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'The Yellow Peril' as Seen in Contemporary Church Culture

The eschatological motifs reflected in the texts of contemporary church culture have developed on the basis of a number of sources. Firstly, at a superficial level, they express how popular consciousness experiences the realia of today. Images of disaster can reflect collective fears, including the threat of war. Secondly, they inherit concepts derived from a specifically Russian religious tradition. For example, the idea of a Jewish-Masonic conspiracy has changed little from that characterising church culture in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Thirdly, these motifs are closely associated with the apocalyptic tradition common to all Christianity, which is based on the church fathers' exegesis of the images of the Apocalypse, as well as on apocryphal works. Lastly, they reflect the universal mythological representations which are manifest in various traditions, taking into account cultural and national specificities. Apart from this, representations of the end of the world exist closely interwoven with other mythological concepts: mysticism, demonology, rumours and gossip, quasi-scientific concepts, literary motifs, and so on and so forth.

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The motif, common to all of the Christian tradition, of an invasion of foreigners which precedes the end of the world is reflected in contemporary folklore and literature. An excerpt from Apocalypse, in which Satan gathers 'the nations which are in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog' (Revelation 20: 7) for the battle before the second coming of Christ, is traditionally interpreted in relation to hostile tribes. Thus, in Byzantium, the Slavs, Arabs and Turks were seen in the capacity of something like 'an eschatological nation', in Medieval Rus it was the Polovtsians, the Khazars, Avars, Tatar-Mongols and, later, the Polish, Lithuanians, and Turks [Gromov 2003; Karpov 2002: 4–5, 9]. To this day in the North of Russia, oral stories about the devastating invasion by *litva* (the Lithuanians) have currency; one version describes this as having already happened, but others can be included in the range of eschatological images [Maslinsky 2000].

In the texts of contemporary church culture, the Chinese have become the 'eschatological nation'. The concept of the Chinese invasion is, primarily, the legacy of the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. In the era of 'Far-East politics' the phantom of the 'yellow peril' [literally, yellow threat] — the impending rise of Asia, capable of subjugating the Christian world not only spiritually, but also militarily — has become 'the most discussed problem of the domestic press' [Mezhuev 1999]. In this period, the invasion from the East — a motif that is more international than specifically Russian — has also found wide reflection in literature (see the short digest of literature in [Koshelev 2000]), achieving a truly apocalyptic taint in 'A Short Story about the Antichrist' by Vladimir Solovyov, in which the conquest of Europe by Asians occurs directly before the accession of the Antichrist.

In this period, rumours about an impending war with the Chinese were spread in peasant circles as well. In the 'Ethnographic Digest' for 1901 the following interpretation of a vision was given: '*The Chinese will come, slaughter the population, and burn the towns and villages*' [Ivanov 1901: 134]. Specifically eschatological motifs appear in connection with China: according to a widely held belief, the Antichrist will appear when '*the whole world rises up, and China begins to revolt*' [Novichkova 1995: 24]; thus, China is incorporated into the scenario of apocalyptic catastrophe. Finally, in the popular imagination at the beginning of the twentieth century, China became the refuge and starting point of the Antichrist, instead of Western Europe, whence believers had expected him to come previously.

At the end of the 1960s the expectation of a war with China became a reality: first of all when relations between the USSR and the People's Republic of China worsened after China presented the USSR with territorial claims; and especially after the military

encounter on the Sino-Soviet border in 1969. A new wave of expectation of war occurred at the end of the 1970s [Palamarchuk 1993: 28]. The threat of war, intensively experienced by mass consciousness, brought about numerous rumours (as one contemporary recalls: '*They said that it had been predicted, there, the yellows will go. There was such a prophecy. Well, then people said that the war and the yellow race were predictions*' (1)). On the other hand, the Chinese became the subjects of parody (compare the various jokes about the conquest of the USSR by China, the new versions of well-known songs ('*Yellow faces circle over the city*' — seemingly a song about Chinese paratroopers, etc.)

Finally, the migrations of Chinese to Siberia and the Far East at the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first centuries were received in popular consciousness and, in particular, by inhabitants of the corresponding regions, as signifying a real threat of Chinese expansion, and were even interpreted in this way by independent commentators and political scientists.

It is impossible to deny the influence of generally known concepts of the numbers of Chinese ('*every fifth person in the world is Chinese*') on the eschatological image of the Chinese. The size of the Chinese population is constantly played upon in jokes, including those in which the Chinese cause world-wide famine (having learnt to eat with forks instead of chopsticks) and even the end of the world (when all of them at once jump off stools and cause an earthquake; when they breathe out alcoholic fumes after a public holiday; when they each receive one tablet of Viagra etc.)

In the present paper, materials used include literature about the predictions of sage elders circulating in contemporary church culture, and, likewise, oral tales recorded in the largest centre of Orthodox pilgrimage — the village of Diveevo in the Nizhegorodskaya oblast, in the summers of 2002 and 2003.¹ The church culture referred to is the religious subculture which formed at the beginning of the twentieth century and existed practically underground for the whole of the Soviet period [Tarabukina 2000]. Since the beginning of the 1990s, a period that witnessed a great rise in religiosity in post-perestroika Russia, an active phase in the existence of this subculture has begun, but, at present, its social composition remains fairly heterogeneous. On the one hand, it includes a section of the Orthodox priesthood, monks, and parishioners. On the other hand, since the beginning of the 1990s (and most intensively since the mid-1990s) numerous brotherhoods and voluntary organisations have begun to develop in the heart of this subculture: these are more often than not of a nationalist, monarchist, and antiglobalist persuasion,

¹ Full information about the informants is not included for purposes of confidentiality.

and produce their own publications and/or websites. These movements, which find many sympathisers, are assigned by political scientists to the sphere of 'Orthodox fundamentalism' [Verkhovsky 2003]. To enumerate all these organisations and publications is beyond the scope of the present article, so I will name only a few: The Orthodox Oprichnina Brotherhood (publishing the almanac *Oprichnina*), The Orthodox Brotherhood in the name of the Tsar-Redeemer Nicholas II (publishing the almanac *Eternal Life*), the television programme and journal *Russian House*, K. Gordeev's journal *Serbian Cross*, L. Sergievsky's website 'Standing for Truth', and the publishing society 'Benediction'. These groups may be in alliance, or in opposition to each other; their relationship to the Moscow Patriarchate ranges from loyalty to non-acceptance; they are characterised by a varying degree of politicisation.

All this might seem to suggest that there is an inevitable element of abstraction in a construct like 'church culture'; that the latter turns out on close analysis to be a union of many small groups with ideologies that are not always compatible. Furthermore, the ideology and self-consciousness of the representatives of some of these groups allow us to talk about them as kinds of subcultures within a subculture (as when the leader of one of the organisations proposes to his followers that they call themselves not Orthodox, but 'monarchists, the tsar's people'). However, as a whole the representatives of the culture are united by a shared, although somewhat contradictory, vision of a world imbued with 'a mysticism that is based on Orthodox esoteric teachings', common ideals and cultural symbols [Tarabukina 2000]. Ideological disagreements do not, for the time being, prevent the representatives of the culture from speaking a common language or accepting information which derives from various sources.

The Chinese invasion is a motif which is well-known to a significant number of the informants. In some cases it takes the form of rumours, in others it unfolds in a narrative which is abundant in detail. In their accounts, the informants refer both to an abstract source ('*They say war is coming*') and to the predictions of priests and elders respected in the church culture: John of Kronstadt, Grigory Rasputin, Serafim Vyritsky; Serafim Tyapochkin, the Schema-nun¹ Nila, Pelagiya Ryazanskaya etc. Indeed, these zealots are credited with prophecies of a war with the Chinese or the conquest of Russia by China before the end of the world. The activity of V. P. Kuznetsov (chief editor of the almanac *Eternal Life* and ideologist of the Orthodox Brotherhood in the name of the Tsar-Redeemer Nicholas II) plays a not insignificant role in the interpretation of this motif. Collecting various prophecies, Kuznetsov builds up a fairly optimis-

¹ Schema — the strictest form of monastic regulation in the Orthodox Church. [Editor].

tic picture of the eschatological future in which the Russian tsar vanquishes the Antichrist. Thanks to the active publishing and evangelical activities of the Brotherhood, the number of people who share, to a varying extent, his ideology, is growing all the time.

As a whole, the Chinese invasion can be described as a specific vision of the Third World War. Not infrequently, it is seen as the first event in a series of bloody wars, as a result of which one world ruler is chosen — the Antichrist. According to the most widespread version, the Chinese seize the territory of Russia as far as the Ural mountains (according to one text, the Chinese are prevented from travelling beyond the Urals by the intervention of the prayers of Nicholas II, who was shot in Ekaterinburg [PDZP]). The various loci beyond which the Chinese do not advance, at any rate with the aim of conquering territory, are named as Ekaterinburg [PDZP], Chelyabinsk [Nastavleniya 2003], the river Tobol (2). In isolated cases other ‘eschatological nations’ act simultaneously with the Chinese — the Turks take over the Kuban, the Japanese the Far East, in Western regions the Germans take over, and in Karelia the Finns. According to a little known text attributed to the elders of the Sanaksarsky Monastery, China, the US and Europe will begin an atomic war, trying to divide the territory of Russia between them [PDZP].

The bearers of the ‘Chinese legend’ have two versions of how the Chinese will conquer Russia as far as the Urals. According to one version, which is reflected primarily in oral texts, an invading army will come from China. In the other, the conquest will be bloodless. The elders are attributed with the following prophecy: ‘*The Chinese... will start to migrate into Russia, will marry Russians and in the end, through stealth and cunning, will take over the territory of Siberia as far as the Urals*’ [Starets Serafim 1996: 56]; ‘*The greatest tragedy will be the seizure of Siberia by China. This will happen not by military means: the Chinese, after a weakening of power and opening of borders, will begin to immigrate to Russia en masse, will buy up property, businesses, apartments... All this will happen so that one morning, Russian people living in Siberia will wake up in a Chinese state*’ [Prorochestva 2003].

The immigration of the Chinese to Siberia and the Far East is understood in the context of the predicted conquest. The informants, answering our question ‘Will China will conquer Russia?’, often affirm the truth of the prophecy with a story about the situation in the Far East. ‘*...someone came from Khabarovsk yesterday, a brother...And I said, ‘How are the Chinese?’ — ‘Well, in Khabarovsk, a city of almost a million, half are already Chinese, already half...’ Well, in short, they say there are already 250000 of them in Moscow...As Serafim Vyritsky writes, a Russian man wakes up in the morning, and he’s not the master anymore. There’s a prediction, I have been there,*

I have seen it myself, [I] am from Vladivostok' (3). Here the prophecy cited above is retold: in fact, tradition ascribes it to the other Serafim, Serafim Tyapochkin.

One female informant moved from a reference to the prophecy of the Chinese invasion to a story about personal contact with a Chinese man: *'On my way here I shared a railway carriage with a Chinese man. What's more, he spoke Russian very well. I said, "And where did you learn Russian so well?" Well, it turned out that this bastard was studying Russian right then, he was studying it in China. At that time Russo-Chinese relations were very strained, and he was studying it as the language of the enemy. As we're travelling he says, "What a lot of land you have!" and there is a lot of land here, well, it's beautiful everywhere, fields and forests... "What a lot of land you have! And we have just people. People, people, people. but you've got..."'. But God gave it to us*' (4). This narrative was used to affirm a prophecy known to all parties in the conversation. Despite the fact that the informant did not draw a direct conclusion, the tone of the text presented an ordinary Chinese man whom the informant had encountered by chance as a potential conqueror, making claims on territory that was given to the Russian people from above.

The Chinese conquerors are described as a faceless mass; they are always referred to in the plural. The informants name huge numbers which signify the magnitude of the Chinese troops: *'They go to war three million at a time'* (5); *'An army of 200 million will come'* (3); *'Anytime now a billion are coming'* (2). The female informant V. affirmed that the Chinese invasion is referred to in the Revelations of Ioann Bogoslov,¹ in which the Chinese are allegorically represented as locusts.

Another characteristic of the Chinese is their cruelty. Discussing the horrors of the Chinese invasion, the informants talk about terrible tortures, the Chinese use of bacteriological and psychotropic weapons. The Chinese destroy the Russian population to the last man: for example, they cut off all of the Krasnoyarsk region and in Irkutsk they carry out a slaughter so dreadful that the Virgin Mary cannot bear it and floods the city (3). After the war with the Chinese only one third of the world's population will remain (6) (in this case a motif characteristic of texts about the Third World War in general is used). This cruelty, as a rule, is entirely unmotivated: only in one text do the Chinese act as the scourge of Christians (the elder predicts to his spiritual daughter *'a tormenting end at the hand of the Chinese in the stadium... where they will chase the Christian inhabitants and those who disagree with their rule'*) [Nastavleniya 2003].

¹ I.e. St John the Evangelist. [Editor].

We cannot, however, entirely agree that the Chinese are given the role of the enemy, 'the satanic army' [Tarabukina 2000] in eschatological representations. This niche, for 'church people' emerges as firmly occupied by the Jews. Being pagan, the Chinese, of course, serve Satan, but this service is rarely described as conscious, as distinct from that of the 'demon-worshipping' Jews. If we compare the Chinese and the Jews, the latter are always painted blacker. The author of a brochure from the church culture writes: '*the enemy has many servants... but he has only one offspring and it is not the Chinese, nor the Papuans.*' Later on, it continues about Muslims, in place of whom, following the logic of the text, you could insert the followers of any Eastern religion: '*a purely Jewish invention, a way of organising the dark Asians in order to set them upon Christendom*' [Pravoslavie 1993: 4,13]. In the same way — as a weapon in the hands of Masons — the representatives of certain Orthodox nationalist organisations view Wahhabism [Verkhovsky 2003: 46].

In another series of texts, it is America that sets the Chinese against Russia, this state being, in the understanding of church culture, the centre of Masonry, 'the Jewish State', where a secret world government meets. It is precisely these plans that V. P. Kuznetsov uses to explain the current economic situation (the question as to how much this relates to reality is not addressed): '*Now all of America is flooded with Chinese goods, up to 80 percent. But the bill is not paid with money. America settles up with the Chinese only with weapons. Everyone knows this. Now, the Chinese have more weapons than any other state.*' [PDZP] In the opinion of the informant S., '*America wants to destroy Russia through the hands of Chinese soldiers. Jews never do it with their own hands*' (7).

As long as the 'dark Asians' are only the victims of the Jews there is the possibility of their conversion. It is significant that the motif of the conversion of a section of the Jews before the end of the world, which is reflected in patristic literature, is not widespread in the subculture under consideration. The popularisation of the idea of the conversion of the Chinese has been, in recent years, primarily carried out by the Brotherhood in the name of the Tsar-Redeemer Nicholas II. In the ideology of the Brotherhood, a turning point in the development of apocalyptic events is the following: the Chinese invaders reach the Urals, where the archangel Michael appears to them and orders them to convert to Orthodoxy, which they do. Every single Chinese converts to Orthodoxy. According to the prophecy: '*All China will read the Psalter and pray to God*' [Mikita 1998: 29], '*quickly, all in the rivers, to be baptised, and onwards... One and a half billion*' (2). In some texts, however, the Chinese are baptised in Russia without the intervention of divine powers.

In cases of this kind, Russia is seen as fulfilling its predestination.

In the opinion of V. P. Kuznetsov, 'God chose Russia to preach the Gospels to all nations... And the last people on the Earth who have never had any religion are the Chinese. Because Buddhism is just a philosophy' [PDZP]. This quote contains the idea of eschatological perfection (in the New Testament Christ says that his coming will happen when the Gospels have been preached to all the world; in traditional eschatological perceptions, before the end of the world there a total reckoning is carried out: all the world is measured, the ranks of angels filled, etc. [Belousov 1991: 323]).

The dream of a Christian China is not new to Orthodox thinking, nor indeed the idea of a China enlightened by the light of the Gospels, a kind of Fourth Rome — the successor to dying Russia whose mission it takes upon itself. At the end of the nineteenth century, the metropolitan Innokenty Moskovsky wrote that it was possible that unworthy Russia would pass on the beacon of Orthodoxy to the Chinese; in the 1920s, metropolitan Veniamin (Fedchenkov) suggested, 'maybe, also, the Chinese, Indians, Japanese will give the world Pechersky monasteries,¹ and new Antonys, and Theodosys, Sergys, and Serafims... Well, maybe Russia will come to an end and, as she does, will give birth to the Christian East?' [Veniamin 1998:42]. At the end of the 1990s, a series of agents of the Russian Orthodox Church expressed the idea that missionary work ought to be carried out among the Chinese, in case Siberia passed to China after all [Izuchaite kitaiskii yazyk 2003], and the deacon A. Kuraev spoke directly about the possibilities for China to become the Fourth Rome [Kuraev 1999: 334–5].

In the texts studied, the Chinese do not emerge as the chosen people instead of the Russians. However, the informants are able to draw an analogy between the forthcoming conversion of the Chinese and the Conversion of the Emperor Constantine and the baptism of Russia (2), which indirectly refers to the Second (Byzantium) and the Third (Russia) Rome. The priest G., however, undoubtedly acquainted with the prophecy about the conversion of the Chinese and their future mission, declares, 'The Chinese are us. We stand in *Kitai-gorod* [China-Town]' (8).² The baptised Chinese are given a particular mission — the cleansing of Russia of hostile powers. With the same zeal as they formerly killed everyone one by one (even Christians) they go and beat the enemies of Orthodoxy — the 'commies and democrats' (2), the Jews and 'Jewish types' (7).

¹ Pechersky monasteries: i.e. monasteries of the caves (famous examples are in Kiev and Pechory), in imitation of Early Christian practice. [Editor].

² Near the metro station *Kitai-gorod* in Moscow, representatives of marginal Orthodox currents of a monarchist and nationalist persuasion gather. Though the name *Kitai-gorod* has been known since the sixteenth century, and probably has nothing to do with China [Kitai], the name is commonly understood to mean 'China-Town' — as here.

According to the narratives of the researchers of V. P. Kuznetsov, by killing 'Jew-practising' Russians, the Chinese allow true Orthodox believers to avoid taking part in a 'brother-killing war', saving them from the necessity of 'killing their brothers' (7). On the other hand, 'delivering Russian from the Jews' the aggressors also help the establishment of the power of Russia's last tsar, expected in the future (2). The Chinese people's acceptance of Orthodoxy has a decisive significance for the apocalyptic war of the powers of the dark and light; thanks to the number of Chinese, the Orthodox world suddenly receives an advantage which horrifies the opposing side — America [PDZP].

Once baptised, the Chinese will take on almost angelic qualities. Even their former paganism turns out to be a positive factor: on the one hand, it places them in opposition to Jews and, on the other hand, it favours their conversion: '*But they are very... sort of... very God-loving, the kind who fear God... They are pagans*' (2). The holy fire mentioned in Apocalypse which devours the people of Gog and Magog also 'brings the grave of the Holy Spirit' to the Chinese, interpreted allegorically here as the fire of God's grace. The informants speak about a certain charism, evidently citing a text that we, unfortunately, do not know. This 'charism' consists of a particular type of clairvoyance — only the Chinese can tell the righteous from the sinful: they will see crosses which are invisibly inscribed on the heads of genuine believers by angels, and will destroy those upon which they do not find this cross. Sometimes the faithful are marked by Saint Serafim of Sarov, rather than by angels: '*In the Bible it talks about this. In the Book of Daniel. An angel comes down from heaven and flies and searches for all of his own, so that he can anoint them with the sign of the cross... and of which angel is this said? The angel Serafim. Even now he is going about the Earth and placing his crosses on all his own. On the forehead. Not on the neck, then everybody would wear a cross. And none of this will alarm anybody. Everything will be destroyed*' (2). However, the informants can also affirm that the Chinese do not touch people who have a cross around their necks (3). In another version the angels mark not the foreheads, but the houses of the righteous [Tarabukina 2000]. Thus, the Chinese act not only in agreement with the angels, but in some sense they themselves play the role of the dread angels, restoring order and meting out judgement to those who, after the apocalyptic division, end up on the left side. (In Apocalypse the angels punish those who take on the 'outline of the beast' (Revelation 16: 1–11) It is worth remembering the similar motif from Exodus).

But even converted Chinese remain a force that is potentially hostile and demands the utmost caution. '*But if anyone gets up and fires just once from a pistol, everyone will be killed. Or fires from a catapult and hits one of them in the forehead, we'll all be destroyed immediately*' (2).

The invaders must be given a warm welcome: *'When the Chinese come, as soon as you hear about it, open the door at once: "Come in. Can I get you something to eat, restore your energy and go onwards"'* (2).

As a whole, among eschatological images the invasion of the Chinese — a faceless, dumb mass of people who leave nothing alive in their wake — fulfils the same function as national disasters and technogenic catastrophes. Firstly, the war with China as an individual instance of calamity, serves as a sign of the impending end of the world. Secondly, it is seen as God's punishment for the sins of the world: for example, the elder Vladislav (Shumov) said that the invasion of the Chinese and the territorial losses of Russia would be punishment for 'renouncing faith' [Mikita 1998: 9]. Thirdly, the Chinese cleanse the world (Russia) before the resurrection of the kingdom of God. On the one hand, the war with the Chinese can be understood as the 'cleansing of Russia', through which God 'takes away all the weak, who cannot hold out' in the face of the Antichrist (6); on the other hand, the Chinese rid Russia of its enemies. The sign, the punishment and the cleansing are the fundamental functions of the catastrophe which prefigures the end of the world.

It should be mentioned that the motif of the Chinese invasion is, at the present time, reflected most distinctly in the religious sub-culture examined here. If it finds reflection in the imagery of new religious movements, it manifests itself extremely indirectly. So, for example, in the prophecies of the archbishop Ioann Bereslavsky, the leader of the Bogorodichnyi Centre, the idea of an invasion from the East is manifest in its spiritual aspect, as the spread in Russia of 'occult and Eastern teachings'. At the same time, Ioann does not exclude the possibility of the conversion of the Asians, who at present are in darkness and, what is more, are the winners in comparison with the profane Russians, 'The Indians will accept Christ... under the influence of the wondrous signs of the Holy Ghost, and their disciples in Russia will be left with nothing' [Bereslavsky 1993: 102]. Apart from this, the representations of a few esoteric subcultures attribute the prophecy of the invasion of Russia by China to Nos-tradamus (see, for example: [Kurylev 2003]).

Many mythological systems all over the world recognise the powers of chaos, which are believed to have been pacified or to have dwindled, but which will, it is held, be unleashed at the end of time (in Scandinavian mythology these powers are identified with Loku, the snake who personifies the element of water, and other chthonian monsters; in the mythology of the Altai Turks it is Erlik, etc.). Over time, monsters and deities transform into other nationalities, whether unknown/imagined (the authors of Russian chronicles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries talk about various profane, pagan

tribes who were imprisoned by Alexander the Great [Aleksandr Makedonsky] and who, before the end of the world, must be set free [Gromov 2003]; this motif also found reflection in the Muslim early medieval traditions [Karpov 2002: 9], or those that are historically hostile. The idea of an 'eschatological nation' mentioned at the beginning of this article is not particular to the Christian tradition — in the late Avesta, for example, among the catastrophes which prefigure the accession of the Messiah, is the invasion of 'the profane Arabs' [Rak 1998: 305–6].

As a whole, the non-specificity of the image, the monstrous destruction, the similarity with the elements, in one way or another belong to 'eschatological nations' in the national imagination. *Litva* in particular, is associated with watery chaos ('*Litva* will flood everything') [Maslinsky 2000: 5]. However, these peoples, as distinct from the Chinese, are always injurious. The conversion of the Chinese represents the insertion of a heroic motif into the circle of eschatological images and fulfils the function of a kind of taming of chaos, a mastery of the world.

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Informants

- 1 — Pankova Rimma Vasilevna, b. 1939, from Moscow; education: higher; recorded in Moscow, 2003.
- 2 — A. male, approx. 50 years old, from Moscow; recorded August 2003 in the village of Diveevo, Nizhegorodskaya oblast.
- 3 — A., male, 45 years old, from Vladivostok; education: specialist, middle level; recorded August 2003 in the village of Diveevo, Nizhegorodskaya oblast.

- 4 — E., female, approx. 50 years old, from Murmansk; education: higher; recorded August 2002 in the village of Diveevo, Nizhegorodskaya oblast.
- 5 — V., female, approx. 70 years old, from the village of Diveevo, Nizhegorodskaya oblast; recorded August 2002 in the village of Diveevo, Nizhegorodskaya oblast.
- 6 — Anon., female, approx. 60 years old; recorded in August 2003 in the village of Diveevo, Nizhegorodskaya oblast.
- 7 — S., male, approx. 35 years old, from Moscow; recorded in August 2002 in the village of Diveevo, Nizhegorodskaya oblast.
- 8 — G., male, approx. 45 years old, priest, from Nikiforovka, Vladimirskaya oblast; recorded in December 2002 in Moscow.

Translated by Emily Lygo