

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	vii
On Transliteration, Translations, References and Sources	ix
Author's preface	xi
Foreword	xiii
1. Introduction	1
Research Aims	2
Myths and the Invention of Nations	3
Research on the Third Rome	3
Theorizing the Modern Uses of a Medieval Idea	6
Case Studies: Selection, Sources and Method	7
Structure of the Book	11
2. Russian Nationalism	15
Russian National Identity – Crisis and Reinvention	15
Defining 'Nation'	17
Defining 'Nationalism'	19
Clarifying 'Invention'	21
Russia – Different Nation, Different Nationalism	23
Imperialism versus Nationalism?	23
Statist versus Culturalist Nationalism?	28
(Political) Orthodoxy and Russian Nationalism	31
A Tentative Typology of Russian Nationalism	35
3. Myths of a Myth?	39
What is Political Myth? Definitions	39
Political Myth as Carrier of Ideology	40
Political Myth as a Story about a Political Society	41
The Enlightenment Ideal: Political Myth as Regress	42
Political Myth as Incitement to Action	42
Functionalism: Political Myth in the Construction of Societies	44
Bottici: Political Myth as Process	45
The Narrative of the Third Rome as Political Myth	47
Scholarship versus Myth-Making	49
Mythopoeic or 'Demythologizing': Generalist Scholarship	54
Vladimir Solov'ev – Reconciling East and West	56
Fedorov and Russia's Universal Mission	57
Émigrés Pro & Contra	58
Florovskii: from Apocalyptic Minor to Chiliastic Major	60
Berdiaev's Game of Words	61
Toynbee and his Critics	63
Ul'ianov: Religion, not Imperialism; Nation, not Empire	66
Pipes and Narochnitskaia	68
Back to the Sources?	69
Epistle to Misiur'-Munekhin	71
Epistle to Grand Prince of Muscovy Vasilii Ivanovich	72
On the Church's Calamities	73
'Purism' – a Solution?	73
Escaping the 'Purist' Paradigm	77
4. Vadim Tsyburskii – Island Third Rome	81

The Rise of a Civilization.....	85
Island Russia – Island Third Rome.....	88
Prime Symbol.....	92
Third Rome – Third International – Kitezh.....	97
Hermeneutics of the Apocalypse: the Fourth Rome.....	101
After the Apocalypse: the Russian Counter-Reformation.....	106
Conclusions.....	109
5. Aleksandr Dugin – To Kill for the Third Rome.....	111
Rome and Carthage.....	116
The Russian Eurasian Empire.....	121
Sacral Geography: Dugin the 'Jungian' Analyst.....	122
The Wheel of the Third Rome: the Sole <i>Modus Vivendi</i>	125
Dugin's Symphony of Geopolitics and 'Theology'.....	126
Moscow as <i>Katechon</i>	128
Messianism.....	131
The Catastrophic Schism.....	133
Peter I Seals the Fate of the Third Rome – Temporarily.....	135
The Transcendental Third Rome.....	137
The Bolshevik Restoration of the Third Rome.....	139
The Ethics of the Third Rome – Thou Shalt Kill.....	142
The Future of the Third Rome.....	146
Conclusions.....	147
6. Nataliia Narochmitskaia – Inverting the Myth.....	151
Narochmitskaia's <i>Weltanschauung</i>	157
A Moral View of History.....	158
The Idea of Rome and its Perversion in the West.....	160
Orthodoxy: True Third Rome.....	163
Heresy: False Third Rome.....	166
The Geopolitical Dimension: the 'Eastern Question'.....	170
The Use of the Third Rome: Western Temptations.....	172
Ahistorical Historiography.....	174
Conclusions: Inversion of the Third Rome Myth.....	177
7. Egor Kholmogorov – Bridgehead in Heaven.....	181
Centripetal Russia.....	186
The Third Rome: the Only Empire.....	189
Proactive Conservatism: Bonesetting Russia.....	194
Restoring Russia's Future by Sensocratic Means.....	197
Russification of a Geopolitical Myth.....	201
Autogenous Autocracy – Autogenous Third Rome?.....	207
Total Mobilization.....	209
Nuclear Bombs and Russian Saints.....	212
A Bridgehead in Heaven.....	216
Conclusions.....	219
8. Conclusions.....	223
The Uses of the Political Myth of the Third Rome.....	223
Defining who is Russian.....	224
Defining the Boundaries of the Russian State as They 'Should' Be.....	224
Foundation Myth.....	225
Continuity: Past – Present – Future – End of Time.....	225
Moral Prerogative.....	226
The Importance of Orthodoxy.....	227

Russian 'Uniqueness'	227
A 'Military Mission'?	228
The Status of the Political Myth of the Third Rome	228
Epilogue: Entering the Mainstream.....	231
Views on the Ukrainian Crisis.....	232
The Myth of the Third Rome and the Ukrainian Crisis.....	233
Conclusions	236
Bibliography.....	239