construction in 1510–1520. *Vestn. PSTGU. Series V*. 2016. Issue 4 (24). P. 75. Note 40.

¹⁶Ibid. P. 75.

¹⁷*Archiepiskop Sergii. Polnyi mesyatseslov Vostoka. T. 1. Vostochnaya agiologiya* (The Complete Monthly Calendar of the East. Vol. 1. Eastern Hagiology). Vladimir, 1901. P. 412, 415, 421, 439, 443; Thyret I. “Blessed in the Tsaritsa’s Womb”. P. 485–486.

In the second half of September 1524, on the memorial day of St. Sergius the Miracle Worker, there was obviously one more joint trip of Vasilii III and Solomonia to the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery. Unfortunately, there are no indications of this trip in the chronicles. Indirect evidence of this important event is the items of pictorial embroidery, namely, the inscriptions on the veil and the shroud put into the cloister of St. Sergius in 1524. The veil “The Apparition of the Mother of God to St. Sergius, Selected Saints and Holidays” was probably suspended from the icon “St. Sergius of Radonezh in hagiography” in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity of the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery.²⁷ The veil contains the following inscription on the border: “Lord, have mercy on the most Orthodox Grand Prince Vasilii Ivanovich Sovereign of all Russia and his most Orthodox Grand Princess Solomonia and their cities. Give them, Lord, the fruit of the womb. This veil was embroidered in the year 7033 in year 19 of his reign.”²⁸ The shroud for the tomb of St. Sergius in the same Cathedral had the following endorsement: “By the order of the most Orthodox and Christ-loving Vasilii, by the grace of God the sovereign of all Rus’ and the Grand Prince of Volodimer and Moscow and Novgorod and Pskov and Smolensk and Tver and Yugra and Perm and Vyatka and Bulgar and others, this shroud was embroidered for the tomb of St. Sergius the miracle worker in the year 7033 in year 19 of his reign and with his most Orthodox and Grand Princess Solomonia.”²⁹ The wide spread dating of these contributions in art history literature is 1525.³⁰ However, as B.M. Kloss has correctly noted, this dating is erroneous: “The shroud indicates ‘the year 7033’ (i.e., the time from September 1524 to August 1525), but with

one more indication: “in year 19 of the reign” of Vasilii Ivanovich, which began on October 26, 1505 (the death of Ivan III), or December 6, 1505 (40 days after the death of Ivan III; in any case, Vasilii Ivanovich made government decisions already on December 7), year 19 of the “reign” of Vasilii III thus should have ended in September/October/November of 1524; hence, the shroud of Vasilii and Solomonia is dated to these months of 1524.”³¹ Indeed, year 19 of the reign of Vasilii III is 1524 but in no way 1525. Thus, one more pilgrimage trip to the Holy Trinity in September, 1524, on the memorial day of St. Sergius the Miracle Worker should be added to the itinerary of Solomonia Saburova.

In 7033 (1524/1525), the princely couple took a detour to Volok and Mozhaisk.³² This is the last pilgrimage of Solomonia to holy places that is known from the sources. A.A. Zimin widely dated this journey as between September 1524 and August 1525.³³ However, on November 15, 1524, being in Moscow, the Grand Prince received ambassadors from Kazan;³⁴ therefore, he could not have been in Volok Lamskii at that time. On September 27, 1525, the Grand Prince visited the large village of Vozdvizhenskoye near Moscow, when a letter of grant was issued by his order to the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery.³⁵ Obviously, the last journey of the sovereign with Solomonia took place in early spring, in April–May of 1525, because it is mentioned after the report on the ordination of Vasilian Toporkov as a bishop in Kolomna on April 2 and Alexius as a bishop in Vologda on April 9, and before the report on the foundation of Novodevichy Convent on May 8, 1525.³⁶ The pilgrimage could have taken place after April 9, 1525 (when Vasilii III sent the embassy of F.G. Afanasyev and minor official F. Filipov from Moscow to Lithuania)³⁷ and before May 8, 1525 (when the letter informing of the arrival of Lithuanian envoy B. Dmitreev at Smolensk was delivered to Vasilii Ivanovich at the capital).³⁸

²⁷Petrov A.S. The Iconographic Program of Icon-cloths of Sophia Palaiologina and Solomonia Saburova and their Place in the Decorations of the Trinity Cathedral of the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery. In *Tserkovnoe shite v Drevnei Rusi: Sb. statei* (Church Embroidery in Ancient Rus: Collection of articles). E.S. Smirnova, Ed. Moscow, 2010. P. 238–242.

²⁸Nikolaeva T.V. *Sobranie drevnerusskogo iskusstva v Zagorskom muzee* (Collection of Old Russian Art in the Zagorsk Museum). Leningrad, 1968. Cat. no. 68. P. 138–139; Manushina T.N. *Khudozhestvennoe shitye Drevnei Rusi v sobranii Zagorskogo muzeya* (Embroidery of Ancient Russia in the collection of the Zagorsk Museum). Moscow, 1983. Cat. no. 10. P. 64–65.

²⁹Nikolaeva T.V. *Sobranie drevnerusskogo iskusstva v Zagorskom muzee* (Collection of Old Russian Art in the Zagorsk Museum). Leningrad, 1968. Cat. no. 69. P. 140–141; Thyret I. “Blessed in the Tsaritsa’s Womb”. P. 484.

³⁰Manushina T.N. *Khudozhestvennoe shitye Drevnei Rusi v sobranii Zagorskogo muzeya* (Embroidery of Ancient Russia in the collection of the Zagorsk Museum). P. 64, 65. Cat. no. 10. P. 182; Nikolaeva T.V. *Sobranie drevnerusskogo iskusstva v Zagorskom muzee* (Collection of Old Russian Art in the Zagorsk Museum). Leningrad, 1968. Cat. no. 68; P. 140–141. Cat. no. 69; Mayasova N.A. *Drevnerusskoe shitye. Katalog* (Old Russian Embroidery. Catalog). Moscow, 2004. P. 31.

³¹Kloss B.M. *Izbrannye trudy. Zhitie Sergiya Radonezhskogo* (Selected Works. Life of St. Sergius of Radonezh). Moscow, 1998. P. 85. Footnote no. 127.

³²CCRC. Vol. 34. P. 15.

³³Zimin A.A. *Rossiya na poroge Novogo vremeni* (Russia on the Threshold of the New Age). P. 295.

³⁴CCRC. Vol. 34. P. 15.

³⁵*Akty Russkogo gosudarstva 1505–1526 gg.* (Acts of the Russian State). By S.B. Veselovskii. Moscow, 1975. No. 253. P. 256–257; No. 254. P. 257.

³⁶CCRC. Vol. 34. P. 15; Nazarov V.D., Rykov Yu.D. *Novodevichiy Nunnery: Introduction*. In *Akty Rossiyskogo gosudarstva. Arkhivy Moskovskikh monastyrey i soborov of XV–nachala XVII vv.* (Acts of the Russian State. Archives of Moscow Monasteries and Cathedrals of the XV–Early XVII century). V.D. Nazarov, Ed. Moscow, 1998. P. 267.

³⁷*Sbornik RIO* (Collection of the Russian Historical Society). Vol. 35. P. 692.

³⁸*Sbornik RIO* (Collection of the Russian Historical Society). Vol. 35. P. 699.

The detour to monasteries from September 10 (Saturday) to November 10 (Thursday) of 1525 was taken by Vasiliï III alone.³⁹

At the end of November 1525, Solomonïa was tonsured as a nun with the name of Sofia in the maiden convent of the Nativity of the Most Holy Theotokos on the moat in Moscow.⁴⁰ According to the official version, immediately after taking the veil, Saburova was sent to the Suzdal Monastery of the Patronage of the Most Holy Mother of God.⁴¹ According to the Postnikovskii Chronicle and Prince Andrei Kurbskii, Saburova was first exiled to Kargopol, to a monastic cell in a forest, and only after five years was transferred to the maiden Monastery of the Patronage of the Most Holy Mother of God in Suzdal.⁴² The exile of Solomonïa to Kargopol raises some questions. The issue is that on September 19, 1526, Vasiliï III granted the elderly nun Sofia (Solomonïa Saburova) in Suzdal with his settlement Vysheslavskoye with villages and a new village for her life;⁴³ consequently, his wife could not have been secluded in Kargopol at that time. The Grand Princess nun stayed in Suzdal until her death on December 16, 1542.

Let us pass to consideration of the travels of Elena Vasilyevna Glinskaya.

The solemn wedding ceremony of Elena Glinskaya and Vasiliï III took place in the Dormition Cathedral in Moscow on Saturday, January 21, 1526. The ceremony was performed by the Metropolitan Daniel.⁴⁴

In 1526, Vasiliï III, according to the chronicles, was in Mozhaïsk on his leisure (hunt). In Mozhaïsk, the Grand Prince received Lithuanian ambassadors, a papal legate, and imperial diplomats Leonard and Siegmund Herberstein.⁴⁵ In the Postnikovskii Chronicle, this trip is dated as to September 1526 and, in addition, it is noted that Vasiliï III was accompanied by his wife E. Glinskaya: "In September of year 7035, the Grand Prince departed from Moscow to the town of Mozhaïsk for his royal leisure along with the Grand Princess Elena."⁴⁶ In the Russian Chronograph, it is also noted that Vasiliï III "spent the autumn" in Mozhaïsk with the Grand Princess Elena.⁴⁷ Most likely, the couple went from Moscow for leisure soon after September 21, 1526. On September 21, Vasiliï III was still in Moscow, when a grant letter of award was given by his order to S.A. Volzhin for governing in the Korega volost of the Kostroma uyezd.⁴⁸ The embassy book on the relations between Russia and Lithuania contains information about the presence of Vasiliï III in Mozhaïsk on September 30. On Sunday, October 14, the Grand Prince received ambassadors from Lithuania, Rome, and the German Empire.⁴⁹ The last ambassadorial reception took place on Sunday, November 4, 1526.⁵⁰ An armistice (truce) was signed with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania for six years, and the diplomats left Mozhaïsk; then the monarch and his wife also returned to Moscow. By November 23, the Grand Prince had already returned to the capital, because it is the date of the nonjudgmental letter of grant and privilege, which he gave to Arsenios, the Father Superior of the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery, for lands in the Nerl Stan of the Pereyaslav uyezd.⁵¹ The trip of Vasiliï III and Elena Glinskaya to Mozhaïsk for the hunt (after September 21 up to November 23, 1526) is of interest, because it was the first travel of the monarch with his young wife after the wedding. During the ambassadorial reception in Mozhaïsk, Elena Glinskaya was not mentioned in official documents and, hence, was not invited to an audience with the ambassadors. Based on the entry list of negotiations, one can guess that the following people accompanied the Grand Prince and Princess to Mozhaïsk and made up their retinue at that time:

³⁹CCRC. Vol. 34. P. 15; Zimin A.A. *Rossiya na poroge Novogo vremeni* (Russia on the Threshold of the New Age).

⁴⁰CCRC. Vol. 13. P. 45; T. 34. C. 15; Zimin A.A. *Rossiya na poroge Novogo vremeni* (Russia on the Threshold of the New Age). P. 295. Footnote 105.

⁴¹CCRC. Vol. 3. St. Petersburg, 1879. P. 124; Vol. 4. Issue 3. Lg., 1929. P. 542; Vol. 6. St. Petersburg, 1853, P. 264; Vol. 8. P. 271; Vol. 13. P. 45; Vol. 20. Part 1. P. 403; Vol. 26. P. 313; Vol. 43. Moscow, 2004. P. 217; Zimin A.A. *Rossiya na poroge Novogo vremeni* (Russia on the Threshold of the New Age). P. 295. Note 105.

⁴²CCRC. Vol. 34. P. 15. *Andrei Kurbskii. Istoriya o delakh velikogo knyazya moskovskogo* (Andrei Kurbsky. History of the Deeds of the Grand Prince of Moscow). By K.Yu. Yerusalmitskii. Moscow, 2015. P. 483–484.

⁴³*Akty Pokrovskogo suzdalskogo devichyego monastyrnya XVI–XVII veka* (Records of the Pokrovsky Suzdal Maiden Nunnery of the XVI–XVII centuries). By A.V. Antonov, A.V. Mashtafarov. Moscow, 2019. No. 7. P. 25–26.

⁴⁴CCRC. Vol. 8. P. 271; 13. P. 45; Vol. 20. Part 1. P. 403; Vol. 22. Part 1. P. 520; Koretskii V.I. *Solovetskii letopisets kontsa XVI v.* (Solovetsky Chronicle of the Late XVI Century). P. 234; Zimin A.A. Short chronicles of the XV–XVI centuries. In *Istoricheskii arkhiv* (Historical Archive). Book V. Moscow, Leningrad, 1950. P. 29; Zimin A.A. *Rossiya na poroge Novogo vremeni* (Russia on the Threshold of the New Age). Note 112. P. 297. In some chronicles (The Sofia Second Chronicle, Postnikovskii Chronicle), the wedding date is incorrectly indicated as January 24 (CCRC. Vol. 34. P. 15; Vol. 6. St. Petersburg, 1853. P. 264).

⁴⁵CCRC. Vol. 8. C. 271; T. 13. C. 45; Zimin A.A. *Rossiya na poroge Novogo vremeni* (Russia on the Threshold of the New Age). C. 305–306.

⁴⁶CCRC. Vol. 34. P. 15.

⁴⁷CCRC. Vol. 22. Part 2. St. Petersburg, 1911. P. 521.

⁴⁸*Akty sluzhilykh zemlevladeltsev XV–nachala XVII v.* (Acts of Serving Land Owners of the XV–early XVII Century). By A.V. Antonov. Vol. 2. Moscow, 1998. No. 82. P. 88.

⁴⁹*Sbornik RIO* (Collection of the Russian Historical Society). Vol. 35. P. 712, 713.

⁵⁰*Sbornik RIO* (Collection of the Russian Historical Society). Vol. 35. P. 729.

⁵¹*Akty Russkogo gosudarstva 1505–1526 gg.* (Acts of the Russian State). No. 280. P. 282–283.

boyars Prince I.V. Shuyskii and M.Yu. Zakharyin, *okolnichii* I.V. Lyatskov, armourer N.I. Karpov, government officials, as well as princes Vassian and Ivan Khomyak Danilovich Penkovs.⁵²

In the summer of 1527, Vasiliï III and Elena lived in the Vorobyëvo settlement near Moscow until the Feast of the Assumption of the Most Holy Mother of God on August 15 (Thursday).⁵³ This trip could have taken place after July 18, 1526, when Vasiliï III was granted a decree letter to P.L. Klementyev and I.P. Kudryavii on demarcation of the land of the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery in the Murom Uyezd and the land of I.Ya. Glyadyachii. This letter of grant was “Written at Moscow.”⁵⁴

In December 1528, Vasiliï Ivanovich and Elena went on a pilgrimage to monasteries, visited the Vologda, Beloozero, Kirillo-Belozerskii, and Ferapontov Monasteries, and called at Yaroslavl on their way back.⁵⁵ The Voskresensk, Nikon, and Lvov annals mention, before Vologda and the Kirillo-Belozerskii Monastery, also Pereyaslavl-Zaleskii, Rostov, and Yaroslavl.⁵⁶ Additional notes to the annalistic corpus of 1497 indicate that the monarch with his wife was “at Vologda and also in the monasteries of miracle workers in Kirillov, Kamennyi, on Glushitsa, on Prilutsa, at the Savior’s, and in the Kornilyev Monastery and in Pavlov hermitage and gave large alms and gratified them at the monasteries and with the priests in towns, and told them to pray for childbearing, so that God would give him a child. They came to Vologda one week before the Christmas [December 25—AK], and went to the monastery for four days to Kirillov, and celebrated Christmas at Vologda, going back from Kirillov.”⁵⁷

The unique, previously unknown record, which has never been published anywhere, concerning the visit of Vasiliï III to the Kirillo-Belozerskii Monastery was part of the Chronograph of George Amartol supplemented with Russian tidings from 898 to 1488 and additions for 1528–1532. The manuscript, judging by the handwriting (semi-uncial with cursive elements), is dated as of the end of the fifteenth century. The later additions are very close in time to the described events of the first third of the sixteenth century. The arrival of the sovereign at the Kirillov Monastery with his wife is dated Thursday, December 17, 1528 (one week before Christmas). The arrival of the Grand Prince is reported as follows: “Year 7037 was the Grand Prince Vasiliï Ivanovich of All Rus’ in the Kirillov and with the Grand Princess Elena on December 17. And the boyars with him were Prince Dmitrei Fedorovich Belskoi, Prince Ivan Vasilyevich Shuiskoi, and Prince Ivan Vasilyevich Obolenskoi, as well as the butler Ondrei Oleksandrovich Kvashnin.⁵⁸ The noblemen with him were Prince Semen Fedorovich Belskoi, Prince Ondrei Ivanovich Kholmiskoi, Prince Ivan Danilovich Penkov, and many princes and boyar children. Prince Yurii Mikhailovich Bulgakov Golitsin rode as *okolnichii* before the Grand Prince, and Mikita Karpov rode with him. And the Grand Prince came to Kirillov⁵⁹ to the monastery at the second hour of the day on Thursday, listened to the prayer service and liturgy, fed the fraternity on that day, and the next day, after listening to the prayer service, went from the monastery at the fourth hour of day.”⁶⁰ In the Brief Kirillo-Belozerskii Chronicle for the 1530s, there is also an indication of the exact date of the visit of the princely family to the cloister: “In year 7037, month of December, day 17, on the memorial day of three youths, the sovereign Grand Prince Vasiliï was at the Kirillov Monastery with the Grand Princess.”⁶¹

It is probable that precisely during this two-week pilgrimage to the Kirillo-Belozerskii Monastery, the princely couple placed the famous veil “Selected Saints,” which later, at the end of the nineteenth century, was taken from this cloister to the collection of the State History Museum in Moscow.⁶² The middle

⁵²*Sbornik RIO* (Collection of the Russian Historical Society). Vol. 35. P. 717. In this year, in the autumn of 1527, Vasiliï III gave Maria, the full-sister of Elena Glinskaya, in marriage to Duke Ivan Danilovich the Hamster Penkov (Zimin A.A. *Formirovanie boyarskoi aristokratii v Rossii vo vtoroi polovine XV—pervoi tretii XVI v.* (Formation of Boyar Nobility in Russia in the Second Half of XV—the first third of XVI Century). Moscow, 1988. P. 92).

⁵³CCRC. Vol. 13. P. 46; Vol. 34. P. 15; Koretskii V.I. Solovetsky Chronical of the late XVI century. In *Letopisi i khroniki* (Annals and Chronicles). 1980. Moscow, 1981. P. 235.

⁵⁴*NIOR RGB* (Research Department of Manuscripts of the Russian State Library). F. 303. Kn. 518. L. 256; *Perechen aktov Arkhiva Troitse-Sergieva monastyrya 1505–1537 gg.* (The List of Acts of the Archive of the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery. 1505–1537). By S.M. Kashtanov, S.Yu. Koroleva, L.V. Stolyarova. Moscow, 2007. No. 310. P. 380.

⁵⁵CCRC. Vol. 6. St. Petersburg, 1853. P. 265; Vol. 26. P. 314; Vol. 28. P. 161; Vol. 34. P. 16; Dunaev B.I. *Prepodobnyi Maksim Grek i grecheskie idei na Rusi v XVI v.* (St. Maximus the Greek and Greek Ideas in Russia in the XVI Century). Moscow, 1916. P. 84; Thyret I. “Blessed in the Tsaritsa’s Womb”. P. 489–490.

⁵⁶CCRC. Vol. 8. P. 272; Vol. 13. P. 46; Vol. 20. Part 1. P. 405–406.

⁵⁷CCRC. Vol. 28. P. 161.

⁵⁸The sentence “and the butler Ondrei Oleksandrovich Kvashnin” is crossed out in the text.

⁵⁹The word “to Kirillov” is crossed out in the text.

⁶⁰Arkhiv SPb IIRAN (Archive of the St. Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences). F. 238. Op. 1. No. 365. L. 853.

⁶¹Zimin A.A. *Kratkie letopisty XV–XVI vv.* (Brief Chronical of the XV–XVI centuries). P. 30.

⁶²Manushina T.N. *Khudozhestvennoe shitye Drevnei Rusi v sobranii Zagorskogo muzeya* (Embroidery of Ancient Russia in the collection of the Zagorsk Museum). P. 64, 65. Cat. no. 10. P. 182, 183; Nikolaeva T.V. *Sobranie drevnerusskogo iskusstva v Zagorskom muzee* (Collection of Old Russian Art in the Zagorsk Museum). Leningrad, 1968. Cat. no. 68; P. 138, 139. Cat. no. 68; Mayasova N.A. *Drevnerusskoe shitye* (Old Russian Embroidery). P. 32, 33. Fig. 12.

of the veil depicts the Metropolitan Peter, St. Nicholas the Miracle Worker, and the Metropolitan Alexius; the following images are embroidered on the borders from right to left: in the upper part, the Metropolitan Barlaam, St. Basil of Pariya, Gregory the Theologian, St. Basil the Great, St. John Chrysostom, the Metropolitans Iona and Philip; in the lower part, St. Sergius and Nikon of Radonezh, St. Euthymius of Suzdal, St. Kirill Belozerskii, St. Barlaam of Khutyn, St. Savva of Vishera, and St. Paphnutius of Borovsk. On the sides, there are the following figures: St. Leontius of Rostov and St. Cyril of Alexandria on the left, St. Dmitrii of Prilutsk and St. Nikita of Pereslavl on the right. According to N.A. Mayasova, “the selection of Russian saints on this veil almost completely coincides with the route of the pilgrimage “tour” of the princely couple in 1529.”⁶³ This observation is partially true. As is known from the chronicles, the couple visited the Kirillo-Belozerskii and Ferapontov monasteries (where St. Kirill Belozerskii was especially revered), the cloisters of Pereyaslavl-Zalesskii (where the object of worship was St. Nikita of Pereslavl), Rostov (Leontius of Rostov as a locally venerated saint), Yaroslavl, and they were at Vologda in the Spaso-Prilutskii (Savior-Priluki) Monastery (where St. Dmitrii of Prilutsk was buried), and the Savior Stone, St. Dionysius Glushitskii, St. Cornelius Komelskii, and St. Paul Obnorsk monasteries. However, there is no evidence of visits by Vasili III and Elena Glinskaya in December 1528 to other cloisters, where the especially revered saints were Sergius and Nikon of Radonezh, Paphnutius of Borovsk, Euthymius of Suzdal, Barlaam of Khutyn, and Savva of Vishera, namely, the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery, the St. Paphnutius Borovsk Monastery, the Savior St. Euthymius Monastery in Suzdal, and the Khutynskii and Visherskii monasteries in Novgorod. Most likely, these monasteries nevertheless were not included in the itinerary of the pilgrimage in winter 1528/1529.

It is interesting that the saints on Elena Glinskaya's veil “All Russian Saints” are the same as the circle of miracle workers to whom Solomonia Saburova, the predecessor of Glinskaya, prayed for childbearing. It is known that some pictorial embroidery items came from Saburova's embroidery shop, which depicted the Metropolitan Peter (the shroud was put onto the Saint's shrine in the Dormition Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin in 1512),⁶⁴ the Metropolitan Alexius (the veil was in the Chudov Monastery in the Kremlin but has not survived to the present day),⁶⁵ St. Kirill Belozerskii (the shroud was put in the Kirillo-Belozerskii

Monastery in 1514, after August 1),⁶⁶ St. Leontius of Rostov (the shroud was passed to the Dormition Cathedral of Rostov in 1514),⁶⁷ St. Paphnutius of Borovsk (the veil was put in the St. Paphnutius Borovsk Monastery),⁶⁸ St. Dmitrii of Prilutsk (the shroud was granted to the Spaso-Prilutskii (Savior-Priluki) Monastery),⁶⁹ St. Sergius of Radonezh (the shroud was donated to the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery in 1524),⁷⁰ St. Nikon of Radonezh,⁷¹ etc.

It can be supposed that there was one more trip by the princely couple in the following year, in the autumn of 1529, to the St. Paphnutius Borovsk Monastery to pray at the shrine of St. Paphnutius. There was a precious relic stored in the cloister (which has not survived to the present day): the silk veil with the image of St. Paphnutius of Borovsk, which was made in the gold embroidery shop of Elena Glinskaya, with the following endorsement embroidered along the edge: “In the year 7038 by the order of Vasili, by the grace of God the sovereign of All Rus' and the Grand Prince of Volodimer and Moscow and Novgorod and Bulgaria and others, was made this shroud in year 24 of his reign and with his Grand Princess Elena.”⁷² The 24th year of the reign of Vasili III is 1529 (September–December of 7038). The trip to the cloister of

⁶⁶Pleshanova I.I., Likhacheva L.D. *Drevnerusskoe dekorativno-prikladnoe iskusstvo v sobranii Gosudarstvennogo Russkogo muzeya* (Old Russian Decorative and Applied Art in the Collection of the State Russian Museum). Leningrad, 1985. Cat. no. 91. P. 206.

⁶⁷Titov A.A. *Rostov Velikii v ego tserkovno-arkheologicheskikh drevnostyakh* (Rostov the Great in its Church and Archaeological Antiquities). Moscow, 1911. P. 41; Putsko V.G. Monuments of Russian applied art of the XV–XVII centuries in Rostov. In *Zbornik muzeya primeneniya umetnosti*. Br. 24–25. Beograd, 1980–1981. P. 56–58. Fig. 4; Silkin A.V. The oldest cover on the shrine of St. Leontius of Rostov. In *Istoriya i kultura Rostovskoi zemli* (History and culture of the Rostov land). 2008: Proc. Scientific Conf., November 10–12, 2008. Rostov, 2009. P. 6.

⁶⁸Antonova A.I. New monument of artistic embroidery of the XVI century. *Kultura Drevnei Rusi: k 40-letiyu nauchnoi deyatel'nosti N.N. Voronina* (The Culture of Ancient Rus': To the 40th Anniversary of Scientific Work of N.N. Voronin). Moscow, 1966. P. 28; Pleshanova I.I., Likhacheva L.D. *Drevnerusskoe dekorativno-prikladnoe iskusstvo v sobranii Gosudarstvennogo Russkogo muzeya* (Old Russian Decorative and Applied Art in the Collection of the State Russian Museum). Cat. no. 92. P. 206–207.

⁶⁹*Khudozhestvennye pamyatniki Vologdy XIII–nachala XX veka* (Artistic Monuments of Vologda of the XIII–Early XX Century). Cat. no. 20. P. 305; Mayasova N.A. *Drevnerusskoe shitye* (Old Russian Embroidery). C. 31.

⁷⁰Nikolaeva T.V. *Sobranie drevnerusskogo iskusstva v Zagorskom muzee* (The Collection of Old Russian Art in the Zagorsk Museum). Leningrad, 1968. Cat. no. 69. P. 140; *Prepodobnyi Sergii Radonezhskii v proizvedeniyakh russkogo iskusstva XV–XIX vekov. Katalog* (St. Sergius of Radonezh in the Works of Russian Art of the XV–XIX Centuries. Catalog). Moscow, 1992. Cat. no. 28. P. 99; Mayasova N.A. *Drevnerusskoe shitye* (Old Russian Embroidery). C. 32.

⁷¹*Prepodobnyi Sergii Radonezhskii v proizvedeniyakh russkogo iskusstva XV–XIX vekov* (St. Sergius of Radonezh in the Works of Russian Art of the XV–XIX Centuries). Cat. no. 29. P. 99; Mayasova N.A. *Drevnerusskoe shitye* (Old Russian Embroidery). P. 32.

⁷²Fetter N. Antiquities of the Pafnutev Borovsky Monastery. *Istoricheskii vestnik*. Vol. XLIII. February. St. Petersburg, 1891. P. 598.

⁶³Mayasova N.A. *Drevnerusskoe shitye* (Old Russian Embroidery). P. 32.

⁶⁴Mayasova N.A. *Drevnerusskoe shitye* (Old Russian Embroidery). Cat. no. 14. P. 108–109.

⁶⁵Mayasova N.A. *Drevnerusskoe shitye* (Old Russian Embroidery). P. 30.

St. Paphnutius of Borovsk could have taken place after October 26, 1529, when Vasiliï Ivanovich was in Mozhaïsk,⁷³ until November 18, when the Grand Prince was in Moscow and received the Lithuanian envoy I. Bogovitinov.⁷⁴ The trip of the Grand Prince to Mozhaïsk for the hunt occurred after September 6, 1539, because on that day Vasiliï III sent a letter from Moscow on releasing Lithuanian ambassadors detained in Mozhaïsk.⁷⁵ In the second half of October, the monarch himself was in Mozhaïsk. From this town, on October 26 he sent his envoy B.Ya. Golokhvastov to Lithuania, “to Zhigimont,” with the texts of addresses to the Polish king.⁷⁶ Inter alia, there were the following instructions on how to answer the questions of the Lithuanian part: “And if Boris is asked about Prince Fedor Mstislavskii, where he is now and whether the Grand Prince favors him? Boris is to say: Prince Fedor is now with the sovereign, and the sovereign favors him, and he was on payroll on Koshyra; and as soon as the sovereign came to Mozhaïsk, and he ordered him to come to his place, and he now is in Mozhaïsk with the sovereign. And they will ask: and what did the Grand Prince come to Mozhaïsk for? Boris is to say: our sovereign takes a tour around his towns each autumn for the hunt, and now he came there to hunt; and I went, and he wished to go to Moscow by the eve of the fast.”⁷⁷ The eve of the fast (the last day before the fast) is Philip’s fast, which begins on November 14, on the day when Vasiliï III planned to come back to Moscow. Apparently, after October 26 the Grand Prince and his wife left Mozhaïsk for the St. Paphnutius Monastery near Borovsk, and returned from there to the capital by November 14. A little later, Ivan IV went on a pilgrimage by the Mozhaïsk–Borovsk–Moscow route in early autumn of 1562, and the way from Mozhaïsk (the tsar arrived there on September 5) to the cloister of St. Paphnutius (the tsar’s arrival was mentioned in the chronicle as September 8) took only three days.⁷⁸ In October 1529, Elena Glinskaya was not mentioned in the Russian–Lithuanian diplomatic documents; though, judging by the endorsement on the shroud for St. Paphnutius of Borovsk, it is quite possible that she accompanied her husband during the hunt and the tour to the monasteries of Mozhaïsk and Borovsk in October–mid-November of 1529.

⁷³*Sbornik RIO* (Collection of the Russian Historical Society). Vol. 35. P. 802.

⁷⁴*Sbornik RIO* (Collection of the Russian Historical Society). Vol. 35. P. 799, 801.

⁷⁵*Sbornik RIO* (Collection of the Russian Historical Society). Vol. 35. P. 802.

⁷⁶*Sbornik RIO* (Collection of the Russian Historical Society). Vol. 35. C. 802.

⁷⁷*Sbornik RIO* (Collection of the Russian Historical Society). Vol. 35. C. 807.

⁷⁸CCRC. Vol. 13. C. 343–344; Polosin I.I. Monastic “detours” of Ivan IV (From the history of Russian military policy). In *Sotsialno-politicheskaya istoriya Rossii XVI–nachala XVII v. Sbornik statei* (Social and Political History of Russia in the XVI – Early XVII Century. Collection of articles). Moscow, 1963. P. 83; Melnik A.G. *Bogomolya Ivana Groznogo* (Pilgrimages of Ivan the Terrible). P. 69.

On Thursday, August 25, 1530, on the memorial day of the Holy Apostle Bartholomew (the Day of the Transfer of the Honored Relics of the Apostle Bartholomew) and the Holy Apostle Titus, Elena Glinskaya bore a son in Moscow.⁷⁹ At the infant’s baptism, he was given the name in honor of John the Baptist, whose memory was celebrated on August 29 (the Day of Beheading of John the Forerunner).⁸⁰ Thus, the heir to the throne, the eldest son of Vasiliï III, was baptized with the same dynastic name as his grandfather, the sovereign of All Rus’, Ivan III.⁸¹ As regards Ivan III, he was born on the day of the Apostle Timothy, January 22, 1440,⁸² and baptized apparently in honor of St. John Chrysostom, his memorial day being January 27 (the Day of the Transfer of the Honored Relics of St. John Chrysostom). On July 11, 1479, Ivan Vasilevich ordered to found in Moscow a stone church for St. John Chrysostom, his heavenly namesake, “because his name was given when there is the Day of the Delivery of St. John Chrysostom on January 27, and in the aisle of that church he ordered to be placed another church, of the Holy Apostle Timothy, as he was born on that day.”⁸³

On Thursday, September 1, 1530, Vasiliï III went alone, without his wife, to the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery to baptize his son Ivan. The baptism ceremony in the cloister of St. Sergius of Radonezh took place on Sunday, September 4.⁸⁴

On Sunday, November 27, 1530, Vasiliï III, Elena with the infant Ivan, and the boyars attended the consecration of the Church of St. Paraskeva Pyatnitsa in Moscow. On this solemn occasion, the Grand Prince established a religious holiday: “And the Great Sovereign established to walk thence each year with crosses to their church on November 27 and to celebrate fairly.”⁸⁵

⁷⁹CCRC. Vol. 13. P. 48; Vol. 20. Part 1. P. 407; Vol. 34. P. 16.

⁸⁰Litvina A.F., Uspenskii F.B. Christian duality in the ruling dynasty in Russia: Stages of evolution. In *Die Welt der Slaven*. 2019. Jhrg. 64. Heft 1. S. 117, 119–120. I heartily thank F.B. Uspenskii for the consultation on the question of Christian double names.

⁸¹Litvina A.F., Uspenskii F.B. Christian duality in the ruling dynasty in Russia: Stages of evolution. In *Die Welt der Slaven*. 2019. Jhrg. 64. Heft 1. S. 117, 119–120. C. 117.

⁸²CCRC. Vol. 8. P. 108.

⁸³CCRC. Vol. 12. Moscow, 2000. P. 192; Litvina A.F., Uspenskii F.B. Monastic name and the phenomenon of secular Christian dual names in pre-Petrine Russia. In *Srednevekovaya Rus* (Medieval Rus). A.A. Gorskiï, Ed. Issue 13. Moscow, 2018. P. 277. Footnote 99; Litvina A.F., Uspenskii F.B. Christian duality in the ruling dynasty in Russia: Stages of evolution. P. 121.

⁸⁴CCRC. Vol. 4. St. Petersburg, 1848. P. 298; Vol. 5. Moscow, 2003. P. 105; Vol. 8. P. 274; Vol. 13. P. 48; Vol. 20. Part 1. P. 407.

⁸⁵CCRC. Vol. 8. P. 278; Vol. 13. P. 58; Vol. 20. Part 1. P. 411; Zimin A.A. *Rossiya na poroge Novogo vremeni* (Russia on the threshold of a New Age). P. 382.

In August 1531, Vasilii III, Elena with their son Ivan, and the boyars attended the consecration of the wooden (votive) church of the Beheading of John the Baptist at Old Vagankovo in Moscow.⁸⁶

On September 17, 1531, on Sunday, Vasilii III, Elena, and Ivan went for a pilgrimage trip to the Holy Trinity St. Sergius monastery and thence to Volok Lamskii and Mozhaisk for the hunt. Vasilii Ivanovich and his wife and son returned to Moscow on Sunday, November 19.⁸⁷

On Tuesday, September 3, 1532, Vasilii III, Elena, and Ivan, the Grand Prince's brothers Yurii and Andrei Ivanovich, the boyars, the Metropolitan Daniel, and Kirill the Archbishop of Rostov attended consecration of the church of the Ascension in Kolomenskoye, then feasted there for three days and returned to Moscow on the fourth day.⁸⁸

On Wednesday, October 30, 1532, on the memorial day of the Holy Martyrs Zenobios and Zenobia in Moscow, Elena Glinskaya bore her second son, Yuri, for Vasilii III.⁸⁹ The infant was baptized in the name of Consecration of the Church of the Great Martyr George in Lida celebrated on November 3. It is interesting that the day of baptism of the newborn child in the Holy Trinity and the Epiphany Monastery situated near the Trinity Gate of the Moscow Kremlin on Sunday, November 3, was the same as the memorial day of the heavenly patron of Yuri, after whom he was given his Christian name.

On Sunday, February 2, 1533, the cousin of Vasilii III, Prince Andrei Ivanovich Staritskii, and the princess Eufrosinia Khovanskaya were married in Moscow, and their wedding was attended by the sovereign himself and his wife Elena, as well as by the prince Yurii Dmitrovskii. The wedding took place in the Dormition Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin.⁹⁰

The last journey of Vasilii III with his family to the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery and to Volok Lamskii is described by a number of chronicles⁹¹, in most detail by "The Tale of Illness and Death of the Grand Prince Vasilii Ivanovich."⁹² However, the route of the princely train has not been reconstructed on a day-by-day basis up to now, though the data from the

sources enable such reconstruction. The sovereign with his wife and sons, Ivan and Yuri, went to the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery for the memorial day of St. Sergius the Miracle Worker to pray. According to the Nikon chronicle, the sovereign left Moscow on Sunday, September 21, 1533.⁹³ September 21, 1533, was really Sunday.⁹⁴ From the monastery, the princely family went to Volok for the hunt. In the settlement of Ozeretskoye near Volok Lamskii, Vasilii III suddenly fell ill: "And he had a sore on the left side on the thigh on the bend of a pinhead size, it had no tip, nor there was pus in it, and it is blood red." From Ozeretskoye, the Grand Prince with his household went to the Nokhabna settlement of St. Trinity, and thence to the Pokrovskoye settlement Funikovo. There, on Wednesday, October 1, the princely family celebrated the Patronage of the Most Holy Mother of God. From Pokrovskoye Funikovo, Vasilii Ivanovich moved to the Pokrovskoye settlement, where he spent two days, and on day three arrived at Volok with his family. On Sunday after Patronage Day, i.e., on October 5, at Volok Lamskii there was a feast at the butler's, I.Yu. Shigona Podzhogin.

After that Vasilii III with his household went to the settlement of Kolp "to have fun," spent two weeks there, and returned to Volok Lamskii in critical condition: "But he could not ride the horse, and was carried on a litter by boyar children and princely children on foot." On Saturday, October 25, on the eve of St. Demetrius day, his first ecclesiastical letter missive was brought from Moscow, which he ordered to be burned. On November 6, the sovereign celebrated at Volok the memorial day of Miracle Worker Barlaam of Khutyn. From Volok, the Grand Prince ordered to be taken to the Joseph-Volokolamsk Monastery. Vasilii spent St. Philip's Day (Philip's Epiphany), November 14, in this settlement in the town of Bui, and in the morning of the following day he was already in the cloister of St. Joseph of Volotsk. In the Church of Dormition of the Most Holy Mother of God, Vasilii Ivanovich attended the liturgy, "the Grand Princess and the children here were standing, crying bitterly to the Most Holy Mother of God for the Sovereign's health."

Vasilii Ivanovich was brought from Volok Lamskii to the capital in a "kaptana" (a carriage on sledge runners). On November 21, the Day of the Entrance of the Theotokos into the Temple, the Grand Prince was brought to the settlement of Vorobyevko near Moscow, where he stayed for two days. On the third day, November 23, Sunday, the Grand Prince left for Moscow. In the capital, Vasilii III held meetings with his boyars, gave his last directions as to how "the tsardom should be built after him," took the monastic vows with the name of Barlaam, and passed away on the

⁸⁶CCRC. Vol. 8. P. 278; Vol. 13. P. 59; Vol. 20. Part 1. P. 412.

⁸⁷CCRC. Vol. 8. P. 276; Vol. 13. P. 56; Vol. 20. Part 1. P. 409.

⁸⁸CCRC. Vol. 8. P. 279–280; Vol. 13. P. 65; Vol. 20. Part 1. P. 413.

⁸⁹CCRC. Vol. 6. St. Petersburg, 1853. P. 266; Vol. 8. P. 280–281; Vol. 13. P. 66; Vol. 20. Part 1. P. 414.

⁹⁰*Drevnyaya Rossiiskaya vivliofika* (Ancient Russian Vivliofika). Part 13. Moscow, 1790. P. 19–29; Sakharov I.P. *Skazaniya russkogo naroda* (Tales of the Russian People). Vol. 2. Book 6. St. Petersburg, 1849. P. 43–47; CCRC. Vol. 8. P. 282; Vol. 13. P. 68; Vol. 20. Part 1. P. 415–416.

⁹¹CCRC. Vol. 4. Lg., 1929. P. 553–560; Vol. 8. P. 285; Vol. 13. P. 75; Vol. 20. Part 2. St. Petersburg, 1914. P. 419; Vol. 29. Moscow, 2009. P. 117–120.

⁹²CCRC. Vol. 34. P. 118–120; Vol. 6. St. Petersburg, 1853. P. 267–269; Vol. 43. Moscow, 2004. P. 225–227.

⁹³CCRC. Vol. 13. P. 75.

⁹⁴Kamentseva E.I. *Khronologiya: Uchebnoe posobie dlya studentov vuzov* (Chronology: Textbook for University Students). Moscow, 2003. P. 80–83.

night of Wednesday to Thursday, December 3 to 4, 1533.⁹⁵

According to the chronicle data, the burial of the Grand Prince in the Archangel Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin, which took place on December 4 or 5, 1533,⁹⁶ was attended by Elena Glinskaya, the brothers of Vasilii III Yurii Dmitrovskii and Andrei Staritskii and boyars and their wives.⁹⁷

Let us now consider the locations and travels of Elena Ivanovna in the period of her widowhood.

It is known that on August 27, 1534, the Nogai ambassadors came to Moscow for negotiations.⁹⁸ Elena Glinskaya was in the capital and, according to the Chronicle of the Beginning of the Tsardom, personally attended the audience: “And the Grand Prince and his mother granted the Nogai ambassadors and ordered their guests (merchants) to trade.” On September 10, 1534, in Moscow Elena Glinskaya issued a letter of grant to Ioasaph, the Father Superior of the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery, for the right to levy duties on the Nogai horse trade, as is known from the books of the clerk T. Kazakov: “And on day 10 of September [of the year 7043—AK], the Father Superior of St. Sergius Monastery, Iasaph, with the brotherhood, applied to the Grand Prince and the Grand Princess so that the Sovereign and the sovereign lady granted them the right to levy duties like in the old times, eight coins per horse.”⁹⁹ Thus, less than a year after her husband’s death, Elena Glinskaya began to play an appreciable role in state affairs.

On Thursday, February 11, 1535, the Metropolitan Daniel, Elena Ivanovna with her sons Ivan and Yuri, and the boyars took part in the transfer of the relics of the Metropolitan Alexius from the old shrine into a

new silver sarcophagus in the Chudov Monastery in the Moscow Kremlin.¹⁰⁰

In October 1535, Elena Glinskaya was in the capital and took part in ambassador receptions. On October 4, a messenger from Kazan, the Novgorodian F.T. Devochkin, arrived in Moscow and reported “to the Grand Prince and his mother, the Grand Princess, on the coup in Kazan, the murder of Enalei, the khan of Kazan, and the seizure of power in Kazan by the Crimean tsarevich Safa Geray.¹⁰¹ When, the Tartar E. Itakov and his comrades, came to Moscow with the news about the coup in Kazan on October 25, according to the Chronicle of the Beginning of the Tsardom, the Grand Prince Ivan and his mother Elena, after taking counsel with the boyars, made a decision to release the disgraced Shigalei from the dungeon on Beloozero.¹⁰²

On December 12, 1535, Shigalei, the former khan of Kazan, was taken to Moscow and admitted to the Grand Prince for an audience. Judging by the description of the events preceding Shigalei’s arrival, Elena Glinskaya stayed in the capital the while time and obviously on December 12 was also in Moscow.¹⁰³

On January 9, 1536, Khan Shigalei was received by the Grand Princess and the Grand Prince Ivan in the Moscow Kremlin. The reception took place in the Chamber at the Church of the Resurrection of Lazarus¹⁰⁴ (the chapel of the Church of the Nativity of the Theotokos “na Senyakh”).¹⁰⁵ On one of the following days after January 9, Shigalei’s wife Fatma-Saltan, the tsarina of Kazan, was admitted to the audience to the Grand Prince and his mother, and “from that day the tsarina Fatma-Saltanate with the Grand Princess in the chamber at St. Lazarus, and the Grand Prince ate with the boyars in his mother’s house.”¹⁰⁶

On Tuesday, June 20, 1536, in the second week of the Great Lent, Ivan IV and his brother Yurii Vasilyev-

⁹⁵CCRC. Vol. 3. St. Petersburg, 1879. P. 125; Vol. 4. St. Petersburg, 1848. P. 298; Vol. 4. Issue 3. Lg., 1929. P. 560–563; Vol. 5. Issue 1. Moscow, 2003. P. 104–105; Vol. 6. St. Petersburg, 1853. P. 274; Vol. 8. P. 285; Vol. 13. P. 76; Vol. 20. Part 2. P. 420; Vol. 24. P. 224; Vol. 26. P. 315; Vol. 28. P. 356; Vol. 29. P. 10; Vol. 34. P. 17; Vol. 43. P. 231.

⁹⁶Earlier, on June 26, 1518, at 2 p.m., Semen Kaluzhskii died; he was buried in the Archangel Cathedral on the following day, June 27 (CCRC. Vol. 20. Part 1. P. 395). Vasilii III passed away on December 3, at 12 o’clock at night, and on December 4, only at 1 p.m. did the Metropolitan Daniel “order to ring the big bell,” and the boyars, after speaking to the Metropolitan, “sent the *shatirnichy* Rusin Ivanov son of Semenov, to take his measurement, and ordered him to bring a stone coffin.” The burial was attended only by those who were present in Moscow at that time: Yurii and Andrei, the brothers of Vasilii III, the Master Vassian Kolomenskii and Dosipheus Krutitskii, archimandrites of the largest Moscow monasteries, “other Masters were then in their regions and therefore had no time to come” (CCRC. Vol. 34. P. 24).

⁹⁷CCRC. Vol. 13. P. 77, 419; Vol. 8. P. 286; Vol. 29. P. 127; Vol. 34. P. 24; Vol. 43. P. 231–232.

⁹⁸CCRC. Vol. 29. P. 13; Krom M.M. “Vdovstvuyushchee tsarstvo” (“The Dowager Tsardom”). P. 121.

⁹⁹Kashtanov S.M. *Ocherki russkoi diplomatiki* (Essays of Russian Diplomatique). Moscow, 1970. P. 437; Krom M.M. “Vdovstvuyushchee tsarstvo” (“The Dowager Tsardom”). P. 123.

¹⁰⁰CCRC. Vol. 8. P. 289; Vol. 13. P. 84, 92; Vol. 20. Part 2. P. 428; Vol. 29. P. 16–17.

¹⁰¹CCRC. Vol. 29. P. 20.

¹⁰²CCRC. Vol. 29. P. 20.

¹⁰³CCRC. Vol. 29. P. 20, 22.

¹⁰⁴CCRC. Vol. 29. P. 22; CCRC. Vol. 20. Part 2. P. 434–435.

¹⁰⁵The stone church in honor of the Nativity of the Most Holy Theotokos in the place of the wooden church of the Resurrection of Lazarus was built by the order of the Grand Princess Evdokia Dmitriyevna, the wife of Dmitrii Donskoi, in 1393 and consecrated in 1394. It was situated in the women’s half of the Prince’s [royal] palace, near the *terem* (tower house) of the Grand Princesses, and was their house church (*Troitskaya letopis* (The Trinity Chronicle). Text was reconstructed by M.D. Priselkov). Moscow, Leningrad, 1950. P. 443–444; Voronin N.N. *Zodchestvo Severo-Vostochnoi Rusi XII–XV vv.* (Architecture of the Northeastern Rus of the XII–XV Centuries). Vol. 2. Moscow, 1962. P. 253–263; Maslennikova I.A. *Zolotaya Tsaritsyna palata Kremlevskogo dvortsa: problem izucheniya pamyatnika* (The Golden Tsarina Chamber of the Kremlin Palace: Problems of Studying the Monument). P. 123).

¹⁰⁶CCRC. Vol. 29. P. 23.

ich went to the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery “to pray,” being accompanied by the boyars and their wives and children. The wet nurse of the Grand Prince, Agrippina, the wife of V.A. Chelyadnin, was mentioned among the boyar wives.¹⁰⁷ Ivan and Yurii returned from the Holy Trinity to Moscow on Thursday, June 22.¹⁰⁸ It was the first departure of Ivan from Moscow after the death of Vasili III. It may seem strange that Elena was not with her children, because the younger Yurii was younger than four years old. It would be logical to suggest that Elena also accompanied the children but her name was just omitted from the chronicle texts. However, the presence of the wet nurse Agrippina and the quick return of the sons of Vasili III from the trip nevertheless indirectly indicate that Elena Glinskaya did not go with them but remained in Moscow. Possibly, she had fallen ill or wanted to have some rest from her children for some time.

There are data on the key role of Elena Vasilyevna in the suppression of the insurrection of Prince Andrei Ivanovich Staritskii May 2–31, 1537, which ended with the arrest of the appanage prince on June 2 in Moscow and his subsequent death on December 10, 1537. The “Answer” of the Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich and his mother, the Grand Princess Elena Vasilyevna, given to Andrei Staritskii with his boyar, Prince F.D. Pronskii, and the minor official V. Grigoryev, has survived to our time.¹⁰⁹ This document precedes the dramatic events related to the insurrection of Prince Staritskii. Judging by the contents of the “Answer,” young Grand Prince Ivan IV and his mother received Prince Fedor Pronskii in Moscow. In the document, Elena Glinskaya is referred to as “Sovereign Grand Princess.” With regard to the dating of this source, M.M. Krom rightly assumes that the “Answer” could have been written in 1536 soon after the mission of the boyar, Prince I.V. Shuyskii, and the minor official M. Putyatin to Staritsa (both of them went to Staritsa at the end of 1535 or in the first half of 1536) but, at the same time, he does not rule out the possibility that the “Answer” could have appeared in April 1537, when, according to the chronicle data, the boyar Prince F.D. Paletskii from Staritsa undoubtedly visited Moscow.¹¹⁰ In addition to the “Answer,” there is the “Petition” from Prince Andrei Staritskii passed to the Grand Prince Ivan and his mother, the Grand Princess Elena, with Prince F.D. Pronskii (the boyar Fedor Pronskii went from Staritsa to the capital on April 12),¹¹¹ where the appanage prince applied to the young Prince Ivan and to his mother, addressing the

latter as “sovereign lady,” and both of them as “sovereigns”: “And you, sovereigns, have granted, shown grace, and warmed the heart and life of your serf with your favor, so that, Osovereign lady, your serf could possibly and reliably, with your sovereign favor, be afterwards without sorrow and grief, as the Lord will put to your heart, Osovereigns.”¹¹² It is precisely Elena Vasilyevna who acts as the main negotiator with Prince Andrei Staritskii in Moscow in April. She is the one who, according to the documental “Tale of the Capture of Prince Andrei Ivanovich” acts together with her son, the Grand Prince Ivan, taking drastic measures to eliminate the insurgency in Staritsa in May 1537,¹¹³ which is evidence of her supreme authority and functions as a ruler at that time.

In the last years of her life, Elena Glinskaya invariably accompanied her sons in pilgrimage travels. On Thursday, June 21, 1537, Elena and Ivan and Yurii left Moscow for the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery and returned on Tuesday, June 26.¹¹⁴

On Saturday, September 29, 1537, Elena Ivanovna and her children went from Moscow to the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery. They returned to the capital on Sunday, October 7.¹¹⁵

On Thursday, January 24, 1538, Elena Ivanovna and her sons Ivan and Yurii departed from Moscow to Mozhaik to the icon of St. Nicholas the Miracle Worker (to the St. Nicholas Cathedral of Mozhaik) to pray. They returned to Moscow on Thursday, January 31.¹¹⁶

However, already on April 3, 1538, on the Wednesday of the fifth week of the Great Lent, Elena Glinskaya suddenly died in Moscow.¹¹⁷ The Grand Princess was buried in the Cathedral of the Ascension in the Moscow Kremlin.¹¹⁸

Let us summarize the results of studying the itineraries of S. Saburova and E. Glinskaya. Interestingly, all of the most important trips beyond the capital and the dates of arrival of the Grand Prince Vasili Ivanovich and his household in Moscow were timed to Sundays. Thursdays take second place in terms of sig-

¹⁰⁷CCRC. Vol. 20. Part 12. P. 439; Vol. 29. P. 27.

¹⁰⁸CCRC. Vol. 20. Part 2. P. 439.

¹⁰⁹RGADA (Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts). F. 375. D. 1. L. 1–5; *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov* (Collection of State Charters and Treaties). Moscow, 1819. Part II. No. 31. P. 38–39.

¹¹⁰Krom M.M. “Vdovstvuyushchee tsarstvo” (“The Dowager Tsardom”). P. 181, 191.

¹¹¹CCRC. Vol. 28. P. 238.

¹¹²RGADA (Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts). F. 375. D. 1. L. 9; *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov* (Collection of State Charters and Treaties). Part II. No. 30. P. 37–38.

¹¹³CCRC. Vol. 26. P. 317–318; Vol. 8. P. 294–295; Vol. 29. P. 29–30; Krom M.M. “Vdovstvuyushchee tsarstvo” (“The Dowager Tsardom”). P. 185, 198–219; Shaposhnik V.V. *Pridvornaya borba v Russkom gosudarstve 30-kh godov XVI veka* (Royal Court Struggle in the Russian State in the 30s of the XVI Century). St. Petersburg, 2020. P. 153–191.

¹¹⁴CCRC. Vol. 20. Part 2. P. 443; Vol. 29. P. 30.

¹¹⁵CCRC. Vol. 20. Part 2. P. 444; Vol. 29. P. 30.

¹¹⁶CCRC. Vol. 20. Part 2. P. 445; Vol. 29. P. 31.

¹¹⁷CCRC. Vol. 4. St. Petersburg, 1848. P. 302; Vol. 5. Moscow, 2003. P. 108; Vol. 8. P. 295; Vol. 13. P. 98; Vol. 20. Part 2. P. 446; Vol. 29. P. 32.

¹¹⁸*Nekropol russkikh velikikh knyagin i tsarits v Voznesenskom monastyre Moskovskogo Kremlya: v 4 t.* (Necropolis of Russian Grand Princesses and Tsarinas in the Ascension Monastery of the Moscow Kremlin: in 4 volumes). T.D. Panova, Ed. Vol. 3: *Pogrebeniya XVI–nachala XVII veka* (Burials of the XVI – early XVII Century). Part 1. Moscow, 2015. P. 69–74.

nificance in the sources. In this context, how can you not remember the favorite day of Sophia Palaiologina, Thursday, noted by V.D. Nazarov, which was the most fortunate, landmark day in her “week cycle!”¹¹⁹ What could the special significance of Sundays and partially Thursdays in the fate of the older son of Sophia Fominichna, Vasilii III, be associated with? As is known, the future Grand Prince of Moscow, Vasilii Ivanovich, was born on Thursday, March 25, 1479 (on the Day of the Annunciation of the Most Holy Theotokos and on the eve of the Synaxis of St. Gabriel, the Archangel, on March 26). Probably, at that time the duration of church services in the memory of saints and heavenly patrons did not coincide with the time of day in the everyday life of the laity; therefore, the celebration of the Synaxis of St. Gabriel, the Archangel, and the church service in his honor began not on March 26 but already in the evening of March 25, i.e., on the eve of March 26. Due to this reason, a newborn child that came into the world on March 25 has every reason to be named Gabriel.¹²⁰ The ceremony of baptism of the infant took place on April 4, on Palm Sunday, at the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery.¹²¹ Thus, Vasilii III was named Gabriel by the date of birth, and his other Christian name, which became the dynastic name for him, was given in honor of St. Basil of Pariya (his memorial day is April 12).¹²² It is obvious that the baptismal name was most significant for the Great Prince Vasilii. No less

important for him was the day of his baptism at the Holy Trinity Monastery, which was Sunday. It is not accidental that after the birth of his two sons he baptized both of them on Sunday. This decision was not spontaneous but dictated by the sovereign’s conscious choice, his aspiration to follow the strong tradition of fateful dates in the grand princely family. Thursday, the day of birth of Vasilii III, which was a peculiar day in the life of his mother Sophia Fominichna, remained symbolic for the Grand Prince. Characteristically, even after the sovereign’s death, his widow Elena Glinskaya planned her travels with children to the cloister of St. Sergius of Radonezh, the days of return to the capital, and other solemn ceremonies (e.g., the transfer of relics of the Metropolitan Alexius) for Thursdays.

Based on the study of the itineraries of Solomonia Saburova, it is hard to argue that she played a significant role in state affairs. The first wife of Vasilii III went mainly for pilgrimage trips, praying for child-bearing to God, to the Most Holy Mother of God, and to Russian saints. Solomonia went on all the pilgrimages known from the sources (about five trips) invariably with her husband. There were two trips to the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery, several trips to Suzdal; and at least once Saburova accompanied Vasilii Ivanovich on his trips to the monasteries of Vologda, Lamskii, Mozhaisk, Pereyasavl-Zalesskii, Yuryev-Polskii, Vladimir, and Rostov. In addition, Solomonia probably attended, together with her husband, the wedding and marriage ceremony of tsarevich Peter and Evdokia, the sister of Vasilii III, in 1506, and certainly attended the consecration of the church in Vorontsovo in 1515 and the burial of Semen Kaluzhskii in 1518.

The itinerary of Elena Glinskaya is characterized by greater richness and intensity of movements and frequent change of locations compared to the review of trips and ceremonies undertaken by Solomonia Saburova. In the lifetime of Vasilii III, Elena Vasilyevna took part in no fewer than ten important ceremonies, when she left the women’s side of the Grand Prince Palace. Five times she made pilgrimage trips to monasteries together with her husband. There were approximately three trips to Mozhaisk, two trips each to the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery and to Vologda, Lamskii; and the Grand Princess went to the monasteries of Vologda, Beloozero, Pereyasavl-Zalesskii, Rostov, Yaroslavl, and Borovsk (once to each). In addition to the tours around the cloisters, Elena Glinskaya together with Vasilii III visited the princely settlement of Vorobyevo near Moscow, three times attended the consecration of churches (Paraskeva Pyatnitsa, St. John the Forerunner, and the Ascension in Kolomenskoye); finally, she attended the wedding ceremony in the Dormition Cathedral and the wedding of Andrei Ivanovich Staritskii and Eufrosinia Khovanskaya in 1533. The more frequent pilgrimage trips of Glinskaya were undoubtedly due to praying for

¹¹⁹Nazarov V.D. Sophia Palaiologina, Prince Vasily and Princes Patrikeyevs (Notes on the political struggle in Russia at the end of XV–XVI centuries). In *Problemy istorii Rossii. Istoricheskii istochnik i istoricheskii kontekst* (Problems of Russian History. Historical Source and Historical Context). Ekaterinburg, 2013. P. 73–76.

¹²⁰According to A.F. Litvina and F.B. Uspensky, both March 25 and 26 were the “Gabriel dates” (Litvina A.F., Uspenskii F.B. Monastic name and the phenomenon of secular Christian dual names in pre-Petrine Russia. In *Srednevekovaya Rus* (Medieval Rus). A.A. Gorskii, Ed. Issue 13. Moscow, 2018. P. 275–276. Footnote 96). One more explanation can be offered for the flexible calendar dates of celebrations in honor of the saints. In the Orthodox Christian name list, the dates of celebration in honor of the same heavenly patron often fell on two consecutive days. For example, the memorial days were St. Daniel the Stylite, December 11 and 12; tsarina Pheophania, December 15 and 16; St. Syncletica, January 4 and 5; St. Martyrs Julian and Basilissa, January 7 and 8, etc. (*Arkhimandrit Sergii. Polnyi myasyatseslov Vostoka. T. II. Svyatoi Vostok* (The Archimandrite Sergius. Complete Monthly Calendar of the East. Vol II. Holy East). Moscow, 1876. P. 5, 7, 326, 327, 329). This was due to divergences between the days of saints’ death and other memorial dates in the works of church fathers, in the Ancient Greek Monthly Calendars used at different churches and monasteries on the Balkan Peninsula and in Asia Minor, which the Archimandrite Sergius wrote about (Ibid. P. III–VIII). That is why in Ancient Rus’ it was probably permitted to celebrate the memory of some saint within two days: in the eve of the celebration and on the following day.

¹²¹CCRC. Vol. 12. P. 190–191; Vol. 21. Part 2. P. 582.

¹²²Thyret I., “Blessed in the Tsaritsa’s Womb”, p. 483; Litvina A.F. and Uspenskii F.B., Monastic name and the phenomenon of secular Christian dual names in pre-Petrine Russia, pp. 277–278.

childbearing and expectation of conception. After the birth of her firstborn Ivan, the trips of the Grand Princess to monasteries and her attendance at official ceremonies became more frequent and regular, indicating her enhanced social status and role in court life.

After the death of Vasiliy III, Elena Vasilyevna went only twice with her children to the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Monastery and once to Mozhaisk within a period of five years. The Grand Princess hardly ever left the capital and, as can be seen from the official sources, from the end of August 1534¹²³ began to play an active role in state affairs, participated together with her son Ivan in the negotiations with the Nogai and Kazan ambassadors in Moscow, and guided together with the boyars the suppression of the insurgency of Andrei Staritskii in 1537.

¹²³This does not contradict the conclusions of modern researchers about the government role of Elena Glinskaya. A.L. Yurganov and M.M. Krom believe that the Grand Princess was actually a regent, coruler for her son Ivan, beginning from September 1534 (Yurganov A.L., *Politicheskaya borba v gody pravleniya Eleny Glinskoi (1533–1538 gg.)* (Political Struggle in the Years of Reign of Elena Glinskaya (1533–1538)), Moscow, 2019, pp. 81–83; Krom M.M. “*Vdovstvuyushchee tsarstvo*” (“The Dowager Tsardom”), pp. 123–124.

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