

ETUDES  
sur  
la situation intérieure, la vie nationale  
et les institutions rurales  
de la  
RUSSIE

par

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## From Chapter XI on Dukhobors and Molokans - Pages 354-388

The Molokans are generally of a tranquil character, loving order and peace; but among them, one sometimes encounters a religious fanaticism that would seem impossible in a sect so seemingly tolerant and spiritualist. Shortly before my journey to the Saratov governorate, a Molokan had rushed like a madman into the ranks of a procession taking place in the city of Nikolaeff, snatched an icon from the hands of a participant, and trampled it underfoot. His triumph was short-lived; for, recovering from their initial stupor, the people swiftly delivered justice and beat him to death on the spot.

Among the Molokans, vague traditions were once preserved about the heroic deeds and marvelous exploits of a Western hero. When Napoleon undertook his campaign against Russia, they believed they saw in him the lion of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, spoken of in their old psalms, coming to dethrone the false Emperor and restore the crown to the true White Tsar. The Molokans of the Tambov governorate thus decided to send him a delegation, dressed in white, to greet him. These peculiar envoys crossed Little Russia and penetrated Poland as far as the Vistula, where they were taken prisoner. Only one managed to escape and return to his country; the others disappeared, and nothing has been heard of them since.

It would be impossible not to regard the Molokans as a Christian sect; but the same cannot be said of the Dukhobors, especially when examining their doctrine. The era to which the Dukhobors trace their origins is as uncertain as that of the aforementioned sect; but in all likelihood, they are more recent than the Molokans. One might even suppose that this sect arose from Molokanism and, having developed simultaneously in several parts of the empire, eventually merged into a single system under one name. \*)

*\*) The Dukhobors themselves know nothing of their origin and history. They simply claim to descend in a direct line from one of the three young men who, refusing to worship the image of Nebuchadnezzar, were cast into a furnace. They possess no written documents, no chronicles to support this myth.*

The name "Dukhobors" was given to them by Archbishop Ambrose of Yekaterinoslav, who was tasked in 1785 with investigating their doctrine. Here is its meaning: *Dukh* means "spirit" or "soul," and *borisa* means "to struggle." Thus, there is a double meaning; for it is not said whether they struggle *for* or *against* the spirit. It is likely that Ambrose gave them the epithet "Dukhobors" (struggling against the spirit) in the latter sense; but the sectarians, who adopted this name themselves, took it in the opposite sense and called themselves "strugglers for the spirit." The common Russian people call them *Yarmagon* (Freemasons). \*\*) Sometimes they were even called *Otschelniki* (Recluses) and *Ikonoborzi* (Iconoclasts).

*\*\*) This circumstance deserves serious attention. Around the same time, the Illuminati made their presence known in the West. By what singular instinct did the people come to give the Dukhobors (strugglers for the spirit, the Illuminati) the name of Freemasons? In the work of St. Martin (*Des erreurs et de la vérité*\*), a book recognized as classic by French Freemasonry, the teaching on the fall of the soul before the creation of the world is developed in much the same manner as among the Dukhobors. Who can know what secret relations and invisible bonds unite humanity in different parts of the globe?*

The Dukhobors first appeared in the Yekaterinoslav governorate but soon spread to all parts of the empire: in old Finland, on the island of Ösel, in Moscow, Kaluga, Kursk, Voronezh, Kharkov, Tambov, Saratov, among the Don Cossacks, in the Caucasus, at Irkutsk, and as far as Kamchatka. (See *Certain Reports Between the Lower Dnieper and the Sea of Azov*, by Köppen, St. Petersburg 1845, p. 56).

As for their doctrine, we would go too far if we attempted a detailed exposition. It forms a complete theological and mystic-philosophical system, full of truly grand insights, remarkable above all for the force of reasoning and rigorous logic that distinguish it.

Unable to provide a full extract, I will confine myself to offering a brief idea of it.

In 1791, the governor of Yekaterinoslav, Kakhovsky, conducted an inquiry into this sect. Obligated to explain their doctrine and beliefs, they responded with a truly admirable written statement, the beginning of which I translate here word for word:

"From all time, we have been unskilled in speech. Writers are dear, and for us, who are confined, it is not easy to seek them out. Our declaration must therefore be very imperfect. It is by drawing your attention to these unfortunate circumstances that we beseech you, O Lord, to pardon poor peasants, little accustomed to wielding the pen, for the disorder of ideas, the obscurity and inadequacy of expressions, the gracelessness of language, and the crudity of words. If we clothe eternal truth in coarse words, deign not to reject it; for by itself, without this foreign envelope unrelated to its essence, it is beautiful from all eternity." \*)

*\*) How did simple Russian peasants, without education, without any instruction, not even knowing how to read and write, manage to arrive at such profound speculative ideas? By what means did they attain this philosophical language? Do we not recognize in it traces of Gnosticism? The Sabellians and later the Abrahamites had on this subject ideas nearly similar.*

This citation and the exposition that follows prove that, despite this modest admission, these simple peasants, so unaccustomed to handling the pen, were far superior in style and intelligence to the governor himself, whose report appended to this declaration shines neither in ideas nor in style.

Here is how they speak of God:

"God is one, but one in the Trinity. This Holy Trinity is a Being unfathomable to the human mind. The Father is the light, the Son the life, and the Holy Spirit the rest. The Father appears and reveals Himself in man through memory, the Son through reason, and the Holy Spirit through the will." \*\*)

*\*\*) This doctrine is completely Gnostic. Saturninus and Basilides taught it in the second century of the Christian era. Even Origen seems to approach it somewhat.*

The Dukhobors do not distinguish three distinct persons in the Trinity existing simultaneously: they admit only one Being, but one that reveals itself in three ways, under three different forms).

"The human soul, the image of God, is of celestial beauty. This image reproduces itself in us through memory, reason, and will. The existence and fall of the soul precede creation; it fell from its first greatness to descend, with many other spirits, into a spiritual world). (When I asked the Dukhobors whether, according to them, the soul existed from all eternity or was created in time, as an emanation of God, they gave me no answer). This is why, they say, one must not give Adam's fall the meaning commonly ascribed to it. The biblical passage describing the first man's sin is but a symbolic tableau representing, first, the soul's fall into the ethereal world of spirits before its appearance on earth; second, Adam's moral and corporeal fall in the earliest days of creation; and third, the fall that renews itself daily in humanity and will continue until the end of time. The first fall was caused by excessive pride and unbridled self-love, which turned the soul away from its adoration of God. To punish the guilty soul, the Creator imprisoned it here below in the body of man, and it was then, in the person of Adam, that it fell a second time, seduced by the tempting serpent, a symbol of the perverse appetites of the flesh. Even now, the fall repeats itself daily among men, whom the sin of their common father delivered to the mercy of the spirit of evil. The loss of the divine image was the consequence of the first fall, and that of the second, its imprisonment in matter. Man's memory weakened; he lost the remembrance of what he had been, his reason grew obscure, and his will became perverse. Thus Adam appeared on earth, no longer remembering his celestial origin and former greatness, possessing only a reason veiled in darkness and a weak, depraved will. \*)

*\*) The Dukhobors' belief in the fall of the soul preexisting creation is either a philosophical axiom accepted as a starting point—and then one wonders how these simple peasants could have arrived at this idea—or a remnant of Gnostic tradition, come, in some manner or other, from the West.*

Nevertheless, the fatal consequences of his second fault were not transmitted to his posterity; for each man here below can sin and achieve salvation by himself. Although Adam's sin is not the source from which sin flows, and though each mortal thus has free will, the faculty to act freely,

there is nonetheless no man blameless or exempt from sin; for each of us is born with the innate germ of evil).

On the other hand, his sojourn on earth is considered a place of purification, where the soul, enclosed in its carnal envelope and guided by reason and will, can obtain pardon through a just life or aggravate its fault through new misdeeds and incur eternal punishment. Our body is the receptacle or asylum given to our soul during its earthly life. It is the limpid water of the elements in the boiling stew of the world, this world of the Creator, where our spirit is refined and purified to become eternal and perfect. It is the cherub with the flaming sword barring our path to the tree of life, to God, to the supreme hearth, where we shall merge with the Divinity. And it is then that the will of God shall be accomplished in every man."

Foreseeing from all eternity the fall of the flesh and man's insufficiency to rise again by his own strength, God, in His infinite love, descended to earth to clothe Himself in a human body, satisfy eternal justice, and atone, through His sufferings and passion, for the faults and sins of humanity.

Jesus Christ was the Son of God and God Himself.

"It must be observed that in the Old Testament, He is represented only as the supreme wisdom of God, penetrating nature at the creation of the world to animate it, and later coming to vivify the letter and the divine word revealed. Christ is the voice of God instructing men through the book of the world and the Holy Scriptures; the power that, under the image of the sun, marvelously illuminates Creation and living beings; the force that appears in weight, number, and measure; the spirit of God that resides and acts in us from the beginning of time, whereas in the New Testament, He is the incarnate spirit of divine wisdom and truth; the essence of supreme love and the purest celestial joys, descended to earth, the visible source of consolation, peace of heart, moderation, and chastity."

Thus, one sees how consistent the Dukhobors are in their doctrine and with what rigorous logic their idea of Christ's divine nature aligns with their dogma of the Trinity. The expressions are figurative, vague, sometimes even obscure, but perfectly suited to the thought. They were in prison, before a severe judge, fearing to offend received opinions, and yet it is easy to perceive that they do not regard Jesus Christ as one of the three persons forming the Trinity. They see in Him only the force and spirit of God, revealing itself visibly in nature and humanity. In this sense, as they further say, every true Christian may be called a son of God, because, inspired from on high, he receives from the Supreme Being the spirit of wisdom and truth, or, to use their expression: *"He receives spiritually the imprint of the seal that elevates him to the dignity of a son of God, as Jesus was in the flesh."*

It appears that in 1791, the Dukhobors did not wish to express themselves more clearly or that since then, their doctrine, having developed, has attained a higher degree of clarity and precision.

The sectarians of Malotschna, whom I had the opportunity to know myself, had said to Johann Kornies, already mentioned: *"Christ was the Son of God, as we too may be. Believe us, our elders know even more than Christ; question them."* \*)

\*) *It would be curious to draw a parallel between the doctrine of these simple Russian peasants and that of our ancient philosophers like Jacob Boehme on the one hand, and our young Hegelians like Strauss, Feuerbach, and Bauer on the other. What contrasts, points of resemblance, and analogies! As for the flat rationalists, they are sad logicians compared to these supposed barbarians. I hold in my hands a rather interesting little work. Der ideale Protestantismus, by Wilhelm Hanne, Bielefeld 1845, containing an overview of the different doctrines current in our day. I borrow from it the following passage, translated word for word, and containing a truly singular resemblance to the teaching of the Dukhobors, page 177: "One must understand the dogma of the Trinity in this sense, that the universal spirit of humanity is the Son of God, of the same essence as the Eternal Father, and that, becoming temporarily man, it tends to make of each individual a son of God." Page 179: "One must likewise believe that in the person of Christ, God eternally saves the world and unceasingly reconciles Himself with it. But the historical Christ must not be regarded as the true redeemer and reconciler of men; it is the work of the ideal Christ."*

"Christ was a man like us, for He was born of the flesh. He dwells in us; for conceived spiritually, as in the womb of the Virgin Mary, He is born in the spirit of every Christian. Soon He withdraws into the wilderness, that is, into the flesh, where He is tempted by the devil, who makes the sensual appetites, pride, and thirst for honors and worldly goods speak within Him. When He is strengthened in us, He addresses words of teaching to us; and after many persecutions, He undergoes death on the cross; He descends into the tomb of the flesh, rises on the third day, resplendent with celestial glory in the soul of those who suffer until the tenth hour of the evening; resides in them four days, enflames their heart with divine love, and leads the soul to heaven, where He places it on the altar of God as a holy and pleasing offering."

It follows, then, that the Dukhobors do not directly deny Christ—that is, His birth in the flesh or His incarnation here below—but they understand this mystery as His birth and presence in the spirit of man. Regarding the miracles He performed, they say: *"We believe He performed miracles; for we ourselves were blind, deaf, and dead, and He restored us to life. But we do not know whether He performed any external or material miracles."*

Relying on this distinction, the Dukhobors demand of the Christian faith in the birth and existence of Christ within us, but they do not admit that belief in the historical Christ is indispensable for salvation. According to them, Christ truly resides only in the Dukhobors, and they alone truly know Him: in all other men of different religions, He slumbers or is dead.

This belief imprints a particular character on the entire existence of the Dukhobors and divides them into two distinct tendencies. The first is a mystical, austere, almost ascetic tendency, stemming from the importance they attach to rising from the original fall through penitence and a life of atonement. The second is a certain propensity for quietude and serenity of the soul, produced by the conviction that Christ resides invisibly within us. The morality of the first is somber and severe. According to it, passions, good or evil, are the direct source of evil in man, and as the earth is but a place of exile and the human body a prison imposed on the soul as punishment for its first fall, one must disdain the world and its deceptive joys and scorn the pleasures of the flesh. For this reason, all passions must be condemned, even those that, having nothing criminal or reprehensible, produce a useful or beneficent result in society, such as the pursuit of glory and honors; for this desire springs from pride, the unfortunate cause of the soul's first fall. The Dukhobors who adhere to this austere tendency condemn without exception all sensual pleasures, even the innocent joys drawn from contemplating the beauties of nature, the love of flowers, and the song of birds. However innocent and pure these enjoyments may be, they believe they must forbid them because, by seducing us, they might end by taking too great a hold and chaining us completely.

The Dukhobors of this severe tendency do not approve of the second tendency, which they regard as a lower degree of development. Though they do not refute the truth of the Quietists' principle, they declare it superficial and suitable only for those who have not yet risen to the point they themselves have attained. *"When our faith is true and strong, we receive Christ inwardly: He awakens in us, and then we ourselves become Christ and God. Sin henceforth becomes impossible, and all we do is just and good; for it is God who acts in us and not human imperfection; then we become impeccable and infallible, even if our actions outwardly appear evil or erroneous, and it suffices that we do a thing for it to be equitable and good. And all that others do, of a different faith than ours, is on the contrary evil, even apparent good."*

Here are their ideas on social relations:

"All external distinctions have no value and mean nothing. At bottom, all men are equal; for they all sin and are equally subject to temptation. One may employ the services of others, have servants and attendants; but it does not follow that he who has entered our service is thereby our slave or inferior. Despite this voluntary submission, he remains no less our equal and brother."

By analogy with the family and domestic life, they extend the same ideas of equality and fraternity to the entire nation, the state, and the authorities, but, of course, they speak on this subject only with caution and prudence.

They develop with the same logic the idea of the church, by which they understand only the sect of the Dukhobors and not the assembly of all Christians.

According to these sectarians, the Holy Scriptures are truly of divine origin, but they have a mysterious and symbolic meaning, which only the Dukhobors are given to know. The story of the fratricide Cain is a figure of the persecutions exercised by the unfaithful sons of Adam against the true church, represented by Abel. The confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel is the schism that arose in the Christian church. Pharaoh drowning in the Red Sea is but the image of Satan, sinking with all the powers of hell into the sea of eternal flames, traversed without peril by the elect, notably the Dukhobors. The New Testament, too, is but images and symbols: for example, the water turned into wine at the wedding at Cana is the invisible union of Christ with the soul, contracted in the heart of the Christian, where the water of tears of repentance is suddenly changed into celestial wine, the nectar of angels, the drink that procures all the beatitudes and joys of paradise.

"This clearly proves," they say further, "that in interpreting the Holy Scriptures, it is not possible to be guided by one's reason alone, and still less by the generally received opinion or that accredited by the church: the only certain sign, the only infallible guide, is inner inspiration, the voice of the Holy Spirit enlightening us and putting us on the path of truth; consequently, this interior interpretation, coming as if from above, is superior to the Scriptures themselves, which are but the result of the influence exercised by grace and not the immediate product of the divine spirit."

The Dukhobors do not admit the sacraments recognized by the Orthodox Church and give those they believe they receive inwardly an even more mystical and symbolic meaning than the Malakans attach to them. In their 1791 confession of faith, the Dukhobors still seemed to respect the sacrament of marriage and rejected only the external ceremonies that usually accompany it. The sectarians of Malotschna, on the contrary, spoke of it as a rather frivolous thing. *"The basis of marriage being the consent of the betrothed and love, whose nature is divine, the measure that regulates the duration of the union of heart and soul, it follows quite naturally that these ties may be dissolved by the free consent of the spouses and the cessation of love between them); \** for as soon as love cools and dies, the divine basis of the conjugal union crumbles and dissolves, and then the continuation of relations between husband and wife would be but an immoral and criminal commerce."

Regarding the sacrament of ordination, they say: *"Every man truly enlightened by faith and the divine word must offer his own prayer to God."* In the 1791 confession of faith, one finds on this subject a remarkable quatrain placed at the end. I give it translated word for word:

*What am I, then? A temple to glorify the Eternal,  
At once the edifice, the priest, and the victim.  
Let our heart be the altar; our will, the offering;  
The Pontiff, our spirit, chosen to observe this law.*

In summarizing this doctrine, one sees that the Dukhobors have no church and consequently no worship. Each regards himself as isolated before God and without spiritual relation to his co-religionists, who gather not to pray but to instruct one another. Nevertheless, the need for connection inherent in human nature, the tendency toward sociability common to the species, are stronger than principles and impel these sectarians, as if against their will, to assemble and admit ceremonies attended by the whole community. Among some Dukhobors, one even finds rooms exclusively devoted to prayers, but their walls are completely bare, with neither images nor crucifixes. In the middle is placed a table with bread and salt.

In the Tambov governorate, the sectarians gather on certain days of the year \*);

*\*) They do not celebrate the Sabbath, Sunday, or the feasts established by the church, but they have particular festivals whose significance is unknown. It is probable that they are connected with the mysteries of their belief.*

... the men on one side and the women on the other, arranged by age, they sing in unison a hymn whose words are usually fragments borrowed from the prophets. The prayers, hymns, and psalms are extracted from the Bible and usually relate to some detached passage. They never, for example, recite an entire psalm of David. When the singing is finished, the sectarian placed second turns to the first, bows twice, embraces him, and then bows again as deeply as the first two times. The third sectarian does the same toward the second and the first, and so on to the last. Then it is the women's turn. This purely symbolic ceremony indicates their belief in the presence of the divine spirit in each of them. When they meet or visit one another, they observe the same ceremonial, pronouncing the following words: *"I am the Lord thy God: thou shalt have no other gods before me."*

During my journey, the Dukhobors of Malotschna no longer had rooms for prayer and gathered in the open air. During these assemblies, the two sexes are separated and come together only to greet one another. The men and women take each other by the right hand, bow three times, and pronounce some words whose meaning is unknown to me. These three bows also relate to the Trinity, and the kiss that accompanies them is the symbol of the bond of love and fraternity that unites them, a homage rendered to the wisdom and omnipotence of the spirit that resides in them.

Apart from these public gatherings, they also have mysterious assemblies whose significance is not yet fully known. Nevertheless, it is almost certain, and there are even positive data on this subject, that they have secret ceremonies accompanied by atrocious customs and revolting orgies. Even those who have returned to the bosom of the Orthodox Church refuse to speak of them and maintain a fearful silence. All the sectarians know of them, but only a very small number actually take part. Here is the information I have managed to obtain, though I do not believe it sufficient to reveal the full immorality of these practices.

In 1800, some persons from Novgorod, closely linked with the Dukhobors, obtained their permission to attend one of their gatherings. During the ceremony, they noticed with astonishment that the sectarian charged with reading the Gospel was the subdeacon of the Church of St. Sophia. His name was Ivan Ivanoff, and he secretly belonged to the Dukhobor sect. When the Gospel was finished, the sectarians sang a hymn in chorus, striking their knee \*)

*\*) This usage also exists among the sect of the Skoptsy (eunuchs), of whom we have already spoken.*

... with their right hand. This ceremony was repeated four times after each Gospel; then they tasted, one after another, a liquor contained in a vessel and parted in silence. The witnesses of this ceremony, addressing the reader to learn the nature of this beverage, received only an evasive reply.

In some Dukhobor communities, on a certain day of the year, a young boy dressed in white is placed on an altar, and the whole congregation prostrates before him, adoring him as the image or rather the symbol of the divine spirit dwelling in them. \*\*)

*\*\*\*) During the Revolution, the more chivalrous French adored the goddess Reason under the image of a young and graceful girl. The Dukhobors also adore in this adolescent the Λόγος, the divine wisdom. Thus we see that nothing is new under the sun and that all here below is but vanity.*

It is said that the Dukhobors possess two written works. The first is titled *The Key of Reason or the Mystery*, and the second contains their doctrine. To this day, no one has been able to obtain them. Even Mr. Johann Kornies, whom they regard as a benefactor and for whom they all have the greatest attachment, could not succeed in getting them to show these works to him, despite his urgent requests and considerable offers of money with which he hoped to tempt them. They gave him in writing only one psalm and two of their prayers. Here is the translation:

### **Psalm 1**

*Who is this if not John, the new Moses, conceived of the divine word in the womb of the Virgin Mary? God gives us profound teachings; the flesh must be crucified and man redeemed, says the new Moses; but it is necessary, for eternal redemption, that the Son of God, Jesus Christ, become man, and that we confess and believe that our Lord Jesus Christ is the Son of God and man at the same time. It is through the human mouth that the Almighty speaks. Now appears the kingdom; look to the East, where Mount Zion is situated; it is there that you must go to behold it. From the heart of the mountain gush springs of living water that wash away the stains of the children of the daughters of Israel. The heavens stretching above Zion are inhabited by the blessed, clothed in a garment of snow, sown with golden stars. These same heavens celebrate the*

*glory of God and proclaim it aloud to the ends of the earth. When the end of the world comes, the heavens will open, lightning will flash, thunder will roar, the children of men will tremble with fear, and the earthly kingdom will be shaken to its very foundations. Then all the peoples of the earth will gather in the land of the White Tsar; then will appear at last the throne of the new David. Great will be the terror in the house of David when, in the form of an archangel preceded by the celestial trumpet, the Lord descends to earth to sit on the throne of the new David and judge the living and the dead! Then the archangel Michael will sound the celestial trumpet and begin the struggle with the old serpent, whom he will overthrow; Abel will pursue him with the living word, cast him from his throne, and destroy his power forever. Then the Lord will utter the word Amen! So be it! Rejoice, O heavens; for the Lord will reign in His kingdom from eternity to eternity.*

## **Interpretation of the Dukhobors**

### **Psalm 2 \*)**

*\*) Thought by this translator to be the source of the modern version of the psalm, "Doukhoritz Tot" ... more on this to follow.*

*What does the Dukhoborets represent if not St. John, Moses, and Christ? What is said of the incarnation of Christ is accomplished in him. The Divinity resides in the flesh, which is the word of God, with which and through which He signals and expresses His infinite wisdom. The flesh is martyred here below by man, but the inner Being that invisibly inhabits it passes, after the death of the carnal envelope, into a more perfect body to be redeemed. It is necessary that this superior Being, this Son of God, Jesus Christ, have a mouth to speak and at last be a man; for it is through the human mouth that the Eternal expresses Himself. The Eastern kingdom and Mount Zion are taken in a figurative sense, representing the Dukhobor community. The center of the mountain is but the spirit of divine wisdom and the power of the God-man dwelling in them. The springs of living water are the word that gives eternal life, and the blessed clothed in white symbolize their virtues, which will triumph over the world or the earthly kingdom, whose end approaches. Then the Dukhobors will rise to the great terror of humanity. The leader of the Dukhobors will then be the only respected king, and around him all men will gather. But this era of glory will be preceded by a time of sadness and trials; the struggle will be terrible, but the Dukhobors will achieve victory and ascend with glory to the throne of the world to reign from age to age.*

## **Prayer Recited in Their Assemblies**

*To whom shall I turn if I leave Thee, O my God? Where shall I go to avoid Thy holy presence? Shall I ascend to the heavens, Thou art there; descend to hell, Thou art there still; take the wings of the dawn to transport myself to the farthest limits of the sea, everywhere I shall find Thy hand*

*to guide and protect me. To whom shall I go, and whom can I love, if not Thee alone, my eternal life, Thee, my only Creator? Where shall I find a refuge surer than Thee; more consolations for my soul, more joy and rest? For whom would I abandon Thee, O my God! Thou who art the word of eternal life residing in me. Thou art the source of life, the dispenser of all good. My soul thirsts for Thee; my heart beats only for Thee, God of my life and all my being. Let me die of celestial bliss in pronouncing Thy holy name; in naming Thee my sweet Jesus. My heart and soul are wounded forever, and nothing can be dearer to me here below than Thy divine spirit. Thy name is sweeter to my mouth than the sweetest honey, and Thy approval, O Lord, more precious than gold and pearls.*

## **Second Prayer**

*With whom shall I seek refuge, and whom shall I love on earth, if not Thee, my God, who art my life? Thou art my honor, my glory, my wealth, my expectation, my hope, and my eternal treasure. In Thee I place my joy and tranquility. Can I love a perishable good more than Thee, my supreme life? Thou art the breath that animates me, and Thou art my salvation: in Thee I place my trust and hope, all my desires and wishes. It is Thee I call with the fullness of my heart; it is toward Thee that my soul soars; it is toward Thee that all the forces of my spirit tend. My voice addresses Thee; it is in Thee that my heart pours itself out; I wish to be in Thee and Thou in me. I adore and recognize in me Jesus Christ, the only true God whom Thou hast deigned to place in me. In Thy light we shall recognize the grace of Thy divine spirit.*

It appears that the Dukhobors have never had a supreme leader of the entire sect. The communities are sometimes in conflict with one another and seem to have no relations among themselves. From time to time, an isolated leader arises who exercises complete authority during his life over the community in which he was born or to which he belongs.

Thus, toward the second half of the 18th century, in the village of Nikolsk in the Yekaterinoslav governorate, appeared Silvan Kolesnikoff. The Dukhobors who in 1791 were subjected to the inquiry mentioned above spoke of him many years after his death with great respect and veneration. They even consider him the founder of their sect in the Yekaterinoslav governorate. It is said that he knew how to read and write, which was very rare among peasants of that time. Endowed with much natural wit and great eloquence, he led an austere life, which earned him the respect of all the sectarians. Possessing considerable wealth, he loved to do good, and thanks to the natural sway his character exerted over the crowd, his house soon became the center where all the interests of the sect were debated. He devoted Sundays and feast days to teaching and was soon recognized by all the neighboring Dukhobors as the master or rather the supreme leader of the entire sect. On his death, he transmitted his authority to his two sons, Cyril and Peter, who retained it throughout their lives.

But the most interesting of all the leaders whose names have come down to us is undoubtedly J. Kapustin, about whom his neighbors, the Mennonites colonized along the Malotschna, communicated to me a host of curious details.

Complete obscurity envelops his birth and life until his appearance as a sectarian leader. If certain rumors are to be believed, he had been a serf, and his lord had made him a soldier for some fault or crime whose nature is not specified). \*)

*\*) This would be an exception to the rule, for it has been observed that the doctrine of the Dukhobors is spread only among the free peasants of the crown, the Cossacks, etc., and never among the class of serfs.*

He left St. Petersburg to settle, as a retired non-commissioned officer of the guard, in the Tambov governorate, among the Molokan sect, which was very numerous there. It is not known for certain whether he already belonged to the sect or adopted this belief after settling there; the fact is that soon after, he set himself up as a prophet and began his preaching. The number of his proselytes quickly became very considerable. This new teaching, introduced among the Molokans, soon gave rise to a host of religious dissensions and disputes among them, the followers of the new leader choosing to separate from the parent sect and settle in the Melitopol district of the Tauride governorate.

As early as 1801, the remainder of the Dukhobors from the village of Nikolsk in the Yekaterinoslav governorate had obtained from Emperor Alexander permission to settle, in the number of 30 families, on the Malotschna. Favored by their position and sheltered from vexations and arbitrariness, the colony soon became very prosperous and attracted the attention of Dukhobors from all other parts of the empire. It was to this colony that Kapustin's disciples were to join after their departure from the Tambov governorate. The authorities raised no objection to granting them permission.

Kapustin followed them as well. The charm of his person, his handsome and imposing figure, his brilliant qualities, his genius, his eloquence subjugated all minds; all submitted willingly to him and accepted his authority: he reigned over them as an absolute king or rather as a prophet. While teaching his doctrine, he did not neglect his private interests. Acting with great prudence, he strove to strengthen the Dukhobors' belief in metempsychosis (the transmigration of souls, better known as reincarnation). He taught that Christ is reborn in every true believer; that every man is imbued by the divine spirit; and that the Word, in incarnating itself, had become, like all the works that issue from the almighty hand of God, a continuous and eternal manifestation, reproducing itself ceaselessly on earth; but that each man formed here below, as long as the world exists, a separate being, a distinct individuality. The first time God wished to incarnate Himself, He chose the body of the purest and most perfect man on earth, that of Jesus Christ, and that is also why the soul of the Redeemer of humanity became the purest and most perfect soul in

the world. Since the realization of this divine mystery, God has not ceased to inhabit the earth and animate the body of all the faithful; but the soul of Christ, sublime in its lofty origin, in undergoing the law of metempsychosis, has also passed into the body of a man. Did not Jesus say: *"I shall remain among you until the end of the ages?"*

Thus, from century to century, passing from generation to generation, the divine soul of Christ has resided in a succession of men. But by its superior origin and a special grace of God, it has preserved, during its temporary sojourn in the imperfect body of a child of men, the memory and consciousness of its divine extraction. During the first centuries of Christianity, this truth was known to all, and every believer could say who was the man whose mortal remains served as a tabernacle for the soul of Christ. Respected by all, this privileged man was the guide of all Christians, the judge and supreme arbiter of all religious dissensions. The man in whom the soul of Christ dwelt was then called Pope. But soon false Popes arose who, usurping this dignity, mounted the throne of the Son of God. Jesus retained near His person only a small number of the faithful, as He Himself had said in the New Testament: *"Many are called, but few are chosen."* These chosen ones are the Dukhobors, among whom Jesus always resides, animating one of them with His soul. *"Such was Silvan Kolesnikoff, of the village of Nikolsk, whom many of you perhaps knew. He was truly Christ, as I am now, as truly as the heavens shine above my head and my feet tread the earth. In truth, I am Christ, your Lord, I say to you, prostrate yourselves and adore me."* And all truly fell to their knees to adore and serve him. The Dukhobors settled in nine villages situated on the Malotschna. In 1833, the population numbered approximately 4,000 souls.

Kapustin introduced among them the community of goods. The cultivation of the fields was done in common; only the harvest was divided. Storehouses of abundance were established; several branches of industry were introduced successfully, among others the manufacture of belts and pretty woolen caps. The colony rose rapidly and became very prosperous.

Around 1814, Kapustin, accused of proselytism, fell into the hands of justice and was thrown into prison, but he was soon released on bail. From that day, the most complete mystery enveloped his life. Soon after, he was declared dead and buried, but the authorities, who had good reasons not to credit these rumors, had his tomb opened and the coffin exhumed, in which they found a corpse with a long red beard, whereas Kapustin was dark and had always shaved his. The rest of the face and the other parts of the body were no longer recognizable. For some time, Kapustin's wife had been living on an island at the confluence of the Malotschna and the Sea of Azov. She was only half a mile from the village of Terpenie, Kapustin's usual residence. Soon, under the pretext of going to buy horses in Luhan, the most influential Dukhobors constantly requested passports and made long absences. The authorities became suspicious; they raided the house of the supposed widow and ordered searches in the vicinity, but these led to nothing. It was only later, in 1820, when Kapustin was already truly dead, that young Kornies discovered near the former dwelling of this leader an underground passage that had probably

served as his refuge during the last years of his life. I visited it as well. A very narrow opening, formerly closed, it seems, by a door, led from the shore by a zigzagging passage to a kind of grotto, at the back of which were placed a bed and a stove. Light entered from above through a boarded conduit, the orifice of which, at ground level, was covered with brushwood. After Kapustin's death, the dignity of Christ passed to his son. During his life, Kapustin had taught that the soul of the Savior, residing in him, had the power to pass at will into the body of another man and that it was his son who was called to harbor this celestial guest after his death. This son was named Illarion Kalmykov. To exempt his child from military service, Kapustin had sent his wife, while she was pregnant, to his father-in-law Kalmykov, where she gave birth to young Illarion. When her confinement was over, she returned with the child to her husband, who married her a second time and adopted his son, whom he passed off as his own. Illarion was fifteen when his father died. To have offspring from him as soon as possible, the Dukhobors gave him, from the age of ten, six young girls as concubines. But the father's genius had not been transmitted to the son. He soon took to drink; disorder spread among the sectarians: the community of goods lost its rigorous application and reality, and complete decadence succeeded in the colony to the state of prosperity it had enjoyed under the father's authority. Illarion Kalmykov died in 1841, in exile at Akhaltsikhe, leaving behind two young children, the last hope of the Dukhobors. They hope that, having reached the age of thirty, one of them will follow in the venerated footsteps of the grandfather and reveal himself as Christ.

The disorder that erupted in the colony after Kapustin's death gave rise to a host of abuses and internal quarrels. The leaders and elders of the sect seized authority and abused it to the point of despotism. During his life, Kapustin had instituted a council composed of thirty counselors, among whom twelve fulfilled the functions of apostles near his person. When he was no longer there to impose order and regularity with his powerful hand on the internal government of the commune, the council arrogated all power to itself and directed all affairs, even under the weak reign of his son, too insignificant and too null to dare or wish to oppose this illegitimate encroachment. Moreover, too many individuals had been initiated into the mysteries and secret practices of the sect: it naturally resulted in distrust and fear among the members. They feared intrigues and betrayal, and to remedy this, the council of thirty erected itself into a cruel and bloody tribunal of inquisition. It established as a principle the following maxim: *He who denies his God must die by the sword*. Now, one easily conceives what a terrible weapon they delivered to intriguers, the ambitious, and slanderers. The house in which this tribunal held its sessions was called *Rai i muka* (Paradise and Torture). For executions, they had chosen an island at the mouth of the Malotschna. The slightest suspicion, the faintest appearance of apostasy or betrayal, sufficed to be put to torture and cruelly executed. In the course of two years, nearly 400 individuals disappeared forever, leaving almost no trace. An inquiry, unfortunately too belated, put the authorities on the trail of a host of atrocious crimes that remained unpunished. They found men buried alive, mutilated and dismembered corpses. The commission charged with conducting the inquiry took four years, from 1835 to 1839, to compile and clarify the facts. Finally, the emperor ordered that all the Dukhobors of Malotschna be transferred and colonized

in the provinces of the Caucasus, to be subjected to rigorous surveillance. Only those who consented to return to the bosom of the Orthodox Church were to be exempted. This order was communicated to them by the governor-general of New Russia and Bessarabia, Prince Vorontsov, whose proclamation follows.

**The Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia to the inhabitants called Dukhobors, of the village of Efremovka.**

**Proclamation**

All acts condemned by the Orthodox Church or contrary to good order and public tranquility are severely forbidden by the laws of the empire, which pronounce a severe and merited punishment against all who permit themselves to violate them. These laws derive from the authority instituted by God, and it is in consideration of their divine origin that each and all are obliged to observe them rigorously. He who revolts against this authority consequently disobeys the orders of God.

You, Dukhobors, have renounced the dogma adopted for centuries by the state church, and through both ignorance and error, you have formed and admitted a particular belief incompatible with the internal peace of the church. Not content with setting yourselves in opposition to religion, you have, by your conduct and acts, disturbed public tranquility. As refractory, resisting superior orders, you have long merited severe chastisement, but the emperor Alexander, of blessed memory, had hoped, by gentleness and pardon, to bring you back to the path of duty and truth. In his paternal mildness and indulgence, he consented not only to forget all your faults and turn aside from your guilty heads the punishment you had deserved but also ordered that, instead of leaving you, as before, scattered in all places and living as if in hiding, you should be united in a single commune, assigning you considerable lands with all the enjoyments attached thereto. For all these graces and benefits, he demanded of you only to respect the laws, to live in peace, and not to harm public tranquility. In what manner have you acknowledged all these kindnesses? Scarcely had you been installed on your new property when, in the name of your belief and by the orders of your religious leaders, you committed atrocious crimes: you tortured and martyred men whom you then put to death; you gave asylum to malefactors and criminals escaped from the hands of justice; you concealed and hid from the knowledge of the authorities the crimes and misdeeds of your brethren and never ceased for a single instant to be rebellious and insubordinate to power. It is for these acts, contrary to all divine and human laws, that many among you have been cast into prison and will receive the punishment they merit.

All your crimes are discovered, and the innocent blood shed by you calls upon your guilty heads the rigor of the law. By your actions, you have rendered yourselves unworthy of the indulgence and pardon accorded you by His Majesty, and you have exhausted the patience of the authorities, who have at last become convinced that public tranquility requires you to be transferred to

distant regions where you can no longer be harmful to your fellow men. Informed of all your misdeeds, His Majesty the Emperor has ordered that all individuals belonging to the harmful sect of the Dukhobors be colonized in the Transcaucasian provinces. Nevertheless, His Majesty grants you the following graces:

1. Each shall be assigned in the district of Akhaltsikhe, in the governorate of Imeretia and Georgia, a portion of land equal to that which they have had until now. Those colonized in said province shall not be exempt from recruitment.
2. The emigrants shall be permitted to sell or take with them their movable goods.
3. A special commission shall be charged with assessing and estimating the immovable property and shall deliver to each emigrant a sum of money proportionate to the value of the abandoned property.
4. Those who possess real estate in their own right may sell it to private individuals or cede it to the crown for monetary compensation. Those who, by the time fixed for emigration, shall not yet have alienated their property, may not remain there beyond May 15, 1841.

His Imperial Majesty at the same time orders me to inform you that those among you who consent to abjure their heresy, to return to the bosom of the Orthodox Church, our universal mother, and to follow the belief founded by the Savior and the apostles, shall be exempt from this measure and may remain, as before, in their village. They shall moreover retain all their movable and immovable property. For its part, the authority promises them particular protection and favor.

To make known to you the will of our most gracious Sovereign, I send you your civil governor, the actual state councillor Mr. de Mouromtsoff and the collegiate councillor Mr. de Kloutschareff. I advise and beg you to give particular attention to all the points indicated above and to communicate to me your opinion in this regard.

Odessa, January 26, 1841.

*(Signed)* Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia, Count Vorontsov.

In consequence of this ordinance, the greater part of the most compromised sectarians was transferred to the Caucasus with their families, amounting in all to 800 individuals. In 1842, 800 more were sent, and in 1843, 900. A great number, however, preferred to remain in the country and submit to the imposed condition. Some have returned from their place of exile, where their situation is generally rather sad, and have asked to convert to the Greek religion. It is more than probable that this conversion is not sincere and is at bottom only a submission, more apparent than real. If the government established good schools among them and sent them capable, pious, and well-intentioned priests, there would be much greater chances of success, and instead of making them only hypocrites, it would achieve true conversions.

Mr. J. Kornies told me the following anecdote: In 1816 or 1817, two Quakers, Allan from England and Stephen Grellet from Pennsylvania, made a journey to Russia. At that time, it was claimed that the Dukhobors and the Quakers had nearly the same doctrine. Emperor Alexander, to whom these two travelers were presented, received them with extreme kindness and urged them to go among the Dukhobors to verify the fact. They thus went to the banks of the Malotschna, where the director of the Mennonite colony, State Councillor Contenius, arranged for them an interview with the most influential sectarians. Kapustin was already dead or hidden in his retreat. They had a religious colloquy. The discussion was conducted through an interpreter and lasted half a day. On the side of the Dukhobors was a certain Grishka, a peasant full of wit and reason. All his responses were marked by great reserve, sometimes even evasive and enigmatic; but the Quakers were not discouraged; they held firm and finally cornered the sectarian. He had to comply in good grace and answer categorically with yes or no. *"Do you believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and the second person forming the Trinity?"* the Quakers finally asked him. *"We believe simply,"* he replied, *"that Jesus Christ was a virtuous man and nothing more."* Upon hearing this blasphemy, the two foreigners nearly fell backward and, covering their eyes with their hands, cried out in terror: *O darkness!* The next day they got into their carriage and returned home.

I took advantage of my stay among the Mennonites of the Malotschna to approach the Dukhobors, whom Mr. Kornies offered to introduce to me.

On July 26 (old style), August 7, 1843, we went to the village of Bogdanovka, where a Dukhoborets, particularly known to my companion, received us with great hospitality. Soon half the village gathered at my host's house and around it. The appearance of the dwellings, their interior arrangement and distribution, differed in no way from the houses of other peasants in the vicinity. Only a greater comfort, more order and cleanliness, were noticeable. The men, women, and children I saw, both in the street and in the houses, struck me by the beauty of their forms, their vigor, and an air of health truly remarkable \*).

*\*) One cannot be astonished at this when one knows that the Dukhobors kill, without any form of trial, all rachitic, deformed, or unhealthy children. They say: "The soul, this image of God, must always inhabit a noble, healthy, and strong body. If we find it enclosed in an envelope unworthy of it, our duty is to free and deliver it from this prison. The soul thus freed from the bonds that hold it captive can at least, by the law of metempsychosis, choose a more suitable body. It is not murder, for the child has not yet self-consciousness. It would be another matter if we took the life of a grown man: then we would commit an assassination."*

The interior of the house where we stopped resembled all Russian peasant dwellings; only I did not see there the holy icon with a little lamp burning, which always adorns one of the corners of the room. The conversation soon turned to a religious subject, and though my ignorance of the Russian language prevented me from understanding its meaning, I could not but marvel at the

ease and assurance with which the sectarians expressed themselves and at the intelligence shining in the gaze of the two principal orators of the group, one an old man with a white beard, the other a man aged at most thirty. Whenever they had to touch upon principles of a lofty order and the fundamental beliefs of their doctrine, they did so with a skill, reserve, and tact truly admirable. They expressed themselves with a profusion of metaphors, allegories, and words of double meaning that would have done honor to the most practiced dialectician. Fearing to give them umbrage and startle them, I unfortunately could take no notes in their presence. I shall therefore speak only of the general impression this interesting conversation produced on me. It was a singular mixture of truly sublime thoughts and the grossest, most material applications, especially when, descending from the sphere of abstraction, they came to practice or real life. Here I at last understood how excessive mysticism can lead to atheism! The worship they render to themselves leads them to deny the real existence of God. Good or evil, virtue or crime, have meaning and value only insofar as they relate to the self or the non-self. The Dukhoborets is as impeccable as God, and he who does not belong to their sect is the wicked one, incapable of acting honestly, and all he does, even apparent good, is but crime and sin \*).

*\*) Would they not have reached the point where reconciliation with the Christian church would be easy? Having, so to speak, developed their doctrine to its ultimate consequences and finding there no satisfactory solution, would they not naturally be led to return to Christianity, so consoling, so fruitful, so well adapted to all the needs of the soul? Such, at least, is my opinion. But to attain this end, the cooperation of the government is necessary, as I have already observed above. What a noble task and what a work of humanity it would accomplish if it accepted the role of reconciler and brought back into the bosom of the Orthodox Church these strayed sheep. To succeed, it would suffice to institute good schools and send among them enlightened and wise priests to prepare the way. Russia should not lose sight of this grave question nor shut its eyes to the dangers that may arise from the depths of this doctrine.*

After this colloquy, we visited several dwellings to acquaint ourselves, as far as possible, with the mysteries of the domestic life of the Dukhobors. On this occasion, Mr. Kornies pointed out to me the singular relations existing among them between parents and their children. This singularity stems from the nature of their religious principles. The act of procreation serves by itself as the basis of no bond. The soul, the image of the Divinity, knows no earthly father. The production of the physical body, borrowed from the matter of which it is the son, establishes no kinship, save that which exists between the seed of the plant and the soil in which it is born. It matters not to the soul what prison or body it must inhabit. It has but one father \*),

*\*) As they always have biblical citations on their lips, they cite on this subject the following verse: "You are all brothers, and call no man on earth your father; for you have one Father, who is in heaven."*

God, and one mother, matter, nature, or the earth. This is why the Dukhobors never give the name of father and mother to the authors of their days; they call them only the old man and the old woman. For their part, the parents never say: my children, but: our children, that is, belonging to the commune. Husbands call their wives sisters.

Yet the laws of nature, the instinctive love for children, prevail against principles and triumph over the subtleties of the spirit: thus I noticed among them only the greatest affection for children and filial respect, which particularly characterizes the lower class of the people in Russia. The only difference is that they carefully avoid all outward signs and demonstrations.

I asked them why they did not submit to the regulations of the Russian church, since, according to their principles, it is perfectly indifferent to observe or not observe religious practices and ceremonies. Having accepted secular authority and submitted to the political laws of the country, they might just as well have admitted the established worship and recognized the spiritual power. They replied that Silvan Kalmykov had taught them to submit to the laws and regulations established in the country and to accept, at least as regards external worship, the ordinances of the church. *"He preached to us,"* they told me, *"to be of the Greek religion in Russia, Roman Catholics in Poland, and Muslims in Persia or Turkey."* Moreover, they claimed to know from a reliable source that some of their co-religionists settled in Persia had submitted to the worship of Islam \*).

*\*) The Bohemians have, as is known, the same religious principles. In Turkey they let themselves be circumcised; among Christians, baptized; in Catholic countries they pass for Catholics, and for Protestants in regions subject to Protestantism.*

Despite their superb disdain for the goods of this world, the Dukhobors are nonetheless litigious, greedy, and ill-disposed toward their neighbors of another religion. When a part of the Malakans of the Tambov governorate came to settle on the Malotschna, the Dukhobors made so many complaints that the newcomers had to be installed between the Mennonites and the Tatars.

The steppe formerly belonged to the nomadic tribe of the Nogai Tatars. Those of the Budjak horde had settled not far from the Malotschna. Extending more and more, the Dukhobors soon invaded the rich pastures of their neighbors, which they had long coveted, and expelled the poor Tatars. The latter complained to the local authorities, but the Dukhobors, adroit and mostly wealthy, managed through lies, cunning, false oaths, and perhaps corruption to have the disputed lands awarded to them. The poor Tatars, whom this unjust act deprived of pastures necessary for their herds, were obliged, to the number of 600 individuals, to emigrate to the banks of the Danube.

On July 28, I visited with J. Kornies the village of Terpenie, which for many years had been Kapustin's residence and the principal seat of the sect's internal government.

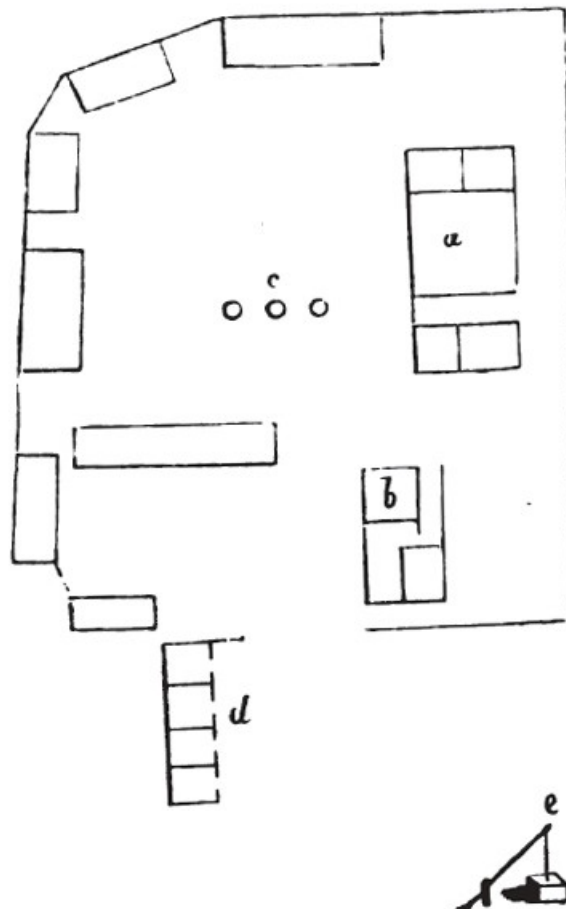
Terpenie is situated in a very picturesque region, on the steep banks of a rather swift little river. The bank is crowned with trees and shrubs. The village resembles all Russian villages; only it had a sad and uninhabited air, for the greater part of the inhabitants had been transferred to the provinces of the Caucasus. The small number of peasants who remained had preferred to convert to the Greek religion. We directed our steps toward Kapustin's dwelling. It stood in the center, on a little elevation dominating the village and backed by an angle formed by the junction of two hillocks. To the right of the road and a hundred paces from the main entrance was a well, and opposite, on the other side of the road, three or four little wooden huts, lined up side by side, with a door and a single window. A wooden carriage gate also led to the interior of the square or courtyard, surrounded by a plank fence. To the left were a few more cells like those I have just described, and to the right, Kapustin's house. Then came inside a second courtyard, with Kapustin's main house, before which were placed three shapeless stone statues, like those sometimes encountered in the midst of the solitary steppes of southern Russia, rising as mute testimonies to the existence of a people erased from the earth and whose very name has been forgotten. Opposite were ranged the rest of the cells, once inhabited by Kapustin's twelve apostles and thirty counselors. We entered with a Dukhoborets who had passed to the Orthodox Church into the house of their former leader. The interior was sad and solitary; the doors and windows, open for many years, let in the wind, which whistled on all sides. It had two stories, and a long gallery, in the form of a balcony, extended along the second. It was on this gallery that Kapustin would place himself to preach and speak to the sectarians gathered in the courtyard. When he had finished, the crowd fell to its knees and adored him. At other times he would sit in a large hall: the men entered by one door and the women by another; then all advanced in procession to come, one after another, to kiss his hand and receive his blessing. It was also in this hall that later sat the terrible tribunal of the inquisition and that was installed "paradise and torture." Every corner, every place, every partition had, it was said, a name and a particular significance, but the Dukhoborets, our cicerone, whom J. Kornies questioned on this subject, gave us only an evasive reply and then retreated into a somber silence. Below was a room without windows, destined for the mysteries and secret practices of the sect, and in which Kapustin and his confidants sometimes indulged in disgusting orgies.

The morning was fine, the sky pure and serene, but the sight of this deserted dwelling, forgotten in the midst of a gloomy solitude, with its three hideous statues and the memory of the lugubrious and bloody scenes that had taken place there, produced on me a painful impression.

This Kapustin bore a striking resemblance to John of Leiden, the king of the Anabaptists of Münster. Even the religious principles of that sect have much analogy with those of the Dukhobors.

Is it not very surprising that this simple Russian peasant, whom, according to our modern ideas, we rank in the class of semi-barbarians, should have succeeded in founding a theocratic state of

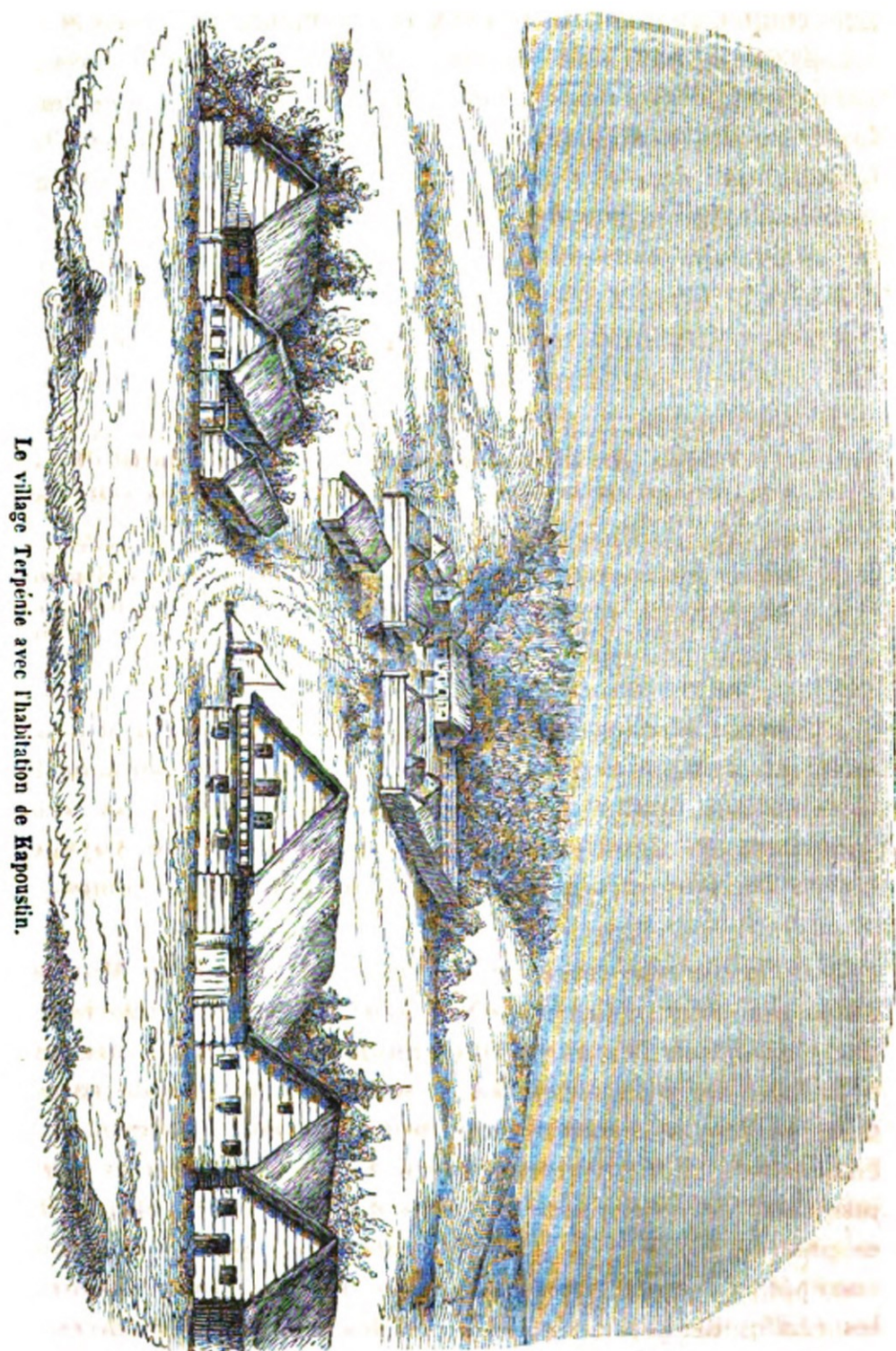
4,000 souls, or in realizing a Platonic utopia based on Gnostic-Christian principles, and in maintaining it flourishing for so many years!



**Habitation de Kapoustin dans le village de Terpénie :**

- a. Maison principale de Kapoustin.**
- b. Petite maison de ce chef.**
- c. Les trois statues ou babas.**
- d. Maison contenant les cellules.**
- e. Le puits.**

Les autres bâtiments étaient habités par les disciples et les conseillers de Kapoustin, et dans quelques autres se trouvaient les granges, les remises, les écuries etc.



Le village Terpenie avec l'habitation de Kapouslin.