THE AUTOCEPHALOUS ORTHODOX CHURCHES
ISSN 1059-1001

Edited by Bishop Karl Prüter

The Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia

A History and Chronology

This is the first comprehensive history in English of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia, founded in the 1920s after the death of Patriarch Tikhon by exiled Russian priests and bishops who opposed the state-sponsored and -subsumed Russian Orthodox Church. Fearing that the Communist government would corrupt the remnants of the official Church structure, several exiled Metropolitans established an alternative hierarchy at Karlovac in Yugoslavia, and later moved the Church apparatus to the Americas, where it would be safe from governmental interference. In the intervening seventy years the Church has grown and prospered under a series of dynamic Primate Metropolitans.

Rev. Father Alexey Young translates the major documents relating to church history, includes copious references to secondary sources, provides a checklist of principal prelates of the Church, as well as the Primate Metropolitans (and the leadership of the Orthodox Church of Russia), plus a comprehensive index. No scholar of modern Russian ecclesiastical history can afford to miss this new guide.

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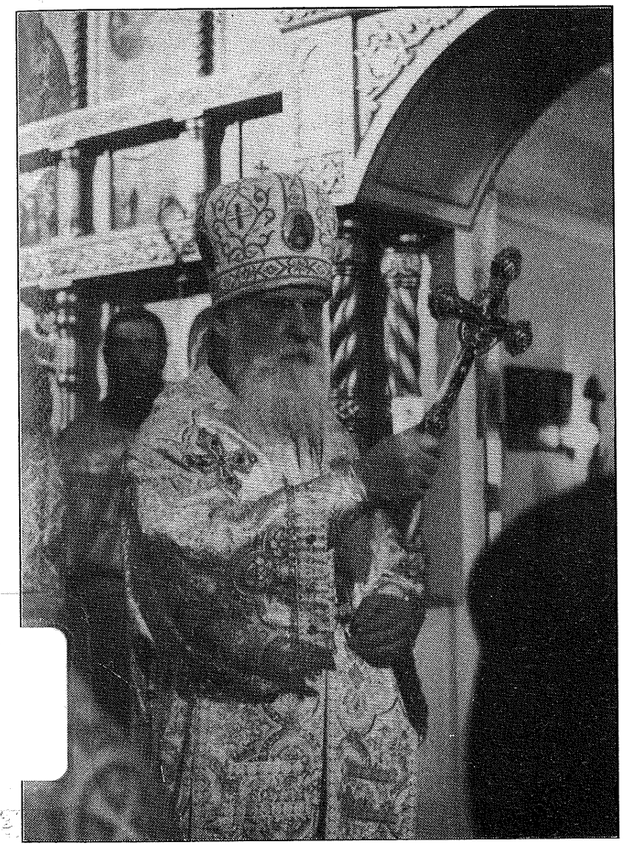

by Rev. Father Alexey Young

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Reverend Father Alexey Young

Edited by Bishop Karl Prüter and Paul David Seldis

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DEDICATION

In honor of St. Edward, King and Martyr,
whose memory was restored to the Calendar
of Saints by the Synod of Bishops of
the Russian Church Abroad

PREFACE

The Orthodox Faith, brought to Russia in 988 A.D., changed the nation forever. Even half a century of repression by the Communist government could not obliterate its influence, and it is apparent that once again it has taken its rightful place as a significant factor in Russian life. Fr. Alexey Young has given us a concise history of the Russian Orthodox Church both within and outside of Russia. In reading it, one quickly becomes aware that the Church has made Russia indelibly Orthodox, and that Russia has made the Orthodox Church of Russia indelibly Russian.

Fr. Alexey's history is more than a history of the particular jurisdiction, "The Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia." He deals with the Churches in America that remained under the Russian Patriarch after the Revolution of 1917-18 in an evenhanded and fair manner. When Borgo Press asked me to edit a series of books on Orthodoxy in America, it was stressed that we were seeking objective histories free of polemical material. Fr. Alexey has given us just such a history. That he is proud of the jurisdiction to which he belongs comes through clearly, but it has not prejudiced him regarding the other Russian and non-Russian Orthodox Churches.

In dealing with the problems of his own Church, he remains objective. In his account of the Schism of 1986, he continues to be fair, although even writing about it must have been painful to him. Because of his forthrightness, it is easy for the reader to understand the issues, and to realize that they were not peculiar to the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia, or even to churches, but were and are common problems that often affect other institutions.

From his deep and thorough understanding of the history of the Orthodox Church, Fr. Alexey helps us to better understand the situation in which the Church finds itself in America. He also attempts to help us look into its future. There are obviously two strong parties within the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia: those who want to Americanize it, and those who want to preserve its Russian

heritage intact. Unfortunately, this has been the history of almost every other church brought to America from overseas. In most cases, these churches succeeded only too well in becoming Americanized. In the struggle, many have forgotten that Christ intended the Church to be universal. He preached to Jews and Gentiles alike, and his apostles went out into the world to create a Church neither Jewish nor Greek. The Churches from Russia, Greece, Romania, Poland, etc., need to see themselves as part of the universal Church. It is a given that no Church can or ought to compromise truth. A Church which claims to be Orthodox can surely accept the need for it to be as Christ intended, both Orthodox and universal. This noted, we cannot but be impressed with the determination and the courage of those who worked to preserve the Russian Orthodox Church. Nor can we fail to see the deep piety of many of the laity and clergy who constituted a remnant determined to continue the Church which had nurtured their faith, and who wanted to preserve that faith for their children and for their children's children. Fr. Alexey has drawn a clear and challenging picture of a Church in exile fighting for survival.

It is in this light that we must understand the attitude of the Russian Orthodox Church's view of the Ecumenical Movement. They persevered against the Communist regime and they were not about to surrender any part of their faith to belong to an organization that would, in effect, require them to surrender their claim to be the only true Church. According to Archbishop Iakovos of the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America, there can be no dialogue with Roman Catholics and others "because 'dialogue' implies equality," and Orthodoxy claims no other Church can be equal to it. As one who is neither a member of the Orthodox Church nor the Roman Catholic Church, I have not felt that when the Roman Catholic Church offers to engage in dialogue with anyone, it is conceding equality. I also speak with God, and most certainly do not consider myself equal with Him.

Another reason for the fear of ecumenism seems to be a fear that involvement with the Ecumenical Movement would mean to become a part of some group that "recognized" the Metropolia.

Finally, Fr. Alexey has given us a succinct history and, at the same time, a picture of his Church as it exists now, as well as a glimpse of how it plans to deal with present and future problems. Fr. Alexey has shown us a picture of a Church attempting to administer parishes in free America at the same time as it administers parishes in Soviet Russia, which until recently were conducted underground. A formidable

administrative problem indeed! It is hoped that the Church, while attempting to deal with the problems it has on two continents, will not overlook addressing the problem it has in America—that of the loss of so many of the present generation. Fortunately, as this history makes quite clear, the losses are not due to any erosion of faith. To an objective reader, it seems apparent that much of the loss is due to the Church's preoccupation with a history and a society that is foreign and of scant interest to many of the present generation living in America.

In his closing chapters, Fr. Alexey has clearly shown the problems within the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia, as well as the concern of its leadership regarding these problems. This concern, along with the great piety of its members, may enable it to overcome present-day problems in order that its great faith may be passed down to ever-increasing numbers of succeeding generations.

+Karl Prüter
Highlandville, Missouri
18 October 1991

CHRONOLOGY

988 Baptism of Russia.

1054 The Great Schism between Eastern and Western Churches begins.

1326 Ruling See of Russia is transferred to Moscow.

1439 The "False Council" of Florence takes place.

1589 Patriarchate of Moscow is established.

1660 Beginning of Old Believer Schism.

1721 Tsar Peter I replaces Patriarchate with a Holy Synod.

1790 First Russian Orthodox clergy comes to North America via present-day Alaska.

1870 First Russian parish in U.S. is founded in New York City.

1872 North American Diocese in Aleutia and Alaska established by Moscow.

1898 Arrival in North America of Archbishop Tikhon (the future patriarch of Moscow).

1917 Abdication of Tsar Nicholas II on March 2 (March 15, New Calendar). All-Russian *Sobor* restores Patriarchate in the person of Archbishop Tikhon.

1919 Exiled bishops form "Temporary Highest Church Administration" of Church Abroad.

1920 Patriarch Tikhon issues *Ukaz* No. 362.

1921 Headquarters of "Highest Church Administration" moved to Karlovci (Karlovac), Yugoslavia.

1925 Patriarch Tikhon dies; Metropolitan Pëtr assumes administration, followed quickly by Metropolitan Sergii.

1927 Metropolitan Sergii demands oaths of loyalty from those in exile. First "American Schism" from Church Abroad begins.

1928 Metropolitan Sergii condemns and expels Church Abroad.

1933 Metropolitan Sergii declares American Church schismatic.

1934 Metropolitan Antonii (Khrapovitskii) retires and Anastasii (Gribanovskii) becomes his "substitute."

1935 American Church rejoins Church Abroad.

1936 Metropolitan Antonii dies and is succeeded by Anastasii.

1943 Metropolitan Sergii becomes patriarch of Moscow.

1944 Patriarch Sergii dies after a few months in office.

1945 Newly elected Patriarch Aleksii I (Simanskii) woos American Church.

1946 Second "American Schism" begins.

1950 Metropolitan Anastasii moves headquarters to New York.

1964 Metropolitan Anastasii retires and is succeeded by Metropolitan Philaret (Voznesenskii).

1965 Metropolitan Anastasii dies. Metropolitan Philaret appeals to Patriarch of Constantinople not to compromise with the Roman Church.

1970 Patriarch Aleksii I dies.

1971 Metropolitan Pimen elected new Patriarch of Russia.

1981 The New Martyrs and Imperial Family are canonized in a special ceremony in New York.

1983 The Church Abroad issues its Anathema against Ecumenism.

1985 Metropolitan Philaret dies.

1986 Vitalii (Ustinov) becomes Metropolitan. The "Greek Schism," led by Archimandrite Panteleimon, begins.

1988 Millennial celebration of one thousand years of Orthodox Christianity in Russia.

1990 Patriarch Pimen dies, and is succeeded by Aleksii II (Ridiger).

GLOSSARY

archimandrite: A high-ranking monk who is also a priest.

archpriest: In the Russian Church, an archpriest is a high-ranking, married priest. The title signifies seniority in years and recognition by the Church.

autocephalous: Literally, "self-headed." An autocephalous church has received its right, from a lawful Mother Church (usually the Patriarchate under which it first began), to govern itself. Prior to autocephality, a local church can be governed by the Mother Church through an *exarch* (see below) or through an autonomous archbishop or metropolitan confirmed by the patriarch.

diaspora: Literally, "dispersion" or "scattering." In twentieth-century Russian Orthodox history, the term refers to the millions of Russians who went into exile following the Revolution of 1917-18.

exarch: Literally, "out of, or from (*ex*) a ruler (*arch*)." An exarch rules a local church in the name of the Mother Church or Patriarchate. Thus, parishes in North American belonging to the Patriarch of Moscow are ruled from New York by an exarch. Archbishop Iakovos of the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America is the exarch for the Patriarch of Constantinople.

heresiarch: Literally, a "heretic-ruler." Throughout Orthodox history, the term has been applied to those bishops who have turned from the fullness of the Faith to embrace error.

hierarch: Literally, "sacred-ruler." A bishop is a hierarch.

***locum tenens*:** From the Latin, this literally means a "place-occupant." Thus, when a patriarch or metropolitan dies, his "place" in the hi-

erarchy may be temporarily "occupied" by an archbishop administrator until a new patriarch or metropolitan is chosen.

metropolitan: From "metropolis," meaning "chief city." In the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, the first hierarch and presiding bishop of the jurisdiction always has the title of metropolitan. In other, smaller autocephalous churches, the head of the church may bear this title.

Old Rite: The liturgical books and rubrics used in Russia until the middle of the seventeenth century, when the liturgical system was reformed. Since that time, adherents of the Old Rite are known as "Old Ritualists," or, more commonly, "Old Believers."

omophorion: The distinctive liturgical vestment of a bishop, worn over the shoulders and hanging in both the front and the back. When one joins a particular Orthodox jurisdiction, one is said to "go under Bishop So-and-so's *omophor*."

panagia: Literally, "all-holy." This is a distinctive pectoral adornment worn by a bishop around the neck on a chain. Usually oval in form and heavily bejeweled, it contains an icon of the All-Holy (*panagia*) Mother of God.

Pascha: Literally, "passover," this is the term used by Orthodox Christians for Easter.

patriarch: Literally, "ruling-father," the term is applied to the chief hierarchs of certain countries or peoples who, from antiquity, were granted this title by the entire Church. The ancient patriarchs are those of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome. After the Great Schism of 1054 A.D., Rome was removed from the list by some of the Eastern Churches, and the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople became "first among equals." Moscow was elevated to this status in the sixteenth century, and other churches at later dates.

priest-monk: A priest-monk, sometimes called a *hieromonk*, is simply a monk who has been ordained to the priesthood.

primus inter pares: From the Latin, literally "first among equals." Thus, before the Great Schism, the bishop of Rome, who was also patriarch of Rome, was regarded by the other Orthodox hierarchs as *primus inter pares*; since 1054, the patriarch of Constantinople has occupied this role.

sobor: From the Russian for "gathering." Thus, the term *sobornost* refers to "catholicity." A cathedral is also called a *sobor* because the faithful "gather" there, around, and in union with, their bishop. A large meeting of bishops is also called a *sobor*.

synod: An assembly of Church officials, usually bishops. Thus, all those hierarchs belonging to the Russian Church Abroad constitute *en toto*, the *Synod* of Bishops of this jurisdiction. A "Standing Synod" is made up of the metropolitan, a substitute or alternate for him (should he fall ill or be incapacitated), a secretary, deputy secretary, and one or two other bishops—all of whom meet several times a year in order to conduct the business of the full synod. In the Church Abroad, the building in New York City which houses the headquarters and offices of the Church has come to be called, simply, "Synod."

ukaz: The Russian term meaning "decree" or "order."

vladika: A Russian term of both respect and endearment for a bishop, roughly translated as "master" or "little master." It was also used as the title of the primate metropolitan of the autocephalous Church of Montenegro prior to 1920, and of several other church leaders in what used to be Yugoslavia.

INTRODUCTION

On June 7, 1981, something unusual happened at the annual Commencement Exercises for the Holy Trinity Seminary of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia, located in upstate New York. This bastion of maleness—for the seminary shares facilities with a monastery of some scores of monks and is an intense enclave of Old Russian Orthodox traditions, customs, and languages—was addressed by a non-Russian, non-Orthodox *woman*, Suzanne Massie, author of *Land of the Firebird: The Beauty of Old Russia*. The wife of Robert K. Massie, she and her husband were co-authors of the bestselling biography of the last tsar and tsarina, *Nicholas and Alexandra*, and the Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *Peter the Great*.

Recognized as the foremost Western interpreters of Russian aesthetics (religious art and architecture) and history, the Massies' great appreciation for "things Russian" began when they learned that the last Romanov heir, Tsarevich Alexei Nikolaevich, suffered from hemophilia, just as did their own son. In *Land of the Firebird*, Suzanne Massie had acknowledged that "over the years, I found joy and inspiration in Russian poetry, prose, art, architecture, music, dance, and even the sound of the language."[1] She had seen and understood, to a degree that few non-Orthodox have, the rich and complex weave of Eastern Orthodoxy in the tapestry of Russian culture and history—which she believes is personified in the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia. She thus drew the attention of Russian Orthodox leaders living in exile, who asked her to address the 1981 graduating seminary class.

On that occasion, she observed:

> Russia can help to provide us with that nourishment we so much need [in the West]....You in the Orthodox Faith are, for Russia, the living link between the past and the future, and for us in America, an essential connection between East and West. As a Westerner, step by step, I have been led closer to you.

> Thanks to my contact with Russian culture and the Russian Church, my life has been enriched so greatly that I cannot imagine it without you....I have learned to trust mystery.[2]

Indeed, this is why one Orthodox convert (now a priest-monk at Holy Trinity Monastery) wrote that the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia "preserves the spirit of Old Russia and we, the faithful, of whatever culture or background, have to strive to meet the standard set by the faithful of the past when Orthodoxy was a way of life."[3]

On one level, then, the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia preserves the best of "old Holy Russia." At the same time, it also represents the historic and Apostolic Church of Christ in its Slavic expression, while on still another level—technically, canonically—it "is that part of the Russian state and at the present time is headed by a Chief Hierarch and a Synod of Bishops which are chosen by the *Sobor* or Bishops of the Russian Diaspora."[4]

To understand how all of this came to be, however, we must look briefly at the history of Orthodoxy in Russia—and in North America—before the Russian Revolution of 1917-18.

* * * * *

The year 1988 marked the millennium of Russian Orthodoxy. In the year 988, Grand Duke Vladimir of Kiev brought the Orthodox Faith to his people from the Byzantine Empire, thus wedding historic Orthodox doctrine and practice to the Slavic "soul." That "soul" has a certain rough quality, a "chaotic element, the exuberance of feelings and sometimes even revolt against all established order, against all law and regulation"—very similar, in fact, to our Western mentality in the latter half of the twentieth century. But "that chaotic element was counterbalanced by the settled pattern of religious usage and customs, by the framework of the Church's ritual, by family traditions sanctified by the religious life...an ideal developed out of a spiritual discipline influencing both the soul and also outward behavior...a spiritual order imparting a *religious beauty* [italics added] to the whole of one's conduct and manner of life."[5]

In the tenth century the Russian Church was simply another diocese—albeit a rather large and distant one—of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Patriarch selected and consecrated its Metropolitan with the title "of Kiev and All Rus." In 1326, this Metropolitan See was transferred to Moscow, the new capital of Russia.

Contrary to popular Western notions, the tsar was never "Head of the Church"—as English monarchs became in the sixteenth century—but was only the "defender of the sacred dogmas and the good order of the Holy Church."[6] To the degree that he lived by the Gospel, thus he was accepted as protector and defender, but if he stepped outside this boundary—as did, for example, Tsar Ivan IV ("The Terrible")—he was subject to the same judgment and censure as any peasant.

Following the "False Union" of the Eastern Churches with Rome at the Council of Florence in 1439, the Russian representative to the council, Metropolitan Isidor, was deposed by Grand Prince Vasilii II and the Union with Rome was decisively rejected. In 1448, the Russian Hierarchs elected their own Metropolitan, St. Iona (Jonah), for the first time without the participation of the Patriarch of Constantinople. Thus, when the Byzantine Empire fell to the Turks in 1453, the Russian Church logically assumed leadership of the Orthodox world and the tsar came to be regarded as "Emperor of all Christians."

In 1589, Patriarch Hieremias II (Jeremiah) of Constantinople established a separate Patriarchate for Russia and elevated Metropolitan Iob of Moscow to this throne. However, under Tsar Peter the Great, who wanted greatly to westernize Russia, including its government, culture and church, the Patriarchate was deliberately allowed to remain vacant when Patriarch Adrian died in 1700, being ruled by the *locum tenens*, Metropolitan Stefan Iavorskii, for the next twenty-one years. Eventually, in 1721, Peter replaced the Patriarchate with a Holy Synod, whose administrative officer, or chief procurator, was a layman responsible to the state. Without a patriarch, the Russian Church considered herself "widowed." "Deprived of a personal, unifying, spiritual center...her capacity for beneficial influence on the people was bound."[7]

Although the Russian Church remained "widowed" until the Russian Revolution of 1917-18, she was nonetheless active in her own sphere, opening vast missionary territories in Siberia and elsewhere. By 1794, this included the northwestern-most part of North America—present-day Alaska—where numerous Aleut Indians and Eskimos were converted to Orthodoxy. The first Russian Orthodox parish in the continental United States was founded in New York City in 1870, and in 1872, the Holy Synod of Moscow established the diocese of Aleutia and Alaska, with a cathedral in San Francisco.

In 1898, the bishop of this diocese was Tikhon, who later became patriarch of All Russia. Until his return to Russia in 1907, he worked energetically and established (with the help of two suffragan bishops) more than twenty-four parishes in North America, as well as a seminary. But Archbishop Tikhon was even more concerned about the spirituality of his flock. Quite early on, he identified and described a problem that would haunt the Church throughout all of the next century:

> We do occasionally meet sons of the Church who are obedient to her decree, who honor their spiritual pastors, love the Church of God and the beauty of its exterior, who are eager to attend to its divine service and to lead a good life, who recognize their human failings and sincerely repent of their sins. But are there many such among us? Are there not more people...who were born, raised, and glorified by the Lord in the Orthodox Faith, yet who deny their faith, pay no attention to the teachings of the Church, do not keep its injunctions, do not listen to their spiritual pastors and remain cold towards the divine service and the Church of God? *How speedily some of us lose the Orthodox Faith in this country of many creeds and tribes!*[8] [italics added]

Under Archbishop Tikhon's wise episcopacy, the diocesan center was moved from San Francisco to New York City. Forty more parishes were founded under his successor, Archbishop Platon (1907-1914), and still another thirty-five were added during the reign of Archbishop Evdokim (1914-1917).

With the cooperation of Patriarch Ióakeim III of Constantinople, Archbishop Tikhon and his successors called for "the establishment of an American Orthodox Exarchate which was to be governed by a *synod* of the bishops of various racial or national groups" in order to gradually create "a strong American Orthodox Church...under the watchful guidance of the Russian Church."[9] This noble vision, however, was utterly shattered by the events of the Russian Revolution.

It is against this background that the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia came into existence.

I.

THE BEGINNING

On March 2, 1917 (March 15, New Calendar)[1], Tsar Nikolai II abdicated in favor of the authority of the Provisional government. The Holy Synod, as a "ministry" of the tsarist government, was abolished. Although it had been contemplated for several years, the Church now moved swiftly to summon an All-Russian Council, or Great *Sobor*, which met in Moscow even as the Bolsheviks were seizing power in October and November of 1917.

High on the agenda for this All-Russian *Sobor* was the restoration of the Patriarchate. The secular center of union for the nation, the throne, had been cast down, but the Church hoped to restore this center in the person of a patriarch. Among the top three candidates nominated by ballot were Archbishop Tikhon (Belavin), formerly chief hierarch in America, and Metropolitan Antonii (Khrapovitskii) of Kharkov, the future first hierarch of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia. After Tikhon was chosen by lot, he began his tragic patriarchy with these prophetic words:

> Your news concerning my election for Patriarch is for me that scroll on which was written 'Lamentation and mourning and woe' (Ez. 2:19)....How many tears will I have to swallow; to how many sighs of mourning will I give utterance in the patriarchal ministry which lies before me?[2]

The "widowship" of the Russian Church was at an end, but far worse trials were to come.

In spite of the foreboding political conditions, Metropolitan Anastasii (Gribanovskii), the future second leader of the Church Outside Russia, was delegated to do research and recreate the ancient ceremony for the enthroning of the new patriarch. This he did with a

scholar's accuracy and a believer's love so that, for the first time in more than two centuries, the faithful of Moscow were able to witness the glorious enthroning of an "All-Holy One."

The All Russian *Sobor* defined itself as the "supreme legislative, administrative, judicial, and auditing authority" under the patriarch, who was described as *primus inter pares* among bishops.[3] The *sobor* also restored the older practice of having bishops elected by clergy and laity in each diocese.

The Russian government, now Communist and led by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, was quick to move against the Church, secularizing marriage, nationalizing property, seizing funds, and officially separating it from the state. Between 1918 and 1920, tens of thousands of believers were murdered, including twenty-eight bishops and thousands of priests. This, however, was only the beginning of a reign of terror. Patriarch Tikhon responded firmly. On January 19, 1918, he formally condemned the terrorism against the Sacraments and anathematized the Communist government.

Five months later, on May 6, 1919, about thirty bishops in southeastern Russia's Caucasus region, finding themselves in a chaotic political situation and in irregular contact with the Patriarch, formed a Temporary Highest Church Administration in order to guide the affairs of the Church in their area. In October, Metropolitan Antonii (Khrapovitskii) presided over a *sobor* of this administration, which appointed Metropolitan Anastasii (Gribanovskii) as its representative to the Ecumenical Throne of Constantinople. Almost immediately, however, six bishops, including Metropolitans Antonii and Anastasii, had to flee the approaching Red Army. This caused some later criticism, for Church canons ordinarily require a bishop to be "wedded" to his diocese. Reportedly, many other Russian hierarchs either were unable to flee, and willingly embraced martyrdom, or chose not to leave (one of the latter was Bishop Aleksii [Simanskii], a future puppet-patriarch of Moscow).

Nonetheless, the fleeing bishops took refuge in Constantinople where, on November 1, 1919, and with the blessing of *locum tenens* Dórotheos of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, they formed the Highest Russian Church Administration Abroad, agreeing that the Ecumenical Patriarchate could assume responsibility "to supervise and administer the Church life of Russian communities abroad both in non-Orthodox and Orthodox countries."[4]

At this distance, and with conflicting facts, it is difficult to know precisely what Patriarch Tikhon thought of all this. Some of his

actions seem to indicate that he saw the decisions made in Constantinople as wise and practical. He also appeared to implicitly confirm each of their decisions when he issued, on November 20, 1920, the famous *Ukaz* No. 362, which reads, in part:

> If a diocese should find itself cut off from the Highest Church Administration, or if the Highest Church Administration itself, headed by the Holy Patriarch, should for any reason cease its activity, then the diocesan bishop should immediately enter into relations with the bishops of the neighboring dioceses *with the aim of organizing a body to serve as a supreme authority....In case this should prove impossible, the diocesan bishop takes on himself the totality of authority.*[5] (See Appendix V for the full text of the decree. [italics added])

The problem with this decree is that it was published before Patriarch Tikhon had heard of the events in far-off Constantinople, and it seemed actually to apply to circumstances *within* the boundaries of Russia—then known politically as the Soviet Union—not outside. However, one can reasonably argue that the principle would be the same in any case, and that the Patriarch, were he in full possession of all the facts, would have explicitly confirmed the decisions made in Constantinople.

In any case, this document came to be regarded by émigré Russians as the canonical foundation of what is called today "The Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia." Few disputed this at the time, for throughout 1921, every Russian bishop outside of the Soviet Union entered into the Highest Administration Abroad. Its authority included the United States, Western Europe, and, later, Asia, and was endorsed by the patriarchs of both Constantinople and Serbia. Cordial contacts were also established with the self-governing Churches of Bulgaria and Greece.

Late in 1921, at the invitation of the Patriarch of Serbia, the Highest Church Administration moved its headquarters to Karlovci, Yugoslavia (now Karlovac, Croatia), where a *Sobor* of thirteen bishops and many other clergy and laymen immediately convened, proclaiming loyalty and submission to the Patriarch of Moscow and adding that "the duty of those of us abroad, who have persevered our lives in the disper-

sion and have not known the flames which are destroying our land and its people, is to be united in the Christian spirit, gathered under the Sign of the Cross of the Lord, under the protection of the Orthodox Faith."[6] This *sobor* also called for the restoration of the Romanov dynasty in Russia and named Metropolitan Antonii "Vice-regent of the All-Russian Patriarch."[7]

On March 15, 1922, however, the Communists placed Patriarch Tikhon under house arrest. The following September, the Highest Administration received a new *ukaz*, allegedly promulgated by the Patriarch on May 5 (while he was still under arrest), ordering the immediate suppression of the Highest Administration "because it has dared to engage in politics in the name of the Church."[8] The Patriarch then placed the Russian parishes of Europe under Metropolitan Evlogii in Paris. This came as a shock, and for a period of time there was considerable debate about whether or not this decree was legitimate and should be obeyed.

A *sobor* was again summoned and, out of "filial obedience," the Highest Russian Church Administration Abroad was indeed dissolved. But because most believed that the Patriarch's order had been written under Soviet pressure, a new organization was created, the Temporary Holy Episcopal Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, "until such time as the Patriarch should be liberated and could freely explain his decree."[9] The following year, still another *sobor* confirmed all this and instituted a permanent governing Synod with Metropolitan Antonii as its chairman.

Critics of the Russian Church Abroad have questioned whether Patriarch Tikhon's decree was really composed under Soviet pressure since, during his imprisonment, he had courageously refused to recognize the Soviet-sponsored "Renovationist" *Sobor* of 1923. If he had been able to stand up to the Communists in that regard, then why not also where the integrity and survival of the émigré Church were concerned?

One should also note that during this confused period, Metropolitan Antonii expressed a desire to retire to Mount Athos in Greece. The reason for this is unclear. Critics say that the Metropolitan initially believed that the *ukaz* should be obeyed and all parishes given to Metropolitan Evlogii in Paris. But when Mount Athos declined to accept him, and Evlogii himself declared that the *ukaz* was too suspicious to be obeyed, "...a considerable part of the emigration

forced him [Metropolitan Antonii] to renounce his intentions and remain at the helm of the Synod."[10]

Because the exiled Synod could only meet once a year, its daily activities were supervised by lay officials of the powerful Supreme Monarchist Council, which later was to include the influential Count George Grabbe.

At this point, the use of names, both official and unofficial, for the exiled Russian Church should be clarified. Early titles were long and unwieldy. In official documents today, the Church is usually referred to as "The Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia" or "The Russian Orthodox Church Abroad." Less formally, it is sometimes called "The Russian Church (or Synod of Bishops) in Exile" or, in abbreviated Russian form, *Zarubezhnaya* (literally, "Exiled"). Most commonly, however, it is simply called "The Synod." Still, critics sometimes insist on referring to the Church Abroad as the "Karlovci Synod," whose adherents are called "Karlovci-ites" after the Yugoslavian city where the Church headquarters was located for nearly thirty years.

In the mid-1920s, the Temporary Holy Episcopal Synod declared that, in view of the murky situation surrounding the Patriarch in Moscow, "in future cases, those orders from His Holiness relating to the Orthodox Church Abroad which would be insulting to her honor and bearing clear features of direct pressure upon the Holy Patriarch's conscience on the part of Christ's foes, should be ignored as originating not from the Patriarch's will, but from a completely different will. At the same time, full respect and devotion should be rendered to the person of the innocently suffering Holy Patriarch."[11]

Count George Grabbe (who would later become known as Bishop Gregorii in the United States) wrote: "The Russian Orthodox Church [both inside and outside the Soviet Union], by the Providence of God, has been placed, of necessity, to live in a realm of an entirely unusual sort...."[12] This was why Priestmonk Seraphim Rose, speaking to the enslaved Russian Church about the "order" to dissolve the Church Abroad, said:

> Thus, some people can find themselves in a position that may be "legally correct" but is at the same time profoundly un-Christian—as if the Christian conscience is compelled to obey *any* [italics added] command of the church authorities, as long as these au-

thorities are properly "canonical." This [is a] blind concept of obedience for its own sake.[13]

II.

CONFUSION AND SCHISM

In 1965, on the occasion of the funeral of Metropolitan Anastasii (Gribanovskii), the second chief hierarch of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia, Metropolitan Philaret spoke these words:

> Who was most remarkable, greatest, most illustrious in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church during all these years and decades of our sorrowful and terribly evil times? Three names come to everyone's mind. The first of these is, of course, the name of the All-Russian benefactor, pastor of all Russia, who was able, under completely incredible conditions...to preserve the Church's freedom. I am referring to His Holiness, Tikhon, unforgettable Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia.
>
> The second name, so dear to us children of the Church Abroad, is of that great prelate who, at a time when His Holiness, Tikhon, was defending the truth and freedom of the Church within Russia, was abroad...building something new and unprecedented. With God's help, with his clear and profound mind and broad prelate's heart, he was able to lead Russian people abroad onto the holy, canonical, spiritually-healthy path, becoming the founder of our Church Abroad. This was that unforgettable Father, the Blessed Metropolitan Antonii [Khrapovitskii].
>
> And behold, a third name, one which is now on the lips of each one of us: the name of our beloved father, who was able to be, at one and the same time, the head, leader, and chief representative of our

Church Abroad, Metropolitan Anastasii [Gribanovskii].[1]

Indeed, the history of the exiled Russian Church has been "writ large" by the personalities of her chief hierarchs, for the unique character of each one has had a profound effect on the historical development of this jurisdiction—particularly in America, as we shall see.

Metropolitan Antonii was born on March 17, 1863. Graduating from the St. Petersburg Theological Academy in 1881, he took monastic tonsure and served as Old Testament professor at the same academy. Because of his zealous personality—which demanded that students view spiritual life with uncommon sobriety—and his enormous intellectual gifts, he was transferred to the Moscow Theological Academy as rector in 1890 and, in 1894, to the Kazan Theological Academy, where he initiated training for missionaries to work among the Tartars. Everywhere he traveled, he gathered around him ardent disciples and admirers, many of whom, inspired by his example, entered the monastic life. Quite a few of them later became bishops.

In 1897, at the age of only thirty-four, Antonii was elevated to the episcopacy and, in 1912, was named a permanent member of the Holy Synod of Moscow where, for long years, he had supported the restoration of the Patriarchate. After the All-Russian *Sobor* and the election of Patriarch Tikhon, left-wing nationalists imprisoned him for eight months in a Uniate Monastery. Later, in both Constantinople and in Serbia, the immense personal respect accorded him by other Orthodox hierarchs—including non-Russian bishops—gave the newly born Russian Church Outside Russia considerable initial prestige. Even Dimitrii Pospielovskii, a recent severe critic of the Russian Church Abroad, concedes this. "A very important factor," he writes, "in assuring the longevity, importance, and influence of the Karlovci schism was the personality of Metropolitan Antonii himself, one of the most influential bishops and conservative theological reformists in the Russian Church before the Revolution, whose influence and theological authority reached far beyond the frontiers of the Russian Empire in the world of Orthodoxy."[2]

If this is the evaluation of an "enemy," the following tribute, spoken after Antonii's death by an admirer, the Serbian theologist Archimandrite Justin Popovich, is not surprising:

> I find myself in the position of an ant who must speak about the soarings of an eagle....It is possible from the ant's perspective to admire the eagle soaring in the heavens, and to stand frozen by the awe of sweet delight....Make no mistake about it, the blessedly reposed Metropolitan is an exceptional patristic phenomenon in our time. Looking at him, I say to myself: "Yes, even now, one can actually live in a patristic manner, even now one can actually be a bishop like the Holy Fathers." He is *the sole patristic manifestation in our day*....[italics added] Equally close and dear to him were Orthodox Syrians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Romanians, and Serbs. In his vast soul, a place was found for all the Orthodox.[3]

And not only for the Orthodox, for Metropolitan Antonii also had enormous missionary zeal—reaching out in person even to bishops of the Church of England in an effort to draw them back to historic Orthodoxy.

Few now remember, but in 1925, when the Church of England organized jubilee solemnities to commemorate the 1600th anniversary of the First Ecumenical Council (Nicea), Metropolitan Antonii attended, as did representatives of the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. During a solemn Eucharist in Westminster Abbey, at which all of the Eastern hierarchs were present (but did not celebrate with the Anglicans), the Orthodox Creed was read aloud in Greek by Patriarch of Constantinople Phótios II.

At a special banquet attended by the Orthodox and Anglican prelates, Metropolitan Antonii gave his "witness" to the fullness of the Orthodox Faith, stating that although "all heterodox confessions are lacking in hierarchical grace...if any Anglican bishop or cleric were to desire to enter the Orthodox Church, then he could be received in the third rank—that is, without a second consecration—in other words, in his existing rank." He explained, however, that this was not to be interpreted as a recognition of "Anglican Orders," but that an Orthodox bishop, through the exercise of "economy," could "receive clerics of heterodox confessions...without a new ordination...through the mystery of repentance (confession)."[4]

In March 1925, Patriarch Tikhon died under circumstances so mysterious that he is now considered a martyr. In November of the

same year, Metropolitan Pëtr of Krutitsk was recognized as guardian of the patriarchal throne (*locum tenens*) by the Temporary Synod of Moscow. After the Soviets sentenced him to internal exile, in 1926 he was succeeded by Metropolitan Sergii of Nizhni-Novgorod as deputy *locum tenens*.

While the Church inside Russia was struggling at every level to survive, the Church Outside Russia was also undergoing severe and enormously complicated stresses and strains. After refusing to accept correction and supervision from the Synod of the Church Abroad, Metropolitan Evlogii of Paris (under whom most of the parishes of Western Europe had been prior to the Russian Revolution) was suspended in January of 1927. He responded by going into schism from the Synod. Two bishops of his archdiocese, however—Archbishop Seraphim of London and Bishop Tikhon of Berlin—returned to the jurisdiction of the exiled Synod in Karlovci.

Meanwhile, Metropolitan Sergii in Moscow issued a number of statements supporting the principle by which the Church Outside Russia had organized herself. What the Synod had done, he concluded, "obviously corresponds better to the existing circumstances of our Church."[5] Thus, "while seeking what was soon shown to be impossible, (namely a *modus vivendi* with atheist Communists), [Metropolitan Sergii] gave very responsible advice to the Russian Church Abroad...simply expanding the force of Patriarch Tikhon's *Ukaz* No. 362 of 1920 to cover the life of the Church Abroad more explicitly."[6]

It is important to keep in mind that, historically and canonically, an Orthodox diocese, much less a whole jurisdiction, is never established independent of a "Mother Church" or Patriarchate. The "good order" of the Church demands that precedent always be followed, which means, that under normal circumstances, émigrés from the territory of a particular Patriarchate would simply be absorbed under the existing bishop of the diocese to which they had gone. If no Orthodox jurisdiction already existed there, the refugees could petition their Patriarchate to establish one.

Following the Russian Revolution, several million refugees fled to Europe, the Americas, and various parts of Asia, creating an extraordinary situation, unprecedented in all of Orthodox history, since the exiles also numbered among them scores of bishops, priests, and monastics. While the strict "rule" that one should be absorbed into already existing jurisdictions could have been followed, the incredible trauma of the Revolution and the savage religious persecution and

purges in the homeland drew the émigrés together wherever they went, giving impetus to the organization of their own jurisdiction, with their own Synod of Bishops, even if this meant geographical and (under normal circumstances) uncanonical "overlapping" with other jurisdictions. However, for the Russian exiles to do this with any credibility, they had to have at least implicit support and recognition from the "Mother Church" in Russia. This, they felt, they had received from Patriarch Tikhon, and later from Metropolitan Sergii in his role as Patriarchal Guardian. Now, however, the situation was about to change abruptly—and just at the time the Church Abroad was suffering its first major defections.

As a result of Metropolitan Sergii's approval of the Church Outside Russia, the Soviets ordered him to excommunicate all bishops in exile on the grounds that they were vociferously anti-Communist and pro-monarchist. He refused, and government officials arrested him in December 1926. For nearly four months, Sergii was imprisoned until, quite suddenly and unexpectedly, he was released in order to issue an important "Declaration" (July 1927), in which he reversed his previous position concerning the Church in Exile, demanding "from the clergy abroad a written promise of their complete loyalty to the Soviet government in all their public activities," failing which, they "shall be expelled from the ranks of the clergy subject to the Moscow Patriarchate." Worse yet, Sergii then declared that Orthodox believers in the Soviet Union must be "faithful citizens...loyal to the Soviet government. We wish to remain Orthodox and at the same time to recognize the Soviet Union as our civil fatherland whose joys and successes are our joys and successes, and whose misfortunes are our misfortunes. Every blow directed against the [Soviet] Union...we acknowledge as a blow directed against us."[7]

The Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia felt that this was both a betrayal of the Faith and a kiss of death to the Church suffering behind the Iron Curtain. Even within the Soviet Union, many prominent hierarchs refused to acknowledge the "Declaration," thus giving birth to a secret "catacomb-style" or underground Church, complete with its own bishops, priests, and monastics, which has existed even to the present day. Metropolitan Evlogii, in schism from the Church Abroad, informed Sergii that he and his clergy could not take this "oath of loyalty." Later, though, when it was promised that he would be the official representative, the exarch, of the Patriarchate of Moscow abroad, he capitulated. And still later, when Evlogii finally began to

speak out against the persecution of believers in the Soviet Union, he was deposed by Moscow. (Attempts at reunion with the Church Abroad in subsequent years failed and, immediately after World War II, Evlogii again submitted himself and his parishes to Moscow through the newly elected Patriarch of Moscow, Aleksii).

Meanwhile, in June 1928, the Karlovci Synod was judged guilty of disobedience and schism by the Moscow Patriarchate and the entire Church Abroad was formally condemned and expelled. Even so, the Synod Abroad continued to be recognized by numerous other Patriarchates and self-governing Churches, including Jerusalem, Antioch, Cyprus, Sinai, Romania, Bulgaria, and, of course, Serbia, all of which clearly understood that Moscow's decision had been coerced by the Soviets and therefore without validity or significance.

The Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia thus found herself in a completely unprecedented situation. Neither a self-governing (autocephalous) church, nor an organic branch of the Moscow Patriarchate, she now described herself in the following way: historically part of the "Mother Church," she is that *free* branch of the Russian Church outside the territorial bounds of Soviet Russia, dogmatically united to the enslaved Patriarchate in all that is not compromising, but spiritually united to the Catacomb Church of Russia. When "the enslavement of the Moscow Patriarchate [is] brought to an end, the Church Abroad, after carefully ascertaining that the Russian Church [is] in fact free, [will] integrate herself again with the Patriarchal Russian Orthodox Church."[8] This has been the official posture of the Church Abroad to this day, but one which has had to be stated and restated in each decade, to accommodate changing conditions both in the Soviet Union and in the diaspora, as we shall see in later chapters.

But, meanwhile, the Russian Church Outside Russia was focused on dealing with its own problems of existence in North America.

III.

THE CHURCH IN AMERICA

When Archbishop Tikhon returned to Russia in 1907, and subsequently became patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, he was succeeded in America, first by Archbishop Platon, and then, upon the outbreak of World War I, by Evdokim (Meshcherskii), who ruled with four suffragan bishops—Aleksandr of Canada, Philip of Alaska, Eftimios of Brooklyn, and Stefan of Pittsburgh. By now, the Church was growing rapidly; seventy-five more parishes were added to those organized during the time of Archbishop Tikhon. Many Uniate parishes (particularly, but not limited to, the Carpatho-Russians) left the Roman Catholic Church and returned to the Mother Church, and to Orthodoxy.

When Archbishop Evdokim went to Russia for the Great *Sobor* of 1917-18, his place in America was filled by Bishop Aleksandr (Nemolovskii). In the early 1920s, the American Church came under the jurisdiction of the Administration Abroad, which took an active administrative role in overseeing its American "branch"—particularly on disciplinary questions such as divorce and the establishment of a new See in Alaska.

Upon appointment from the Church Abroad, Metropolitan Platon, formerly of Odessa, succeeded Aleksandr in 1922, but, unbeknownst to ecclesiastical authorities in Karlovci, Platon was at the same time seeking official appointment directly from Patriarch Tikhon himself. When the Patriarch refused to interfere in the decision of the Church Abroad, saying he "did not wish to go over their heads,"[1] Platon suddenly produced an *ukaz*, allegedly from Tikhon, appointing him sole and independent head of the Church in America. At first, the Synod in Serbia accepted this decree in good faith, suspecting nothing untoward, but early in 1924, an actual decree from the Patriarch in Moscow deposed Platon "for having engaged in public acts of counter-revolution directed against the Soviet government,"[2] and an American court of law subsequently ruled that Platon's decree was, in fact, a

forgery. To deal with this embarrassment, Platon convoked the Detroit *Sobor* in April of the same year, with the purpose of declaring the Russian Church in America "temporarily autonomous"—that is, free of *both* Moscow and Karlovci—until a future All-Russian *sobor* could sort things out. This "temporarily autonomous" jurisdiction, comprising approximately three hundred parishes and one seminary, called itself "The American Orthodox Church."

Clearly, "just as elsewhere in the world, the Russian Revolution was both a crisis and a turning point for Orthodoxy. Anarchy entered Church life. Guidance and help were no longer to be expected from Russia. Schisms, as well as the difficult conditions of the emigration, weakened the position of the Russian Church Outside of Russia, which logically should have taken over all the Russian missions [in America and Europe]. As a consequence, the American Mission [under Moscow] as such simply ceased to function, and Church life thereafter came to be organized on national, jurisdictional lines. Under the given conditions, this sad turn of affairs was perhaps inevitable; the canons regarding missionary territories and overlapping jurisdictions of bishops simply could not be applied."[3] It was not until 1960 that a pan-Orthodox attempt was finally made to address this question in North America. The attempt was, however, largely unsuccessful.

Thus, at a time when the Church Abroad was experiencing schismatic efforts from Metropolitan Evlogii in Western Europe, the same was now happening under Platon in America. At the Karlovci *Sobor* of 1926, Platon of America, who was present, was asked to disavow the "temporary autonomy" of the American Church and return to canonical unity with the Russian Church in Exile. When he refused, the Synod Abroad condemned the Detroit *Sobor* as "extremely dangerous and harmful for the interests of the Russian Church in America."[4] The imperious Platon responded with another American *sobor* in January 1927, which labeled the Russian Church Abroad "uncanonical." Only one of his bishops dissented from this action, Bishop Apollinarii (Koshevoi), who proclaimed his loyalty to the Synod in Exile, and was therefore expelled from the ranks of the new "American Orthodox Church."

As a young man, Bishop Apollinarii had studied at the great Kazan Theological Academy under the future Metropolitan Antonii, who also tonsured him into monastic life. Consecrated Bishop of Ryla by the future Metropolitan Platon in 1917, the Higher Church Administration Abroad put him in charge of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission

in Palestine (which had the care of numerous holy places). In 1924, Apollinarii was appointed vicar of the North American Diocese under Platon, serving as bishop of Winnipeg, Canada.

In the late spring of 1927, the Church Abroad deposed Platon and chose Apollinarii to lead what remained of the original Russian flock in America. The Church was in a state of desolation and chaos, with many parishes closed, and 90 percent of the Russians now "unchurched." It was, at first, a difficult and lonely path, but until his death in 1933 (by which time he had gathered some sixty-two parishes), Apollinarii waged his crusade against Platon's schism. His quiet witness was without dramatic polemics, while his simplicity and "unassuming cordiality," as well as his "remarkable tolerance and patience," and the "advanced theological erudition" of his mind, attracted many clergy and laity to him.[5] Slowly, various priests and, sometimes, whole parishes, left the schism and returned, through Apollinarii, to oneness with the Church Abroad. In 1929, the Synod Abroad gave Apollinarii the rank of archbishop "for extraordinary labors and the patient endurance of moral trials in the stand for canonical truth."[6] In this same year, Karlovci also consecrated vicar-bishops for him: Tikhon (Troitskii) for San Francisco, Joasaph (Skorodunoff) for Montreal, Theodosius (Samoilovich) for Detroit (who later became the Synod Bishop of Brazil).

When, in 1929, Platon announced that he would make peace with the Church Abroad as long as he, and not Apollinarii, could be Metropolitan of All America and Canada, the Russian Synod in Yugoslavia declined to accept his terms. There now ensued numerous court cases instigated by Platon to seize parishes and properties loyal to Apollinarii, but most of these failed. Things became still more complicated in 1933, when Metropolitan Sergii in Moscow pronounced the "temporary autonomy" of Platon's group "null, void and schismatic"; he suspended Platon, who was now not recognized by any Orthodox jurisdiction. The following year, Platon died and was succeeded by Theophilus (Pashkovskii) as metropolitan. Almost immediately he, too, was suspended by Moscow.

At this point, the Russian Church Outside Russia hoped there could be a meaningful reconciliation with the Metropolia (which Platon and Theophilus's group had come to be called). To this end, Archimandrite Vitalii (Maximenko) was consecrated in Belgrade as Bishop of Detroit and sent to "establish peace and Church unity in America."[7] Vitalii was another of Metropolitan Antonii's spiritual children, having

been tonsured a monk by him in 1899. From 1902 to 1914, he had been in charge of the printing activities at the great Pochaev Monastery, supervising some one hundred and fifty other monks in this work. "He slept little, often right at the printing press, somewhere underneath the machine....[They] printed service books, textbooks, books and exhortations for the people, and missionary works, and issued five periodicals. These publications were popular throughout the whole of Russia."[8] During the Revolution, he was imprisoned by the Bolsheviks and later condemned to death by Polish Catholics. Finally, he escaped to Serbia, and later established a monastery and printing works in Czechoslovakia.

After much travel and careful study of the Church situation in America, Bishop Vitalii reported that the reason for the American division in the Church was "Russian stupidity," and he called for the restoration of "unity, organization, and discipline."[9] It was largely through his efforts that, in 1934, as a goodwill gesture, the Synod Abroad lifted its ban against the Metropolia. The new Serbian Patriarch, Varnava, added his peace-making voice by inviting all concerned prelates to iron out their differences at a new Karlovci *sobor*, to be held in 1935. At this important meeting, a workable agreement was reached by all the participating hierarchs, which included Theophilus, as well as bishops from the Church Abroad. In fact, Theophilus told his flock back home that "the position of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad has been strengthened by the unity and peace which have been obtained. Now we have one center of Church administration in the Bishops' Synod in...Karlovci, where the American Metropolitan district [the Metropolia] will be represented by our elected representative."[10] The American schism had, for now, come to an end.

However, almost simultaneously, the long, eventful, and much-suffering life of His Beatitude, Metropolitan Antonii, was also coming to an end. The tragedy of the Revolution and the enormous problems of the subsequent emigration had caused him deep spiritual anguish, to such an extent that his health began to break down. A profound physical weakness afflicted him so that he could no longer walk and had to be carried everywhere in a chair, although mentally he was completely alert and functional.

Antonii had often written about what he called the mystery of "compassionate love," or the Christian virtue of "co-suffering." He himself modeled this heroic virtue. On his own robust shoulders, he had psychologically carried the enormous cross of the shattered Russian

Church more than most, simply because he had the strength to do it, and believed he was appointed to this task by God until, finally, his constitution could bear it no longer. At his request in 1934, Archbishop Anastasii (Gribanovskii) was chosen as his "substitute" and raised to the rank of metropolitan.

Easter of 1936 was Metropolitan Antonii's last Easter and, in spite of his great infirmities, he wished to celebrate the Paschal services himself. When told that he should rest, he typically replied: "What have I got to rest from? From doing nothing? When I die, that's when I'll rest, if it's pleasing to God."[11] Thus, in a wheelchair, Metropolitan Antonii served his last earthly Pascha in full vestments of red and gold brocade, and with a silver miter. The congregation was "in total ecstasy,"[12] and when the midnight Liturgy and banquet were ended and all had gone home to bed, Antonii quietly wept with gratitude that he had been able to liturgize for one last Easter. Finally, on August 10, 1936, the first Metropolitan of the Church Outside Russia slept eternally. In the words of his devoted cell-attendant, "Those [last months] were unforgettable days. Now, when I recall them, my soul trembles and feels painful; then it rejoiced, but now it grieves, for 'the Bridegroom has been taken away from us and we cannot rejoice.'"[13]

At this moment, however, a familiar and gifted personality—one so profound that fellow bishops would later bestow upon him the revered title of "Most Wise"—Metropolitan Anastasii, was about to write the next chapter in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia.

IV.

THE RUSSIAN MOSES

In the 1920s and '30s, no one seriously thought that the Soviet government, the "new Tartars," would last for long. In fact, there was good reason to hope that it would be only a short time before the Communists would fall. Then the reign of terror would come to an end, the Church would be free again, and the exiles could return to Russia, or at least be organically reunited with the Mother Church. Thus, during those first years, it seemed reasonable to the émigrés to discuss such issues as the eventual restoration of the monarchy and who, in that case, might be the rightful claimant. It was not until after World War II that it became obvious that the exile was going to last a very long time if, indeed, it did not become a permanent condition.

Except for the tragic Old Believer Schism of the seventeenth century (discussed in Chapter Nine), the Russian Church had never dealt with quite such a confusing and difficult situation. There seemed almost no historical precedent to follow. One had to be guided not so much by strict adherence to the canonical order (however desirable that might be in normal times), but by one's own conscience and the spirit, rather than the letter, of the law.

One remotely applicable precedent for setting up ecclesiastical authority outside the geographical boundaries of the Russian Church was the interesting case of Metropolitan Pëtr in the fourteenth century. Before Pëtr, the ruling See had been moved from Kiev in present-day Ukraine north to the city of Vladimir. However, Pëtr, finding himself persecuted by its ruler, then fled to the nearby principality of Muscovy, thus effectively transferring Church headquarters from Vladimir to present-day Moscow. As one historian has said, after seeing Pëtr's vestments in today's Kremlin Museum:

> Moscow was only another walled town in 1325,
> when Metropolitan Peter swept into the Kremlin wear-

> ing his cassock of the Thousand Silver Crosses. He had just abandoned nearby Vladimir after its prince had challenged his worthiness and tried to take from him the highest religious office in Russia, which had been conferred in Constantinople by the Patriarch himself. It was an insult that doomed Vladimir to immediate obscurity and assured the ascent of Moscow's star.[1]

Once before in Russian history the center of Church authority had been transferred and reorganized because of persecution. Were not the exiled Russian bishops now in a similar situation? The main difference, of course, was that whereas in 1325, the head of the Church, Metropolitan Pëtr, had in his own person transferred authority from one place to another, now, under persecution from the Bolsheviks, the Patriarch had remained enslaved in Moscow, while other senior hierarchs escaped and organized Church life without the actual head of the Church.

By the late 1920s two Church bodies existed within the Soviet Union: the official State Church under the nominal rule of the Patriarchate, but actually controlled by a ministry of the atheist government, and the underground, or Catacomb Church (sometimes called the "Tikhonites" after Patriarch Tikhon). Nor were things much better in exile, where the Higher Church Administration tried to supervise and hold together the fragmented elements of the emigration, and with parts of Western Europe and North America going in and out of schism—usually based on nothing more important than the personal whim or ambition of a given prelate. It should be noted that, with the exception of certain modernist ideas being taught at Metropolitan Evlogii's Theological Institute in Paris, the issues that occasionally divided the exiled hierarchs at that time had nothing to do with doctrine.

Cohesiveness among the émigrés was illusive at best, and impossible at worst. Much of this may simply have been the result of vagaries in the Russian character, but while Metropolitan Antonii lived, the immense respect accorded him insured at least a nominal center of Church unity. Even after his death in 1936, his legacy remained a powerful factor in Church affairs—at least until the shattering events of World War II.

Concerning his successor, everyone who knew Metropolitan Anastasii believed that he had the gift of interpreting the "signs of the

times." For example, a full two years before his elevation to the episcopacy in 1915, he had prophesied that "the time of persecutions of the Church's servants has not passed....The days are coming when we will again see insults, threats, looting, requisitioning of property, blood-bespattered churches becoming graveyards, and even, possibly, the public execution of priests and bishops."[2] Indeed, all of this and worse came to pass, exactly as Anastasii saw it on the day of his consecration.

Born Aleksandr Gribanovskii in 1873, the future Metropolitan was to live to the age of ninety-two, thus remaining actively in episcopal rank for half a century—longer than any other hierarch in Russian history. He outlived not only his mentors and contemporaries but also, at the end of his long life, was the last of the pre-revolutionary bishops and, thus, the last direct link to apostolic succession as originally transmitted to Russia from the Apostle Andrew through Byzantium. Not only because of his experience and wisdom, but also because Providence had chosen him to lead the dispersed flock through the "wilderness" of exile, he came to be regarded as the "Russian Moses," presiding first from Karlovci and later from New York City.

Just at the beginning of Anastasii's long reign, the schism of the American Church, the Metropolia, had been healed, a result of which the bishops in America made the following decision in 1936:

> With great joy we inform you, beloved, that at our Bishop's *Sobor* in Pittsburgh, the 'Temporary Statute of the Russian Church Abroad,' worked out in November 1935 by our Hierarchs at the conference held under the presidency of His Holiness the Patriarch of Serbia, Kyr Varnava, was unanimously accepted by all of us....All of our Archpastors [the Metropolia bishops], headed by our Metropolitan [Theophilus], enter into the make-up of the Bishops' Council [in Karlovci] of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, which is the highest ecclesiastical organ for our whole Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, and which remains, at the same time, an inseparable part of the All-Russian Church [in the homeland].[3]

All of the bishops who had followed the schism, and the Synod bishops who had not, signed the statement: Metropolitan Theophilus, Archbishops Adam, Tikhon, and Vitalii, and Bishops Arsenii, Benjamin,

Jerome, Leontii, and Makarii. Bishop Makarii was chosen to represent the American bishops in Karlovci and was among those that elected Anastasii first hierarch in September 1936. Bishop Benjamin represented the Metropolia at the 1938 Karlovci *Sobor*.

Even as late as 1940, Theophilus reaffirmed his loyalty:

> I consider it my duty to testify of my thankfulness toward the Chairman of the Synod Abroad, Metropolitan Anastasii, for his benevolent attitude toward us. He has kept his promise to support us in the task of bringing peace to our Church....By his influence and elevated authority, Metropolitan Anastasii is able to contain the passions of certain restless persons [and] to influence and direct Church life along a more peaceful, normal path.[4]

Now, however, came World War II, during which Anastasii lost contact with much of the scattered Church Abroad.

> Serbia, where the Synod of the Church Outside Russia was then located, was occupied by Germany, and much tact and wisdom were required in order to preserve brotherly relations with the Serbian Church and at the same time, preserve the Russian Church free from the persecutions of the [Nazi] conquerors.
>
> During the bombardment of Belgrade, Metropolitan Anastasii set an example of calmness and spiritual courage, continuing to serve [Liturgy] without fail, visiting churches, and keeping up the spirit of the Russian flock.
>
> With the approach of the Soviet troops, [he] took with him the wonder-working Kursk Icon of the Mother of God and left for Central Europe almost entirely alone.[5]

This 700-year-old miracle-working icon had played a significant role in Russian history, but since the formation of the Church Outside Russia, it had been the patron icon or "Directress" of the Synod of Bishops, presiding over every *sobor*. To this day, bishops are consecrated before it, metropolitans die in its presence, and new ones are chosen and enthroned before it. Although its permanent home is at the Synod Cathedral of Our Lady of the Sign in New York City, it often travels to other dioceses, parishes, and even private homes, where it continues to comfort and console the flock in the "wilderness."

V.

STRESS AND STRAIN

As the war with Nazi Germany expanded, Soviet dictator Josif Stalin sought to mobilize the USSR's citizens in a massive effort to fend off the German invasion. After the Nazi invasion of Russia in 1941, he decided he needed the help of the Church in the defense of Mother Russia, and so he called upon Metropolitan Sergii and others to encourage patriotism on the part of the masses. As a sign of goodwill, Stalin at last permitted the election of a new patriarch, in 1943. The patriarchal throne had been vacant for nearly eighteen years, since the death of Tikhon. During that time, several hierarchs, who had been named by Patriarch Tikhon before his death, assumed interim authority as *locum tenens*, or "guardians of the throne." All but the last of these had been quickly arrested and exiled (some were martyred) in the mid-1920s. The last on the list was Sergii who, now an old man, was still presiding over what remained of a devastated Church, most of whose parishes had long since been closed, and with only a skeleton crew of clergy to serve the needs of the multitudes who secretly practiced their faith on one level or another.

On September 4, 1943, Metropolitan Sergii was summoned by Stalin to a private meeting in the Kremlin. Five days later, he was "elected" patriarch by a mere eighteen bishops—most of whom had been in forced retirement or in labor camps (scores of diocesan bishops had already perished in prison). Obviously, however, this was not a free election because the government had made it clear that there was only one candidate—Sergii.

The appearance of a new patriarch had an electrifying impact on the Russian Church in America. At a meeting of American bishops six weeks later, a majority of them decided to commemorate Sergii at all Divine Services. Here it must be understood that, in Orthodox policy, the act of commemorating a bishop (patriarch, metropolitan, etc.) signifies both oneness of mind and administrative unity with that

prelate. However, the American bishops did not intend this to be interpreted as a capitulation to Moscow. There was no administrative union with the Patriarch, nor could there be under wartime conditions, and most of the bishops believed that Sergii was only a puppet-patriarch.

More significantly, the Metropolia decision to commemorate the Patriarch was done without consultation with, or approval of, anyone else. The Synod of Bishops in Yugoslavia was simply left out and, because of the upheaval and chaos of the war in Europe, nothing could be done about it for the time being.

After a reign of less than nine months, Patriarch Sergii died in May 1944. The new Patriarchal *locum tenens* was Metropolitan Aleksii (Simanskii), who quickly assured Stalin of the Church's unswerving loyalty and cooperation. In return for this, in early 1945, he was "allowed" to be "elected" thirteenth patriarch of All-Russia. Again, there was only one candidate. The American bishops decided to send Bishop Aleksii of Alaska, two priests, and a canon lawyer as official representatives to the enthronement in Moscow. But, upon their return, the American Church was presented with an *ukaz* from the new Patriarch, which stated in part:

> His Holiness the Patriarch of Moscow and All-Russia, and the Holy Synod [of Moscow], having examined the report of Bishop Alexei, arrived from America, concerning the desire of the American dioceses to unite with the Russian Mother Church...consider the following decisions to accord with the good of the Church....
>
> 1. All the dioceses of North and South America and also of Canada are to comprise one Metropolitan district-exarchate of the Moscow Patriarchate....
>
> 2. An All-American Orthodox Church *Sobor* should be convoked in America...presided over by Archbishop Alexei of Yaroslavl and Rostov, who is delegated to America by His Holiness the Patriarch....
>
> 3. The *Sobor*...is...to make *an official repudiation of any political declarations that have been made against the USSR*....[1] [italics added]

In May 1945, the bishops of the American Metropolia met, considered and discussed the *ukaz* and, fearing Soviet influence, decided for the time being not to unite with Moscow, although many individual priests did strongly approve of the *ukaz*.

Where was the governing Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia in all of this? As previously noted, the war had virtually severed contact between hierarchs in America, Europe, and Asia. Nobody quite knew where anybody was, or even who among the bishops was still alive. Metropolitan Anastasii himself had fled, a "displaced person," to Munich near the end of the war. Count George Grabbe had managed to rescue the extensive Church archives and evacuate them from Serbia to Germany. As soon as hostilities ceased, an immediate attempt was made to reconstruct the governing Synod in Munich, but it was not until August 1945 that Metropolitan Anastasii was finally able to restore contact with Metropolitan Theophilus in America. Upon being informed of the overtures made by Patriarch Aleksii to the American Church, Anastasii ratified the Metropolia's rejection of Aleksii's "terms."

But the Patriarch was losing no time. The very next month, September 1945, he sent his representative, Archbishop Aleksii (of Yaroslavl and Rostov), to America. In his first meeting with Theophilus, Aleksii told him that the Metropolia must "sever all relations with the Church Abroad and cease commemorating Metropolitan Anastasii, and that an All-American *Sobor* [must] be convoked to be presided over by [himself] Archbishop Aleksii."[2] Theophilus agreed, and told Anastasii that the Metropolia was now prepared to reunite with the Patriarchate. Archbishops Tikhon and Vitalii and Bishops Joasaph and Jerome were vehemently opposed to this unilateral action, but Bishops Makarii and Aleksii of Alaska, deciding not to wait for the formal decision of a *sobor*, immediately rejoined the Patriarchate on their own. The American Church was again in chaos.

Metropolitan Anastasii replied to Theophilus by telegraph:

> Your proposed union with the Patriarchate has not only a spiritual, but a canonical character, and binds you with its consequences. Such a union would be possible only if the Mother Church were completely free and, moreover, only after a careful discussion of the matter at a general *Sobor* [of the entire Church Abroad], which, at the present time, cannot be convoked. The overwhelming majority of the bishops, clergy, and believers who have been evacuated to

> Europe are decidedly against union with the Patriarchate, which is unfree. The existence of the Synod [of the Church Abroad] is necessary to support the unity of Russian Orthodox parishes abroad *and to avoid anarchy*.[3] [italics added]

As a result of this instruction, in May 1946, an American *sobor* meeting in Detroit renewed its ties with the Synod Abroad and appointed Bishop Jerome as its representative to the Synod, now meeting in Munich. That fall, Theophilus wrote: "A particular interest is now being shown in Orthodox Americans by Moscow, by the so-called Patriarchal Church which, in reality, does not exist—since, after the blessed repose of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon, the election of his successors by All-Russian Church councils were conducted not according to the canons of the Church, *but by the ukaz of the atheist civil authorities*" [italics added]—a serious violation of the good order of the Church.

In a similar vein, Archbishop Leontii in America said, "My conscience does not permit me to submit to the Patriarch. In the future, the Synod of Karlovci will come to America, and therefore it is not necessary for us to break ties with it."[4]

Attended by eight bishops and more than two hundred clergy and laity, the All-American *Sobor* convened in Cleveland on November 26, 1946, chaired by Metropolitan Theophilus. Immediately three strong viewpoints were expressed by the various speakers. First, that the Patriarch was neither freely elected nor free to rule, and therefore, the American Church should await more positive developments before reconciliation with Moscow. The second view was that the American Metropolia should immediately accept Patriarch Aleksii as its spiritual head, on the condition that he grant self-government—autonomy—to the American Church. The third view, shared by a majority, was that, regardless of Moscow, administrative ties with Metropolitan Anastasii and the Church Abroad must immediately cease on the grounds that if the Metropolia were to be independent of Moscow, it must also be independent of the Synod Abroad. By a vote of 187 for and 61 against, the following resolution was approved:

> Since the Moscow Patriarchate is incompatible with the Synod Abroad of the Russian Orthodox Church, the American Church ceases any administrative submission whatever to the Synod Abroad, although it will dwell in brotherly and prayerful communion with all Churches in the dispersion. In case His Holiness the Patriarch of Moscow should find our conditions unacceptable, our American Orthodox Church will remain in the future self-governing until such a time as the Moscow Patriarchate will find them acceptable and grant what we have asked.[5]

Four of the eight bishops strongly protested this decision and, by the following spring, had been excluded from the Metropolia's deliberations. These prelates, however, continued prayerful and administrative union with Metropolitan Anastasii.

In the meantime, Patriarch Aleksii informed Metropolitan Theophilus that, while "in principle" he did not object to self-governing status for the American Church, he was sending another representative, Metropolitan Gregorii of Leningrad, to consult with them. When Gregorii arrived in July 1947, he immediately requested a loyalty oath to the Soviet government from the bishops and clergy of the Metropolia. The impact of this was seen at the bishops meeting in San Francisco in November, where the question of submission to Moscow was postponed, although it was agreed that the Patriarch would still be commemorated at all divine services.

When Patriarch Aleksii heard of this, he immediately formed a Patriarchal Exarchate for America (which still exists today), naming Archbishop Makarii, who had already rejoined the Patriarchate, as exarch, with Archbishop Adam as his vicar. (In 1948, the Exarchate was able, by court action, to transfer the Cathedral of St. Nicholas in New York City from the Metropolia to their new jurisdiction.) Because Theophilus, in retaliation, now placed Archbishops Makarii and Adam under ecclesiastical ban, the Patriarch convened a spiritual court and tried and convicted all of the remaining Metropolia bishops on a charge of schism.

However, in 1948, a twenty-day civil trial over legal ownership of a parish in Los Angeles resulted in the following court decision:

> The Bishops' Council and the Holy Synod of the Church Abroad constitute the supreme judicial tribunals of the Church organization upon matters of

faith, discipline, general policy, and tenets of the Church.[6]

Notwithstanding this affirmation of the Church Abroad by an objective, non-Russian civil authority, Metropolitan Theophilus and those with him—Leontii of Chicago, Ioann of Alaska, Ioann of Brooklyn, and Nikon—continued for another twenty-two years to maintain complete separation from both the Moscow Patriarchate and the Russian Church Outside Russia.

In 1950, Theophilus died and was succeeded by Leontii who, in 1963, was contacted by Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad. Again, negotiations with Moscow for recognition and self-governing status were opened. The discussions continued under Leontii's successor, Archbishop Ireney, and were successfully concluded in 1970, when the Metropolia was at last given the status it had so long sought from Moscow—"autocephaly." Ireney was followed by Theodosius (who was still Metropolitan as of this writing).

But in December 1947, the senior of the dissenting hierarchs, Archbishop Vitalii, had responded to the various decisions of the Metropolia by calling a *sobor* of those whose mind-set was similiar to his. They then rejected what they regarded as disloyalty and betrayal by the Metropolia, and affirmed their ties to Metropolitan Anastasii.

The flock in North America had now been divided into three warring jurisdictions with rival hierarchies, none of which were in communion or administrative union with the others: the Exarchate of the Moscow Patriarch, the Metropolia, and the Russian Church Abroad. Over the next few decades, repeated and urgent appeals by various leaders of the Church Abroad to heal this three-way split went unheeded. Perhaps the most powerful of these came from Archbishop Vitalii shortly after the 1946 schism:

> Brethren, Orthodox people of America and Canada! It has long been time for us...to abandon our willfulness and arbitrariness....We cannot continually cast ourselves from one side to the other....There can be no Divine blessing on such acts. There is no other way before God, conscience, and law...than to unite....[7]

VI.

THE TRANSITION

Those who knew Metropolitan Anastasii marveled at his consistent composure during the confusion of World War II and the following years of division in the Church. His singlemindedness prompted one writer to observe that if he "had wavered and doubted, then the horrible would have occurred: the plan of diabolic forces [atheistic Communism] would have triumphed....Let us bow down to the ground before our Primate, Metropolitan Anastasii, for having chosen between the difficult truth, abandoned by all, and the untruth, arrayed in the most attractive robes and supported by all."[1]

By 1950, a majority of Russian émigrés were living in the Americas, and it was clear that headquarters for the Russian Church Outside Russia should now be moved to the New World. As one of the largest and most important cities in the world, New York was selected. A benefactor, Sergei Semenenko, gave the Synod a handsome building on 93rd Street, near Central Park. This enormous, historic, nineteenth-century brick mansion became the worldwide administrative center for the Church Abroad—"our common home."[2]

The floor plan of the mansion was U-shaped, with a large courtyard facing the street and giving entry to a ballroom of noble proportions, with wood parquet floors and crystal chandeliers. This spacious room was easily converted into the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Sign and became the episcopal seat of the First Hierarch of the exiled Russian Church. Elsewhere in the building, a chapel the size of a small parish church was dedicated to St. Sergius of Radonezh, and used for daily services. Two schools, administrative offices, a library and archives, apartments for cathedral clergy, large rooms for Synod meetings, and a special suite that served as the official residence of the Metropolitan were all provided for in the same structure. With its sweeping marble staircase, wood-paneled rooms with fireplaces, and large, heavy-framed oil portraits of various prelates, the mansion has

served as a fitting setting for most major events in the liturgical and administrative life of the Church Abroad. The Department of Public and Foreign Relations for the Synod was also located here, under the direction of Count George Grabbe (who was an archpriest by the 1950s). This department was to handle all questions of an interjurisdictional nature, and in the 1960s and 1970s would be instrumental in forging the Church's policy concerning the Ecumenical Movement.

The transfer of headquarters to New York had an immediately vivifying effect on the Church Abroad. "New churches and parishes began to open where before there had been only newly-arrived refugees from Europe and Asia. Metropolitan Anastasii's visits to various cities after his arrival in America were real holidays for these places; the Russian Church Outside of Russia became consolidated and flourished. Thanks to these and later visits, the Metropolitan established an active bond with his flock."[3]

One of his first major acts was to consecrate the main church at Holy Trinity Monastery in upstate New York, near the hamlet of Jordanville. As a result of the humble labors of a few Russian monks, this monastery—soon to become a veritable "Little Russia"—had already been in existence for some years. A center not only of monastic life, Holy Trinity soon established a seminary for future priests of the Church Abroad, and today, nearly one hundred men—monks and seminarians—live, pray, study, and work in the peaceful countryside setting of this monastery. A center of Slavic studies, its main church is an architectural jewel straight out of old Russia, an object of pilgrimage by Orthodox Christians of many jurisdictions, as well as non-Orthodox inquirers into the Faith.

At this time, Metropolitan Anastasii also performed the rare and lengthy series of rites required for consecrating Holy Chrism—the sacred oil used after baptism in the Sacrament of Chrismation. The Orthodox custom is for the supply of Chrism for all dioceses to be consecrated in large amounts, as needed, by the patriarch or metropolitan of each autocephalous Church. Thus, the last Chrism for the Russian Church had been consecrated by Patriarch Tikhon and a sufficient supply had been taken into exile. After more than thirty years, the supply had been depleted, and so Anastasii performed this historic rite— another way of inaugurating a new period in the history of the Church Outside Russia.

Under Metropolitan Anastasii, *sobors* or the Church Abroad were attended not only by North and South American bishops, but also

by those in Europe and Australia (most of the Church in China had evacuated to Australia and the United States at the beginning of Mao Tse-Tung's anti-religious dictatorship in 1949). These *sobors* were convened in 1953, 1956, 1959, and 1962. The *Sobor* of 1956 also marked Anastasii's golden jubilee as bishop—in itself a rare event in the history of the Russian Church.

The *Sobor* of 1959 was typical in that the assembled bishops (sixteen on that occasion—eight from North America, eight from abroad) restated their position regarding the Church in the Soviet Union: "We comprise one family with our suffering brethren, now being oppressed by the persecuting godless Soviet power. We all are the sons of multitudinous races, yet one Russian people of undivided Orthodox Russia...firmly united by one faith, and now by mutual suffering." Calling the émigrés to "renew yourselves spiritually," the bishops also challenged those under the Soviet yoke to "be daring, children [and] cry out with all your hearts and from the depths of your soul, [so that the Lord] shall save you from the enslavement of the enemy's hands."[4]

The parameters of the American schism were now settled, the lines clearly drawn. Although there continued to be appeals to the Metropolia to rejoin the Russian Church Abroad, attention was now focused more and more on the reality of life in American society—so dramatically different from that of Russia or even Europe. Metropolitan Anastasii was particularly concerned about missionary activity, and proclaimed this interest in a pastoral instruction to the bishops at the *Sobor* of 1959:

> There stands before us the very important problem of missionary activity—and we must show ourselves to be worthy and be zealous in its promotion, asking the Lord to give us wisdom with His grace.[5]

It was not from flattery that his brother bishops called Anastasii "Most Wise," but because he "expressed his opinion always with great circumspection, weighing everything precisely, never having recourse to extremes. In everything he knew moderation."[6] In short, he was an ideal ruler for the Church at a time of transition and steady growth.

But at the beginning of Lent in 1963, Anastasii fell seriously ill and was hospitalized for a short time. Although mentally alert, his

physical health began to fail; he was, after all, already over ninety years old. By January 1964, he decided to retire and wished, as had Metropolitan Antonii before him, to preside over the selection of his successor. Accordingly, in May 1964, a *sobor* of bishops from around the world selected the youngest in seniority of the number—their "Benjamin"—Philaret (Voznesenskii), who had been consecrated bishop of Brisbane, Australia, only the year before. The assembled hierarchs also elected Metropolitan Anastasii "Honorary President of the Council and Synod of Bishops," and bestowed upon him the title "Most Blessed," with the right to wear two panagias.

Shortly thereafter, the enthronement of the Metropolitan Philaret took place. It was unusual in that the ancient text for the enthroning of a metropolitan of Moscow was used. This striking service had been uncovered through the zealous research of a graduate of Holy Trinity Seminary, Dimitrii Alexandrov, who was much later to be part of a historic restoration of the episcopacy in the Old Rite (see Chapter Ten). An eyewitness account of Metropolitan Philaret's enthroning made clear the appropriateness of using the venerable Muscovite rite:

> Thus, by the grace of God, our humble Church in Exile was especially called upon to feel herself [as] the very same Russian Orthodox Church of old....In the continuing act of enthronisation, the consciousness in the faithful of being the church received incarnation.
>
> All experienced quite an exceptional lifting of the spirit when...the whole church was suddenly plunged into a sea of lights, the Royal Gates swung open and Metropolitan Philaret emerged, arrayed in the usual bishop's violet mantle and a black cowl with its diamond cross. All the bishops disposed themselves in a semi-circle on either side of him. The Metropolitan's blue mantle was brought out by Archbishop John; Archbishop Aleksandr carried the Metropolitan's white cowl on a salver. (Both mantle and cowl had just then been consecrated in the altar by Metropolitan Anastasii)..."*Axios*!" ["Worthy!"] was the cry of all the bishops and clergy. "*Axios*!" thundered the two choirs in succession....Unassumingly, calmly, naturally, and with confident simplicity was each expected

> movement executed and each word delivered by [Philaret], and this only increased the ineffable majesty of what was taking place. For it was not only that the youngest among the bishops was being suddenly elevated to the highest position...but this very height received a new meaning, opening up for us perspectives which only yesterday seemed to have been antiquated.[7]

In the next months, Metropolitan Anastasii began to prepare himself for death. Remaining secluded in his rooms and "entering completely into his inner life",[8] he listened to Divine Services every day by means of an amplifier, receiving Holy Communion almost daily. On May 22, 1965, this "Most Wise" and "Most Blessed" one departed this life. While he lay in state at the Synod Cathedral in New York, representatives from many churches, including non-Orthodox ones, came to pay their respects, and the funeral services were attended by representatives of the Greek Archdiocese, the Patriarchates of Constantinople and Serbia, and the Greek Old Calendar Church. Following the funeral, an enormous cortege took his remains to Holy Trinity Monastery near Jordanville where, after another requiem, Metropolitan Anastasii was entombed in a special crypt at the back of the main church. Thus did "the Risen Christ receive into His Kingdom His servant who bore the name of Resurrection [which is the meaning of "Anastasii" in Greek]."[9]

Only then was his last will and testament made public. A simple document, in which the great prelate asked forgiveness of all those he has offended, and thanked all "who have been good to me in any way, or who may have only had the wish and intention to do so but did not implement this decision owing to circumstances beyond their control," he gave the following advice to the prelates who survived him:

> As regards to the Moscow Patriarchate and its hierarchs, then, so long as they continue in close, active and benevolent cooperation with the Soviet Government, which openly professes its complete godlessness and strives to implant atheism in the entire Russian nation, then the Church Abroad, maintaining her purity, must not have any canonical, liturgical, or even simply external communion with them whatsoever,

> leaving each one of them at the same time to the final judgment of the *Sobor* of the future free Russian Church.[10]

"The key to Metropolitan Anastasii's life," wrote one observer, "lies in his simple rule, available to all, yet alas, observed by so few: never, under any circumstances [to] act contrary to the voice of his conscience, that voice of God within us....This firm and unbending loyalty to the dictates of God's inner voice gained for Metropolitan Anastasii such enormous moral authority that often even his enemies had to bow before it."[11] This singlemindedness originated in a spiritual experience Anastasii had as a teenager, which he made reference to in his testament:

> At the age of fifteen, I felt especially deeply the insignificance of all that is earthly, began to avoid people, became pensive and cooled toward not only all the joys of life, but also toward life itself, considering that all was nothing compared to eternity.[12]

This, then, was the powerful source of Anastasii's inner serenity in the face of great trials and challenges, an equanimity the Church would need more than ever in the years to come.

VII.

NEW CHALLENGES

With the death of Metropolitan Anastasii, a twenty-year period of relative tranquility drew to an end. This had nothing to do with the personalities of Anastasii or his successor, but was a development of the times—in particular, the impact of the Ecumenical Movement on Orthodox Churches throughout the world. However, before looking more closely at the influence of ecumenism, we must examine Metropolitan Philaret's character and personality.

Whereas one could rightly describe Metropolitans Antonii and Anastasii as great prelates and true "Princes of the Church" in the positive sense, Metropolitan Philaret was, throughout his life, a humble and quiet monk. This is not to say that he was a "simple" man without personal gifts and depth, but rather that he valued his monastic calling before any other. In his view, he could be an effective first hierarch primarily by being a good monk. Thus, he lived in the splendid metropolitan's suite in New York as if it were the simplest monastic cell. His only outside interests were fishing (which he was occasionally able to pursue at the peace of a hermitage in the New York countryside) and music (he was an accomplished pianist and composer).

Born Giorgii Voznesenskii in 1909 in the city of Kursk (the original home of the Kursk Icon, the "Directress" of the Church Abroad), he and his family fled to China in the early 1920s, where he received degrees in engineering and theology. In the 1930s, he was ordained and entered monastic life with the name of Philaret. The future Metropolitan was somehow able to remain in China under Mao until 1962, when he went with his flock to Australia. There, in 1963, he was consecrated bishop.

Small and frail of stature, there was about Philaret a quality of other-worldliness that enveloped all who came into contact with him. This, combined with an outspoken fidelity to the traditions of the Church, made him the object of some criticism. By the Orthodox Left

he was regarded as a fanatic, and by the Orthodox Right he was considered weak or liberal. In reality, he was "like to the Holy Fathers of ancient times, who placed purity of Orthodoxy above all else."[2]

All of which must be kept in mind while examining the challenging events of the 1960s and 1970s.

As far back as 1959, the Russian Church Outside Russia had been aware of ecumenical stirrings in the Roman Catholic Church. When, in January 1959, Pope John XXIII announced an ecumenical council to which observers from Orthodox Churches would be invited in order to discuss Church unity, Orthodox hierarchs from all over the world contemplated what their response should be. Accordingly, at the *Sobor* of 1959 the Church Abroad adopted a formal resolution "with regard to questions dealing with the Roman Catholic Ecumenical Council."

The resolution began with a question: "What Christian heart does not grieve over the fact that Western Christians headed by Rome have been separated from us already for more than nine hundred years? And who would not rejoice if an end to this separation were to ensue?" But since the stated goal of the council, from the Pope's viewpoint, was primarily the propagation of the Roman Catholic Faith, the Russian bishops concluded that "a common *Sobor* of Orthodox and Roman Catholics does not appear likely while the latter confesses the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope...[which] places the Pope above the *Sobor*...contrary to the ancient doctrine of the Church." The bishops then called on the faithful "to firmly follow the ancient traditions of our Fathers, without yielding to the externally enticing (yet far removed from Orthodoxy) perspectives of unification...in which reigns the spirit of interconfessionalism, inescapably leading to indifference towards dogmatic truth."[1]

Vatican Council II gave great impetus to what had otherwise been a sluggish Ecumenical Movement, the principles of which became clearer as the years went by. The basic "doctrine" of ecumenism was that the original Church of Christ had been shattered over the centuries by man-made divisions. Therefore, certain denominations were but "branches" of the Church, and no one group should claim the fullness of the Truth. Such an idea cannot be found in the teachings of the early Church Fathers, who always proclaimed not only the visible oneness and unity of Christ's Body, but also that it was supernaturally protected from division.

Although fourteen observers from various other Orthodox Churches—including the Moscow Patriarchate—did attend sessions of Vatican II, the Church Abroad remained steadfast in its polite, yet firm, refusal to participate in any way. (Time proved their instincts to be correct; years later it was revealed that the Patriarch of Moscow sent representatives on the condition that the council would not issue any anti-Communist statements—a compromising agreement that would have repelled the exiled bishops.) Even so, there was no great alarm until December 7, 1965 when, unexpectedly, a simultaneous announcement was made by the Vatican and Patriarch Athénagoras of Constantinople to the effect that the mutual anathemas of the two Churches in the eleventh century were being lifted or "raised" as "a gesture of goodwill between the two Churches."[3] On the Orthodox side, this was almost universally regarded as a "scandalous" violation of the good order of the Church, for, unlike the Pope, the Patriarch of Constantinople is not the "head" of the Orthodox Church and cannot act unilaterally. Since the anathema had been leveled against Rome by a Church Council, only another council of equal authority could remove it. Bishops from many jurisdictions now charged Patriarch Athénagoras with "caesaro-papism."

Within a week of the announcement, Metropolitan Philaret appealed to the Patriarch of Constantinople "to put an end to his confusing acts since they would provoke schism in the Orthodox World."[4] He added that it was not a question of goodwill towards Roman Catholics, but of serious doctrinal differences between the two Churches.

> No union of the Roman Church with us is possible until it renounces its new doctrines [papal infallibility, Immaculate Conception, indulgences, etc.], and no communion in prayer can be restored with it without a decision of *all* [italics added] churches.... Certainly we are not opposed to benevolent relations with representatives of other confessions as long as the truth of Orthodoxy is not betrayed.[5]

This was consistent with the earlier decision of the Synod Abroad not to join the World Council of Churches, even when other jurisdictions were doing so:

> The Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia does not participate in the World Council of Churches [because it] attempts to represent those assembled in it—representatives of confessions differing in their opinions—as though they had some sort of unity in their faith....In addition, any sort of participation by Orthodox in prayer with non-Orthodox...is strictly forbidden for Orthodox according to the 45th and 46th canons of the Holy Apostles, and subjects them to excommunication from the Church.[6]

Metropolitan Philaret now composed a series of what have since been called "Sorrowful Epistles" to Patriarch Athénagoras, Archbishop Iakovos of the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America, and others, attempting to call them back to faithfulness to Orthodox tradition and good order. Dialogue with the heterodox, he explained, is impossible because "dialogue" implies equality, and since the Church of Rome had, in the eleventh century, departed from the fullness of the Truth, the two Churches are by no means equal. Instead of dialogue, he pointed out, there must be *monologue*:

> Church tradition and the example of the Holy Fathers teach us that no dialogue is conducted with Churches that have fallen away from Orthodoxy. To them is always directed the monologue of the Church's preaching, in which the Church calls them to return to her bosom through rejection of every teaching not in accord with her.[7]

Such words, however, had virtually no impact. Even those bishops who had originally protested the Patriarch's action now began to participate in and encourage further "dialogue" and joint-prayer meetings with Rome (as well as with the Anglican and Lutheran Churches), prompting Archbishop Vitalii (Ustinov) of Montreal and Canada to make the following observation in 1969: "A tower of Babylon [is] in the making....Ecumenism is now at the very doors of our Church....It is time for us to bind all dogmas immediately to our soul...penetrated with prayer."[8]

The challenge of ecumenism now raised the whole issue of ecclesiastical change and reform. Renovation and innovation were fashionable everywhere, not just in Roman Catholicism, but also in many Orthodox jurisdictions. More and more, as the years went by, the Russian Church Abroad took careful notice of increasing "reform-fever" in the Orthodox world and, in 1978, a special epistle was issued:

> One must keep in mind that the Church is a theanthropic organism, whose Head is the Lord Jesus Christ and whose life is directed by the Holy Spirit. Thus, the Church is in no need of human reform, be they in the realm of her dogmatic teaching, in the amending of apostolic traditions, or the alteration of canon laws and liturgical practices hallowed by centuries of use. Those who wish to reform the Church do not understand that they themselves must turn as quickly as possible to the grace-bearing life of the Church which, as the Apostle says, is the pillar and ground of truth. Those who wish to renovate the Church, alas, do not desire their own personal renovation within her....*It is not for us to bring the Church to perfection, but we ourselves who must be perfected within her through the grace of the Holy Spirit.*[9] [italics added]

In April 1970, Patriarch Aleksii of Moscow died at the age of ninety-two, just as negotiations between the Metropolia and the Patriarchate were drawing to a close. Probably Aleksii had had nothing to do with the negotiations anyway, for his successor said that, during the Patriarch's last five years, the business of the Russian Church had essentially been run by Aleksii's private secretary. Although the negotiations were coming to a successful conclusion, even with the patriarchal throne vacant, the bishops of the Church Abroad sent a declaration to the bishops of the Metropolia in October 1970:

> It is impossible for the Moscow Patriarchate, under the complete control of the Soviet atheistic regime which has set for itself the goal of destroying all religion, to do anything which could be to the overall benefit of the Church and it must be remembered that the Moscow Patriarchate cannot engage in foreign affairs without a direct order of the Soviet govern-

> ment....It is not our intention to inflict upon you any hurt, but rather to give you again a brotherly warning of the danger now threatening you....The Synod of Bishops [Abroad] has not forgotten that until very recently we and you were united in one Russian Orthodox Church Abroad....We grieved when this unity was disrupted....In your hearts you must all know that the Moscow Patriarchate in its present form is not the true representative of the Russian Orthodox Church....Therefore we are addressing you all, Bishops, Pastors, and Laity, for the last time. Let all other considerations fall. Return back to the unity of the free [Church] before it is too late.[10]

This appeal, as all the others since the Metropolia's second schism in 1946, went unheeded, although over the next dozen years a few Metropolia parishes individually returned to the Church Abroad. (See Appendix VI for the entire text of the Church Abroad's decree breaking communion with the Metropolia.)

In the late spring of 1971, Metropolitan Pimen (Izvekov) was elected patriarch of Moscow. Immediately, the exiled Russian Church adopted a resolution stating that "all of the elections of Patriarchs in Moscow, beginning in 1943, are invalid on the basis of the 30th Canon of the Holy Apostles and the 3rd Canon of the 7th Ecumenical Council, according to which, 'if any bishop, having made use of secular rulers, should receive through them episcopal authority in the Church, let him be defrocked and excommunicated along with all those in communion with him.'" Since Sergii (elected 1943), Aleksii (1945), and Pimen (1971) were all "elected" at the pleasure and with the official approval of the Soviet government, these elections, the bishops in exile said, are to be "regarded as unlawful and void, and all of [their] acts and directions as having no strength."[11]

During the two decades of Metropolitan Philaret's rule, the Russian Church Abroad had gradually come to a fuller understanding of her role in worldwide Orthodoxy. She thus began to define herself not just as the free part of the enslaved puppet-Church (the Moscow Patriarchate), but also as the standard bearer of faithful Orthodoxy, a Church treading the "royal path":

> The "royal path" of true Orthodoxy today is a mean that lies between the extremes of ecumenism and reformism on the one side, and a "zeal not according to knowledge" (Rom. 10:2) on the other. True Orthodoxy does not go "in step with the times" on the one hand, nor does it make "strictness" or "correctness" or "canonicity" (good in themselves) an excuse for pharisaic self-satisfaction, exclusivism, and distrust, on the other. This true Orthodox moderation is not to be confused with mere lukewarmness or indifference, or with any kind of compromise between political extremes.[12]

However, the traditionalism of the Church Outside Russia was to cost her dearly, both in the eyes of other Orthodox jurisdictions and from within—for unknown to the Synod Abroad, she was unwittingly nurturing in her own bosom a very dangerous viper.

VIII.

MORE NEW CHALLENGES

As described in the last chapter, the growing Ecumenical Movement produced a tremendous restlessness in every Orthodox jurisdiction. On the one hand were priests and bishops anxious to participate in ecumenism; on the other hand, many were now prompted to take a closer look at Orthodox history, tradition, and, especially, ecclesiology (the Church's teaching about herself, her nature, and her boundaries). Various ecumenical events in the United States brought this into sharp focus. In particular, Archbishop Iakovos who, as exarch for the Patriarch of Constantinople and presiding bishop of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, was the most visible hierarch of the largest Orthodox denomination in the United States, seemed to lead the way. In the mid- and late-1960s, he participated in ecumenical services at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, and, upon the death of Cardinal Spellman, served an Orthodox requiem at the bier as if Spellman had been an Orthodox hierarch. All of this prompted Metropolitan Philaret to write the following to him:

> In Church practice, very much is based on precedent. Thus, the higher the position of him who sets the precedent, the more importance it may acquire. Therefore, acts performed by Orthodox hierarchs in their contacts with the representatives of other confessions or religions have a special significance, and in those cases in which they violate the order accepted over the centuries, they cannot leave us uninvolved. Our silence might be construed as consent....
>
> Which ecclesiastical canon, which custom, which tradition gave You the right to introduce such novelties? Orthodoxy by its very nature is dis-tinguished by its fidelity to traditions and to the examples of the

> Holy Fathers....A novelty that does not conform to this bears in itself the stamp of unorthodoxy....
>
> Genuine love toward the heterodox consist[s] of zeal to enlighten them with the light of truth and in caring for their genuine reunion with the Church.[1]

In the past, congenial relations between the Church Outside Russia and the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese had existed, but these now abruptly ceased as Archbishop Iakovos dropped the Church Abroad from his list of Churches with which the Archdiocese had inter-communion; in the future, he was to dismiss Metropolitan Philaret and the Synod as "uncanonical."

During this same period, a dozen or so Greek-American clergy, uneasy over Iakovos's ecumenical activities, defected to the Russian Church Outside Russia. Since they were received without a canonical release from Archbishop Iakovos—quite possibly a mistake on the part of the Church Abroad—the Greek primate considered these priests defrocked.

Among the Greeks to join the exiled Church was a certain Archimandrite Panteleimon (Metropoulos). He had grown up in the Greek Archdiocese but was tonsured on Mount Athos, where he was advised, because of Archbishop Iakovos's increasing ecumenism and modernism, to join the Church Outside Russia. A charismatic young man of considerable gifts, Fr. Panteleimon was able to attract many to the monastic life. Over the years, he had successfully established the Holy Transfiguration Monastery, a large monastery for men located in a suburb of Boston, as well as the Holy Nativity Monastery, a smaller monastery for women. In addition, more than a dozen Greek-style parishes around the country were formed through his leadership, all of which were under the jurisdiction of the Synod of the Church Abroad.

Metropolitan Philaret and the other bishops appreciated the traditionalism, zeal, and evident piety of the Greek members of their jurisdiction, but didn't initially comprehend that theirs was a fervor bordering on fanaticism. Increasingly, cult-like behavior centered on the person of Fr. Panteleimon who, to the amusement and later scandal of the Russians, not only allowed himself to be called "Elder" (in Russian *staretz*; in Greek, *geronte*), but also came to believe himself to be a kind of "saviour" for the Russian Church, being more orthodox than the bishops themselves.

Fr. Panteleimon's lack of natural modesty, and the immaturity of some American converts who followed him, transformed the Abbot into a kind of "guru," with disciples in virtually every parish in the country. As the years went by, many Russians began to speak of the "Boston Party" or the "Panteleimonites"—a kind of "synod within the Synod."

In general, Fr. Panteleimon felt that the Church Abroad was not outspoken enough concerning ecumenism and modernism, notwithstanding the "Sorrowful Epistles" of Metropolitan Philaret and many other Synodal statements. He began to misrepresent the policy of the Russian Synod toward other jurisdictions, saying, both in sermon and in print, that all other Orthodox jurisdictions were essentially without sacramental grace because of their ecumenist betrayal of the Faith. He spoke of the Church Outside Russia as the "sole Ark of Salvation" left on the face of the Earth, and often rebaptized those coming to him from other jurisdictions, although this was forbidden. There may have been one or two hierarchs that privately agreed with these extreme views—at times it appeared that Metropolitan Philaret and Bishop Gregorii (formerly Archpriest George Grabbe, who at this time was the powerful secretary to the Synod), were among them—but the majority view was that the Church Abroad, as a local Church, should not sit in judgment on other jurisdictions, but could only call others back to Orthodox faithfulness. Nonetheless, Fr. Panteleimon continually exaggerated the moderate views of the Synod, alienating many clergy and faithful in other jurisdictions who might otherwise have been inspired by the traditionalist views of the Church Abroad. With the notable exception of the Serbian Church, with whom the Church Abroad had always maintained ties, an unproductive spirit of isolationism began to settle over the Church Abroad.

The *Orthodox Christian Witness*, a widely distributed weekly publication written by Fr. Neketas Palassis, a former priest of the Greek Archdiocese and an ardent disciple of Fr. Panteleimon, had for years attacked various Orthodox jurisdictions on the question of ecumenism. The tone of these attacks had not been one of objective analysis and evaluation (which would have been welcome), but polemical, sarcastic, and biting—a tone deeply offensive to the American temperament, regardless of one's ethnic background. The Greeks in the Church Abroad justified this offensive style by claiming that this was the way "Greeks talk to one another."

In fact, the Greek and Russian temperaments, forged in the unique crucibles of their own histories, were markedly different. As one observer explained:

> It is perfectly understandable that the "mind" of the Greek Orthodox Church on these issues would be different from the "mind" of the historical Russian Orthodox Church.
>
> The Greek Orthodox Church emerged from ages of Turkish persecution only in the last century. During the time of the Turks, every method imaginable was used to exterminate the Orthodox faith....The ecclesiastical "mind" of the Church under these conditions developed a highly rigoristic approach that was necessary in order to preserve the faith.
>
> In Russia, on the other hand, the situation was very different: the Orthodox faith, even during the Tatar yoke, was never in danger of extinction....The situation...was also unique, and required a very special approach. Rigorism would not have sufficed, and [moderation] and Economy became the accepted approaches.[2]

The Russian bishops felt that the polemical approach of Fr. Panteleimon's group was not only a case of differing temperaments, but just plain "bad manners"; furthermore, the content of these attacks concerned questions best left to the hierarchs—the policymakers of the Church—to discern and evaluate.

In 1978, Archbishop Lavra, abbot of Holy Trinity Monastery and rector of the Seminary, informed Fr. Neketas of his and other bishops' displeasure concerning these attacks. In his letter to Fr. Neketas, he said, "...it is necessary to fight against corrosion of the faith and it is necessary to make a stand for its purity, but I consider that should be done *from within*, as your brothers [in the Greek Archdiocese] are doing, and *not by hiding behind us* [the Synod Abroad]" (italics added). He regretted the impression that the Church Abroad was interfering in the problems of other jurisdictions, adding that "we should not become involved in other peoples' affairs, especially when we have our own pressing problems."[3]

Fr. Neketas and the whole "Greek Party" were deeply offended by this letter, and replied not in a spirit of humility and obedience, but with an evident desire to "teach" the bishops: "The 'affairs' that we deal with in the *Orthodox Witness*," he wrote, "are matters of Faith, and matters of Faith are neither 'Greek affairs' nor 'Russian affairs,' they are not phyletic affairs nor yet 'other peoples' affairs'....Dear Vladika, we have tried to understand the problems of our Synod and have responded to them on many occasions. It seems, though, that there are some who do not try to understand our situation and griefs....We are distressed at the prospect that we may again be found in a position where we are not understood, and our concern for the Faith is not heeded."[4] The implied threat was clear: if you don't listen to us, we'll do what we did with Archbishop Iakovos, and simply leave the Russian Church Abroad.

Meanwhile, the Old Calender Synods in Greece were among the few that did not participate in the Ecumenical Movement. (The Old Calendar Movement arose after the Patriarch of Constantinople and the State Church of Greece left the Julian Calendar and adopted the Gregorian, or New Calendar, in 1924, an act which had been strongly protested by Metropolitan Anastasii when he was archbishop in Constantinople; the Russian Church—both in the Soviet Union and in exile—has always remained staunchly Old Calendar.) A few Greek Old Calendar leaders were as stridently extreme in their views as Fr. Panteleimon; others expressed the same moderate view as the Russian Synod in New York. It is not surprising, then, that serious divisions developed over the years among these Old Calendar groups, resulting, in some cases, with different churches mutually defrocking and anathematizing one another.

For obvious reasons, the Church Abroad had always been profoundly sympathetic to the traditionalism of the Greek Old Calendar Movement. Just as the Russian Church in exile considered itself the free voice of the Soviet-controlled Mother Church, the Old Calendarists saw themselves as the voice and conscience of *their* Church, which they perceived as enslaved to modernism and ecumenism.

During the latter years of Metropolitan Anastasii's leadership, the episcopacy of the Greek Old Calendar Movement began to die out. It seemed natural to the Greeks to ask the Russian Church Abroad to consecrate new bishops for them. Anastasii was opposed to this, for he wished to maintain cordial relations with the Greek Church in both America and Greece, and Archbishop Iakovos was adamantly opposed

to the Old Calendar Movement. Nonetheless, other hierarchs of the Church Abroad, privately and quietly, without Anastasii's knowledge, performed these consecrations. It was not until several years later, in 1969, that the Church Abroad finally gave public and official recognition to these consecrations, declaring the "True Orthodox Christians" of Greece to be a "sister Church."

Fr. Panteleimon had been much involved, both personally and politically, with various Old Calendar bishops and abbots in Greece, often acting as a self-appointed representative to the Russian hierarchs. He had intense likes and dislikes among the Old Calendar personalities, had fallings-out with them at different times, and frequently misrepresented the Russian Synod to the Greeks, and vice versa. Little of this had to do with ecclesiology, but instead reflected Fr. Panteleimon's own ambitions.

Although small in numbers, some of the Greek Old Calendar groups had parishes, and even a few bishops, in America with ecclesiastical ties to Greece. Fr. Panteleimon knew most of them and tried unsuccessfully to persuade them to enter the Russian Church Outside Russia. Since they resisted, articles critical of them began to appear in Fr. Neketas's publication, in spite of the fact that such polemics had been forbidden. Although Metropolitan Philaret had often personally sympathized with the opinions of Fr. Panteleimon—to such an extent that the Greeks saw him as an ally—on the question of attacking the Greek Old Calendarites, the Metropolitan and the other bishops were not to be moved. In February 1985, the Synod adopted a formal resolution on the subject:

> The Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia has lovingly assisted its [Old Calendar] Greek brethren in the organizing of their Church without, however, desiring to meddle in their life. When internal disagreements arose among them, and attempts were made by one side or another to appeal for our support, we decided to remain aloof, so that we might not introduce new complications through ignorance of the Greek language, ecclesiastical personalities and their personal relationships.

The bishops wished to remain outside the sphere of Greek Old Calendar activities

> ...until such time as the longed-for unity of those Greek bishops faithful to pure Orthodoxy comes about....Therefore, it is a necessity that those Greek clergymen who are subordinate to our bishops also remain aloof from any participation whatever in the lamentable divisions, whatever their personal opinions are concerning one or another question of ecclesiastical life in Greece. We have always taken care that the speeches of the clergymen who are within our canonical jurisdiction not be understood as an intrusion of the Church of Russia into the affairs of the Church of Greece, which is not subject to her.[5]

The followers of Fr. Panteleimon saw this as one more rebuff.

By 1983, the Ecumenical Movement was stronger than ever. The Church Abroad, seeing that even many of its own Russian faithful were confused by the ecumenical "fashion" all around them, and wishing to clearly warn them, promulgated a formal "Anathema" against the "ecumenical heresy." In the words of Archbishop Vitalii of Montreal:

> By proclaiming this Anathema, we have protected our flock from this apocalyptic temptation and, at the same time, have reluctantly put before the conscience of all the local Churches a serious issue which, sooner or later, they must resolve in one way or the other. The future spiritual fate of the universal Orthodox Church depends on the resolution of this problem. The anathema we have proclaimed is *de jure* a manifestation of a purely local character of the Russian Church Abroad, but *de facto* it has immense significance for the history of the universal Church....The place of the Russian Church Abroad is now plain in the conscience of all the Orthodox. The Lord has laid a great cross upon us, but it is, however, no longer possible to remain silent, for continued silence would be like a betrayal of the Truth, from which may the Lord deliver us all![6]

However, the wording of the ecclesiastical ban was vague: no specific Orthodox hierarchs or jurisdictions were identified as "ecu-

menists," making it possible for others to "fill in the blanks," and the document did not receive sufficiently wide distribution or publicity even within the Church Abroad.

Fr. Panteleimon and his followers, however, seized on the anathema as proof that the Church Abroad finally shared their own narrow and rigoristic ecclesiology. They began to proclaim that "all" other jurisdictions, because of their participation (no matter how small or remote) in the Ecumenical Movement, had fallen under the ban of this anathema and were now clearly heretics. In particular, they applied it to the ecumenically active Moscow Patriarchate. This did not sit well with the bishops, however, for if the Church in the Soviet Union were now in heresy, how could the Church Abroad justify her continued existence as the "free voice" of a "heretical Church?"

In fact, over and over the Synod reiterated her position with regard to Moscow, declaring on the one hand that "we can have no communion with the Moscow Patriarchate, which finds itself completely subservient to the atheistic government," but on the other hand maintaining that, "without separating itself from the Mother Church, following her life with an attentive, loving, and devoted gaze, the part of the Russian Orthodox Church which finds itself outside of Russia rejoices at her successes and grieves over her tribulations and trials."[7] At the same time, "the Russian Church Abroad, now headed by Metropolitan Philaret, professes itself to be an inseparable part of the historic Russian Church...[with] the right to summon its [own] regular Councils and to enforce its resolutions."[8] This was clearly *not* the view Fr. Panteleimon was pressing on the Russian hierarchs.

Before all of this could come to a head, however, Metropolitan Philaret entered his last days.

IX.

A NEW SCHISM

For some years, eighty-two-year-old Metropolitan Philaret had been suffering from cancer of the prostate, although he had not been seriously incapacitated, and it was believed that he would live many more years. However, 1985 was a year of shocks to his sensitive mind and soul, as ugly rumors began to reach his ear concerning both Fr. Panteleimon of the Holy Transfiguration Monastery in Boston, and Archimandrite Antonii Grabbe, the son of Bishop Gregorii and head of the important and prestigious Ecclesiastical Mission in Jerusalem.

The Metropolitan, his years and health problems heavy upon him, still possessed a gentle purity of heart that did not quickly see evil in churchmen, and refused to listen to gossip and rumors. In addition, he had become less visible (except during divine services) and less accessible to those outside his own small, protective circle. He lived, now, primarily in the depths of his own soul and intellect, but this meant that certain kinds of problems went unnoticed and uncorrected.

Philaret respected Fr. Panteleimon and was personally fond of Archimandrite Antonii. When the charge of immorality against the Abbot of Holy Transfiguration Monastery was brought to his attention, the Metropolitan was both troubled and disbelieving. He referred the matter to Bishop Gregorii who, after an unofficial and cursory investigation, decided that the accusation was without foundation. Yet the rumors would not go away.

The case of Archimandrite Antonii was equally serious. For more than a decade, there had been rumors of financial mismanagement of Church monies and other irregularities in Jerusalem. Late in 1985, evidence was formally presented to the Synod of Bishops. Eyewitnesses reported that after the evidence was revealed, Metropolitan Philaret was in a state of deep distress, precipitating a rapid decline in his health.

On November 11, the Metropolitan summoned Bishop Gregorii to his room so Gregorii could hear his confession and give him Holy Communion. For the ensuing days, Philaret was bedridden, growing weaker and in pain, although alert and able to follow the monastic Prayer Rule read aloud by his attendant. The end came quietly in his sleep, in the presence of the Kursk Mother of God Icon, shortly before dawn on November 21, 1985.

The resident clergy immediately vested his thin body and placed him in a coffin, which was then carried to the cathedral to lie in state. That evening, three bishops, thirty priests, and more than a hundred faithful from the greater New York area gathered for the first memorial service. Using hymns set to music composed by the Metropolitan himself, the funeral on Sunday was concelebrated by six hierarchs (with two unwell bishops in attendance), nearly fifty priests, and more than a dozen deacons. That evening, a long cortege bore the prelate's body to Holy Trinity Monastery in upstate New York, where a second requiem was held the next morning.

"At the conclusion...the clergy again shouldered the coffin and bore it around the church, and then to the Church of the Dormition in the cemetery...[where] the coffin was placed in a niche in the crypt under the church. A group of those who honor the late Metropolitan [announced plans] to erect a fitting chapel near the Holy Trinity Cathedral, where the remains of the First Hierarch will ultimately be interred."[1] Articles concerning the Metropolitan's life and death appeared in newspapers throughout the country—most notably the *New York Times*—and on both television and radio news.

Events then moved quickly. Fr. Panteleimon and his disciples openly championed Archbishop Vitalii (Ustinov) of Montreal and Canada for the office of first hierarch. However, from the Russian point of view, this represented a distasteful intrusion of politics into the realm of the holy, for Panteleimon believed that Vitalii's staunch anti-ecumenical views would insure him a strong voice in future Synod affairs. Everyone else, on the other hand, was simply hoping and praying for a metropolitan who would be personally warm and outgoing, and who would help bolster the sagging morale of the Church Abroad. Archbishop Antonii (Medvedev) of Western American and San Francisco (born in 1908 in Lithuania) was often spoken of in this context.

That fall the bishops postponed the election until the Feast of St. Philip (Metropolitan of Moscow) in late January, and Archbishop Vitalii functioned as *locum tenens* of the metropolitan throne. This

gave the Panteleimonites nearly three months in which to shore up their position—in urgent need of repair because their outspoken extremism had alienated so many, and because the rumors about Fr. Panteleimon were circulating more insistently than before.

On January 22, 1986, sixteen bishops met before the Kursk Icon at the Cathedral in New York and "unanimously resolved to leave the matter [of a new first hierarch] to the will of God, to choose a Metropolitan by lot."[3] Following a requiem for the first three metropolitans of the Church Abroad, and then a service of intercession before the Kursk Icon, two candidates, Vitalii of Montreal and Canada (born in St. Petersburg in 1910) and Antonii of Geneva and Western Europe (also born in St. Petersburg, in 1911) were nominated by ballot. A pious old monk was brought forth to draw the lot between the two. The name chosen was that of Archbishop Vitalii, and the following weekend he was enthroned according to the ancient Muscovite ceremony used for Metropolitan Philaret.

Vitalii, the fourth metropolitan of the Church Outside Russia, had lived with his family in France after the Russian Revolution, entering monastic life in Czechoslovakia in 1939. Following World War II, he served as a pastor in one of the German camps for displaced persons, and in 1948 he was transferred to London. In 1951 he was consecrated bishop for Brazil, and in 1954 he was assigned to Canada, where he became known both for his work with young people and his extensive publishing activities. In the 1960s and 1970s, Vitalii had been instrumental in enlightening his brother bishops on the subject of ecumenism.

As soon as Metropolitan Vitalii was enthroned, Abbot Panteleimon moved swiftly to annul his earlier suggestions that the Church Abroad was perhaps not firm enough concerning ecumenism. He chose the forum of a long open letter to a non-Greek priest in which the repeated theme was his loyalty to the Church Abroad:

> The Synodal Church [the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad] is a real standard of Orthodoxy.... Therefore, discerning where the Truth is found, we remain in unity under our bishops in the midst of many trials and temptations...because grace abides in the Synod....We uphold our Synod primarily and foremostly as a standard of Orthodoxy. All others

> have betrayed the Truth. This was demonstrated of late by the election of our new Metropolitan....[2]

However, unknown to Panteleimon, the *sobor* which had chosen and installed the new Metropolitan had also extensively discussed the extremist views of the Panteleimonites—reflected by a new attack against the Serbian Church in *Orthodox Christian Witness*—and the charges of immorality. With regard to the first, the Synod wrote to the editor of *Christian Witness*, Fr. Neketas:

> The highly polemical and negative tone of many of the articles which you publish in your widely-circulated [publication] frequently evokes waves of agitation and misunderstanding among our faithful, especially among the neophytes in our Church. In this way, you scandalize the "little ones" and cause grief to the hierarchy which gave you shelter and placed you under its *omophorion*, which remains unchanged and unswerving in its faithfulness to a pure confession of the Holy Orthodox Faith.
>
> Your present article on the Serbian Church is a case in point. You assigned to yourself the position of judge and arbiter of a difficult Church question without first consulting your local bishop on this matter....Thus, you sinned in publicizing your disagreement with Church policy without first asking for an explanation.
>
> Our bishops cannot but maintain a feeling of gratitude and love for the Church of Serbia which, in difficult times, gave our Church shelter and protection....We trust that henceforth you will exercise extreme caution in what you print, avoiding zeal not according to reason, and that you will continuously seek the guidance and direction of your diocesan bishop....[4]

No one could mistake the intention of the Synod: Fr. Panteleimon and his followers among the clergy and laity were to immediately cease misrepresenting the views of the Church Abroad.

At the same time, the hierarchs appointed a special commission of two bishops to visit the Boston monastery and begin a private investigation into charges of sexual perversion. The commission presented its report at a meeting of the Synod on May 29, 1986, receiving testimony in person from four monks who had left the Holy Transfiguration Monastery. Fr. Panteleimon was present and denied the charges, but asked to be relieved of his position as abbot. The bishops granted his request, placing the monastery temporarily under Archbishop Antonii (Sinkevich) of Los Angeles and Southern California. The monks at the monastery in Boston, however, ignored this and elected one of their own—another monk who had also been charged with immorality—as abbot.

For the next several months, information and testimony continued to be gathered, with no predetermination of Panteleimon's guilt or innocence. Looking back, the bishops may well feel that they should have hastened this investigation for, during this period of time, an unprecedented explosion of protest erupted from the supporters of Fr. Panteleimon. The bishops were bombarded by hundreds of letters, petitions, phone calls, and personal visits—all of them protesting their "Elder's" innocence and the unfair, even "un-American" way in which they believed his case was being handled.

Simultaneously, Fr. Panteleimon began to make public his own list of grievances, announcing that the bishops were, practically speaking, abandoning the Anathema against Ecumenism and beginning to compromise the Faith. Secret plans and negotiations, he charged, were being worked out with the Moscow Patriarchate so that the Church Abroad could unite with the Mother Church by 1988 (the millennium of the Baptism of Russia). According to Panteleimon, this meant that the hierarchs had become, or were in the process of becoming, *heresiarchs*, and that the faithful had better look to their souls! This was a complete reversal of his published views of only months before.

On November 25, 1986, Metropolitan Vitalii was asked by the Synod of Bishops to suspend Fr. Panteleimon and the abbot who had been uncanonically elected to succeed him, pending a canonical trial. This was done on December 3; nine days later, Vitalii received a letter announcing that the monastery in Boston had left the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia and was taking refuge under an unnamed Greek Old Calendar bishop. Synod headquarters immediately declared this action to be

> ...a flagrant violation of the holy canons of the Church and...an attempt to avoid the consequences of any final decision a spiritual court might have made concerning the accusations [of immorality]...[This is an attempt] to flee from the spiritual authority of the Church's hierarchy.
>
> The charges [made against our hierarchs] as a pretext for departure from the Synod—that the Bishops of the Russian Synod are now more inclined towards ecumenism and lack concern for the Greek parishes—are preposterous. Our bishops continue to confess the holy Orthodox Faith just as faithfully and just as unswervingly as they did when Archimandrite Panteleimon entered the jurisdiction of the Russian Synodal Church, seeking refuge from the innovations of the New Calendar churches. Our bishops have warned their flocks countless numbers of times concerning the spiritual danger of the ecumenical movement, of renovationism and modernism, and stand firmly against their encroachment into the life of our Church. They seek no rapprochement with the Soviet-dominated Moscow Patriarchate....[5]

These words had no effect, and over the next two months the schism gained momentum as Greek parish after parish chose to follow Fr. Panteleimon rather than remain with the Russian bishops. When all was said and done, a monastery and convent, and nearly a dozen parishes, together with their priests and deacons, had gone into schism.

Although there was genuine concern over the spiritual fate of the schismatics—and there was an invitation to them to return to the discipline of the Church (see Appendix VII for the bishops' "Appeal" to the schismatics)—many felt a strong sense of relief, convinced that God had providentially purified the Church Abroad so that her attention and energies could be focused elsewhere. There was also a sober attempt to understand the roots of the schism and the extremism of its leaders. One evaluation, by a respected layman and convert, looked beneath Fr. Panteleimon's evident desire to escape a spiritual court. Speaking first of the moderate stand of Metropolitan Vitalii and his Synod, this writer observed:

> The Greek Old Calendarists [to one splinter group of which Panteleimon had fled] have never shown a similar sense of moderation. The Greeks from antiquity have tended to be divided. Later, after the fall of Constantinople to the Latin Crusade in 1204, the Greeks lost the sense of wholeness [i.e. catholicity]....Having been distorted by isolation, they sadly developed a psychology of nearly Puritanical, pessimistic sectarianism, for their cultural, political, and religious context was forcibly kept in a static state by the Turks....In fighting the imposition of the Western Calendar [from the 1920s to the present], the truly Orthodox Greeks have [thus far] proved themselves unable to follow the example of our Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia in forging a jurisdiction of...transcontinental dimensions against the prevailing realities of revolution, communism, modernism, and ecumenism in our troubled times. These Greeks have been all too willing to break up over trivialities and mutual recriminations, at the drop of a hat ever ready to exchange ultimate accusations, creating bishoprics without ecclesiastical order or even common sense, and always ready to find heretics under the bed.
>
> After many years of ridiculing and censuring the antics of their fellow Greek Old Calendarists, Fr. Panteleimon and his adherents have now followed their example.[6]

Shortly thereafter, the bishops defrocked Fr. Panteleimon.

As in the Panteleimon case, the firm leadership of Metropolitan Vitalii was also felt with regard to Archimandrite Antonii. For decades, the Grabbe family had been a potent force within the Church Outside Russia. Men and women of intelligence and talent, the Grabbes had energetically served the Church through many trials and tribulations and, particularly during the post-war years, had achieved several positions of importance and power, which included not only the leadership of the Department of External Affairs at Synod and the Ecclesiastical Mission in the Holy Land, but also the naming of a sister of Bishop Gregorii as abbess of the monastery for women in Lesna,

France. All of this had earned the Grabbes the jealous enmity of some, and the respect of others.

The new Metropolitan, with the support of all the bishops except for Bishop Gregorii (Fr. Antonii's father), now removed Fr. Antonii from his position as head of the Ecclesiastical Mission in Jerusalem, and suspended him from priestly functions pending the outcome of a spiritual court. But Fr. Antonii, who had observed carefully the strategy of Fr. Panteleimon, was quick to flee, finding a protector in the Old Calendar Greek Bishop Païsios (of "the True Hellenic Orthodox Church of North and South America"), who received him with honor in 1986. Simultaneously, Antonii, turning on the very Church his family had served, the Church which had in return nurtured and rewarded him, seized some of the Church Abroad's property in the Holy Land and elsewhere, engaging the bishops in a long series of litigations that are still unresolved as of this writing. Bishop Gregorii, then in his mid-eighties, had been in delicate health for some time—doubtlessly aggravated by the controversy surrounding his son—and so he retired.

As the Russian Church Abroad prepared to enter 1988—the important millennial year of celebrations for the Baptism of Russia—many of those who had guided the day-to-day activities of Synod headquarters for decades were gone, as was the extreme right wing of the Church. Attention now focused on events in the Soviet Union—*glasnost* and *perestroika*—and their significance for the exiled branch of the Church.

X.

SPIRITUAL LIFE

The history of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction can be told on two levels. First, its external activities, consisting of public decrees, bishops' councils, the statistical rise and fall of numbers, and schism. Much of this book has necessarily dealt with these particular aspects of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia. Secondly, since the object of the church is the salvation of souls, a parallel strand concerns the jurisdiction's inner life, which is, ultimately, far and away more important than its outward history. The internal spirituality of a church is its *raison d'être*, its "heart"—without which all the rest might seem but a dreary recitation of mere human frailty and hubris.

Thus, while externally the Church Abroad exists on the authority of the famous *ukaz* of Patriarch Tikhon, on the spiritual level, her heartbeat began and continues on a different plane, in the context of certain mystical events that are seen as guiding the little storm-tossed ship of exiled Russian bishops through the shoals of "the arid sweetness of sectarianism,"[1] in spite of enormous pressures and temptations to the contrary. These "events," which speak of what is believed to be the Mother of God's special interest in the Church, are well known to believers throughout the Soviet Union as well as in the diaspora.

The first of these took place on March 3, 1917 (March 16, New Calendar), the day after the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II, when there was revealed, in the midst of dust and ruin, an icon of unknown origin and age, called "The Reigning Mother of God." A type of icon not seen before, it shows the Mother of God wearing the imperial crown of Russia and other regalia. The faithful immediately recognized this as a revelation that the Saviour's Mother, "by taking on the imperial regalia...provided hope not only to the legitimate heirs of the Imperial Family, but also to the Russian nation as a whole, that the Orthodox and imperial traditions of Moscow's destiny as the Third and Final Rome would ultimately win a Christ-granted triumph over the revolu-

tionary atheism."[2] Copies of this icon have been made and distributed throughout the Russian Church Abroad, and are a visible reminder to émigrés that their Church exists in order to protect and safeguard a particular ideal—the concept of "Holy Russia."

Similarly, as has already been noted, the Queen of the Heavenly Host accompanied her believing children into exile by means of the wonder-working Kursk Icon of the "Mother of God of the Sign"—"the Great Hagiatrix of the worldwide emigration"[3]—one of the five ancient and most precious icons of Russian Orthodoxy.

And then, unexpectedly, a "third miraculous...icon of the All-Holy Mother of God came forth from the Holy Mountain of Athos, seeking out the hand and hospitality of His Eminence, Metropolitan Vitalii, then still the Archbishop of Montreal."[4] This icon is of the type known as *Portaitissa*, "Keeper of the Portal." On November 24, 1982, it began miraculously to exude sweet-smelling myrrh (a special kind of oil used for anointing). "As Metropolitan Vitalii crossed the world bearing this newly-appeared icon...miracles and the flow of myrrh were revealed before the eyes of large numbers of faithful Christians" of all denominations.[5] The flow of myrrh continues to this day, completely stopping during Holy Week each year and resuming as soon as the midnight Easter services commence.

It was as if the Mother of God herself, at a time of great and heavy crisis, comforted the afflicted Church and drew the attention of believers to "the one thing needful," the constant struggle of the soul to find God through repentance, no matter how discouraging *outward* circumstances might be. Indeed, this ongoing phenomenon of wonder-working icons has had just that effect: bolstering the spiritual life of the faithful, and encouraging the hierarchs to continue walking their special, if much-misunderstood, path.

One of the most difficult steps in that path concerned the 1981 "glorification" (the Orthodox term for canonization) by the Russian Church Abroad of the martyrs of the Soviet yoke (including the Imperial Family)—a difficult step to take because the bishops knew it would draw the scorn and misinterpretations of many outside the Church Abroad. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, in Orthodoxy the proclamation of sainthood is made by each self-governing Church. The exiled Russian Church, seeing that the Mother Church was not free to grant recognition to those who had suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Communist Party, took seriously its responsibility to openly proclaim that which could only be secretly hoped for behind the Iron Curtain.

Indeed, many private letters and petitions to the Church Abroad had been smuggled out of the Soviet Union asking for the action the émigré bishops now took:

> And behold, that which no one else is able to do, the Council of Eighteen Bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia, as the least part of the whole Church of Russia, has brought to pass, not in its own name, but with fear and trembling, reverently venerating the blood of the martyrs.
>
> We joyously inform you, our brothers and sisters, that in New York City, on Sunday, November 1, 1981, our Council of Bishops glorified with the saints the New Martyrs and confessors of the Church of Russia.[6]

On that day, Park and Madison Avenues near the Synod cathedral were closed to traffic as a mighty procession of more than one thousand of the faithful—which included the Romanov claimant, Grand Duke Vladimir Kirillovich—carrying banners, icons, and relics, proclaimed these New Martyrs to the world. "The cathedral was decorated with hundreds of red, blue, and white carnations (the colors of the [Imperial] Russian national flag) and scores of votive candles burned."[7]

But the *New York Times* covered the ceremony with a photograph of then-reigning Metropolitan Philaret under the headline "A Russian Sect Canonizes Nicholas II."[8] The *National Enquirer*, having brought its camera into the incense-laden atmosphere of the cathedral, published a photograph of the assembled prelates in their vestments of deep red velvet trimmed with gold and heavy, bejeweled miters, and trumpeted the headline, "So This Is Manhattan, 1981." The article characterized the canonization as a "bizarre two-day ritual."[9]

If the secular press was more interested in the "exotic" flavor of Byzantine-style church services, critics took this opportunity to titter about how the Church Abroad was still just a collection of disgruntled, exiled monarchists. Needless to say, this was not how the Church saw its action on that day. Prior to the event, the bishops had issued a precisely worded explanation in both Russian and English of the *Orthodox* meaning of this canonization—and it had nothing to do with politics in the usual sense of the word:

> The Holy Church, glorifying the new-martyrs, says that by their blood she is adorned, as with purple and fine linen—the richest, most beautiful and costly raiment....Great, yea vast is the assembly of the new-martyrs of Russia. It is headed by the sacred name of His Holiness, Patriarch Tikhon....At the same time, quite a special place in the company of the new-martyrs is occupied by the Imperial Family, headed by the Tsar-martyr, Emperor Nicholas Alexandrovich, who once said: "If a sacrifice is necessary for the salvation of Russia, I will be that sacrifice."
>
> Much is now being said of the glorification of the Imperial Family. Many, many of the faithful children of the Orthodox Church—and not only among the Russians—await the day of glorification with joy and impatience. But there are also audible voices of dissent, which speak against the glorification of the Imperial Family. And in the majority of cases, these voices say that the murder of the Imperial Family was a purely political act, that it was not a martyrdom in the sense of dying for the Faith.

The hierarchs then explained how, and in what way, the massacre of the Romanovs was an actual martyrdom, rather than a political "execution," concluding that

> ...the criminal murder of the Imperial Family was not merely an act of malice and falsehood, not merely an act of political reprisal directed against enemies, but was precisely an act principally of the spiritual annihilation of Russian Orthodoxy....The last tsar was murdered with his family precisely because he was a crowned ruler, the upholder of the splendid concept of the Orthodox state; he was murdered simply because he was an Orthodox tsar; he was murdered for his Orthodoxy![10]

The Russian bishops grasped the inner meaning of what had been forgotten by so many others: that the "lost theocratic splendor" of old

Russia had value only because it was a right-believing monarchy "founded not on politics but on religion."[11]

This, then, was the message of the New Martyrs: that God and the True Faith are most important above all else—even for a tsar.

Similarly, Archbishop Antonii of Los Angeles—for many years a vocal champion of the glorification of the Imperial Family—had written in 1979: "The Tsar-Martyr, and his family as well, suffered for Christian piety. He was opposed to the amorality and godlessness of the communists...on principle, because he was a deeply believing Orthodox Christian; by virtue of his position, because he was a staunch Orthodox Monarch. For this he was killed....For this he was removed and slain."[12]

Under normal circumstances, the remains of those being canonized are carried in procession. But the only relics of the New Martyrs in existence outside the Soviet Union were those of the Grand Duchess Elizabeth Feodorovna (sister of the Tsarina Alexandra and a granddaughter of Queen Victoria of England) and her attendant, the Nun Barbara. Following the assassination of her husband, Grand Duke Sergei, Elizabeth embraced monastic life and founded the Convent of Martha and Mary, an order which performed works of mercy for the poor. After she and her attendant were martyred, their bodies were eventually taken to the Garden of Gethsemane outside Jerusalem and entombed at the Convent of St. Mary Magdalene. This convent, which is in the hands of the Russian Church Outside Russia, was built by Tsar Alexander III in 1885. It possesses a splendid "Muscovite glamour": "the White Russian nuns who once peopled the place are mostly dead or aged, but the specter of Holy Tsardom—heady, mystical, irrecoverably gone—pervades the place like incense after them."[13]

To prepare for the canonization, the bishops in New York had ordered the opening of the coffins. When this was done, the room was filled with a wonderful aroma, "a strong scent, like honey and jasmine at the same time."[14] The body of the Grand Duchess, which was found to be partially incorrupt, was revested and placed in a new coffin with a wax seal, but her right hand was placed in a special reliquary and taken to New York for the glorification ceremony (where it is still venerated by the faithful to this day). Soon after the opening of the coffin, Patriarch Diodóros of Jerusalem and All Palestine came to the convent to pray before the relics, after which he said, "Without doubt, these are holy martyrs and by their prayers may the Lord help the Church of Jerusalem and the Russian Church!"[15] (As a side note, it is interesting

to see that the Soviets recently allowed the printing of books and articles in the Soviet Union that departed from traditional Communist propaganda concerning Tsar Nicholas II and his family. Some see this as the beginning of a possible rehabilitation of the Imperial Family. In any case, the Synod of Bishops Abroad was clearly prophetic in their recognition of the truth about the last ruling Romanovs.)

Constantly attentive to its inner life and the sanctification of the faithful, the Church Outside Russia also glorified numerous others, both Russian and non-Russian. Some of those especially dear to the Russian people were St. John of Kronstadt, a great evangelical and wonder-working married priest who died in 1908 (canonized in 1964), and the eighteenth-century Fool-for-Christ, Blessed Xenia of Petersburg (canonized in 1978). Dear to both Russians and American converts was St. Herman of Alaska, the humble monk who came with the first Russian mission to North America in the 1790s (canonized in 1970), who is now venerated as the Orthodox Patron Saint of America. In 1980, the bishops also glorified St. Peter the Aleut, an Alaskan native, martyred in San Francisco by Roman Catholics in the early nineteenth century.

One of the more unusual names placed in the calendar of saints was that of Edward the Martyr, the Saxon king whose veneration was confirmed by the Church Abroad in the early 1980s. St. Edward was martyred 979 A.D. at the age of nineteen, and numerous miracles have since occurred through his intercession (and still occur today). During the English Reformation, the fragrant relics were hidden, not to be recovered until 1931, during an archaeological dig by Mr. John Wilson-Claridge on his own family property, where the medieval shrine had once existed in the now-ruined Shaftesbury Abbey.

Since no other church group showed an interest in the relics, in 1979 Mr. Wilson-Claridge offered them to the Russian Church Outside Russia, with the condition that the relics be reverently enshrined. In due course, the Synod of Bishops decreed the writing of a service in the boy-king's honor (in Slavonic, then translated into English), and the monastic Brotherhood of St. Edward was formed and property was acquired, along with an old Anglican church that was remodeled, at a cost of $100,000, in order to provide a suitable setting for the Edward's new shrine.

As soon as news of this reached the British public, however, an enormous outcry was heard. Those who had previously shown no veneration for the relics were now indignant that "foreigners" were to possess them (even though the superior of the Brotherhood of St. Edward, and the monastics with him, are all English converts to Orthodoxy). One objector said, "Whatever the case, one hopes that the bones will...not end up in the Russian Orthodox Church in Exile....No Saxon can have deserved that fate." To which a non-Orthodox venerator of the martyr replied, St. Edward is "as much Orthodox (even if Russian and in exile) as Catholic and Anglican...[and has been provided] a lovely reliquary, shrine, and church to house the relics....No Saxon king deserves better than this, surrounded by undoubting love, honor, and veneration."[16]

Litigation ensued but, at length, the Church High Court decided in favor of the Brotherhood of St. Edward. The case aroused such an interest that James Bentley discussed it in his book, *Restless Bones*.

Still another heartbeat of the Church Abroad was heard in 1974 regarding the "Old Rite" of the Russian Church. In Russian Church history, the term "Old Ritual" refers to the liturgical books and rubrics used throughout Russia until the middle of the seventeenth century. At that time, Patriarch Nikon of Moscow decided to reform the Rite, bringing it closer, he thought, to the one used by the Greek Church. (Resultingly, the liturgical system used by the Russian Church since the time of Nikon is called the "Received Rite," or sometimes the "Nikonian Reform.") Tens of thousands of pious believers refused to accept the reforms and created a great schism (in Russian, *raskol*). They called themselves "Old Ritualists" or "Old Orthodox," but the Russian Church referred to them as "Old Believers," and used the legal arm of the state to persecute them, while at the same time various *sobors* anathematized both the Old Rite and its adherents.

In the nineteenth century, the Orthodox Church began to move in the direction of correcting the excesses of the past, attempting to heal the schism. This was also discussed at the All-Russian *Sobor* of 1917-18. Both Metropolitans Antonii and Anastasii valued and occasionally served in the Old Rite.

Many Old Believers had also gone into exile after the Russian Revolution, forming large communities in several places in North America. Yet there was virtually no contact between them and the Church Abroad. In 1974, at its Third All-Diaspora *Sobor*, the Church Abroad recognized the old liturgical customs and service books as "Orthodox and salutary," declared the interdicts and anathemas of the past to be "null and void and rescinded as if they had never been," and

resolved to "permit the use of the Old Rite by those who wish to observe them."[17]

In due time, various communities of Old Believers began to take note. Slowly but surely, contacts began to open up between the Church Abroad and individual followers of the Old Ritual. This historical development is still in process, but in 1983, a very large Old Believer parish in Erie, Pennsylvania, returned to the Orthodox fold via the Church Abroad, in return for which they were given the priesthood and the sacraments (their particular group had been without the priesthood since the 1600s). In 1988, the hierarchs of the Church Outside Russia consecrated their first bishop for the Old Rite—a Russian priest of the Church Abroad who had, as a young man, become a devout practitioner of this title. As "Protector of the Old Rite," Bishop Daniel (Alexandrov) is in a position to both attract many more Old Believers back to the Church and, at the same time, be a zealous example of the old piety to those using the "Received Rite," many of whom have become somewhat lukewarm in their piety.

The great event of 1988, however, was the millennial celebration of the Baptism of Russia in the year 988 A.D. Thus Metropolitan Vitalii and numerous bishops and clergy, together with the head of the Russian Imperial Family, Grand Duke Vladimir, gathered at Synod headquarters in New York for a commemorative Liturgy on Sunday, August 7, 1988.

XI.

THE FUTURE

A well-known convert and prolific writer and translator in the Church Abroad, Hieromonk Seraphim (Rose) was particularly interested in the future of Orthodoxy and missionary activity in America. In this, he showed himself a true spiritual son of Blessed Archbishop John (Maximovich) of Western America and San Francisco who, while very much a Russian of the "old school," nonetheless had a burning desire to bring the light of Orthodoxy into the darkness of the West. (Archbishop John, whose sepulchre in the San Francisco Cathedral of "Our Lady, Joy of All Who Sorrow" is the object of many pilgrimages, has been called "Blessed" since his death in 1966. Although not formally canonized, he is nonetheless regarded as a saint by Orthodox Christians of many jurisdictions.)

Fr. Seraphim saw that if the Orthodox Faith was to take root on the North American continent, as it had a thousand years before in Russia, there must be less emphasis on the external, purely organizational side of Church life and more emphasis on what he called "Orthodoxy of the heart." The Church in America, divided into so many rival jurisdictions is, he said, in a state of severe crisis—however outwardly successful it might appear. He wrote:

> In recent years, there has been talk once more of American Orthodoxy, and an attempt has begun to end jurisdictional irregularities. In 1960, there was formed a "Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas," with representatives from many jurisdictions, with the idea that it would eventually be transformed into the Synod of an American Orthodox Church.
>
> But quite apart from the fact that this "Standing Conference" has not yet resolved some of the jurisdic-

> tional conflicts and canonical difficulties among its own members, it has, more importantly, failed even to take cognizance of a basic fact of Orthodox life in America today: Orthodoxy in America has, to a large extent, lost contact with its own roots; it has become diluted and, in some cases, virtually unrecognizable...[and] is well on the way to losing completely its Orthodox character....To some extent, of course, Orthodoxy in America merely shares in the decline of Orthodoxy noticeable in many parts of the world, taking a more acute form here due to minimal contact with genuine Orthodox centers and long exposure to the local heterodox or simply pagan environment.[1]

As one who understood and was equally comfortable in both American and Russian cultures, Fr. Seraphim observed that the "acute missionary awareness" of the Church Abroad "cannot be built upon 'Americanism' or upon mere emphasis on the English language; it cannot be built upon [jurisdictional] 'unity,' which heretics also possess; it can only be built upon Orthodoxy. True Orthodoxy transcends the barriers of nation and language." Thus, the existence of the Russian Church Abroad "constitutes an involuntary mission to every continent," so long as she "upholds the standard of truth for all to see."[2]

Missionary zeal, he said, can flourish "only where there is the awareness of belonging to the one true Church...and of our responsibility to make this infinite treasure known to those outside the Faith for their salvation. Ecumenism, on the other hand, preaches 'dialogue' and compromise with those of other faiths, in the name, ultimately, of...human reason—the religion of man."[3]

Analyzing the reason for the Church's "involuntary exile" and her future, Blessed Archbishop John had written:

> A significant part of the Russians who went abroad belonged to that intellectual class which, in recent times, has lived by the ideas of the West. While belonging to the Orthodox Church...the people of this class, in their world-outlook, significantly departed from Orthodoxy. The chief sin of people of this class was that they did not build their convictions and way of life on the teaching of the Orthodox Faith, but

> rather strove to make the rules and teaching of the Orthodox Church conform to their own habits and desires. Therefore...they were but very little interested in the essence of Orthodox teaching.[4]

This fact, he felt, was the cause of most of the jurisdictional strife among Russians after the Revolution of 1917-18, and is the single most difficult hurdle for the bishops to overcome.

At the same time, Blessed John believed that God had appointed the exiled Russians to perform the task of "shining in the whole world with the light of Orthodoxy, so that other peoples, seeing their good deeds, might glorify our Father Who is in heaven, and thus obtain salvation for themselves."[5] As Fr. Seraphim had also observed: "Divine Providence has dispersed Orthodox Christians throughout the world, not by chance, but to be witnesses of Christian Truth and examples of Christian life. Today, our very existence in non-Orthodox lands is a missionary witness."[6]

But, Blessed John warned, if the Russian faithful in the diaspora do not give this witness, "and even abase Orthodoxy by [their] life, the diaspora will have before itself two paths: either to [repent]...and be reborn spiritually...; or else to be finally rejected by God and to remain in banishment, persecuted by everyone, until gradually [the Church Abroad] will degenerate and disappear from the face of the Earth."

This startling prediction—that the exiled Russian Church might have no future at all—a warning given by the revered as "like unto the Holy Fathers of old," was behind many of the stern instructions to the faithful issued by the bishops on many occasions. Thus, in 1978, Metropolitan Philaret and sixteen other hierarchs cautioned that, while the Church in the Soviet Union has had little or no freedom, nonetheless, even the Church in the West had a great enemy:

> It is not militant atheism or any organized evil, but overabundance and prosperity in freedom. How many of us...has this insidious enemy torn away and continues to tear away from God! Let us not forget...that true freedom is only in God; that there is no freedom in man if he has slain the knowledge of God and buried the very memory of Him. The possession of freedom and prosperity places a great responsibility

> on man....Thus, we call you to faithfulness and steadfastness in Holy Orthodoxy. Be not troubled that more and more often we see ourselves as though abandoned by all. Our path is the path of faithfulness to Christ.[8]

The first convert to be raised to the episcopacy in the Church Abroad, Bishop Mark (Arndt), had expanded on this theme on the occasion of his appointment as bishop of Munich and Southern Germany in 1980. He saw that émigrés and converts both found themselves

> ...in a fog of western ideas, which are fundamentally un-Christian....In dealing with these people, we [bishops] often experience considerable difficulties due, as I see it, to the fact that, to a large extent, we ourselves have not yet adapted to a new approach to those who believe and to those who wish to believe. Life in an un-Christian society and in the neo-pagan world insistently demands such a new approach. Our approach, our actions and ideas, too often reflect the imprint of the historical form of Christianity, when it was a state religion. In our times, different paths must be sought to reach souls thirsting for the true faith of Christ....However, what can we offer to them, the [spiritually] sick; with what can we attract them?....Evidently in this, the supremely important area of pastoral activity, we must act first of all by our personal example. Only through our own struggles can we acquire the spiritual strength to attract people in a constant, conscious striving towards the Kingdom of God. But these personal struggles of a present day pastor encounter difficulties unknown to pastors of previous centuries.[9]

As 1988, and, with it, the millennial anniversary of the Baptism of Russia—approached, Metropolitan Vitalii was concerned that while many committees of energetic lay people were organizing all kinds of worthy celebrations, the proper way in which to greet the Jubilee Year was primarily by *spiritual* preparation. He wrote:

> We do not wish that after such festivities, when gray weekdays inescapably set in, we will again be submerged in our often slack and sickly spiritual life. It is imperatively essential for us to leave a perceptible mark of the millennial anniversary of our baptism on our souls, like a deep spiritual seal on our entire life, and to pass it on to the coming younger generation....May the Lord help us to return, and to turn the whole of our flock to the path of this ancient piety for the millennial jubilee of the Baptism of Russia. Amen.[10]

Active missionary work had been especially visible in the Church Abroad since the 1960s, when many English-language mission parishes were founded throughout the United States. As the bishops said in 1978:

> Our situation in the diaspora has drawn to the Church many heterodox who have sought the truth of Orthodoxy and have become faithful children of the Church. And now they are going forth to preach Orthodoxy, principally in the name of our Church.... Thus, by God's mercy, the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad has outgrown its name and has come to occupy a special, unusual place in the conscience of all Orthodox Christians. Despite our weakness, we have been vouchsafed so great an honor....Without separating ourselves from the Mother Russian Church, our Church is truly the free, multinational, multilingual Church of the diaspora.[11]

In 1983, the hierarchs commented further:

> Our Church has been enriched by new children and continues to be enriched not only by Greeks devoted to the faith, but also by parishes torn away [by the Metropolia schism]...and now returning to its bosom....While those of different nationality and previous culture who have joined our Church may sometimes pose one pastoral problem or another, we view

> this calmly, remembering that before the face of God there is neither Greek nor Jew, Russian, American, or any other sort of distinction according to origin. All are felt to be our beloved children who have a common goal.[12]

But active missionary work had been dealt a severe blow from the schism of Fr. Panteleimon and his followers—for more than half of the English-language mission parishes were loyal to him. Although in principle the bishops certainly remained supportive of continued missionary outreach to America, a certain wariness, born of the trauma of the Panteleimonite schism, was now detectable. Immediately after the schism, the Church Abroad enthusiastically immersed itself first in preparations for the thousandth anniversary of the Baptism of Russia, and then in the celebrations themselves. This provided a certain distraction from looking more closely at the serious problems of the near future. But, as new developments in the Soviet Union seemed to reflect a slight softening of the state towards religion, the bishops began to be cautiously hopeful that the Mother Church might yet become free and Holy Russia be resurrected, and this absorbed most of their energy and attention.

Nonetheless, in the years since the Panteleimonite schism, and in spite of preoccupation with political and religious events in the Soviet Union, small pockets of missionary activity, led by convert priests, have continued steadfastly, and most Russian priests are quite open to receiving converts into their parishes.

The subject of liturgical language, however—in itself not the single most important factor in the Church's future, but nonetheless a significant one—remains unresolved. In 1983, the bishops had said:

> With the course of time and the growth of new generations, the knowledge of the Russian language and understanding of Church Slavonic [a more ancient form of Russian] is gradually being lost, which calls for the use of the language of the local country. However, the Western languages, which developed outside the Orthodox Church and its culture, cannot always accurately convey the meaning of a number of Slavonic and Greek expressions in the prayers and Scriptures. For this reason, one must value the

> preservation of the liturgical languages of the Orthodox nations, Slavonic and Greek, as far as that is practically possible....
>
> The Church's task in this matter is to show tact in gradually permitting services in other languages. Haste in this matter can severely damage the spiritual life of the faithful. In light of this, when the rector senses in his parish the desire of a part of the parishioners to introduce linguistic changes in the services, he must report all circumstances to the diocesan bishop and introduce such changes only with his approval.[13]

While in principle no one disagreed with this decision, it seemed to be somewhat out of touch with reality. In mission parishes, excellent English translations (King James style) had already been used almost exclusively for more than ten years, and in the typical Russian parish only a few still understood the Slavonic language; it was clear that the Church was now running a serious risk of losing a significant part of its younger generation because the divine services were incomprehensible to them.

In February 1986, more than a dozen of the convert clergy—essentially those who had remained faithful to the Church Abroad at the time of the Greek schism—asked for and received a meeting with Metropolitan Vitalii at the Synod in New York. Bishop Hilarion (Kapral), deputy secretary to the Synod, and a few of the Russian clergy also attended. The purpose of the meeting, which lasted all day, was to discuss the implications and impact of the schism, as well as the future of missionary activity in the Church. The Metropolitan, who speaks fluent English, was gracious and receptive, thoughtfully answering all questions put to him, yet very much in command of the situation. Among the concerns expressed was a desire on the part of the convert priests to see a continuing and expanded use of English in the divine services. The Metropolitan indicated that, although he had some reservations about moving too quickly on the matter, it was inevitable in the United States that English would ultimately be the liturgical language of the Church—"perhaps in a hundred years," he said.

In a lengthy 1978 report entitled "The Liturgical Language of Foreign Converts to Orthodoxy," then-Archbishop Vitalii of Montreal said, "There had not been and is not now an urgent need to perform the

divine services in foreign languages," and that "for the creation of a liturgical language" there must be converts who, with fasting and prayer, "will pour into the words of their own languages the power of the grace of the Holy Spirit from the mystery of their Baptism...rather than some approximate meaning taken from a dictionary by some translator." In answer to those who asked how to conduct themselves in their worldwide missionary endeavors, he said that it was essential to preach and read from the Scriptures in the local language, "but we must be very, very careful, very cautious in dealing with the liturgical texts. The divine services are our Church's holy of holies." He suggested that "we ought very skillfully to introduce into services for foreigners one or two words in their own language or some exclamation and then limit ourselves to that for a long time, until they become prayerfully accustomed to those words, until those words are overshadowed by the power of grace." He reminded converts that they must imitate Ruth in the Old Testament, who had said "For whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou dwellest, I will dwell; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God."[14]

In the spring of 1986, following his meeting with the convert clergy, Metropolitan Vitalii gave the report wide distribution in America, evidently intending that it represent his official view of the subject.

The reaction among the converts in the Church Abroad was less than universally enthusiastic. But since, as was noted above, English was already being used almost exclusively in the mission parishes, either without the Metropolitan's knowledge or with his tacit approval, it was felt best not to pursue the matter any further and let Church life among the converts proceed along a familiar path. One convert layman, however, was outraged at the Metropolitan's words, which he exaggeratedly saw as an insult to Americans who had been on the receiving end of what he called "ethnic brutality" for too long. A lengthy article, "The Betrayal of Orthodoxy in America," concluded with this battle cry, a message that not even the Russian hierarchy of the Church Abroad would disagree with, whatever the lesser issues might be:

> True Orthodox Christians! Together let us take notice that the leaves of the fig tree are drooping. Let us call together as many of us as can be mustered—Russians, Americans, Greeks, and others—and let us pray Our Lord Jesus Christ that He grant us one more year to dig around it, to fertilize it, and to water

> it unto the refreshment of its foliage and the production of sound fruit, acceptable to Heaven. Even so, Lord, fashion our hearts![15]

All of this signified that the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia—far from being a moribund collection of "exiled monarchists," as its critics charged, was slowly growing and responding to all kinds of developments in society, as well as in the life of the Church itself. As Fr. Seraphim had once written: "They are wrong who teach that, because the end of the world is at hand, we must sit still, make no great efforts, simply preserving the doctrine that has been handed down to us, and hand it back, like the buried talent of the worthless servant, to our Lord at His Coming!"[16]

XII.

POSTSCRIPT

On the evening of May 3, 1990, the following short announcement was issued to the press and wire services in Moscow:

> The Sacred Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church with profound sorrow announces that on 3 May 1990, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Most Holy Patriarch of Moscow and All Rus, Pimen, fell asleep in God at the Patriarchal residence in Moscow.[1]

His All-Holiness had been ill for some years, and his feebleness had been especially evident at public ceremonies during the millennial year of 1988. Although he had not been seen in public since the previous fall, the usual Christmas and Paschal Epistles had been published over his name. Not surprisingly, for a long time there had been speculation as to his successor—both within the Soviet Union and the Church Abroad.

Even in Russia, Pimen had often been seen as a weak puppet of the state, "accused of doing nothing," and almost totally without opinions or a public "voice." While it was acknowledged that both Church and Patriarch had "faced cruel and crude persecution," many noted that Pimen had been overly zealous to "render unto Caesar...."[2] With his passing came renewed hope that, in the era of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, his successor would vigorously represent the Church's interests.

When previous patriarchs had died earlier in the twentieth century, considerable time had lapsed before a successor was chosen—in the case of Pimen's predecessor, Patriarch Aleksii, an entire year had passed. On this occasion, however, the Sacred Synod of Moscow seemed to leap into action, and on June 7, less than five weeks after Pimen's death, the Council of the Russian Orthodox Church

elected as their new head an Estonian, Metropolitan Aleksii (Ridiger) of Leningrad and Novgorod, who was subsequently enthroned. Two critical questions immediately arose in the Church Abroad: 1) Was Patriarch Aleksii II *freely* elected, rather than appointed by the government and then "ratified" by the council, as had been done with the previous three patriarchs? 2) What is his "character?" In essence, what can be expected of him, and can we work with him?

With regard to the election, a priest of the Church Abroad in Washington, D.C., Protopriest Victor Potapov, queried Archbishop Kiril of Smolensk, chairman of the Department of Foreign Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate. One week before the election, Potapov was told, "Your question concerning interference by the authorities in the procedure to elect the patriarch must be answered in the negative. It would just not be possible. I am profoundly convinced that, under the new conditions which exist in the Church...any attempts to exert pressure on the episcopate or on anybody would be costly...."[3] Implicit was an astonishing admission that previous patriarchs had not been freely elected.

Furthermore, Metropolitan Antonii (Bloom) of London, a member of the Moscow Patriarchate, declared that "if the [civil] authorities would influence the decisions of the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church, in such an event the Council would be *uncanonical* and this would signify the end," as he expressed it, "of the Moscow Patriarchate and its role in our new world."[4] This, of course, had been precisely the Synod Abroad's objection to Patriarchs Sergii, Aleksii I, and Pimen—that they received their "exalted place" in the Church through government interference and were thus, *ipso facto*, uncanonical.

Following the election, Bishop Basil (Rodzianko) of the Orthodox Church in America (who had been present in Moscow at the time of the election and therefore privy to all the behind-the-scenes "talk"), confirmed that Patriarch Aleksii was indeed freely elected because, first, there had been many candidates and several secret ballots (unusual in itself), and, secondly and more importantly, the new patriarch is not of Russian blood (he is an Estonian of German descent)—an hitherto unheard-of development. "From my perspective," Basil concluded, "this is a real victory for the Church."[5]

The Russian Synod Abroad, however, remained skeptical. As Fr. Victor Potapov observed, "It is hard to imagine that the atheists simply surrendered their position and let the Church decide unhindered

such an important question as the election of a new Patriarch."[6] However, this opinion was clearly based upon *psychological* ambivalence, rather than *factual* evidence. The wariness born of decades of exile would not budge.

Patriarch Aleksii II's character was also scrutinized by the Russian Church Abroad and, generally speaking, was found wanting. The most serious objection was based on 1974's Furov Report, confidentially prepared for the Central Committee of the Communist Party by the deputy chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs. This document "rated all bishops according to their 'trustworthiness' in the eyes of the state. Aleksii II is ranked...[with] those bishops completely subordinated to state atheism who...realistically recognized that our state is not interested in elevating the role of religion and of the Church in society, and understanding this, they do not display any particular energy in spreading the influence of Orthodoxy."[7] Additionally, other documents testified to "his willingness to denounce his fellow bishops, well beyond the call of 'duty.'"[8]

On the other hand, even though the Communist Party had rated him highly two years prior to his election, Aleksii II had outspokenly "lamented Communism's mass murder of clergy and destruction of churches."[9] Furthermore, shortly after his election he announced that "the time has come to make a definite break with the past, when a priest was little more than a functionary."[10]

Exactly a month before the death of Patriarch Pimen, there had been unexpected but official stirrings in the long-slumbering Russian Church. On April 3, 1990, the Sacred Synod had issued an unexpected and detailed eight-page "Declaration" in which there was, for the first time since the death of Patriarch Tikhon (who has, not coincidentally, since been canonized by the Patriarchate) an open admission that the Church had been ill-served by her subservient attitude to the state. With unusual candor, the document spoke of the "persecutions" and "liquidation" policies of the state, of believers being "broken," and tragic "compromises" by churchmen. It acknowledged that the Church had been severely weakened and clergy did not "always safeguard living ties with one another." Although there is no sense of actual repentance for ecclesiastical mistakes and the compromises of the past, the declaration explicitly called for "genuine rebirth" in the Church, "serious reorganization," and "profound changes."[11]

This departed dramatically from the explicit propaganda that had appeared only a few years before. For example, in the 1982 book

The Orthodox Church in Russia, published by the state solely for foreign consumption, we read that the Russian Church had willingly chosen an "inconspicuous" role that consisted of a "patriotic duty to instill within the young...a conscientious civic responsibility...and fervent service to the interests of [Soviet] society."[12]

To date, as far as can be determined, the Church Abroad has had no official reaction to the remarkable Declaration of April 3, 1990. On the contrary, the Synod in Exile appears to have hardened its position concerning the Patriarchate, while at the same time taking advantage of new freedoms and possibilities within the Soviet Union.

In the 1980s, it was widely rumored that the Russian Church Abroad had secretly consecrated a catacomb bishop for Russia. Because of rapidly changing circumstances within the Soviet Union, this was finally confirmed in 1989. Bishop Lazarus, who had been secretly operating in the underground Church since 1982, emerged and openly took his place as the free leader of a quite remarkable new chapter in the history of Russian Orthodoxy.

Lazarus's mother had died in the terrible famines of the 1930s. As a young man, he had joined one of the underground churches, where he had contact with many catacomb figures—extraordinary elders (*startsi*), pious wanderers or pilgrims, and simple believers. During this time he was secretly tonsured a monk, but in 1950, at the age of nineteen, he was arrested, tortured, and imprisoned for five years because he belonged to an illegal group that refused to recognize the Stalinist "election" of Patriarch Aleksii I.

Upon his release, he immediately joined a catacomb church that believed grace still remained with the Moscow Patriarchate—"because, dogmatically, there were no violations concerning the Orthodox teaching about the Holy Trinity and the Mysteries [sacraments] were performed according to the rules of the office"—but which refused to accept the canonical legitimacy of the Patriarchate.[13]

Although Bishop Lazarus, following his secret consecration in 1982, continued his hidden work in the catacomb movement, the situation in the Soviet Union—now known politically as the Commonwealth of Independent States—has changed so dramatically that he and his followers are now operating openly, with little or no fear of reprisal under the current circumstances. It is believed that there may be as many as a score of parishes and clergy (and the number is growing rapidly)—many of whom have left the ranks of the Patriarchate—that

consider Lazarus their bishop and commemorate as their chief shepherd not Patriarch Aleksii II, but Metropolitan Vitalii of the Church Abroad.

However, while acknowledging the high moral authority of the Church Abroad, at least one believer in the Soviet Union (evidently a lay member of the Patriarchate) expressed grave reservations about this development. Writing on May 14, 1990, this individual, who requested anonymity, begged the Church in Exile not to create any further divisions than already existed:

> Today there is nothing more terrifying for Russia and for its church people than schism. The country today stands on the verge of civil dismemberment. Only the one Orthodox Church can...save the people and the country from historic ruin....We repeat: the situation in the government and in the Church is extremely unstable. It is possible that soon circumstances will turn in such a way that the opening of parishes of the Church Abroad in the territory of Russia will be a necessary step. But today, it would be a mistake which would only anger the Moscow Patriarchate and move it to take retaliatory action.

Meanwhile, at a meeting held in the first week of May 1990, the bishops in exile had already presented their reasons for making such a significant incursion into the territory of the Mother Church: the Church Abroad was opening these parishes precisely in response to urgent requests from some clergy and laity belonging to the Patriarchate and others in the catacomb Church, who

> ...are appealing to us to cover them with our *omophorion*, to impart grace to them. Our pastoral conscience tells us that we not only can, but we must help them, investigating in each case the reasons which impel them to turn to us. However, we are approaching this, our new ministry, with great caution, trusting in the help of God, for what is impossible for man is possible for God.[14]

As one Synod publication expressed it:

> Clearly, this era of *glasnost* has seen a number of positive developments with regard to Church life in the Soviet Union....Nevertheless, contrary to popular demand that the Moscow Patriarchate disassociate itself completely from State interferences [as the Romanian Orthodox Patriarchate had just recently done], the present hierarchy shows no intention of liberating itself from its "sweet captivity."[15]

Although it would have been completely unheard of only a year or two before, in the summer of 1990 two hierarchs of the Russian Church Abroad, Bishop Hilarion of Manhattan and Bishop Mark of Germany, went to the Soviet Union openly and unimpeded, and concelebrated with Bishop Lazarus in St. Constantine's Church in the historic village of Suzdal. The clergy of this parish, together with an estimated 5,000 parishioners, were received into the jurisdiction of the Church Abroad. By early 1991, it was expected that the "Free Russian Orthodox Church" (those in the Soviet Union belonging to the Church Abroad) should have its own parish in St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad).

Thus, in the eighth decade of her long and hard sojourn in exile, the Church Abroad finds herself at an unexpected moment in history. Having survived decimation through two world wars and many schisms, having lost many of her English-language mission parishes and clergy, there has now suddenly opened up new, if very dangerous, possibilities for the near future, the shape of which no one can begin to perceive. Meeting this future will require immense wisdom and grace. It also demands discernment on the part of the leaders of the Russian Church Abroad—the ability to see beyond the hurts, wounds, and fears of the past, to separate wishful thinking from reality, and mean-spirited gossip from facts. Finally, a successful future requires a strong dose of clearheaded thinking, coupled with a broad and deep vision that is unconditionally and generously open to the promptings of the Holy Spirit. All of this remains yet in the future, and in the hands of God.

14 September 1990
The Feast of the Holy Cross

APPENDIX I

Prelates

At the time of the canonization of the New Martyrs in 1981, there were seventeen bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia. Seven have since died, and only three new bishops have been consecrated. In 1989 thirteen hierarchs were living, three of whom were in retirement, and the average age of the ten ruling bishops was sixty-five. When asked why there are not more new bishops, Synod spokesmen replied that there were few suitable candidates within the monastic ranks of worldwide Orthodoxy to draw from. If so, this does not bode well for the future of the Church Abroad, for it cannot and will not draw candidates from the Patriarchate of Moscow. Although Bishop Mark of Germany is a convert, and Bishop Hilarion—albeit of ethnic descent—is the first North American-born bishop, there appears to be a certain reluctance to elevate eligible candidates from among the convert monastics, of whom there were several possibilities.

Of the ten ruling hierarchs, seven govern Sees in North America, two are in Europe, and one is in Australia.

On the following list, the bishops are given in order of seniority, by date of consecration. Also noted is each bishop's See and his official position (if any) within the Standing Synod, which meets quarterly to conduct the day-to-day affairs of the Church Abroad.

Active Bishops

Metropolitan Vitalii Ustinov (1951)—Eastern United States and New York; first hierarch and presiding bishop of the Synod.

Archbishop Antonii Sinkevich (1951)—Los Angeles and Southern California.

Archbishop Antonii Medvedev (1956)—Western America and San Francisco; permanent member of the Standing Synod.

Archbishop Antonii Bartosevich (1957)—Geneva and Western Europe; first alternate president of the Synod.

Archbishop Paul Pavlov (1967)—Sydney, Australia and New Zealand.

Archbishop Lazarus Skurla (1967)—Syracuse, New York, and Holy Trinity Monastery; secretary to the Synod.

Bishop Alypyi Gamanovich (1974)—Chicago and Detroit.

Bishop Mark Arndt (1980)—Berlin, Richmond, Virginia, and Great Britain.

Bishop Hilarion Kapral (1984)—Manhattan, vicar for the Diocese of Eastern America and New York; deputy secretary to the Synod.

Bishop Daniel Alexandrov (1988)—Erie, Pennsylvania; protector of the Old Rite.

Retired Bishops

Archbishop Seraphim Szezhevskii (1957)—formerly of Caracas, Venezuela and Sao Paulo, Brazil.

Bishop Constantine Essenskii (1967)—formerly of Richmond, Virginia, and Great Britain.

Bishop Gregorii Grabbe (1978)—formerly of Manhattan, Washington, and Florida.

APPENDIX II

Clergy and Parishes

Because of retirement, death, new ordinations, and defections to and from the Church Abroad, it is impossible to report exact statistics for clergy, but the 1988 English-language church directory (there is also a Russian-language equivalent) lists approximately 240 priests worldwide. Of these, 125 priests serve parishes in the United States, with eighteen in Canada.

The other priests are scattered throughout Great Britain, Australia, Belgium, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Luxembourg, and Switzerland. Priests are also serving on Mount Athos in Greece, and in Israel, Morocco, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela, and New Zealand.

For the United States, the directory lists 118 parishes in 29 states, including Hawaii and the District of Columbia. Perhaps a score of these are house-chapels and mission parishes, but the majority are regularly established parishes with anywhere from twenty-five to more than one thousand members each. Many of the smaller parishes do not have a resident priest and are served by "circuit-riding" clergy who are officially attached to cathedrals and monasteries. Retired priests also occasionally assist parishes at Christmas, Easter, and at other religious holidays.

Similarly, overall statistics of lay membership are impossible to obtain. This is partly because parish membership is gauged not so much on the basis of actual registered or tithing members, but primarily on the basis of how many receive the sacraments each year at Easter. In addition, many monasteries and convents also serve as local parishes.

It is estimated that, worldwide, as many as one million people were affiliated in some way with the Russian Church Outside Russia during the 1920s. Schisms and other difficulties in keeping the loyalty of the younger generation account for the considerable attrition that began in the 1930s, and which continues to the present day. In 1981, the

New York Times estimated membership in the Church in North America at 150,000, but this is doubtful. Today, the figure probably does not exceed 50,000 worldwide.

APPENDIX III

Monasteries and Convents

The Church Abroad lists ten monasteries and eleven convents worldwide. Some of these are quite small dependencies of larger monastic establishments. Five monasteries and four convents are located in the United States, with one monastery and one convent (a dependency of the convent in San Francisco) each in Canada. At the present time, there are also two hermitages for women (both in Colorado) which have not yet achieved official status. The others are located in Great Britain, continental Europe, South America, Australia, Israel (where the Russian Church Abroad also administers a number of holy places) and on Mount Athos. Exact numbers of men and women monastics are unavailable, but are probably less than 500 overall.

APPENDIX IV

Schools, Nursing Homes, Publications

The directory lists three schools in the United States, plus the Holy Trinity Orthodox Seminary in Jordanville, New York. There are also schools in Israel, Belgium, Argentina, and Chile.

The Church Abroad administers three nursing homes in the United States, two in Germany, one in Belgium, and one in Argentina.

There are three regularly published magazines and newspapers in the English language: *Living Orthodoxy*, Route 1, Box 205, Liberty, TN 37095; *Orthodox America*, P.O. Box 2132, Redding, CA 96099; and *Orthodox Life*, Holy Trinity Monastery, P.O. Box 36, Jordanville, NY 13361-1390.

In addition to Russian-language magazines and newspapers, there are numerous irregularly issued publications and bulletins in Russian, English, and other languages. Five Russian and/or English presses print dozens of books and leaflets in many languages each year.

APPENDIX V

UKAZ No. 362
The Resolutions of His Holiness the Patriarch [Tikhon] of the Sacred Synod and Higher Ecclesiastical Council of the Russian Orthodox Church

7/20 November 1920

With the blessing of His Holiness the Patriarch [Tikhon], the Sacred Synod and the Higher Ecclesiastical Council united together, have deliberated concerning the necessity, supplementary to the instructions already given in the encyclical letter of His Holiness the Patriarch in case of the cessation of the activity of the diocesan councils, of giving to the diocesan bishops just such instructions in the event of the severance of relations between the diocese and the Higher Church Administration, or the cessation of the activity of the latter and, on the basis of past decisions, we have *resolved*:

By an encyclical letter in the name of His Holiness to give the following instructions to the diocesan bishops for their guidance in necessary cases:

1). In the event that the Sacred Synod and the Higher Ecclesiastical Council for any reason whatever terminate their ecclesiastical administrative activity, the diocesan bishop, for instructions in directing his ministry and for the resolution of cases in accordance with rules which go back to the Higher Church Administration, turns directly to His Holiness the Patriarch or to that person or institution indicated by His Holiness the Patriarch.

2). In the event a diocese, in consequence of the movement of the front [during the Russian Civil War], changes of state borders, etc., finds itself completely out of contact with the

Higher Church Administration, or if the Higher Church Administration itself, headed by His Holiness the Patriarch, for any reason whatsoever ceases its activity, the diocesan bishop immediately enters into relations with the bishops of neighboring dioceses for the purpose of organizing a higher instance of ecclesiastical authority for several dioceses in similar conditions (in the form either of a temporary Higher Church government or a Metropolitan district, or anything else).

3). Care for the organization of a Higher Church Authority as the objective of an entire group of dioceses which find themselves in the position indicated in paragraph 2, is the indispensable obligation of the senior bishop of such a group.

4). In the case of the impossibility of establishing relations with bishops of neighboring dioceses, and until the organization of a higher instance of ecclesiastical authority, the diocesan bishop takes upon himself all the fullness of authority granted him by the canons of the Church, taking all measures for the ordering of Church life and, if it seem necessary, for the organization of the diocesan administration, in conformity with the conditions which have arisen, deciding all cases granted by the canons to episcopal authority, with the cooperation of existing organs of diocesan administration (the diocesan assembly, the diocesan council, *et al.*, or those that are newly organized); in case of the impossibility of constituting the above indicated institutions, he is under his own recognizance.

5). In case the state of things indicated in paragraphs 2 and 4 takes on a protracted or even a permanent character, in particular with the impossibility for the bishop to benefit from the cooperation of the organs of the diocesan administration, by the most expedient means (in the sense of the establishment of ecclesiastical order) it is left to him to divide the diocese into several local dioceses, for which the diocesan bishop:

a). grants his right reverend vicar bishops, who now, in accordance with the Instruction, enjoy the rights of semi-independent bishops, all the rights of diocesan bishops, with the organization by them of administration in conformity to local conditions and resources;

b). institutes, by conciliar decision with the rest of the bishops of the diocese, as far as possible in all major cities of his own diocese, new episcopal Sees with the rights of semi-independent or independent bishops.

6). A diocese divided in the manner specified in paragraph 5 forms an ecclesiastical district headed by the bishop of the principle diocesan city, which commences the administration of local ecclesiastical affairs in accordance with the canons.

7). If, in the situation indicated in paragraphs 2 and 4, there is found a diocese lacking a bishop, then the Diocesan Council or, in its absence, the clergy and laity, turns to the diocesan bishop of the diocese nearest or most accessible to regards convenience or relations, and the aforesaid bishop either dispatches his vicar bishop to administer the widowed (i.e. vacant) diocese or undertakes its administration himself, acting in the cases indicated in paragraph 5 and in relation to that diocese in accordance with paragraphs 5 and 6, under which, given the corresponding facts, the widowed diocese can be organized into a special ecclesiastical district.

8). If for whatever reason an invitation from a widowed diocese is not forthcoming, the diocesan bishop indicated in paragraph 7 undertakes the care of its affairs on his own initiative.

9). In case of the extreme disorganization of ecclesiastical life, when certain persons and parishes cease to recognize the authority of the diocesan bishop, the latter, finding himself in the position indicated in paragraphs 2 and 6, does not relinquish his episcopal powers, but forms deaneries and a diocese; he permits, where necessary, that the divine services be celebrated even in private homes and other places suited therefore, and severs ecclesiastical communion with the disobedient.

10). All measures taken in places in accordances with the present instruction, afterwards, in the event of the restoration of the central ecclesiastical authority, must be subject to the confirmation of the latter.

APPENDIX VI

From the Resolutions and Decisions of the Council of Bishops of 1971 [of the Russian Church Abroad]

Protocol #8

With regard to the question of relations with the so-called Metropolia, *RESOLVED:*

The Council of Bishops [of the Church Abroad], having listened to the report of the Synod of Bishops concerning the so-called Metropolia's having received autocephaly from the Patriarchate of Moscow, approves all the steps taken in due course by the Synod of Bishops to convince Metropolitan Irenei and his colleagues of the perniciousness of a step which deepens the division which was the result of the decision of the Cleveland Council of 1946 which broke away from the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia.

The American Metropolia has received its autocephaly from the Patriarchate of Moscow, which has not possessed genuine canonical succession from His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon from the time when Metropolitan Sergii, who later called himself Patriarch, violated his oath with regard to Metropolitan Pëtr, the *locum tenens* of the patriarchal throne, and set out upon a path which was then condemned by the senior hierarchs of the Church of Russia. Submitting all the more to the commands of the atheistic, anti-Christian regime, the Patriarchate of Moscow has ceased to be that which expresses the voice of the Russian Orthodox Church. For this reason, as the Synod of Bishops has correctly declared, none of its acts, including the bestowal of autocephaly upon the American Metropolia, has legal force. Furthermore, apart from this, this act, which affects the rights of many Churches, has elicited definite protests on the part of a number of Orthodox Churches, who have even severed communion with the American Metropolia.

Viewing this illicit act with sorrow, and acknowledging it to be null and void, the Council of Bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia, which has hitherto not abandoned hope for the restoration of ecclesiastical unity in America, sees in the declaration of American autocephaly a step which will lead the American Metropolia yet farther away from the ecclesiastical unity of the Church of Russia. Perceiving therein a great sin against the enslaved and suffering Church of Russia, the Council of Bishops *DECIDES:* henceforth, neither the clergy nor the laity [of the Russian Church Abroad] are to have communion in prayer or the divine services with the hierarchy or clergy of the American Metropolia.

APPENDIX VII

An Appeal to Those of Our Flock Who Have Followed After Archimandrite Panteleimon

Beloved children of our Church:

It is the cause of indescribable grief to us that you, our beloved spiritual children, have been led astray by the former abbot and now suspended Archimandrite Panteleimon and those pastors whose blind devotion to Holy Transfiguration Monastery has resulted in the creation of a schism within our Church. As archpastors, it is our duty to explain to you that the sin of rending apart the seamless garment of Christ's Holy Church is one of the most serious that man can commit, for it alienates Christians from the Body of Christ, which is the source of grace and salvation.

Fr. Panteleimon and the clergy who have allied themselves with him are claiming, by way of justifying themselves, that the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia and its bishops have fallen away from the Faith and the Truth. Their accusations are utterly false and have no basis in reality. Our Church confesses the Holy Orthodox Faith exactly as She confessed it when many of you embraced Holy Orthodoxy and were accepted as full members of our flock.

Over the course of the years during which you have been under our spiritual care, we have tried, as far as our spiritual strength has allowed, to nurture you, as you yourselves can bear witness. But when certain difficulties arose in connection with Holy Transfiguration Monastery and the Supreme Ecclesiastical Authority took steps to rectify the situation and resolve the problem, Archimandrite Panteleimon and the clergy whose loyalty was to him, instead of submitting humbly to the directives of their canonical ecclesiastical authority, rebelled against our Church and its hierarchs and chose rather to go into schism, enticing you, our beloved flock, away with them by means of spurious arguments and cleverly crafted propaganda.

We would be remiss in our archpastoral duty, therefore, were we not to warn the flock which has left us, as well as the members of the clergy, that the path you have taken will inevitably lead you out of the Church of Christ and into the realm of sectarianism. We beg you, for the sake of the love we have shared for one another, to come to your senses and repent. There is no question that we will welcome you back with joy and gladness into our fold.

May our all-merciful God grant you the wisdom to perceive the error you have made and humility to repent and return to us, your loving fathers in the Faith.

July 15, 1987
/s/ Metropolitan Vitalii

APPENDIX VIII

Primate Metropolitans of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia

1.	Antonii *Khrapovitskii*	1921-1936
2.	Anastasii *Gribanovskii* (d. 1965)	1936-1964
3.	Philaret *Voznesenskii*	1964-1985
4.	Vitalii *Ustinov*	1986-

APPENDIX IX

Patriarchs of Russia

1.	Iob	1589-1605
	Ignatii [anti-patriarch]	1605-1606
2.	Germogen	1606-1612
	Interregnum	
3.	Philaret *Romanov*	1619-1633
4.	Ioasaf I	1634-1641
5.	Iosif	1642-1652
6.	Nikon	1652-1658
	Interregnum	
7.	Ioasaf II	1667-1672
8.	Pitirim	1672-1673
9.	Ioakim *Savelov*	1674-1690
10.	Adrian	1690-1700
	Stefan *Iavorskii* [*locum tenens*]	1700-1721
	Interregnum	
11.	Tikhon *Belavin*	1917-1925
	Interregnum	
	Pëtr *Polianskii* [*locum tenens*]	1925
	Sergii *Stragorodskii* [*locum tenens*]	1925-1943
12.	Sergii *Stragorodskii*	1943-1944
13.	Aleksii I *Simanskii*	1945-1970
14.	Pimen *Izvekov*	1971-1990
15.	Aleksii II *Ridiger*	1990-

FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. According to the Julian Calendar, this date would be March 15; however, because the Russian Orthodox Church adheres to the Gregorian Calendar, the dates used used herein are those of the Old Calendar.
2. Massie, Suzanne, *Land of the Firebird*, p. 13.
3. *Orthodox Life*, (July/August 1981).
4. *Orthodox Life*, (May/June 1982).
5. *Orthodox Word*, (March/April 1971).
6. Arseniev, Nicholas, *Russian Piety*, p. 48.
7. *Orthodox Life*, (May/June 1981).
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Orthodox Life*, (January/February 1988).
10. Holy Transfiguration Monastery, *A History of the Russian Church Abroad and the Events Leading to the American Metropolia's Autocephaly*, p. 6.

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1. *Orthodox Life*, (May/June 1981).
2. Pospielovskii, Dimitrii, *The Russian Church Under the Soviet Regime: 1917-1982*, p. 35.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
4. *A History of the Russian Church Abroad...*, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
6. *The Russian Church Under...*, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
7. *A History of the Russian Church Abroad...*, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
10. *The Russian Church Under...*, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
11. *Orthodox Life*, (November/December 1979).

12. Andreyev, Ivan, *Russia's Catacomb Saints: Lives of the New Martyrs*, p. 257.

CHAPTER TWO

1. *Orthodox Life*, (May/June 1965).
2. *The Russian Church Under...*, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
3. *Orthodox Life*, (September/October 1984).
4. Translated from "Zizneopisanie blazenejsago Antonija, Mitropolita kievskago i glaickago," Tom VII.
5. *A History of the Russian Church Abroad...*, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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1. *A History of the Russian Church Abroad...*, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
3. *Orthodox Word*, (September/October 1968).
4. *A History of the Russian Church Abroad...*, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
5. *Orthodox Life*, (September/October 1975).
6. *Ibid.*
7. *A History of the Russian Church Abroad...*, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
8. *Orthodox Word*, (May/June 1965).
9. *A History of the Russian Church Abroad...*, *op. cit.*, p. 87-88.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
11. *Orthodox Life*, (March/April 1976).
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*

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1. Duncan, David Douglas, *Great Treasures of the Kremlin*, p. 50.
2. *Orthodox Word*, (July/August 1965).
3. *A History of the Russian Church Abroad...*, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 93-94.
5. *Orthodox Word*, (July/August 1965).

CHAPTER FIVE

1. *A History of the Russian Church Abroad...*, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 118-119.

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1. *Orthodox Life*, (May/June 1965).
2. *Orthodox Life*, (May/June 1986).
3. *Orthodox Word*, (July/August 1965).
4. *Orthodox Life*, (November/December 1959).
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Orthodox Word*, (July/August 1965).
7. *Orthodox Life*, (May/June 1964).
8. *Orthodox Word*, (July/August 1965).
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10. *Orthodox Life*, (May/June 1965).
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2. *Orthodox Word*, (January/February 1976).
3. Macris, George F., *The Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Movement During the Period 1920-1969*, p. 77.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 81-82.
6. *Orthodox Life*, (November/December 1983).
7. *Orthodox Word*, (January/March 1966).
8. *Orthodox Word*, (July/August 1969).
9. *Orthodox Life*, (November/December 1978).
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2. "A Second Open Letter to Fr. Neketas Palassis," (March 4, 1978).
3. Letter by Archbishop Lavra to Fr. Neketas Palassis, (March 4, 1978).
4. *Ibid.*
5. Extract from Minutes of Synod Bishops, (February 5, 1985).
6. *Orthodox Life*, (July/August 1984).
7. *Orthodox Life*, (January/February 1982).
8. *Orthodox Life*, (July/August 1984).

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2. Letter to the author, (February 10, 1986).
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4. Letter from Bishop Hilarion to Fr. Neketas Palassis, (March 31, 1986).
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6. Extract from a report to Bishop Hilarion by Consenting Desrosiers, (February 18, 1987).

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4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Orthodox Life*, (January/February 1982).
7. *The New York Times*, (November 2, 1981).

8. *Ibid.*
9. *National Enquirer*, (November 7, 1981).
10. *Orthodox Life*, (July/August 1981).
11. Thubron, Colin, *Jerusalem*, 1976.
12. *Orthodox Life*, (May/June 1979).
13. Thubron, *op. cit.*
14. *Orthodox Life*, (January/February 1982).
15. *Ibid.*
16. Bentley, James, *Restless Bones: The Story of Relics*, 1985.
17. "The Decision of the Council of Bishops of the Russian Church Abroad Concerning the Old Ritual," (September 25, 1975).

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2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Orthodox Word*, (May/June 1973).
5. *Ibid.*
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7. *Orthodox Word*, (May/June 1973).
8. *Orthodox Life*, (November/December 1978).
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10. *Orthodox Life*, (September/October 1987).
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13. *Ibid.*
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16. *Orthodox Word*, (November/December 1972).

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3. "Sorrowful Thoughts Regarding the Election of Alexis II," in *Parish Life*, (July 1990).
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12. Pitirim, Archbishop of Volokolomsk, ed. *The Orthodox Church in Russia*, 1982.
13. *Orthodox America, op. cit.*
14. "Out From the Catacombs," in *Orthodox America, op. cit.*
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Until this volume, no survey of the history of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia has been attempted in the English language. Even the otherwise thorough *History of the Russian Church Abroad, 1917-1971*, is chiefly concerned with the events leading up the schism of the American Metropolia, and is primarily a polemical work. While I have tried to avoid an argumentative or polemical "voice" in this study of the Church Abroad, I have at the same time sought to represent various issues and controversies from the standpoint of the hierarchs of the Church Abroad themselves, as I understand them and as can be reasonably deduced from existing documentation, without indulging in speculation.

To my knowledge, no comprehensive history of this jurisdiction exists in the Russian language. Fortunately, however, a great deal of information is available in English, scattered through many books and articles. I have drawn heavily upon this material in the present work.

Gratitude is expressed to Bishop Hilarion at Synod Headquarters in New York City, who supplied the Russian text and an English translation for Patriarch Tikhon's *Ukaz* No. 362, which appears in full as Appendix V of this book—the first time, so far as can be determined, that the entire text of this decree has appeared in English.

This is not a comprehensive history of the Russian Church Abroad. Restrictions of space and the present impossibility of doing extensive research in the Russian-language archives at Synod Headquarters limits both the scope and depth of this book. Therefore, a number of significant and interesting "themes" could not be explored—such as the controversy surrounding some of the published writings of Metropolitan Antonii Khrapovitskii, or some of the personal differences between various bishops. I have, however, concentrated on the broad outlines of the jurisdiction's origin and journey into exile, first in Eastern Europe and, later, in the United States.

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