

## 1771-1772 Great Plague in Moscow and Old Believers Economic Growth

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**Key Words:** Russian Entrepreneurship History, Old Belief History, Economic History

Historians' interest toward the history of disasters, primarily epidemics and pandemics, is longstanding, nevertheless, the 1997 publication by David M. Herlihy (Хелихай) («The Black Death and the Transformation of the West») was a pioneering one since it offered a new and well grounded vision of the influence the 14<sup>th</sup> century Black Death had on the development of Western Europe. Significantly, besides its influence on the social, cultural, scientific and technical development, the Black Death effect on the late-medieval economy was also noted. D. Herlihy demonstrated that the aggravation of inequality through the distribution of property and resources, intensified profiteering, concentration of landholding by the elite, ousting of peasants from their households, and population decline stimulated, among other matters, the birth of technological advance, creating of labor-saving devices.

Following that publication, «Disaster Studies» were no longer seen as a marginal area, and research literature on the impact of epidemics, earthquakes and tsunamis around the globe from the Caribbean (Haiti) to the Central Asia (Uzbekistan) in various historic periods, started to appear, and here the books edited by David Herlihy, Samuel K. Cohn Jr., Rosemary Horrox, etc. may be mentioned. A broad discussion followed, with some researchers insisting the pandemics had solely devastating effects on the European civilization and its regions (Philip Ziegler, Robert S. Gottfried, Guido Alfani). In addition, the influence of disasters on the economy and entrepreneurship, in particular, turned out to be the least researched area at the present stage of the dispute evolution.

We believe that the fact that Russia's extensive territory wasn't covered by any research, favours both viewpoints. However, the plague epidemics produced their impact on the business procedures in Russia.

**The mission** of the research is to identify the nature of the influence produced by the 1771–1772 plague epidemic in Moscow on the foundation and strengthening of the main centres of the most important Old Believers denominations (soglasiyas), the transformation of these religious dissidents into the leaders in a number of branches of economy (in textiles, grain supplies, etc.) at the Russian industrialization's initial stage (last 19<sup>th</sup> – the first half of 19 centuries). **Methods** of social science history, narrative analysis and traditional methods of historical research (historical genetic, historical typological and historical comparative) were used in the study. The religious dissidents became abundant

*historic sources*, both published and archive kept, illustrating the Old Believers' activities (religious communities' constituent documents, sets of rules, statutes, denouncements), are available and exhibit the mechanisms of the Old Believers' major economic and religious centres and entrepreneurial networks establishment and development. The second portion of sources represented public documents and materials (legislative instruments, enactments, police reports, etc.)

Opponents of religious reforms seceded from the official Russian Orthodox Church in the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Old Believers, chased in the new sociopolitical, socioeconomic and canonic environment and willing to preserve their faith and church, initiated the development of the ideas of the 16–17<sup>th</sup> century Orthodox theology and interpreted anew the traditional Christian texts. As a result they created *new confessional values and secured the emergence of a special type of devoutness (religiosity)*.<sup>1</sup>

*The idea of the moral value of a man* played an important role. In Weber's opinion in the early new times it was impossible to achieve the social activity genesis without *the idea of confessional activism*. And this idea was another important feature of the new religiosity and the foundation for a new personality position in the Old Faith.

For example one of the basic Christian values – *patience* – in Old Belief semantic of this term transformed into a pro-active confrontation and fight for the Faith. Resistance, spiritual and social activity were identified as the main way to salvation not only of individual Orthodox but of the entire Orthodoxy. The founding fathers of the Old Belief claimed that the man was created after the image of God not literally, but in terms of his energetic activity: “working for the God” he can reproduce His features.<sup>2</sup>

*The freedom of will* played an important role in consolidating the Old Believer's personal attitude. The ideas of an *active role of an honest “autocratic” man in deciding his personal destiny* were consolidated and increased. An idea of *personal responsibility* were forming, the responsibility to God for deed and faith, notwithstanding the man's social or official status.<sup>3</sup> The mass confessional activism gave rise to the *secular activity*, which was implemented in the economic activity.

Similar to West European reformist movements, Old Believers' Faith developed in the tideway of sacralization of everyday life forming the idea of *lay asceticism*. So, the sacralized routine determined the rise of the *religious Methodism*. The entire everyday life of an Old Believer was strictly governed by the confessional ethic self-control.

*The religious rationalism* became another key factor in the religious system's impact on the formation and development of Old Believers' entrepreneurship.<sup>4</sup>

Modification of Old Belief values and institutions was accelerated by another elements of Old Believe ethic system.

The followers of the “old devotion” retreated from the traditional attitude to work, having formed *a new labour ethic*, authorizing excessive work only as edificatory. Developing traditional Christian ideas of work for the “sake of God” and spreading the monastic norms to the lay, the Old Belief allowed a fusion of physical, spiritual and organizational work within the spiritual concept of a “good

or blissful work” as a Christian act and as the principal way to salvation.

Later, they managed to overcome the traditional *attitude to property, including the abundance (wealth)*. In the Old Belief developed the idea of the god-given nature of wealth. The property righteously acquired was considered to have been given by God, and, therefore, exempted the entrepreneur’s initiative.

Influenced by the same factors, *the attitude of the Old Belief to entrepreneurship* as a “dirty” merchant business changed. It was declared a “gracious” activity, if the profit was intended for the community.

Early 19<sup>th</sup> century a new *spiritual concept of the Deed* formed the core of the institutional system of Old Belief management. This concept declared any work, including entrepreneurship, an act of salvation. An action could be called “holy” if one does his “secular deed fairly and honestly” and pays his debt to beneficence, almsgiving and compassion.

The Old Believers intensified their economic activities in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. They conducted profitable businesses to generate the resources for their new denominations, to preserve their growing enclave communities and to ensure their protection from persecutions. However due to ruthless persecutions of the late 17<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Old Believers fled to the outskirts of the Russian Empire and could not legally return to its central areas. Operating from the enclaves by the White Sea in the north, in the Ukraine in the south-west, and in other areas, they built up businesses based on the new labour ethics and new business perceptions. Still, their contribution to the national economy was insignificant due to the regional marginality and de facto illegality of their activities. The Old Believers needed strong backing from their communities, based in Moscow and St. Petersburg, the core economic centres of the country, to launch their extensive economic and confessional corporate networks. However, the establishment of the networks to be managed by the communities, based in the main economic centres and acting in rapport, was unfeasible in the context of the repressive state policy.

Plagues in Russia were less dramatic compared to Europe, but in 1771–1772 the most devastating plague in Russian history hit Moscow, claiming 52 to 100 thousand or more lives, according to different estimates. The authorities had no mechanisms to fight epidemics. The quarantine and the state of emergency, declared by the authorities, were not effective enough. Three fourths of Muscovites fled from the city, and Pyotr Saltykov, Governor General of Moscow, was among those who got away from the capital. There was no one left in the city to remove and bury dead people. The Plague Riot of September 1771 culminated in the killing of Archbishop Ambrosius. Catherine II sent her ex-lover Grigory Orlov and his troops to Moscow to restore order. Orlov suppressed the uprising and stopped the looting. He organized the work of a special medical commission, secured the quarantine, and imposed the necessary measures. Orlov proposed a decree to be issued by the Senate “On the measures aimed at the suppression of the epidemic and the establishment of cemeteries”. By virtue of this decree, the burial of plague victims was prohibited in the areas of urban churches, and cemeteries were established outside the city limits. The plague epidemic was suppressed; then the

Arch of Triumph was built in St. Petersburg, and the medal issued in honour of Grigory Orlov.<sup>5</sup>

Several new cemeteries, including Vagankovo, Pyatnitskoye, and Dorogomilovo, were established outside the Moscow limits pursuant to the Senate decree. Their establishment was initiated by the urban authorities; it was funded through the urban budget and by urban residents. At least, two cemeteries were established thanks solely to the public initiative. A few Old Believer merchants resided in Moscow; they only had secret public prayer rooms inside the mansions of rich merchants and two minor burial sites with unclear legal statuses.<sup>6</sup> About three hundred major representatives of Old Believer merchants were the first urban residents to propose the establishment of public plague cemeteries. It is noteworthy that “public” funds were invested into the establishment of cemetery hospitals designated both for Old Believers and other urban residents. Despite some relaxation of repressions in 1762–1764 (pursuant to the plans compiled by the predecessor of Catherine II, who implemented the ideas originally developed by her dethroned husband Peter III), Old Believers were prohibited to enter the main gates of the country. In the emergency conditions, the authorities accepted the proposal made by those who had been fiercely persecuted earlier. In fact, the authorization of confessional cemeteries, accompanied by the unprecedented permit to construct churches outside the settlements designated for Old Believers (although this authorization was verbal), was a step towards the policy of limited religious tolerance.

As early as in September 1771, Old Believers rented the two land plots and established two private cemeteries, including the Preobrazhenskoye cemetery, governed by the Fedoseevtsy denomination (soglasiye), and the Rogozhskoye cemetery, governed by the Popovtsy, or the Popov faction of Old Believers. Religious communities of these denominations were established there. Temporary structures were used as prayer rooms, and the wooden church of Nicholas the Wonderworker (rebuilt in the early 1790ies into a big five-domed stone church) was used for public worship purposes. Urban residents were admitted to the cemetery hospitals along with fellow believers. Many of them changed their confessions. Old Believers rushed to Moscow from all over the country.

The community earned some property. Grateful plague victims devised the “mansions” to “benefactors”. Survivors and converts turned into the “God’s agents authorized to manage the real property”.<sup>7</sup> Old Believers thought that they were not the persons in charge of this property; rather, it was the community that had the ownership right to their mansions. Converts had to comply with the following requirement: «yield your property to Christ»<sup>8</sup>. Back then, it did not mean that the mansion would be dedicated to God or that the mansion owner realized his responsibility to God. The mansions of deceased community members were at the disposal of the community.

Later, the decree issued by Alexander I strengthened the status of the Moscow communities. The Emperor approved the charters of Transfiguration and Rogozhsky almshouses (these statuses were awarded to the communities) and their right “to dispose and manage the capitals... within the framework of legal acts,

etc.”<sup>9</sup> Besides the property inside the cemetery fence, the Preobrazhenskoye community (and the same about the Rogozhsky community) was authorized to assume “the ownership of houses, shops, factories, land plots, and other similar items of property from investors”. The posthumous contribution, made by Ilia Kovylin, was composed of the stone house, the cloth mill, the pottery, and the brickyard, and it was worth hundreds of thousands of rubles denominated in silver. The communities owned and disposed of enormous amounts of money. According to different estimates, the value of the capital under the control of the cemeteries was equal to six through twelve million rubles (according to the police spy, this amount exceeded “the budget” of all of the three largest monasteries funded by the official Synodal church).<sup>10</sup>

An official status was granted to the enclaves where almshouses for survived and children of the dead, and actually headquarters of two main Old Believers' denominations were located and archdioceses of *soglasiyas* emerged. Moscow communities formed around plague cemeteries and hospitals of the epidemics period, remained major centres. Soon the libraries, shelters, almshouses, hospitals and hotels were organized in the public asylums and hospital wards of both cemeteries (they were accommodated in over fifty buildings and structures of Rogozhsky cemetery).<sup>11</sup>

Preobrazhenskoye and Rogozhsky enclaves turned out to be the leaders of their denominations on the national scale. They served as spiritual centres; their major churches were located there; they also (together with their St. Petersburg divisions) represented the communities in the course of their negotiations with the authorities. It was the main purpose of Old Believers community, basic function of Old Believers' entrepreneurship. By reallocating or organizing reallocation of profits of Old Believers' enterprises with various forms of ownership association supported local communities, ensuring their vital activity, increasing their number and consolidating their influence, financing Old Believe schools and monasteries, Churches building etc. At the same time communities effectively spent huge amounts of money to neutralize the effects of the governmental anti-Old Belief purges by resorting to corruption methods on different authority levels from minor police officials up to the Governmental Senate.<sup>12</sup> There were cases in the first half of nineteenth century when direct decrees of the Russian Emperor weren't carried out, thanks to bribes from Old Believers.

At the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, religious communities of Old Believers, developed within the main economic enclave of the Russian empire, became the nucleus of the *economic* system of Old Believers. The communities coordinated and ensured the economic activities and the specific business mechanism. In this functioning specific strategies were adopted to pursue commercial interest and increase profit.

The confessional economic community, the community of the brothers in faith provided *economic solidarity* of the denomination members which was a major factor and condition for functioning of the entrepreneurial networks. The Old Believers “helped each other in every way, jointly conducting their trade and manufacturing affairs and supporting the members of their corporation. They

would easily accept to their community, closed for even a wealthy stranger, any poor person who was” part of their denomination (soglasie).<sup>13</sup>

Denomination community also functioned as *marketing center*. The confessional ties of Old Believers allowed carrying out marketing research unavailable to the officially Orthodox majority. “For example, for Moscow corn chandlers it was essential to have reliable agents to perform favorable grain purchases in fertile provinces. So, they got ones in Tula, Orel, Voronezh, Tambov, Penza, Simbirsk and Saratov provinces from among the local Old Belief communities”. With the help of the adherents, corn chandlers “were constantly and accurately updated on grain prices and grain growing, potential output yields, landowner reserves and other”. The same was true in fish, livestock and “food” trade. The network of agents worked all over the country to gather the information on the catch, unladen vessels, local prices and business climate in general.<sup>14</sup>

The *creation and maintenance of internal credit system* was another important economic function of a community when the enterprise credit in Russia practically was absent.

The arrangements allowed a long-term and low-interest (or even interest-free) unsecured business loan which could be extended by the leaders of a community or on their recommendation. Preobrazhenskaya community had special rules for delaying repayment deadlines in case loans could not be timely repaid, “twice for a year and then for a half-year”. After that, a loan could be written off. An Old Believer businessman “was a kind of an agent of the community in charge of effective effective use and augmentation of its capitals”.<sup>15</sup> In Rogozhskaya community loans extended to the community members were either interest-free or bearing minor interest rates of some 4 per cent per annum in the first third of the nineteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

Even the very first researchers of the Old Belief noted that many of the “main Moscow capitalists got the capitals which became the foundation of their growing wealth, from the funds of the dissent communities”<sup>17</sup>. Community loans helped advancement of many minor entrepreneurs as well as well known merchant houses of Zenkov, Shelaputins and Grachev in Moscow. Some Old Believers started small businesses while others such as the trustees of Preobrazhenskoye cemetery, Alexei Nikiforov<sup>18</sup> and Nosov (who got 500,000 rubles for three years with no interest and with 4 per cent interest per annum for the subsequent years<sup>19</sup>) started by launching rather sizeable factories financed from the community funds which were not really repaid since they became the investment base of the soglasie.<sup>20</sup>

Loans were not only granted via community lead by its trustees. The Old Believers, who were in the process of starting a business or launching a new enterprise and/or were not yet especially successful, could directly get from their more successful fellows (and often former employers) a share of their profit as some financial assistance. As Ivan Liprandi, Deputy Minister of Interior, responsible for the prevention of schism, noted, “the Old Believers hire employees, clerks [...] and assist them with setting their own factories by supplying the raw materials they need, at lowest prices and allowing installment plans”.<sup>21</sup> That helped

the new entrepreneurs “to make profit, get wealthier and become manufacturers and millionaires”.<sup>22</sup>

It was not about any altruism. In fact, that was the way to reproduce the economic foundations of the Old Belief. In line with the ideas of the Old Believers about property, such loans were treated not as assistance but as reinvestments. As a result even though in late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Old Believer entrepreneurs who were not part of well established merchant families usually lacked accumulated resources (tax benefits, inheritance, etc.)<sup>23</sup>, their businesses rapidly sprang around Old Believer communities.

Without such private and community loans and contributions major business associations of the Old Believers could not emerge. An example is Fedoseevtsy Preobrazhenskaya association which in the 1820s through 1840s combined over 3,000 enterprises, including thirty two large and 120 small cotton factories.<sup>24</sup> It is necessary to rank as Association of the denomination the numerous enterprises of partners of Muscovites for all country – in Kaluga, Kazan, Astrakhan, Arkhangelsk, etc., which were also parts of the denomination’s loan mechanism.

Intra-communal lending and paper circulation *system* was also successfully implemented. Old Believers did not have to transport cash to distant areas since in the major denominations of the Old Believers their own mechanisms of notes were in place.

Following the establishment of the aforementioned entrepreneurial networks, headed by the Moscow communities, the impact, produced by the Old Believers on Russia’s industrial development, exceeded their share in the population and merchantry. According to the auditing inspections and factory statistics, in 1870, the share of “official” Old Believers exceeded 34% in the cotton weaving industry in the Moscow governorate, and 75% - in Moscow (80% based on the number of workers); the share of Old Believers in the wool weaving industry reached 63% in Moscow; it exceeded 42% in the Moscow province, and it was equal to 40% in Russia. Families of Old Believers owned 90% of cotton weaving factories in the Kaluga province and 37% of spinning factories in the Vladimir province. The number of Old Believer industrialists was exceeded by their shares in the woolen, cotton printing, and other textile industries, let alone the 60% of the Moscow glue boiling industry, controlled by the Old Believers.<sup>25</sup>

Officially registered and secret Old Believers dominated the merchantry of Kaluga, Rzhev, Borovsk and other towns based in the centre of the country.<sup>26</sup> According to the contemporaries, “...many Orel merchants were persistent Old Believers”.<sup>27</sup> The same about the Upper Volga region, or Yaroslavl, Rybinsk, Rostov and other towns.<sup>28</sup> In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Old Believers “took control of the trade and local production enterprises”.<sup>29</sup> According to the contemporaries, in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century the Old Believers dominated the Syzran bread wharves, the Volga waterborne traffic, and the Makaryev’s and Nizhny Novgorod fairs.<sup>30</sup> In the Nizhny Novgorod region, the Old Believers took control of “almost all of the local industry, shipbuilding, hollowware production, flax spinning, etc.”<sup>31</sup>

Consequently, the 1771–1772 plague epidemic in Moscow forced the authorities to ease the repressive confessional policy and caused the establishment

of the main centres of the two most important denominations of Old Believers in Russia. Their communities gained strength in the leading economic enclave of the country, obtained an official legal status, nurtured and managed the nation-wide economic mechanisms of the Old Belief.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> See in detail: *Kerov, V.V.* “Se chelovek I delo yego...”: Konfessionalno-eticheskiye faktori staroobriadcheskogo predprinimatelstva v Rossii [“Behold the Man and His Cause...” Confessional Ethic Factors of Old Believers’ Entrepreneurship in Russia], Moscow, Econ-Inform, 2004.

<sup>2</sup> See: Petrov, A. *Zhitie Avvakuma i drugie ego sochineniya* [The Life of Abbacum and His Other Works]. Moscow, Sovetskaya Rossiya, 1991, pp. 176-177. *Poslaniya i chelobitnye* [Addresses and Petitions]. St.Petersburg, St.Petersburg University Press, 1998, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Zhitie Avvakuma i drugie ego sochineniya* [The Life of Abbacum and His Other Works], pp. 183–184 in *Old Believers’ Manuscripts*, St.Petersburg, Izdatel'stvo Russkogo khristianskogo gumanitarnogo instituta [Publishing House of the Russian Christian Humanitarian Institute], 1998, p. 245.

<sup>4</sup> See: *Kerov V.* Religious Rationalism as a Factor in the Development of Old Believers’ Entrepreneurship: The paper for XIV International Economic History Congress // XIV International Economic History Congress. Helsinki, Finland, 21 to 25 August 2006. Sessions. – Helsinki, 2006. – [22 p.] (CD-ROM)

<sup>5</sup> See: Supotnitskiy, M.V., Supotnitskaya, N.S. *Ocherk XII: Chuma i bunt v Moskve (1770-1772)* [Sketch XII: Plague and Riot in Moscow (1770-1772)]. In: *Ocherki istorii chumy* [Plague History Sketches]. Moscow, Vuzovskaya kniga [University Book], 2006, vol. 1, pp. 78-131; Korostelev, N.B. «Tsaritsa groznaya» v Moskve: epidemiya chumy 1770 - 1772 godov i bor'ba s ney [“Terrible Tsarina” in Moscow: the 1770 - 1772 Plague Epidemic and Its Suppression]. *Moskovskiy zhurnal* [Moscow Journal], 2000, no. 12, December. URL: <http://www.mosjour.ru/index.php?id=1160>; Melikishvili, A. Genesis of the Anti-Plague System: The Tsarist Period. *Critical Reviews in Microbiology*. 2006, no. 32, pp. 19 - 31; Domaradskiy, I.V. *Chuma* [Plague]. Moscow, Meditsina, 1998, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Makarov, V.E. *Ocherk istorii Rogozhskogo kladbishcha v Moskve. K 140-letiyu ego sushchestvovaniya: 1771-1911* [An Outline of the History of Rogozhskoye Cemetery in Moscow. On the Occasion of Its 140<sup>th</sup> Anniversary: 1771-1911]. Moscow, Resurs [Resource], 1994, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Ryabushinskiy, V.P. *Staroobryadchestvo i russkoe religioznoe chuvstvo* [The Old Belief and Russian Religious Feelings]. Moscow – Jerusalem, Mosty, 1994, p. 128.

<sup>8</sup> See Fedosseevtsy. *Istoriya Preobrazhenskogo kladbisha* [Fedosseevtsy. History of Preobrazhenskoye Cemetery], in *Sbornik pravitelstvennikh svedeniy o raskolnikakh* [Collection of Governmental Data on Dissenters], London, Trübner & Co, 1861, issue 1, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> See: Ukaz Gosudarya Imperatora o Preobrazhenskom Bogadelennom Dome [Decree Issued by His Majesty the Emperor on Preobrazhensky Almshouse], p. 67.

<sup>10</sup> See *Dnevnie dozornie zapiski o moskovskikh raskolonikakh. Soobsheno A.A. Titovim* [Day Patrol Records about the Moscow Dissenters, reported by A.A. Titov], Moscow, ChOIRD [Readings of Society of Ancient Russia History] at Moscow University, 1885, p. 35; *Fedosseevtsi. Istoriya Preobrazhenskogo kladbisha* [Fedosseevtsy. History of Preobrazhenskoye Cemetery], pp. 73 - 74. It is noteworthy that the total capital of all joint stock companies, founded from 1799 till 1855, reached 27 million rubles at 1855 values. (see Borovoy, S.Ya. *Kredit i banki v Rossii (seredina XVII veka - 1861 god)* [Credit and Banks in Russia (in the Mid



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17<sup>th</sup> century through 1861)]. Moscow, Izd-vo AN SSSR, Leningr. otd. [Leningrad Division, Publishing House of the USSR Academy of Sciences], 1958, p. 231).

<sup>11</sup> See: Makarov, V.E. Ocherk istorii Rogozhskogo kladbishcha v Moskve [An Outline in the History of Rogozhskoye Cemetery in Moscow], pp. 10 - 18.

<sup>12</sup> See in detail: Kerov, V.V., "Vremia kupli nastupayet...": Mediativnie funktsii korruptsii v otnosheniakh stsroobriadchestva I vlasti v Rossii XVIII – pervoy polovini XIX v. ["Time of a Purchase comes ...": Meditative Function of Corruption in the Old Belief and Power Relations in Russia in Eighteenth - the First Half of the Nineteenth Century], in *Vestnik of Peoples' Friendship University of Russia, series "Russian History"*, 2004, n. 3, pp. 7-17.

<sup>13</sup> Melnikov, P.I. Ocherki popovchini [Studies in Popovtsi` denomination], in Melnikov, P.I. *Sochinenia [Works]*, St Petersburg; Moscow, Wolf, 1989, vol. 13, p. 327.

<sup>14</sup> Melnikov, P.I. Ocherki popovchini [Studies in Popovtsi` Denomination], pp. 334–335.

<sup>15</sup> Startsev, A.V. Khoziaystvennaya etika staroobriyadchestva in *Staroobriadchestvo: istoriya i kultura [Old Belief: History and Culture]*, Barnaul, Barnaul State University Press, 2002, issue 1, p. 78.

<sup>16</sup> See: Barsukov, V.L. Piotr III I predprinimatelstvo v Rossii [Peter III and Entrepreneurship in Russia], in *Sibir v XVI–XX vekakh. Economica, obchestvenno-politicheskaya jizn I kultura [Siberia in Sixteenth – Twentieth Centuries. Economy, Social Political Life and Culture]*, Novosibirsk, Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1997, p. 81. For comparison: even later, in 30–40s of nineteenth century public banks of Russia gave out loans in the limited volume on the security with the rate 6 per cent, and more often 8–10 per cent annual (see Morozan, V.V. *Istoriya bankovskogo dela v Rossii [Banking History in Russia]*, St Petersburg, St Petersburg State University, 2001, pp. 147–149).

<sup>17</sup> Andreev, V.V., *Raskol i yego znachenije v Russkoy istorii [Split and its Value in a National Russian History]*, St Petersburg, M. Khan, 1870. C. 163.

<sup>18</sup> See Fedosseevtsi. *Istoriya Preobrazhenskogo kladbisha [Fedosseevtsy. History of Preobrazhenskoye Cemetery]*, p. 40.

<sup>19</sup> See Rustik, O. Staroobryadcheskoye Preobrazhenskoye kladbiche (kak nakopialis kapitali v Moskve) [Old Believe Preobrazhenskoye Cemetery (as the Capitals in Moscow collected)], in *Borba klassov [Fight of classes]*, 1934, n. 7-8, p. 76.

<sup>20</sup> See Pivovarova, N.A. Ob odnom episode iz istorii "borbi s raskolom" v seredine XIX veka: Sudislavl'skiye molennia N.A. Papulina i ikh sudba po dokumentam Rossiyskogo gosudarstvennogo istoricheskogo arkhiva [About one Episode from History of "the Fight against Split" in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: Sudislavl Worship Houses of N.A. Papulin and their Destiny according to Documents of the Russian State Historical Archive], in *Staroobriadchestvo v Rossii (XVII–XX veka) [Old Believers in Russia (Seventeenth – Twentieth Centuries)]*, Moscow, Yaziki Slavianskoy Kulturi, 2004, issue 3, p. 359.

<sup>21</sup> *Liprandi, [I.P.] Kratkoye obozreniye sushestvuyuchikh v Rossii raskolov, yeresey I sekt, kak v religioznom, tak i v politicheskom znachenii; s nekotorymi po semu predmetu zamechaniyami [Short Review of Splits, Heresies and Sects existing in Russia, both in Religious, and in their Political Value; with some Notes in this Subject]*, in *Sbornik prsvitelstvennikh svedeniy o raskolnikakh [Collection of Governmental Data on Dissenters]*, London, Trübner & Co, 1862, issue 4, p. 114; see also Fedosseevtsi. *Istoriya Preobrazhenskogo kladbisha [Fedosseevtsy. History of Preobrazhenskoye Cemetery]*, p. 18.

<sup>22</sup> See Melnikov, P.I. Ocherki popovchini [Studies in Popovtsi` denomination], vol. 13, p. 328.

<sup>23</sup> See Rustik, O. Staroobryadcheskoye Preobrazhenskoye kladbiche...[Old Believe Preobrazhenskoye Cemetery...], p. 72

<sup>24</sup> See Dnevnie dozornie zapissi o moskovskikh raskolonikakh [Day Patrol Records about the Moscow Dissenters], p. 101; Rustik, O. Staroobryadcheskoye Preobrazhenskoye kladbiche...[Old Believe Preobrazhenskoye Cemetery...], p. 70; See *Raskov, D.E. Novie*

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svedeniya o moskovskikh staroobriadtsakh-predprinimateliakh [New data on the Moscow Old Believers businessmen], in *Staroobriadchestvo: istoriya, kultura, sovremennost. Materiali* [*Old Belief: History, Culture, Present. Materials*], Moscow, Muzei istorii y kulturi staroobriadchestva, 2002, p. 89. Illegal enterprises functioned along with the officially registered (see *Stadnikov, A.V. Moskovskoye staroobryadchestvo i gosudarstvennaya konfessionalnaya politika* [Moscow Old Believers and State Confessional Policy of Nineteenth - early Twentieth Centuries], Moscow, Mosgorarkhiv, 2002, pp. 100–102).

<sup>25</sup> See *Stadnikov, A.V. Rol moskovskogo staroobriadchestva v razvitii rossiyskoy tekstilnoy promishlennosti* [Role of the Moscow Old Believers in Development of the Russian Textile Industry], in *Staroobriadchestvo: istoriya, kultura, sovremennost. Materiali* [*Old Belief: History, Culture, Present. Materials*], Moscow, Muzei istorii y kulturi staroobriadchestva, 1998, pp. 91–92; *Stadnikov, A.V., Spisok kupecheskikh staroobriadcheskikh familiy Moskvi (XIX – nachalo XX v.)* [List of Merchant Old Believe Surnames of Moscow (Nineteenth – early Twentieth Century)], in *Mir staroobriadchestva: istoriya i sovremennost* [*World of Old Belief: History and Present*], Moscow, Moscow State University Press, 1999, issue 5, pp. 341–377; *Stadnikov, A.V., Moskovskoye staroobryadchestvo i gosudarstvennaya konfessionalnaya politika* [Moscow Old Believers and State Confessional Policy of Nineteenth - early Twentieth Centuries], pp. 141–144.

<sup>26</sup> Zen'kovskiy, S.A. *Russkoe staroobryadchestvo* [The Russian Old Belief], in two volumes, Moscow, Institut DI-DIK, 2006, p. 401.

<sup>27</sup> Quoted from Lavitskaya, M.I. *Orlovskoe kupechestvo vtoroy poloviny XIX - nachala XX veka* [The Orel Merchantry in the Second Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries]. Orel, ORAGS, 2007, p. 101.

<sup>28</sup> See: Otchet s.s. Iv. Sinitsyna «O raskole v Yaroslavskoy gubernii» [Iv. Sinitsyn's Report "On Schism in Yaroslavl Governorate"] in *Sbornik pravitelstvennikh svedeniy o raskolnikakh* [*Collection of Governmental Data on Dissenters*], London, Trübner & Co, 1862, issue 4, p. 105–107.

<sup>29</sup> Dmitrevskiy, V. *Sovremennyy raskol v Yaroslavskoy eparkhii i bor'ba s nim. Statisticheskiy ocherk*. [The Present-day Schism in the Yaroslavl Eparchy and Its Suppression. Statistical Outline]. Yaroslavl, Tip. Gub. Pravleniya [Printing House of the Governor's Board], 1892, pp. 48, 49. See: Zen'kovskiy, S.A. *Russkoe staroobryadchestvo* [Russian Old Belief], p. 401.

<sup>30</sup> See: Vvedenskiy, S. *Istoricheskiy ocherk raskola staroobryadchestva i sektantstva v Simbirskoy gubernii s prilozheniem svedeniy o sostoyanii ikh v nastoyashchee vremya* [An Outline of the History of Schism, Old Belief and Sectarianism in the Simbirsk Governorate with the Information on Their Present-day Status Attached]. Simbirsk, Tipo-lit. A.T. Tokareva [A.T. Tokarev's Printing House], 1907, p. 10.

<sup>31</sup> Arkhangelov, S.A. *Sredi raskol'nikov i sektantov Povolzh'ya. Istoriko-bytovoy ocherk raskola i sektantstva v Nizhegorodskom krae*. [Among the Schismatics and Dissenters of the Volga region. A Sketch of the History of Schism and Sectarianism in the Nizhny Novgorod Region]. St.Petersburg, Izd. P.P. Soykina [P.P. Soykin Publishers], 1899, p. 71.