

О

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The sect of the Dukhobors has attracted particular attention and study due to their way of thinking about matters of faith and their mysterious nature, which presents itself to the observer. The Dukhobors' view of religion differs not only from the pure teachings of our Orthodox Church but also from all the schismatic sects existing in Russia. In their doctrine, as in the latter, falsehood and truth are strangely mixed, but even in this mixture, a different spirit, foundation, and direction are revealed. Their entire belief, stripped of external church rituals and institutions, is contained within the inner workings of the soul—in the representations of the mind and the feelings of the heart. Meanwhile, this remarkable sect, which has long existed in Russia, has not yet been brought to proper recognition; the historical circumstances of its origin have not been investigated, its doctrine has not been revealed, and its character has not been defined. Most people know about it, if not by name alone, then by partial and not always accurate accounts. This has undoubtedly happened because, during the initial formation of the sect, amidst its restless movements, it was difficult to trace its course, still vague and unclear, and it was hardly possible to accurately observe and strictly evaluate its doctrine, which was not yet fully revealed or sufficiently established. But now, the restless movements that usually accompany the emergence of a new sect in society have subsided; today, it is clearer to see what they want to believe and how its zealous defenders and followers decide to act in their field. Now, it is easier and more accurate to observe the fate, spirit, and direction of the Dukhobor sect.

What, then, constitutes the history of this sect, both external and internal? How did it originally arise, how did it spread in recent times, and what was its fate in various periods of its existence? What is its doctrine in its direction, intellectual and moral, in relation to the Church and the morality of its adherents? What is the course of this doctrine, its foundation, and its relation to other teachings on faith, to the Orthodox Church, and to the state of society? These are the main questions that, by the very nature of the subject, must necessarily enter into the study of the Dukhobor sect.

I

A Brief History of the Sect: Its Origin, Spread, and Fate

The name "Dukhobors" was first given to the followers of a certain sect in Little Russia by the then Archbishop of Yekaterinoslav, Ambrose, and it was undoubtedly given to express the distinctive property of their doctrine. Although this name literally means "those who reject the Spirit" or "those who fight against everything spiritual," it is not inappropriately applied to the sect we are considering; because, while recognizing the special action of the Holy Spirit only in their own followers, they do not recognize His gracious presence in others or in the Orthodox Church itself, rejecting all its mysteries—thus, they are already fighting against the Holy Spirit acting in them. Previously, the Dukhobors were known to the government under the name of "Iconoclasts" because they did not accept any icons. In the full historical account of Priest Andrei Zhuravlev about the Old Believers, they are briefly described under the name "Shelnikov"; but this word did not pass into general use. The common people, as if in reproach of their doctrine, sometimes call them "Farmazovtsy," a word by which they distinguish people who willfully violate church ordinances, especially fasting. The older and now most commonly used name for the Dukhobors is "Molokans," given to them because they consumed milk even on fasting days. However, the Molokans and Dukhobors do not constitute, as was once thought, one and the same sect: these are two separate sects, as we will see later. The Molokans call themselves "truly spiritual Christians," distinguishing themselves from all others, whom they call "worldly."

The investigation of the original origin of the Dukhobor sect can reveal to us the motivating and active causes of the sect, and especially the spirit of its doctrine; from here, from its very foundation, we can trace its course through a continuous series of events up to the present time. But this foundation, this original origin, is hidden in obscurity. The Dukhobors themselves know nothing definitive about their origin; scattered at times throughout Russia and unfamiliar with writing, they could not preserve accurate information about the beginning of their sect over a long period. Therefore, the opinions and traditions preserved among them weakly point to the very source of the sect: let us examine them.

There is an opinion that the Dukhobor sect originally formed in the Tambov province under the name "Molokonovtsy"; from there, it spread to other parts of Russia, secretly sending preachers to Little Russia from time to time to oversee and strengthen the sect planted there. But the Tambov Dukhobors, interrogated in 1802 in the Alexander Nevsky Lavra about the original origin of their sect, pointed to Little Russia as the first nursery of the doctrine they adopted and assured that various individuals who came to them from Ukraine at different times brought this doctrine to them and had long ago spread their way of thinking about faith here. There is no particular reason to doubt the sincerity of this testimony. It was not extorted from them by threats or torture but was revealed voluntarily—not during a judicial investigation, where a lack of trust

in the interrogators sometimes forces one to stubbornly conceal the truth—but during a quiet and peaceful conversation with them. Moreover, this testimony is probable given the historical circumstances. The Dukhobors and Molokans, despite the similarity of their doctrines in the main points, differ from each other in details, and this difference so occupies them that it constantly excites and maintains an ongoing enmity between them: proof that these two sects could not have originated from one another but could have originated from the same source. The spread of the Dukhobors in Ukraine, more significant here than in other places, naturally leads us to the assumption that their doctrine appeared in Ukraine much earlier than in the Tambov province. In which specific settlement in Ukraine, and by whom exactly, was this doctrine formed?

The Yekaterinoslav Dukhobors, in a written confession of their faith (in 1791), submitted to the local governor Kakhovsky, indicated the initial formation of their society in the Yekaterinoslav district, in the village of Nikolskoye. There, the elder Siluan Kolesnikov first appeared as a preacher of the Dukhobor doctrine: his life experience, and especially his literacy—a rare thing among the common people—prejudiced many in favor of his mind; his strict way of life inspired respect for him; his generosity and charity attracted hearts to him; his natural gift for speaking eloquently and powerfully, as much as possible given his meager education, gave his words special persuasiveness. His house soon became a kind of open public school, where all who wished to listen to his teachings gathered; Sundays were especially the days of meetings, during which he presented his doctrine; when death ended his life, his sons Kirill and Petr, who emulated him in everything, continued their father's work and further established the doctrine he had begun. Such testimony from the Dukhobors about the founder of their doctrine is worthy of belief: it is set forth by those who themselves participated in the initial formation of the sect, and at a time when there were still many outside witnesses to the matter itself. However, it is not entirely satisfactory: the Yekaterinoslav Dukhobors, pointing here to how their separate, local society was formed, do not indicate the origin of the universal doctrine. Therefore, even if Siluan was the first preacher of their doctrine among the Yekaterinoslav Dukhobors, it is still unknown whether he was the first in relation to the Dukhobors in general. It is much more likely that he transmitted to others opinions that already existed, developed them—spread what he himself had learned from others; for some traditions, and the very trace of the doctrine, go back much further than the appearance of Siluan on his field.

Several years before Siluan (around 1740), in the Kharkov province, in the village of Okhochye, a certain foreigner appeared, calling himself a retired Unter-Officer (non-commissioned). For a long time, he lived here among the villagers, unknown to anyone, but eventually gained their favor and trust: at their gatherings, he resolved their doubts and gave them advice; in private disputes, he reconciled their disagreements and quarrels, and in household matters, he did not refuse to participate with them in economic affairs. An experienced friend, an impartial judge, a zealous collaborator, he could easily gain their trust and sow the seeds of faith: on winter evenings, free from work, initially attracting the curious, of course, with stories about distant

lands, he cautiously and quietly began to communicate his thoughts about faith to them. His obvious successes and the number of those he convinced forced him to settle here permanently; without a permanent residence, he often changed his dwelling among them, moving from house to house, but until the end of his life, he never changed his way of acting. I believe that this foreigner was a Quaker, because his way of life and the rules he preached are completely consistent with the spirit of Quaker doctrine. Not having any more historical information about him, we cannot now confirm or refute this last opinion; it will be more accurate to judge about him later, when we become more familiar with the spirit of the Dukhobor doctrine itself and more closely understand its relation to the doctrines of other sects.

We do not find any more reliable traditions about the origin of the Dukhobor sect among the Dukhobors themselves; but some traces of their doctrine, more or less clear, extend much further than the traditions we have considered. During the reign of Empress Anna Ioannovna, some fanatics were discovered in Moscow. Their doctrine was soon made public in 12 points by Synodal decrees (printed in 1734, No. 17), from which it is clear that they, among other things, a) believed in internal, immediate revelation; b) invoked the Holy Spirit living in them by dancing and jumping, and then, as if inspired by some force, uttered (so-called) prophecies; c) rejected church rituals—baptism, communion, marriage—or accepted them only spiritually. These opinions constitute the main dogmas and, as said, the first basis of the entire doctrine of the present-day Dukhobors. Similar opinions were known earlier, during the reign of Peter the Great. Even in the second decade of the last century, a former Moscow strelts, Prokopy Lupkin, was captured in Uglich with twenty followers of his doctrine, who also believed in immediate revelation in them, some kind of internal, special descent of the Holy Spirit upon them. They boasted that their opinions were already spread in many places in Russia—and as a result of their perverse teachings, they were all imprisoned in monasteries; despite this imprisonment and other persuasive and strict measures on the part of the government, they remained stubbornly unyielding in their opinions. Where Lupkin borrowed these opinions and what were the further circumstances of his followers—unfortunately, is unknown.

Before the appearance of Lupkin, preachers of his opinions are not found anywhere; and the heresies known in Russia before him either have no relation to the Dukhobor doctrine or have too partial and one-sided a relation. Such, for example, is the relation to it of the doctrine of Kalinsky, which at the beginning of the 18th century was stubbornly defended by the streltsy under the leadership of the doctor Dmitry Tveritinov, condemned with his accomplices at the last Russian Council in 1714: this doctrine, like the Dukhobor teachings, rejects rituals and external church ordinances, but it lacks that immediate, special revelation from the Spirit, on which the entire faith of the Dukhobors primarily rests. Closer to it is the doctrine of the Silesian Kuhlmann, who in 1684 preached in Moscow the doctrine of Boehme and was burned there; but even in this doctrine, the direction is different from that of the Dukhobors: Kuhlmann taught, among other things, that "Jesus Christ must necessarily come once more into the world in the form of a Prophet, with great signs and wonders, and turn all people to the true path, and lead

them with Him into His kingdom"; but the Dukhobors preach not the visible and visible coming of Jesus Christ into the world, but the internal and hidden descent of Him into the soul of each person. And if the traces of the Dukhobor doctrine do not go back to the 17th century, then it is most likely that Lupkin was the first to begin sowing this doctrine, and that it, due to persecution in Moscow and its environs, then moved to Ukraine, grew more freely here, and over time spread to other parts of Russia.

At the same time, it must be recognized that the first seeds of the Dukhobor doctrine were sown in Russia at the very beginning of the 18th century; for we already see their germination in 1715 in the teachings of Lupkin and his followers: during the reign of Empress Anna, in 1733 (the time to which Schirach also points as the beginning of the appearance of the Dukhobors), *the Dukhobor doctrine appears in Moscow, not as something new, but as an expression of what was before—only with greater force, in a larger volume; in the middle of the last century (from 1740 to 1750)*, where some beginnings of the Dukhobor sect are also noted (see Lenz. de Duchobor). Entire sects are clearly formed, divided by place but united in spirit—by different founders but on the same foundations; finally, in 1785 (in which Vater places the origin of the Dukhobors), all the followers of these sects, until then nameless or receiving names at the whim of each, received a definite and constant name—Dukhobors.

The Dukhobor doctrine did not quickly form its followers into a special society, distinct from all others; being transferred from place to place, and so to speak, always moving and alive, it easily left its traces in various cities and villages: it was sown carelessly, as if by chance; for which its seeds could be seen sprouting in all corners of our vast fatherland. The south seemed especially favorable to the Dukhobor doctrine: it grew steadily in the provinces of Yekaterinoslav, Kharkov, Tambov, and the land of the Don Cossacks; it appeared in the Caucasus, spread to Saratov, Voronezh, Kursk; it was noted in the center of Russia—Moscow and Kaluga; it spread to the north—to Finland, the island of Ezel, and the Arkhangelsk province; finally, it penetrated into Siberia—to Irkutsk and even Kamchatka. However, the Dukhobor doctrine, no matter how far it spread its spirit, did not attract people from the higher classes; only the common, uneducated people followed it; a few merchants, artisans—all the rest were peasants—farmers. Among the Don Cossacks, however, there were quite a few in their time who served in the regiments and held officer ranks, but even then, some lower ranks fell into the Dukhobor heresy: but beyond this degree, it never rose.

The very class of people who profess the Dukhobor doctrine can to some extent give us an idea of the means by which it was initially spread and established. Where literacy is unknown, it could not spread through books or writings: if there were among the Dukhobors, as there are now, those familiar with writing, it was not to use literacy as a means of transmitting their opinions about faith to others: some of them could engage in reading some books close in spirit to their way of thinking about faith (for example, the Yekaterinoslav Dukhobors, according to their own words, sometimes read in Siluan's house an old book—"The Key of Understanding");

but this could only serve to further confirm them in the error they had already accepted, and not for its initial acceptance and spread; for in no book is their doctrine contained in the form in which they profess it: sometimes they set forth their doctrine in writing, but not to preserve the unity of their faith among their members, and even less for the easier spread of it throughout all parts of Russia; for they set forth their opinions about faith not for themselves, as was the case, for example, with the Old Believers, but for the authorities, at the request of various external circumstances. We have already seen the main founders of some private Dukhobor sects: those they instructed became preachers of the doctrine for others; there also appeared prophets who dared to openly and loudly proclaim their doctrine to others; but success did not always correspond to their zeal; for it was mostly curbed by the government.

The Dukhobor sect, from the time of its first discovery to the beginning of the present century, was often subjected to persecution and misfortune. Even Peter the Great prescribed strict laws against those who departed from the Orthodox Church; according to his decrees, it was necessary, among other things, "to admonish those who have departed and to exhort them to return to piety, and those who, after admonition, do not wish to correct themselves, to report to the Synod and the Senate." Therefore, as soon as the Dukhobors were discovered anywhere, they, like other schismatics, were sent from place to place, through the degrees of spiritual authorities, for interrogation and exhortation; and since those infected with the Dukhobor heresy persisted in their errors, as can be seen from the example of Lupkin and his followers, they were handed over to the secular authorities, who could not but condemn them and consign them to imprisonment, for the very reason that they saw them as malicious spreaders of harmful opinions and disturbers of public order. The people themselves, as zealous guardians of the holy faith, despised the Dukhobors and avoided them as a plague; they saw with what contempt they looked upon everything that they had received from their fathers as a sacred inheritance of faith—they knew with what disrespect they spoke of the most important ordinances of the Church of Christ, on which faith and hope are founded.

Since the time of Empress Catherine II, many laws in Russia concerning schismatics and heretics have been softened: these laws, without constraining consciences, grant freedom of religion to all and each, *even forbid inappropriate disputes about faith*, and enjoin peace and harmony among the members of the fatherland, even the most diverse in faith : but even with such a change in the laws, the fate of the Dukhobors did not change. During the very reign of Catherine, who wisely noted that persecution only irritates minds , they were constantly hated and curbed. The government condemned and persecuted the Dukhobors at this time not out of a spirit of intolerance, which was not characteristic of it; it was not satisfied with unproven denunciations against them but had the most reliable, most obvious evidence of their guilt; it did not wish to constrain the freedom of their consciences but could not and should not have looked indifferently at the fact that, excited by their doctrine, they openly went against the structure of public welfare and openly began to show opposition to civil authority. Thus, they themselves prepared for themselves that disastrous fate that pursued them everywhere; they themselves adopted that

restless direction of thoughts and actions that armed everyone against them and forced them to be persecuted as malicious criminals. After this, could they seek protection for themselves from the law when they themselves acted against its decrees? The very law, which wished to be the protector of all, for them could not but be a strict judge.

However, when the Dukhobors were persecuted with legal severity, they were not forgotten to be tested with kindness. Emperor Paul I, at the beginning of his reign, used the kindest measures against them *,inspired by indulgence and fatherly concern, caring for the conversion of the erring to the right path; but indulgence met with the violent, fatherly concern—with the ungrateful; they resisted everything when they were restrained by force; they wished to multiply their followers when they were left to their own will. Soon new followers of theirs appeared in Little Russia (in 1799 ; they began to openly preach that the highest authorities in the state were unnecessary—and the hand that had previously pardoned them turned into a punishing one: chained, all of them (about 90 people), as public disturbers, were exiled to Yekaterinburg for mining work, so that they might feel, through this, as it should, "that, being on earth, the authorities are appointed by God for the firm protection of the good, and for the fear and punishment of the evil ."* But the disastrous fate of these people, a strict and deserved punishment, did not yet enlighten similar heretics: "In the Novgorod province, in the village of Chudovo (now), again appeared those who reject the Church and do not recognize the Sovereign and the authority granted to him .". Brought before the civil court, some revealed their errors, confessed their delusions, and declared mercy and forgiveness; others, remaining in the hardness of their hearts and violent malice, carried their delusions and their stubbornness into exile. Then, through all the authorities, courts, and judgments, it was solemnly announced that a similar fate awaited all who in the future would be convicted of the Dukhobor heresy.

The reign of Alexander I began, and the fate of the Dukhobors changed. He intended to pacify them forever; but not with threats and punishments, but with the power of his benefactions. From the very accession to the throne of Russia, turning his vigilant attention to them, the Monarch opposed their errors and stubbornness—wise indulgence and kindness; he did not wish to enter, as had been done before, into the investigation of thoughts about religion, but cared about making them obedient and useful subjects; seeing that they were often subjected to reproaches from the people for their dissent in faith, and on the other hand, could be a temptation for the weak, he thought about the means—to protect them from popular hatred and to set limits to the spread of their error.

It was not easy to find a means that would be both effective and indulgent and prudent; that would lead to the intended goals in a direct and reliable way: however, this means, the most reliable and wise, soon presented itself. In 1801, Senators Lopukhin and Neledinsky-Meletsky were entrusted with the inspection of the Sloboda-Ukrainian province. After a thorough investigation of the Dukhobor sect, which had spread mainly there, after a faithful observation of its spirit and manner of action, they immediately presented to the Sovereign their opinion on the

necessity of relocating its followers to a special place, isolated from others, a thought that fully corresponded to the high intentions of the August Monarch—and therefore it was graciously accepted by him and willingly approved. The most convenient place for this new settlement then appeared in the Taurida province. In the Melitopol district, at the confluence of the Molochnaya River with the Liman, flowing into the Sea of Azov, there remained vast, uninhabited places, which received the name "Molochnye Vody" from the river that irrigates them; and therefore, 30 families of the Dukhobor sect were initially settled there (in 1801); they soon arranged new dwellings here, turned to agriculture, and with joy saw that their labors were crowned with success. When the news of their happy fate reached their like-minded people living in dispersion, then in many the desire arose to move to their co-religionists in their new settlement. Thus, in 1805, the Tambov and Voronezh Dukhobors themselves petitioned the Sovereign for permission to move to the Molochnye Vody, and easily received the Highest permission. From that time, from various places, even the most remote, where they had previously hidden from the pursuing law or were exiled as punishment, almost annually, with the permission and under the supervision of the government, new families of Dukhobors arrived; they moved from the Caucasus, Siberia, Arkhangelsk, Onega, the island of Ezel, and from Finland, *and significantly increased the number of settlers. At present, there are already 800 families, comprising 3,985 souls of both sexes (2,005 male and 1,980 female); they have settled, on the right bank of the Molochnaya River, nine large, well-built villages, namely: 1.) Terpenye, where their volost administration and public house are located; 2.) Bogdanovka; 3.) Troitskoye; 4.) Novovasilievka; 5.) Tambovka; 6.) Rodionovka; 7.) Yekimovka; 8.) Gavrilovka; 9.) Gorbatovka.* Thus, the Melitopol settlement now constitutes the main residence of the Dukhobor sect; there, removed from the hatred of others and protected by the patronage of the law, they have established their external peace and received full freedom for their faith.

It was to be expected that the special indulgence towards their stubborn error, when they rebelled against the authority that was beneficent to them—would not immediately enlighten them and curb the spirit of opposition, which had partly formed under the influence of their doctrine, and even more so had been strengthened by external oppression and persecution: meanwhile, they soon proved that not all among them were capable of properly appreciating such an undeserved gift from the government: they boasted of their suffering for the truth when they were oppressed; now, with the striking and unexpected change of their disastrous fate to a peaceful and calm one, they concluded among themselves that this change was the result of the government's conviction of the truth of their doctrine; if some remained in calm self-satisfaction, others became even more arrogant and daring than before; excited by fanaticism and not feeling oppression, they, in blind zeal, began to openly preach their errors and extend their insolence almost to the extreme. Thus, in the Astrakhan province, in 1802, many Dukhobors, in whole crowds, noisily took to the field and openly began to spread their depravity: summoned to the court of the local government, they not only did not renounce their errors but also refused all obedience and recognition of any authority over them. The main culprits of this rebellion, after being tried, were exiled to Koma for settlement, and the rest were pardoned by the indulgence of the Monarch. In the same year, in

the Saratov province, a teacher—Fanatik—emerged from among the Dukhobors, who persuaded a significant part of a large village, with their wives and young children, to lock themselves in a cave and starve themselves to death or suffocate from smoke. The deluded victims had already been gathered, and the cave was surrounded by fire: but at the very moment of the execution of this insane deed, it was discovered, and the unfortunate ones, against their will, were saved half-dead. Those who realized their error and repented were forgiven; the seducer was exiled to the island of Ezel, to work; and one deluded by him to the point that, in a fit of superstition, killed his infant, was confined to a monastery for penance.

Soon new sects of Dukhobors began to appear, which had previously hidden in the darkness of obscurity out of fear of punishment: but they appeared as if to show even more the wisdom and goodness of the August Monarch. Thus, in 1804, when new Dukhobors were discovered in the Tambov province, by the order of the strictest investigations, the most gentle measures were prescribed by the Sovereign himself, for dealing with them, as could only be drawn by fatherly care and wise foresight. Here are the very words of this remarkable decree, given to the name of the Tambov civil governor Palitsyn. "The Minister of Internal Affairs reported to me, according to your presentation, about the discovered Dukhobors in the province entrusted to you. The general rule adopted for errors of this kind is to do no violence to conscience, and not to enter into the investigation of the internal confession of faith, but not to allow any external manifestations of departure from the Church and strictly prohibit all temptations in this, not as heresies, but as violations of general order and decorum. On this basis, you must manage everything that relates to the affairs of the schismatics: in the present case, take the following into your observation:

"1st. Consult with the diocesan bishop, so that in the villages where there are Dukhobors, preferably appoint meek and well-behaved priests, and confirm to them that they should not enter into any disputes and quarrels with these people, but try to turn them to the path of truth not by disputes and coercion, but solely by the example of meekness and the holiness of life."

"2nd. On the other hand, the civil authorities must observe that the schismatics do not allow themselves to show contempt or rudeness to the priests, and especially do not allow, by openly spreading their heresy, to cause temptation to the Orthodox, for which they should be handed over, as violators of general order, to trial according to the laws."

"3rd. Entrusting the exact execution of these rules to your special observation, I consider it necessary, however, to note to you that as long as no clear disobedience to the established authority is detected in the Dukhobors, it is not proper to judge and accuse them of this crime based solely on the meaning of their heresy, but it is necessary, leaving them calm in their internal confession, to prohibit only obvious temptations, subjecting them to trial according to the laws, as violators of general order and decorum."

"4th. In order for these measures to have more effect, you should not fail, having consulted with the spiritual authorities, to confirm that mutual avoidance of such schismatics should be observed as much as possible—such as, for example, visiting their houses and similar occasions that could lead to disputes and discord."

Thus, from the side of the Supreme Power, everything necessary for the peace of the Dukhobors and the Fatherland itself was arranged: but the Dukhobors, from their side, even after this, did not completely abandon their unreasonable zeal—to spread their doctrine everywhere; and this zeal of theirs, as a product of fanaticism, was mostly accompanied by violations of public order and peace. Thus, in 1807, in Siberia, many of them produced rebellious actions by openly spreading their errors; *but these violent actions did not shake the wise rule, which was once and for all adopted by the August Monarch for errors of this kind: again, they did not touch the way of their thoughts about faith, did not constrain their consciences, but subjected them only to a legal trial, those who became violators of the law; namely, by the Highest Decree, it was prescribed to the Siberian Governor-General: 1) "Dukhobors, convicted of open temptation, violating general order and peace, fit for military service, to be assigned to garrison regiments located in the Siberian provinces; and those unfit to be sent to work—those who are not older than forty years, to the Nerchinsk factories, and those older—to the state-owned Semigansk salt works. 2) In the future, with similar open temptations, with such Dukhobors, who are clearly convicted of this, to act on the same basis.* But even then, when the guilty were to bear the punishment they deserved, some of them, due to their Dukhobor heresy, refused all obedience; sent to the regiments, they did not wish to enter military service, did not wish to accept either ammunition or provisions. Undoubtedly, this stubbornness was an example of a particular case; but does not the guilt of this crime fall, in some way, on the entire Dukhobor sect, if only because it was not the result of any particular accidental circumstances, but the fruit of the suggestions of their generally accepted doctrine?—Meanwhile, even now, it is not proper to judge and accuse them of this crime based solely on the meaning of their heresy; the due punishment of the convicted criminals was preceded by a gentle admonition: for it was prescribed that they should first be made aware of the importance of the disobedience they were committing, for which they were subject to punishment; and only then, if they still stubbornly remained in their opinion, to send them to the Nerchinsk factories for work."

When, in accordance with the Highest command, encounters with the Dukhobors and other similar occasions that could lead to disputes and discord were avoided as much as possible, and when every rebellious action of theirs in society did not remain without just legal punishment, then the violent spirit, not finding food for itself outside its followers, and still encountering wise restraining actions, had to turn and turned on the Dukhobors themselves: the quarrels and rebellions, with which they had previously so often disturbed public order, ceased, but the very sect seethed and was agitated by various disputes, and by this very fact threatened society with a new kind of danger. Therefore, the Kherson military governor, who oversaw the Melitopol settlement, receiving reliable reports of their depraved life and harmful rules, twice addressed the

Minister of Police with representations about the Dukhobors, requesting their relocation from the Molochnye Vody to some other, more remote place. But the August Monarch, who had triumphed over their stubbornness with kindness, and with his benefactions had established a firm barrier to their external rebellions, decided to pacify their internal confusion and unrest also with kindness, with the same benefactions. With this intention, the Sovereign again pointed to the gentlest measures for managing the Dukhobors: the spirit of tolerance and Christian love, in all its fullness and strength, was expressed in His memorable words, written on this occasion to the Kherson military governor: let us cite at least the main ones.

"The departure of the Dukhobors from the Orthodox Greco-Russian Church is, of course, on their part, an error based on some erroneous conclusions about true worship and the spirit of Christianity. This comes from their lack of enlightenment: for they have zeal for God, but not according to knowledge. But is it fitting for an enlightened Christian government to return the erring to the bosom of the Church with harsh and severe means, tortures, exiles, and the like?—And the Orthodox Church, no matter how much it desires to return these apostate children to itself, can it approve measures of persecution, so contrary to the spirit of its Head, Christ the Savior, who left His followers this memorable saying: 'I desire mercy and not sacrifice, and therefore you should not condemn the innocent,'—Guided by this spirit, the spirit of true Christianity, one can best succeed in achieving the desired goal on this subject. The entire settlement of these settlers I entrust to your special and closest supervision and care. Not relying on any reports, you will not fail to personally, without prejudice, look into all the local circumstances of their lives, learn exactly their way of life and behavior, looking at them with the impartial care of a chief who seeks the benefit of the government in the good of the people entrusted to him. The participation of these settlers must be arranged safely. It is necessary that they feel that they are under the protection and patronage of the laws: and only then can one expect from them love and attachment to the government and demand the fulfillment of its laws, which are so beneficial to them. If it is discovered by you, not by someone's report, but indeed in fact, that among these settlers there are deserters, fugitive people; if it is found without doubt that they attempt to seduce others from the general Church to their way of thinking about religion: then applying the force of the law to such illegal actions, it is necessary to put a barrier to them. But even then, it is impossible to allow that for one or several guilty, convicted of a crime, the entire society of these settlers, who did not participate in it, should suffer and be punished. In denunciations and accusations in such cases, a careful analysis is required, from whom these denunciations come, and what could be the motivating reasons for them. Thus, the two Dukhobors mentioned in your representation, who, after converting to the Orthodox Church, showed various crimes on this society and testified to the depraved life in it, could have done this out of malice or self-interest: for it is easy to assume that they were themselves rejected by the society for bad behavior, or left it out of quarrel or enmity. The mere testimony of such, hardly deserving of attention, should not serve as a basis for the initiation of strict investigations, for taking into custody, imprisonment in dungeons, punishment of people not yet convicted of any

evil intent or crime. The very investigation of a suspected crime must be conducted in such a way that in no case should the innocent suffer from it.

The spirit of indulgence and kindness, which guided the August Monarch in relation to the Dukhobors, was revealed in the actions of the government. Soon, the investigations into their faith ceased, and they began to look at them in the same way as at all other members of society, demanding obedience to the state law, without entering into the details of domestic life; they began to indulge even their religious opinions, as far as this could be done without violating public order. Thus, for example, in 1820, when the Dukhobors, when drafted into recruits, refused to take the oath and perform military service because it was contrary to their doctrine: — the State Council, indulging their way of thinking, decided: — "not to exempt them from any state duties, but not to compel them, however, to perform the oath, in whatever form or rite it may be; and this decision was confirmed by the Highest authority forever.

The Dukhobors were also calm on the part of the spiritual authorities. Kindness and peacefulness, which more easily passed to them, were the result of the Royal command, that they are completely consistent with the spirit: the teachings of our Savior, whose servants they are, and that the horrors of the Inquisition were never in use in our Church; and strict measures, sometimes used in it against seducers-heretics, were required by external circumstances. The highest authorities, at the very beginning of the present century, *showed in their dealings with the Dukhobors a spirit of special kindness and Christian love: they opposed their stubbornness with indulgence, their contradictions with admonition, and offered even reproof and enlightenment in the form of conversations, quiet and calm. The examples of the higher authorities became a law for the lower ones. Soon, even those from the clergy, who, by the place of their residence, constantly interacted with the Dukhobors and could always find an occasion for disputes, punishments, mutual displeasures, managed to preserve the spirit of tolerance and peacefulness. Here is how one foreign writer speaks about this when reviewing the Saratov province, where he encountered, among other sects, the sect of the Dukhobors, called there especially Molokans: — "the behavior of the clergy of the dominant Church towards the existing sects shows the degree of spiritual enlightenment. In the Saratov province, there are entire villages whose inhabitants follow the teachings of the Molokans. One must be surprised at the tolerance of the clergy living in these villages, where there are also Russian churches; nowhere is there an example of excessive zeal of the clergy in conversion, nor hatred for religion among the peasants: a happy country where such a spirit of tolerance reigns.*

The salutary measures used by the government and the clergy were not always useless: some of the Dukhobors (for example, in the Kharkov province) were returned to the Church by the actions of pastoral instructions; others were enlightened by the very tolerance of the Orthodox and returned to them with sincere repentance: thus, from the Molochnye Vody, over the past years, about forty families of Dukhobors converted to the Orthodox Church and moved from there to another place . *It is noteworthy that many of them would like to leave their error; but,*

not deciding to move due to economic arrangements; and in the present place, they fear enmity and persecution from their co-religionists. Be that as it may, the Dukhobor sect, at the present time, at least does not increase, as before, with new families of followers; it sees its increase—except in the joining of a few individuals and the multiplication of previous families; and the government, on its part, has taken the necessary measures to remove, as far as possible, obstacles for those who wish to convert from their error to the Orthodox Church: thus, in 1806, the Governing Senate ordered to report about such to its information , in order to either facilitate for them the means of relocation, if necessary, or to protect them by the force of the law to the extent that they may be subjected to enmity and persecution from others, still persisting in their stubbornness. —What, then, is this doctrine, for which many Dukhobors have stood so firmly, and perhaps will stand for a long time? This is the internal side of their sect, constituting the main thing in it, which, therefore, should attract the special attention of the observer.

II.

The teaching of the Dukhobors in the intellectual and logical direction, as applied to the Church and the morality of those who profess it.

The teaching of the Dukhobor sect can be more fully examined, as it has been expounded by some of the Dukhobors themselves, and sometimes observed by outsiders. The first and most important source from which we can draw this teaching is the Confession of the Dukhobors of Yekaterinoslav (in 1791). During the time of their persecution, wishing to justify themselves before the authorities, they composed this confession to present it to the then-governor of Yekaterinoslav, Kakhovsky. — Who was the author of this confession? They everywhere speak in it on behalf of their community, — even in the conclusion they write that they themselves expounded the entire teaching, and apologize for the lack of skill in the exposition: “In language, we are weak before anyone. Scribes are expensive, and it is inconvenient for us, sitting in prison, to seek them: therefore, this our statement is not very coherent. Seeing this, we humbly ask; — for the disorder of thoughts, for the obscurities, for the incompleteness of expressions, for the incoherence in speech, for the impurity of words — do not judge us harshly, the poorly literate; if we have somewhere roughly clothed the eternal truth, and thereby obscured its face, we ask you not to disdain it, for it is beautiful in itself forever.” But this very apology for the lack of skill in writing reveals in the writer an art acquired through learning, and makes one suspect that the Dukhobors themselves were not the expositors of the mentioned confession. Everything extracted here is presented in a good systematic order — not only in general, but also in the details; everywhere in it there are learned distinctions and terms, not used by the common people and hardly understandable to them, for example, Fury, moral, sublime, etc.; we find an interpretation of the rainbow colors; sometimes Latin proverbs and Russian verses, composed according to the rules of school prosody, are introduced; passages from the Holy Scriptures are

sometimes cited not from the Slavic, but from foreign translations, — some are interpreted according to the literal sense; finally, thoughts and judgments are often encountered, the very concepts — of an educated mind, — though not free from error. All this necessarily makes one think that the author of the confession was someone who studied in methodical schools, and one can suspect that he either himself was a heresy teacher of the entire sect; or, that at the request and instruction of the Dukhobors, composing this confession, he gave it a new systematic form and perhaps even invented much that the Dukhobors — the common people — could not have had before. Be that as it may, the teaching expounded by the Dukhobors of Yekaterinoslav cannot but be recognized as the foundation of all Dukhobor opinions: it has been accepted and assimilated by all Dukhobors, at least as a development and completion of what they had before; for in other written works and testimonies about the Dukhobor teaching, we encounter the same thoughts, the same beliefs, though more briefly and in a smaller volume. Such are the following writings:

2. A conversation in 1805, now by His Eminence Metropolitan Eugene of Kiev, with the Dukhobors of Tambov, who were then sent to the Alexander Nevsky Lavra for admonition.
3. The main rules of the members of the Mezhyhirya Dukhobors, in the form in which they publicly profess it, written by them themselves at the request of the governor of Yekaterinoslav in 1816. In addition to these indications of their teaching, which remain in manuscript, there is also
4. A brief exposition of the teaching of the Mezhyhirya Dukhobors at the present time; observations on this teaching were made at the place of residence of the Dukhobors themselves, and, as they say, taken from their own words: this is a brief extract, stolen from the Domestic Notes of Svinin in the XXXIII part for 1828, from pp. 44—58.

These sources, taken together, cover their subject so extensively that we do not need to cite everything that is contained in them; it is enough here to point only to what is distinctive in the teaching of the Dukhobors from our Orthodox Church, more remarkable and essential.

All the mentioned manuscripts were received from His Eminence Metropolitan Eugene. A list of these manuscripts was deposited by Him in the library of the Alexander Nevsky Lavra and

The concept of the Dukhobors about religion in general — reveals the spirit and direction of their entire teaching.

This religion is, in their opinion, nothing other than the knowledge and recognition of God through inner feeling and experience — the enlightenment of man in the way of worship and the work of his salvation, arising directly from revelation, or clarity, inspiration from above, and explaining to him the religion that was revealed to man indirectly — through the Word of God or the Holy Scriptures. Such a religion, according to the Dukhobors, is so necessary for man that

indirect revelation is not sufficient for all mankind, and the Holy Scriptures are understandable and intelligible only in the light of direct revelation. — Religion, illuminated by this revelation, is universal — at least accessible to everyone who is capable of accepting it.

The Dukhobors recognize the unity of God in the Holy Trinity; — they call Him Spirit; but they understand the Trinity in their own special way: — “God is the Spirit of power, the Spirit of wisdom, the Spirit of will,” — said the followers of Siluan; and the Tambov Dukhobors — to the question: do you know the Holy Trinity? — answered;

“The Holy Trinity is an incomprehensible being; the Father is light; the Son is life;

“and the Holy Spirit is peace; and in man it is affirmed: the Father is memory;

“the Son is reason; the Holy Spirit is will: God in the Trinity is one.” Thus, in God, more is refuted by these words than explained and defended; for it appears only as a sequential modification of one being, and not as three distinct persons.

The human soul is the image of God and the heavenly face; this image is nothing else in us but memory, reason, and will. The soul existed before the creation of the visible world and even before creation — fell together with other, then fallen, Spirits — in the spiritual world — in the heights. Therefore, the fall of Adam and Eve, described in the Holy Scriptures, should not be understood in the ordinary sense; this is a picture,

On the same, undoubtedly, grounds, Schreck in his Church History, speaking of the Dukhobors, says that they reject the doctrine of the Trinity. Christliche Kirchengeschichte, herausgegeben von Tschirner, — part IX, p. 250.

which depicts a) the fall of man before coming into this world, from the height of the purity of the Spirit; b) the fall, repeated by Adam in the early days of this world; figuratively, in our understanding; c) the fall, now repeated by us spiritually and physically, and which will be repeated until the destruction of the world. Initially, our fall occurred from love for ourselves, and from voluntary exaltation; in Adam, from the seduction of the serpent, and from the evil corrupted will of the flesh; and now it is produced in us from the seduction of the same serpent and the tasting of the forbidden tree — the love of glory in the spirit and luxury in the flesh; now everyone falls when, forgetting their nothingness, and the greatness of the Creator, they seek not the glory of God, but their own, do not surrender themselves to God in the spirit of love, but in the consciousness of self-love strive to please themselves. — The consequence of the initial fall was the loss of the image of God: the memory of man weakened, and now he has forgotten what he was before; reason has become clouded, will has become corrupted. Thus, Adam appeared in this world with a weak memory of the former world, without a higher mind and a right will. The sin that occurred from the fall, repeated by him on earth, does not pass to his descendants: everyone sins or is saved by himself. Despite this, since the root of sin lies not in the fall of Adam, but in the will of each; no one among people is free from falling and sin; for everyone entering the world has already fallen before and brought with them a tendency to new falls. After

our fall from the heights — God created this world for us and, according to His justice, expelled us from the highest purity of the spirit into the world, as into a prison; as a punishment for our crime: and now our spirit, enclosed in this prison, is immersed and plunged into the world, into the boiling cauldron of passions. On the other hand, it is brought down into this world, into the present life, as to a field of testing, so that, clothed here with flesh and following our reason and will, we may be transformed in ourselves — either for good or for evil, and through this either receive forgiveness for the former guilt, or be subjected to final punishment for the whole eternity. — When flesh is formed for us in this world, our higher spirit is poured into it from above, and man becomes. Our flesh is the key in which our soul is held, and in which it first remembers and feels what we once were before our incarnation; it is the liquid water of the elements, in the boiling cauldron of this world of the Lord, where our spirit must be transformed into a pure, eternal, better than before spirit; — if the appointed Cherubim, who guards the way to the tree of life — God, is not imprinted in the Deity. His; and here the Divine determination is fulfilled over every person: and dust, do not stretch out your hand and take from the tree of life, and eat and live forever. —

Since God is from eternity devoted;

Jesus. That our souls, enclosed in this flesh, subjected to new falls,

Christ

never themselves cleansed the former guilt and did not satisfy the Divine His justice, but to show love to all of us, descending into hell, He from eternity predetermined Himself, descending to earth, incarnating and by His suffering satisfying the eternal justice, which He fulfilled in the person of His Son; and therefore I. Christ, the restorer of the human race, was God and man.

Jesus Christ was the Son of God and God Himself. — But it must be noted, that “the Son of God” — write the Dukhobors of Yekaterinoslav —, if you look at Him in the Old Testament, is nothing other than the pre-heavenly, eternal, incomprehensible, spiritual Wisdom of God the Almighty, which in the beginning was clothed in the nature of the world, and then in the letters and cards of the revealed word; He is the Word of God, speaking with us in the book of the world and in the Scriptures; the Power that shines miraculously through the sun in creation and in living creatures, moving everything, giving life to everything, existing everywhere in number, weight, and measure; the Power of the Deity in the Forefathers, as now in us, variously acting. If you look at Him in the New Testament, then He was and is nothing other than the Spirit of incarnate Wisdom, the knowledge of God, truth; the Spirit of incarnate Love, philanthropy, friendliness, affection; the Spirit of the highest incarnate Divine, inexpressible, most sacred joy, delight, joy, peace in the fullness of all the movements of the heart; the Spirit of wisdom, prudence, moderation in food, drink, clothing, and in all the pleasures of the flesh.”

Thus, the concept of the Dukhobors about the Divinity of Christ corresponds to their concept of the Trinity. All the expressions we have cited, as figurative, are quite indefinite and dark; however, from them one can conclude that the Dukhobors recognize Christ not as a separate person of the Holy Trinity, but as some Divine action or Power, manifesting itself both in nature and in people. — In this sense, all believers can be sons of God, receiving from God the Spirit of wisdom and holiness — or, as the Dukhobors themselves express it, “sealed in the spirit as eternal sons to God the Father, as Jesus in the flesh, growing in His virtues.” This thought, previously doubtful and unclear, is now expressed by them much more definitely; for example, the present Mezhyhrya Dukhobors, speaking of Christ, say: “He was the Son of God, but in the same sense in which we are called sons of God. Our elders — they assure — know even more than Christ: ask them.” —

Christ was also a man; for He was born, like us, in the flesh: “But He descends into us,” as the Dukhobors of Yekaterinoslav write, “by the annunciation of Gabriel, and is transformed. Spiritually, as in Mary; He is born in the soul of man; dwells in the wilderness — in his flesh; is tempted by Satan with the bread of sweets and the glory of the world; strengthened, He utters the word of teaching; persecuted, He endures and suffers to the death of the cross; is laid in the tomb of the flesh; rises on the third day in the light of glory in the soul of those who endure sorrow until the tenth hour; lives in them for forty days; kindles all love in their hearts, and ascending, He raises them and brings them to the throne of glory as a holy, honest, fragrant sacrifice.” — Therefore, the Dukhobors, if they do not reject the birth of Christ in the flesh, at least primarily attribute His life to His spiritual birth and transformation in the soul of man; and about the miracles of Christ they say: “We believe that He performed miracles; we ourselves were dead in sins, blind, deaf, and He revived us, and forgave our sins, and gave us the commandment; but we do not know of bodily miracles.”

Corresponding to these concepts about the inner birth of Christ, according to the teaching of the Dukhobors, for our salvation, faith in Him is internal; without this faith, even if someone is God-loving and lives virtuously by nature, but not being limitless, will not be justified in eternity before the justice of God. And historical faith in Christ is not necessary for salvation: those who have not heard of Him with external senses can know Him with an inner sense; for He Himself is the eternal and living Gospel, — the inner word, which, without the help of the external, enlightens and teaches every person. —

This word or inner Christ is also called the Voice of God, inner enlightenment and light, the Spirit, the outpouring of the Spirit into the heart, the testimony from above of the Spirit, etc. This outpouring of the Spirit is a supernatural, Divine gift, which does not belong to the essence of man, and is communicated to him not through creation, but is introduced into the dark depths of the human heart by the direct influence of the Divine. It is always one and the same with God and Christ, from which it proceeds and is glorified. To this enlightenment, infants are not capable, but only those who have reached the age of reason; of these, everyone perceives this

inner light, if only they seek to be enlightened by it and do not resist its outpouring by the transformation of evil in their heart. The inner word, though not for all, but at all times, continuously enlightens — the chosen ones. In the Old Testament, God enlightened with the rays of light, radiance, fire, His Holy Spirit those called the people of God; who were scattered throughout the world; and now the true worshipers are anointed in their hearts with the inexpressible glory of the inner outpouring of the spirit, and exist in the whole world under different names of confessions. Only he is the true Christian, who is born again in the heart from the spirit of the word and the Holy Mysteries, who receives from above the testimony given to his spirit that he is truly a child of God. In the action of the direct outpouring, God — as the Father, strengthens our memory, extensive, holding much and striving with thought into infinity; — as the Son, being born in us, enlightens our reason, distinguishing what is affirmed in memory; — as the Spirit, pouring out in us, sanctifies our evil will with His good actions and marks it with various inner and outer properties. — The light, from above like lightning illuminating our reason, has various properties: it is the light of wisdom in the knowledge of God, truth, and life; the light of knowledge in the vision of the higher nature; the light of faith and all the virtues of Christ in walking in the gospel; the light of patience in joy and sorrow, in troubles; the light pure, holy, sharp, swift. Therefore, wisdom according to nature, a healthy mind, comes from the nature of heaven — natural; and in those sanctified by the inner light — supernatural, pre-heavenly, inexpressibly shining — the very Spirit of the Lord, the spirit of grace in life eternal. Lightning-like enlightened from above and in the Holy Scriptures, and in the heavens, and on the face of the earth, and in man, as the image of God, reading the destinies and actions of the Lord, which were before the foundation of this world, are being accomplished during its existence and must be accomplished in eternity, — as if present; for these enlightened — all the luminaries of heaven, all the beasts, birds, fish, mountains, plants — everything on earth — are letters, vividly inscribed by the hand of the Lord, which they read according to the various gifts descending from above. The mind, illuminated by the inner light, is Abel, and the fleshly — Cain; the mind of Christ strives to subdue the flesh under His eternal law, under the law of faith, hope, and love; and therefore sacrifices, patience, humility, the fear of the Lord, and other virtues in man serve as a sign that he is enlightened by Christ, or the inner light.

The enlightened by Christ will certainly rise again, but about the rest it is unknown. Those who have to rise will rise in spirit, but not in flesh, said the Tambov Dukhobors; and the Yekaterinoslav ones mention the body, but the body — a new heavenly one. After the resurrection of people, the present world will change from a captive and unclean one into an eternal and bright one. This rebirth, as they say, will be like a flood; but not the waters of the flood will pour out then, but the waters of flame from the unbearable heat of the sun, approaching the earth, will pour out and flow through the various kinds of creatures in the world. When the whole world is cleansed, then, clothed in a spiritual and eternal body, every animal and every plant and everything, according to its kind and order, will rise together with the sons of the Most High, from eternity ended, to form a new eternal kingdom of the Lamb. The foundation for future bliss, or torment, lies in the transformation of oneself in this life by good or evil; for if

through love for God we are transformed in our spirit by the Spirit of the Lord, Jesus Himself, then in eternity we will be inexpressibly glorious, God-like; if our soul is transformed here by the malice of Satan, then after the grave it will rise as a terrible monster, similar to Satan himself. Those transformed by good will pass through 40 degrees of purification, until they reach the outpouring of the Spirit of the Lord, and will enter into the number of Abraham, for all the radiance of light in glory; and those transformed by evil, growing into the pre-eternal and evil spirit; will pass through the measure of 666 degrees of his evil perfections, revealed to John (Rev. XIII, 18). They will be cast into the outer, diverse, elemental fires of hell, which will be the present world, constantly burning and never extinguishing. The transformation of evil in the spirit produces in it torments incomparably higher than the sensual and elemental ones. Transformation is every attachment to something in this world; and as many as there are attachments of hearing, sight, smell, unclean touch, so many seeds for future torment. If the desire for honors now torments the ambitious, the attachment torments the drunkard; then how must they torment and torment the passions in the future life, when there will be no possibility to satisfy them, and meanwhile they will grow more and more? Then they will burn and torment — for striving for glory — the fire of reproach, contempt; for impure love — the fire of abomination, shame, and disgust; for a small anger — the fire of rage, enmity, revenge, malice, irreconcilability, etc. These passions, passing through 666 degrees, will grow like a tree, as they grow in man even in this life; but all the details of their growth in eternity cannot be explained in words. As a small apple seed contains in itself, in a hidden way, a whole tree — its height, width, branches, flowers, fruits; so every passion contains in itself the fullness of future torments; but in the present, no matter how strong it may be, it is no more than a small seed of hell, destined to grow, in eternity, into its measure.

The peculiarities of the Dukhobors' teaching are somewhat visible in their speculative part and in their active membership. True, in their speculation there is no single principle, main and fundamental, from which all the distinctive positions of their activity could proceed; but they have a connection with speculation, the most obvious and close; they are animated by the same spirit, which is expressed in judgments, purely contemplative. — The concept of the Dukhobors about passions, as the material principle of evil in man, must necessarily have introduced strictness into all their practical teaching; their concept of the world, as a place of punishment, as a furnace, — must have aroused in them a renunciation of all the pleasures of this world; and the concept of their own flesh, as a key that holds the spirit, and which will be completely destroyed by death, must have inspired in them a gloomy severity towards themselves: all this is indeed encountered in their moral teaching. It decisively attacks all passions in general, forbids even those actions of them that, being cleansed of everything criminal, could have a praiseworthy and useful direction in society; for example, every desire for glory and honors is strictly forbidden; they seek the basis for this in the Holy Scriptures, in the following words: how can you believe, receiving glory from one another, and not seeking the glory that comes from the only God (John V. 44). But this is affirmed on their opinion that as before the creation of the world we fell from the desire for glory, so in the world our fall is repeated by the action of our exaltation — by the

same desire for glory. — All the more is luxury in food, drink, clothing condemned, — because luxury, satisfying the flesh, gives it the strength to drown our good mind, i.e., the inner enlightenment from above; even the natural healthy mind is darkened by it and forgets both about our pre-temporal fall and about the necessity of correction on the field of our testing: hence the need for renunciation of oneself, voluntary neglect of all the advantages of life and bearing the cross, — or various displeasures and misfortunes. Finally, complete neglect of everything that flatters our senses is required; pleasure gardens, the singing of birds, in a word, all the creations of the Lord, although created for the pleasure of man, however beautiful and innocent they may be, should not attract and occupy our spirit; otherwise, being seduced by them, it will become attached to them and will remain here forever lying in its fall.

The teaching of the Dukhobors about the neglect of everything earthly extends to the very relations of people in society: the higher ranks do not mean anything, but by nature all people are similar to each other and equal; for all have fallen and all are equally subject to temptations to sin. Therefore, for the servant of the Lord — there is no servant in the whole world, unless he himself wishes to be a servant to all and in everything — in the sense in which I. Christ was a servant to all; one can use the help of another, but even then the one who helps us will not be a servant, but a brother, equal to us. — Passing from the small family society to the larger, to the whole people, constituting one political whole, the Dukhobors transfer their thought of universal equality here: but this thought, as dangerous for those who would wish to preach it openly in societies, developed among them slowly, cautiously. Siluan Kolesnikov taught that one must obey the authorities and masters of this world, not only the good and meek, but also the strict, — obey all, even in evil deeds, by force. — But his followers, the Dukhobors of Yekaterinoslav, speak of the authorities more extensively and differently. — Human societies are full of evil people, moved by momentary, harmful passions: a society of evil cannot stand, they would mutually destroy each other; but this is why the wisest and most prudent established among themselves various authorities, so that they would restrain their disorder: in this respect, the authorities are beneficent and established on earth, for the sons of the world, by God Himself. But the Lord says: I am not of this world, and My kingdom is not of this world; and for those who are not of this world, worldly authorities are not needed. The children of God (i.e., the Dukhobors) themselves avoid evil not out of fear, but in order to be reborn in their souls with eternal good; they themselves live peacefully, as Christ commanded them; therefore, He freed them from all human laws regarding their will; He gives them His Holy Spirit, creating in them a new heart, having a free will in the fulfillment of all royal commands — according to the flesh, and God-pleasing deeds according to the spirit without any compulsion. — The Tambov Dukhobors dared to make a distinction between good and evil authorities and distinguished their origin: “the merciful are from God,” they said, “and the unmerciful are unknown from whom.” The Mezhyhirya Dukhobors do not reason about the origin of the authorities, but directly affirm that on earth there is no need for any authorities; unless, in their opinion, there should be a king over the evil, thieves, and robbers to curb them with punishment, — but not over the good. — Therefore, they do not rise against the established authorities, but do not have complete

obedience to them; if they respect them, they do so outwardly; and inwardly and among themselves, they consider any subordination, and especially monarchical rule, contrary to their way of thinking. — Judicial proceedings are not needed for the sons of God. Why do we need courts, they say, when one does not wish to offend anyone? If someone strikes him on the cheek, he will offer the other without resistance, and to the one who wants to take his coat, he will give his shirt as well. This spirit of peace they wish to extend even to public enemies; for they consider war impermissible, basing themselves on the Gospel teaching of love for the enemy. (Matt. V. 38 and 9). Swearing is also impermissible; and therefore they refuse to take an oath in any case. — It is remarkable, however, that they consider it their duty to spread their teaching among others; for the children of God, according to their assurance, have a command from their Father to teach one another, and the servant of the Lord always and everywhere strives to lend his talent to the one who has not, as much as he himself has received from above and as much as the other can receive with him (Matt. XXV: 14—30).

The very main teaching of the Dukhobors, in which they have never disagreed, as and when they are specifically separated from the Orthodox Church, is their teaching about the Church itself, which should be the keeper of the true teaching, — both through the Holy Scriptures, containing it in its writing, and in the person of Pastors and Teachers, and through the sacraments, rites, and other institutions.

The Church, in their understanding, is the assembly of those whom God Himself calls from among worldly people, to walk in light and life. These chosen ones are not distinguished by any special symbols, are not united into one definite society separate from others; are not bound by any common signs of worship: they constitute the invisible Church, scattered throughout the world and existing under different names of confessions. Thus the Church includes even those who do not use the Holy Scriptures and do not know from them about Christ; to it can belong people of various nations, various tribes and languages; not only among Christian sects, but even among Jews and Turks, there are members of this Church — those who are guided by the inner light and strive to be transformed by good. Hence it is already clear, from what point of view the Dukhobors must look — both at the Holy Scriptures, and at the ministers of the visible Church, and at the various institutions in it.

About the Holy Scriptures, they recognize everything as given by God, but not everything as equally useful for themselves; and since they find in it much contrary to their way of thinking about the inner, invisible Church, they try to explain everything in it in an unusual, spiritual sense: under all even simple, literal histories of the Old and New Testaments, they see one spiritual signification, considering them only as pictures, in which one must see the expression of something spiritual. Thus, the story of Cain is an image of the sons of perdition, persecuting the true Church. — or Abel; the Babylonian confusion is nothing other than the division of Churches; the drowning of Pharaoh with his army in the Red Sea, — is an image of the future drowning of the devil with all his forces in the red sea of fire, through which the chosen ones will

pass unharmed. And in the New Testament — for example, the transformation of water into wine by Christ at the wedding signifies that Christ at the mystical wedding with our soul transforms in our heart the water of tears of repentance — into the sacred, spiritual wine, into the nectar of angels, the food of all joy, all consolation; the parable of the one who fell among thieves expresses that at the initial fall from the heights, every soul; having loved itself, fell among thieves, who stripped it, and now wound it with evil passions; the Levites and Priests, not healing it, passed by; only the Lord lifted it with His suffering on the cross, washed it with His blood, and healed it. — To such an interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, the Dukhobors are prompted, according to their own admission, by the following reasons: — “all descriptions, narratives, parables, miracles, drawn in the external Scripture, are not so much images of what was, as indications of what should happen inside a person — in the spirit and faith; the mind of the Lord in all His word variously expressed the whole, perfect, new man, — Jesus — His wisdom, which a Christian must feel comfortingly in his heart: therefore, the servant of the Lord must consider everything in Scripture as letters: expressing outwardly — either the evil of our spirit, or its testimony from the Spirit of the Lord. — To understand spiritually the words of the Lord, parables, images, deeds, and all expressions, the Lord Himself teaches at John, — saying that all My expressions and deeds before you are spirit and life. And is it enough to deduce from the wise Word of truth, as from pagan fables, only moral teachings? The Lord Himself, for those who did not understand Him, sometimes expressed parables not only morally, but in all their fullness — spiritually, as for example about the sower and the seeds (Luke VIII 5-15.), about the loaves (John V), and Paul about the two sons of Abraham (Gal. IV. 22 and 9.). Therefore, the children of God direct all their efforts to, learning from the outpouring from above in their hearts of the All-Holy Spirit, to understand spiritually and to depict in themselves all the pictures and figures, skillfully drawn in the revealed word of the Lord. — Along with this, it is revealed that in interpreting Scripture, one should not be guided by the judgments of one's own mind, much less by the generally accepted opinions of the external Church; the rule and measure of the interpretation of the external word should be the inner enlightenment — the outpouring from above of the Spirit into the heart of man; and consequently, this inner enlightenment, or word, in its dignity, is higher than the Holy Scripture itself, as Scripture is not the direct outpouring of the Spirit, but the indirect action of this very outpouring. —

The inner word, necessary for the interpretation of the external word, is also necessary for the Priesthood. Christ, as the very Word, is the only High Priest and Priest, from whom salvation must be expected for souls; likewise, His successors in the Priesthood can only be those who feel within themselves the action of the Word; and since this Word does not remain fruitless in man, but is expressed in his very activity: therefore, the successor of Jesus must be only one who does and lives, is humble and meek and zealous for good deeds and removed from evil. To be truly a Priest of the inner Church, for this, one's own will and the simple desire and consent of others are not enough; it is not necessary to belong to any known rank and class, nor is even external preparation or mental education necessary: the true Priest is one who is called by an inner impulse from above, whom Jesus Himself chooses from the common people, or from the Priests

of the external Church, or from the rulers of the world, and whom the invisible worker Christ Himself prepares, directly enlightening his mind and heart: thus, the calling, election, and the very preparation for the Priesthood must be inner, not external.

The true Priest is appointed to this position when various gifts of the Holy Spirit are poured out from above into his soul, essentially anointing him, as Christ, sanctifying him, and giving him a supernatural mind: on the contrary, the ministers of the external Church are appointed only ritually and are not at all consecrated in mind from the external, ritual action performed over them: therefore, Archbishops and other ministers of the ordained Churches should not be considered at all as they are usually recognized, and accepted in the form in which they exist among worldly Christians. — The duty of the true Priest consists in entering into the inner veils, and preaching to others the word that he himself feels inwardly, so that by his conversation he may reveal to the erring his error and evil, bring his mind to pure vision and his heart to sincere repentance. The minister of the ordained Church performs only external rites, reads various sermons to the people, or pronounces his own; but since he himself has no inner experience, his teachings remain ineffective and useless, — and the people with them remain in ignorance and blindness, stopping all their attention on the rites alone. Therefore, the Priests of the external Church, having no inner enlightenment and being themselves sinners, cannot lead anyone to salvation.

The true Church, elevating everything to the inner worker Christ, has no need for external worship; the very sacraments must be understood spiritually: for their external performance has no power. Thus, Baptism with water, performed among worldly Christians, is useless and superfluous, especially since it is administered to young children. Those ritually baptized in infancy, not understanding and not feeling what is formed by their baptism; growing up, remain also without knowledge of the value of the blood of Jesus, without renunciation of themselves, the world, and the devil, and without walking in a new life: what benefit, then, does baptism bring them after death, when they are not baptized by the spirit and fire and are not reborn in memory, mind, and will? John administered water baptism, but this baptism is not proper for a Christian; it is truly performed when an infant, having reached a perfect age, and knowing who he is, and to whom he is obliged for his being and the salvation of his soul, baptizes himself with the words: in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit; only then is he invisibly and essentially baptized by the action of the true Priest Jesus, — in the spirit and fire of inexpressibly great, Divine love; only then is he washed from all filth, immersed not in water, but in the blood of the Lord, renouncing himself and promising to live for God alone; only by this inner baptism does he come to the knowledge of the truth, grows into a new creature, and is sealed in the spirit as an eternal son to God the Father. — Externally performed Chrismation, without anointing from the Holy Spirit, also produces nothing here: and God knows whether it will have any power after the grave. We are truly anointed when all the gifts of the Lord, in living baptism, poured out from above into the body, soul, and spirit, are forever sealed by the Holy Spirit in memory, mind, and will. — As for Confession, the Church has no power to bind

and loose sins; true confession is the contrition of the heart before God, although one can sometimes confess one's sins to one another. External Communion is not powerful to save a person; for Christ wants from people not signs, but their strength: Communion in the Churches is pleasing to God; but true, living Communion with the life-giving Mysteries, with Christ Himself, occurs through the word, thoughts, and faith by a single spiritual invocation; — for only by faith and love do we feel that we are justified, cleansed by the received and received flesh, shed and poured out for us by the blood of Jesus, and according to the measure of the gifts of the Spirit, struck in our flesh and blood by the eternal King of glory — the inner Christ. — Marriage should be performed without any ceremony — only the will of those who have come of age, the mutual love of the marrying, the consent of the parents, the promise and oath in the soul before the all-seeing God, that the marrying will remain faithful and inseparable until the end of their days; the external ceremony of marriage, without the inner, means nothing: it produces only the effect that, being performed in the presence of witnesses, it maintains the bond of the spouses by the fear of shame, for the arrangement given by them of the promise of mutual fidelity. — The Priesthood is not a rank that can be received only by some, specially chosen people: and therefore, specially chosen ministers are not needed; every true, enlightened by the word, Christian can and must perform prayer to God himself for himself.

Here is how the Yekaterinoslav Dukhobors express themselves, concluding their discussion about the Church:

What if I am finally? I am the temple — “The *rites* of all external churches in the world, various^{or} their institutions, all the ranks of their servants, their clothes and actions — are invented — at different times, after the Apostles, by sacred-wise men; in themselves, they are nothing other than dead signs, mere figures and letters, expressing outwardly something sacred-spiritual, invisible, living, and intelligent power of the purest being of God, which in the likeness of solar rays shines and pours out into the soul of the chosen ones, lives in them and acts, enlightens them and unites them with God.” — Therefore, all church rites are indifferent actions; and the children of God, — taught Siluan, — can either *leave* all these external institutions, which are only the shadow of living, eternal blessings, — as the great and glorious Tabernacle of Moses, — or *with them* be renewed and transformed into the image of the pre-heavenly.

God's temple;

And the stone and the priest, and the victim must be:

In us, the heart is the altar, and the will is the victim;

The priest in us is the soul, to bring the will as a gift. —

Jesus, penetrating lovingly into the inner veils. And the followers of Siluan say, — Christ, by the members of His Church, invisibly present for us throughout the world, allows us to enter various temples — whether Lord's, Greek, Lutheran, or Calvinist, and freely walk in their external institutions, forming good. He did not forbid His disciples to walk in the fulfillment of the

traditions of the fathers; He Himself was circumcised; He Himself walked in the Jewish temples, was baptized by John in the Jordan, etc. But He did not oblige anyone to perform external ritual actions of worship. As a useless thing — it is much better to leave them; for neither *circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything*, says Scripture, *but a new creature* (Gal. V 15). The Lord is not attached to any time, place, or any rites, or anything anywhere: just as His holiness. In man, heaven borders on earth, and the Lord of hosts nowhere on earth is pleased to show His special presence as in His image, renounced from eternal evil. Let some rites have their signification: but through their shadow — how many see into their spiritual signification? On the contrary, almost all, and especially the common people, thinking that salvation depends on the fulfillment of external rites, stopping at them, do not understand at all what they are doing, and thus find in them a barrier for themselves to approach the Lord with their mind, from the knowledge of whom would necessarily follow their holy life. Hence, among those who bear the name of Christ and preserve the external signs of worship, real atheists are born, multiplied, and fill the world, having no knowledge of the Lord and themselves in their minds, — fearless, self-willed, quick to every evil. Thus, external Church rites produce more harm than good. — “Holding such a concept of the sacraments and rites of the Orthodox Church, the Dukhobors do not suppose holiness in it, do not hope for salvation from it, and forever refuse to go to the hand-made Churches, thinking that the following words of the Savior teach this: when you pray, enter into your closet, and shut your door, pray to your Father. Icons, which they call symbols, they do not recognize as sacred, and do not honor any images because God commanded through Moses: do not make for yourself an idol, or any likeness of what is in heaven above, or on the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; do not bow down to them, nor serve them. For idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands: These idols, in their opinion, are icons. They do not recognize the saints as sacred and do not invoke them in prayers; they respect the Apostles and other great ascetics only for their virtues and for the fact that, being good people, they pleased God and themselves. — Since Christ was born before all, they affirm that the Mother of God was born from the Word of God, and therefore they accept and honor her as the one who gave birth to Christ the Savior of the human race. — They do not make the sign of the cross on themselves because prayer is pleasing to God not through the hand, but through thought, spirit, and word. — Fasting, they say, is very necessary for us, the weak — both spiritual and bodily; but they understand it not in the generally accepted sense; Spiritual fasting is the observance of God's commandments, renunciation of evil desires, fleeing idleness, idle talk, etc.; — bodily — is abstinence from gluttony, drunkenness, and all luxury, removal from games contrary to God, dances, etc. The duty of fasting lies on a person especially when he does not feel in his soul the presence of the bridegroom (Matt. IX. 14. 15.); and to keep fasting in abstinence from certain kinds of food and on certain days, there is no commandment anywhere, they say, — Traditions, Decrees of Ecumenical and local Councils are not recognized as true and are not accepted, — for they come from people; — and from people there is nothing sacred; such is possible only from God. — The Church also has no power to judge and condemn anyone to hell; for no one can know by what spirit one is led in all matters, whether by the spirit of love for oneself or for God;

and whether eternal evil or the good of the Lord is transformed within him. God alone, testing the hearts and reins, clearly sees man and all his deeds; to Him alone belongs judgment. But God wants nothing more from us, except that we love Him and flee from evil; and for the incorrect understanding of some places of the revealed word, for ignorance of some natural objects, we firmly believe that He judges no one and condemns no one to perdition. Therefore, it is not fair to obey those who do not follow the Lord in this, who force their neighbors to follow their mind, presenting it as the true mind of Christ: these persecutors, tormentors, and killers of others, either bodily or spiritually, are the descendants of Cain, raising persecution against the tribe of Abel for the fact that it does not follow them in their evil intentions and deeds.

Forever renouncing the Orthodox Church, rejecting all its sacraments and rites, the Dukhobors, although they recognize themselves as members of the invisible Church, have, however, some external, religious institutions, replacing for them temples and the generally accepted actions in them. They have always had prayer meetings, although the days and places for these meetings were not constantly determined by them. The followers of Siluan, in their free time, mostly gathered in his house, read various places from the Holy Scriptures, and after reading, sometimes sang orally the Psalms of David, Proverbs, and other sacred songs; — the Tambov ones said that they also have pious gatherings, in which, besides reading some verses from the Scriptures, appropriate to their faith, they especially use, instead of prayers, Psalms: 1.) He who dwells in the help of the Most High, shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty; 2.) Hear, O God, my cry; attend to my prayer; 3.) From the Gospel, verses about the nine beatitudes, with the addition to each verse — remember me, O Lord, when You come into Your kingdom. But it is remarkable that they do not read any Psalm, nor any chapter of Scripture in a row, but all their prayers are composed of different verses, often taken perversely and contrary to the meaning. At the present time, the Mezhyhrya Dukhobors, coming together for prayer by mutual invitation, gather in a prayer house, no different from the others; there, on the table, bread and salt are placed: when all the invited have appeared, the men stand on the right side, and the women — on the left, and the latter begin to sing an ancient Church hymn, composed of fragments from the Prophecies of such content: “Thus says the Lord, the holy God of Israel, who created him, who made the future: ask Me about My sons, about the works of My hands, command Me; I made the earth, and man on it. — I raised up a righteous King; all his paths are right; he will build My city, from the captivity of My people he will return without bribe or gift. — Thus says the Lord of hosts: Egypt is established in the purchase of Hezion, Sodom; the high men will pass before You, they will be Your servants, they will follow You; they will come to You, bow down to You, pray to You, for in You is God. There is no God besides You; You are the invisible God, the God of Israel, the Savior; all who oppose You will be ashamed and confounded. They will go with great shame. — Renew yourselves in Me, all the sons of Israel. Save yourselves by the Lord with eternal salvation. You will not be ashamed nor confounded forever. Thus says the Lord, the holy God of Israel. — Glory to our God. — “During this singing, the men stand in a row, by seniority; at the end of this, — the second of the men approaches the first; both make two low bows to each other; kiss; make a third bow: after this — the third bows and kisses the first two in

the same way; then the fourth does the same, and so on — to the last. After this ceremony among the men, the same is done among the women. — In this ceremony, in their opinion, lies the worship of the Most High Deity, on the basis of the following words: *let us make man in Our image, after Our likeness*. But this rite is not new among the Mezhyhirya Dukhobors: it is based on the teaching of Siluan, who said: — “one must worship God in one another, as we are the beginning of His creation and are among all creatures in the world the living image drawn by His hand, the image of God on earth.” This custom of worshipping God in one another was always in use among the followers of Siluan, although it happened somewhat more simply, namely: instead of mutual kissing, they grasped each other's hands and, as if together, pronounced the commandment of Moses: *I am the Lord your God! You shall have no other gods before Me: do not make for yourself an idol, or any likeness, and do not bow down to them, nor serve them*. It is also known that the Mezhyhirya Dukhobors, for the worship of God in the image of man, chose among themselves (which may be done among them even now, only secretly) a youth, to whom on holidays they bowed as to a Deity. In this kind was among them in 1816 a young man; nicknamed Kapustin, who, according to the report of some who left their sect, was imprisoned for various follies. They have many other superstitious rites, which, however, they diligently hide from others. So, for example, in 1806, in the Novgorod gathering of Dukhobors, it was noticed that the Sofia psalm-reader Ivan Ivanov read the Gospel to them; but after reading one chapter, they all began to sing, beating themselves on the knees with their hands; after singing, reading followed, and again singing — alternately four times; then they bowed to each other, asking for forgiveness, and after that, they sipped something from a cup twice: but when asked about this by the psalm-reader, he said only that they simply drank kvass from thirst.

At the burial of the Dukhobors, there are no special rites; having only bid farewell to the deceased with a feeling of sympathy and love for the one close to him, they commit the deceased to the earth with the singing of various Psalms and with the addition of prayers for his entry into the kingdom of heaven.

Every day for them is the seventh or Sabbath, in the spiritual sense, and therefore they have no fixed holidays; but they honor the holidays when one comes to another for edification, — and then they edify and accompany the guests with spiritual singing. However, they sometimes distinguish the holidays of Christ and even Sundays; — and during their continuation, freeing themselves only from distant labors, they do not indulge in revelry and merriment, but instead, when men or women gather together, they sit quietly and spend time in the singing of Psalms, in conversation, and in teaching one another from the Holy Scriptures. Affirming before outsiders, not belonging to their sect, that external revelation is not necessary for them, they say that they do not even have a Bible at all; meanwhile, to all questions posed to them regarding faith, they answer with words chosen from the Holy Scriptures; and although there are not many literate among them, most women and even youths know some places by heart; they teach their children, when talking with those of different faiths about religion, to refute their rules with verses of the Holy Scriptures and for this purpose they study it. — Relying on this knowledge, and even more

on the concept of their spiritual worship of God, they consider themselves more enlightened than all those who think differently from them, — and indeed try to present themselves as such before other Russian peasants — in their dealings with them and their way of life.

When a Little Russian joins them, they usually try to teach him Russian and give him some external education, in order to earn a better opinion of themselves from the Government in this respect than other peasants, although this does not happen everywhere: most of the Dukhobors themselves are very rude.

At the beginning of the day, before work, after it, and in the evening, the Dukhobors (in private families) stand in a circle and, after mutual kissing, say the prayer: *Our Father*. — They never and no one in this world call father on the basis of the words: *You are all brothers, and do not call anyone on earth your father; for One is your Father, who is in heaven*. Instead, they call their parents only elder, or elder woman; parents do not speak of children — mine, but — ours; wives call their husbands brothers, and husbands call their wives sisters.

In dealing with outsiders, some are quite polite; but they almost never take off their hats, unless out of special respect for someone, or out of necessity. Recognizing war as an impermissible deed, they say that they set it as a rule not to carry weapons with them: however, they do not pray for enemies, as everyone should pray for themselves, and not for others; therefore, they do not pray for the Tsar, nor for those in authority.

In former times, the Dukhobors excluded some from their society for some offenses: now such exclusions do not happen among them; but whoever, in their opinion, is not quite imbued with the Spirit, is subjected to slander, and as a result of this, is very much oppressed under various pretexts. Credulity and depravity, hatred and quarrels are frequent among them; and in general, one cannot but notice that the behavior of the Dukhobors, for the most part, contradicts their moral teaching: almost the distinctive feature of their character is stubbornness in their teaching, disobedience to the authorities, offense, and slander in relation to those of different opinions. In 1812, through the denunciation and slander of the Mezhyhirya Dukhobors in court for the lands taken by them from the Tatars of the Budzhak Horde settled near them, the entire Horde was forced to move away from them to the Danube, numbering 5000 souls. But most of all, they constantly show hatred towards the Orthodox Clergy and on every occasion with bitterness call our Clergy by abusive names: however, this is the spirit of all heretics in general; who have ever departed from the main Church; — the more the sacred authorities, formerly restraining self-will, the more they arouse enmity in the hearts of these erring people, who forever wish to throw off the good yoke of the Church. Among the Dukhobors, the spirit of intolerance reigns not only towards the Orthodox teaching, but also towards other branches of their own sect: In 1823, it was proposed to settle together with them on the Molochnye Vody the Molokans, very similar to them in the spirit of teaching, as we will see below; but due to differences in some unimportant points of teaching, they did not want to accept the Molokans into their settlement and always show a spirit of ill-will and enmity towards them. — Despite the fact that they consider the

testimony of conscience sufficient to preserve fidelity in word, and never take an oath, they do not always firmly keep their word in settlements with others; they are very greedy for money, and to acquire it, they use all possible means.

In praise of the Dukhobors, it must be said that they are sober, hardworking, and economical; they observe cleanliness and neatness in their homes and clothing; they care about the arrangement of their fields and cattle breeding, — in which their economic activities mainly consist: but the herds of horses and cattle previously established by them for public expenses are falling into decline and disorder. On the Molochnye Vody, in each village of the Dukhobors, there are necessary artisans in rural life; they have no factories; but they make woolen cloth and good sashes. The men among them are generally tall and strongly built. The Molokans, who were recently mentioned, constitute the main Hindu branch of the Dukhobor sect. They were recognized as one with the Dukhobors until the latter in 1825 recognized them as different: from themselves by some peculiarities of their teaching. — Exiled in this year mostly from the provinces of Tambov, where they received their beginning, Orel, and Yekaterinoslav, the Molokans were settled in the Melitopol district, but not among the Dukhobors, but among the Mennonite and Nogai settlements, where a plot of land up to 50 thousand dessiatines was previously allotted to them in 1821. — The village in which they were settled is called Novoseltsy; their number extends to about 800 people of both sexes; especially among them are many Don Cossacks, some of whom served in officer ranks. However, there are many Molokans not only in those places from where they were partly resettled to the Molochnye Vody, but also in other provinces, such as Kursk, Voronezh, Saratov, etc. — The teaching of the Molokans, having the same beginnings with the Dukhobor, differs from it in some particulars, as it departs less from the teaching of the Orthodox Church. They agree with it in thinking about the Holy Trinity; they recognize Christ as the Son of God, God incarnate, who died on the cross for the salvation of the whole world; they revere the Holy Scriptures and recognize it as the word of revelation, given to man by God. They agree with the Dukhobors in that they reject the sacraments, rites, icons, and generally all Church externalism. We understand, they say, — baptism in the teaching of the word of God, the observance of the Holy commandments, and the remission of sins; we confess to one another our transgressions and bring repentance to God; we consider Communion with the Divine and life-giving Mysteries, if one fears God and keeps His commandments. Although they agree with the Dukhobors in affirming that only the Son of God is the true High Priest and First Priest; however, they appoint among themselves elders, or leaders, on the basis of the word of the Apostle Peter: *the elders among you, I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed: feed the flock of God which is among you* (V). They

In the article: Rites of the Spiritual Christians. It is in manuscript, written by the Tambov Molokans, kept by the Chernigov brothers — the city of Shatsk, 2nd Guild Merchants — the Shvetsovs, known to the Molokans.

observe holidays, and when, gathering to go out for prayer, they stand in the assembly all facing each other; with kneeling, they pray for all people, for the Tsar, and for those in authority; they sing Psalms, read and explain the Bible, at which the elders sometimes give teachings. They spend the holidays in pious conversations, and sometimes the whole night, even until dawn, in singing Psalms and reading the word of God; Sunday is observed so strictly by some of them that they do not light a fire all day. The marriage is performed at the gathering of men and women and with the elders; it is confirmed by the Gospel oath, then prayer and singing of Psalms follow, the instruction of the newlyweds in the commandments of the Lord, — they are charged with a blameless life, they read from the Apostle to the Ephesians, chapter V, lesson 23, to the Colossians, chapter III, lesson 259, to the Thessalonians, chapter III, and finally, it is testified before the whole assembly that the married are recognized as husband and wife until the end of life. Over the deceased, they read the Psalter after the departure of the soul, and the carrying of him to the grave is accompanied by the reading of prayers. They observe fasts at various times and, among others, on Saturday; during their fast, they often do not consume any food or drink. “They live friendly with everyone, even with the Clergy,” — wrote Karl Hermann about the Saratov Molokans, although they never go to Church; and in general, they live very modestly and peacefully, and preserve the good morals of their ancestors: it never happens that a Molokan commits any crime and is brought to trial...” — “To their credit, it must be said” — they write about the Molokans even now, — that they are sober and more literate than other peasants; but in accusation, they tell that they hide in their virtue the fugitives and runaways. In their way of life, they observe important strictness; in their villages, you will never hear games.” — They are hardworking, obedient to the authorities, openly and willingly explain their opinions regarding the confession of faith; but they are embarrassed, as they notice about the Dukhoborof Mezhyhirya, that they cannot maintain order and unanimity from the fact that, against their will, many are settled among them, who, although they have departed from the Church, in many respects do not think the same as they: for in the Melitopol settlement there is not one, but several schisms, each of which consists of several families, and each of them gathers for prayer separately, and does not recognize the gatherings of others. The difference in composition is mostly in trifles, but which, in their opinion, are important, for example, some eat pork, others some kinds of fish, others allow hot drinks, etc.; while all this is forbidden among the rest. Most of them, it seems, love to do good and willingly desire to follow the word of God; but, not understanding the true spirit of Christianity and submitting to prejudices, they are divided and hostile among themselves; and having received differences in some unimportant subjects, they forget mutual love.

To clearly see and, as it were, at a glance, embrace the entire teaching of the Dukhobors, we can present its essence in the following main positions: I.) God in the Trinity is one: the Father — memory; the Son — mind; the Holy Spirit — will. II.) Our soul existed and fell before the creation of the visible world — in the heights; sent into this world, as into a prison — both as a punishment and for correction; the sin of Adam — the original sin — does not pass to his descendants, but everyone sins and is saved by himself. III.) Christ, our Savior, if you look at

Him in the Old Testament, was in His Divinity nothing other than wisdom, clothed in nature, and in the New Testament, He was the Spirit of love for God, chastity, etc. in the flesh. He preaches, suffers, dies, and rises spiritually in the heart of every believer. IV.) For our salvation, it is not necessary to have external knowledge about Christ; for there is an inner Word, teaching about Him to man in the depths of his soul: It was at all times and proclaims to everyone who is ready to listen to it. V.) The transformation of evil in man in this world grows after the grave through 666 degrees — into the measure of the evil spirit — Satan; and those transformed by good, having passed through the degrees of purification, will enter into the number of Abraham, for all the radiance of light in glory, and will become like God Himself.

VI.) Since our flesh is the key that holds and burdens our spirit, and passions are the seeds of evil; we must renounce ourselves and deprive ourselves of everything that pleases our senses, in order to weaken their power over the soul. VII.) Since all people are equal, and besides, the children of God do good by themselves, without any compulsion, therefore, for them, no authority is needed; it is necessary only for the evil: to go to war, to carry weapons, to take an oath. — is an impermissible deed.

VIII.) The Church is a society of the chosen by God Himself; invisible and scattered throughout the world, it is not distinguished in appearance by any common confession; not only Christians, but Jews, Mohammedans, etc. can be, and with their confession, members of it, if only they are attentive to the inner word: and therefore — IX.) The Holy Scriptures, or the external word, are not necessary for the children of God; however, they are useful for them because in them, as on the face of the whole earth, and in themselves, they read various destinies and actions of the Lord: only one must look at It as pictures depicting in the external spiritual objects; everything must be understood in It in a spiritual sense, about the inner Christ. X.) Only Christ, the inner worker, is the true High Priest and Priest, therefore, no external priests are needed; in whom Christ Himself acts, then he is His successor, and for himself, a priest: the priests of the ordained Churches are appointed externally and perform only external: they should not be considered as they are usually recognized. XI.) Since the children of God must worship God in spirit and truth, therefore, no external worship is needed. The external performance of the sacraments does not produce any action on man; they must be understood and accepted spiritually; rites, although they have their signification, however, since they are only dead signs of the inner, and mostly prevent the mind from approaching God, therefore, they are not only superfluous, but sometimes even harmful. XII.) Icons are idols; the saints of Christ can be respected for their virtues, but one should not pray to them; fasting consists in fleeing from lusts and abstaining from excess; traditions, Church decrees, and Councils — should not be accepted; finally, XIII.) the Church itself has no power to judge anyone and condemn; because it cannot know all the inner, secret motives of man.

Judgment on the Doctrine of the Doukhobors.

The doctrine upheld by the Doukhobors is not an original one; everything in it is borrowed. Despite this, it does not bear a perfect resemblance to any single belief taken separately. It is, more or less, a faithful reproduction of various opinions from different sects; a fusion of heterogeneous echoes, which have manifested themselves at various times, reflecting the tendency of the spirit towards the internal and mystical in religion. It is a combination of all those teachings that, more or less deviating into the realm of mystical visions, accepted only the invisible Church.

The inner Church, combined with faith in the divine action of the Holy Spirit in the human soul, is seen as the primary source of faith and salvation. At the initial formation of the Doukhobor doctrine, the idea of the inner Church and inner enlightenment was the sole foundation upon which the entire structure was built—constructed from various materials and in various ways, as far as they could be connected to one another. It is impossible to point to any single, particular founder of the Doukhobor sect—for many participated in this matter. Similarly, their doctrine, during the period of its formation, leaned more or less towards the direction of one or another belief, until a change in circumstances altered its course towards another direction. Thus, at its initial appearance in the teachings of Lushkin, it was close to the doctrine of the 16th-century Anabaptists, who, like the Doukhobors, believed in the inner word and recognized the action of the Holy Spirit through dancing and jumping. In the teachings of Siluan, it coincided with the opinions of false mystics; in the confession of its followers, it particularly aligned with the teachings of the Quakers and others.

Thus, continuously expanding in its course, it continuously grew with new opinions taken from various sects, and in its full scope, it presented a true mixture of heterogeneous judgments on matters of faith. Therefore, various writers who mentioned the Doukhobors compared them to different sects, depending on which side of their doctrine seemed more visible or remarkable to them. For example, they were likened to Quakers and Mennonites, Anabaptists and Mennonites, Abrahamites or Bohemian Brethren, ancient Paulicians, and others. Indeed, the Doukhobor sect approaches in some respects the beliefs of all these sects, as we will soon see.

The doctrine of the Holy Trinity, from the earliest centuries of Christianity, was distorted and justified by the Gnostics, who either adapted this doctrine to their own Aeons, as, for example, Valentinus, who called Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit the last of the Aeons by birth, or merged the Trinity into one divine person, as Praxeas, Noetus, and others did. But in the form in which the doctrine of the Trinity exists among the Doukhobors, it is particularly encountered in the teachings of Sabellius, according to whom the Trinity is nothing other than the divine nature considered under various ideas: substance, thought, and will. Paul of Samosata taught that the Son and the Holy Spirit are in God as mind and power are in man. This doctrine was repeated in modern times by some Socinians and almost adopted by the Abrahamites.

The opinions of the Doukhobors on the pre-existence and fall of the soul, the creation of the world, and original sin originated from the Gnostics. For example, Saturninus and Basilides, in the 2nd century, taught that human souls existed even before their union with bodies and that God sent them into this world as a punishment, subjecting them to the dominion of lower spirits. Based on this understanding of souls, the Gnostics did not accept original sin. This doctrine, apart from the opinion on original sin, is also found in Origen, who was not always free from errors. In his work on principles, he writes that our souls were angels and that they were enclosed in bodies as a punishment for sins committed in their original state. This Gnostic doctrine of the fall of souls before the creation of the world is also preached in the books of false mystics, who, as Mosheim notes, originated from the Gnostics.

Thus, in the Masonic-Mystical Classical Book, it is said about the pre-temporal existence of man: "No one's origin exceeds his origin, for he is older than every being in nature; he existed before the birth of every seed; yet he appeared in the world after all of them." Further, in accordance with the teachings of the Manichaean Gnostics, describing allegorically the battle of man in his primitive state with the Prince of Darkness and the fall of man, the author in the chapter on the dual action of the human body says: "I cannot now help but confess that the union of man with his coarse garment is the punishment to which his crime has subjected him for a time."

The beginning of the Doukhobor doctrine on Jesus Christ, inner enlightenment, and the future fate of human souls can be found among the Manichaeans. According to their opinion, God generated from Himself Christ and the Holy Spirit. The soul of Jesus Christ is nothing other than a part of the divine light, similar in nature to other souls, though more perfect than them; and the spirit is a luminous mass diffused throughout the ether, which, touching human thoughts and arousing sparks of light in them, returns souls to their original state. To hasten the return of souls to heaven, God sent Christ to earth in human form and guides their minds through inner enlightenment. Basilides invented 365 heavens and as many ranks of spirits; and Manes or Mani taught various degrees of purification of our souls not only in this life but also after death, and therefore did not accept the future resurrection or hellish torments in the proper sense. The doctrine of Jesus and the inner Spirit, similar to the Doukhobor doctrine, is also found among the mystics: "Christ or the Word," says Eckartshausen, "is God Himself, the only divine unity—the genius of the divine will: therefore, the one God in all nature and in all His creations is called the Word—this Word became flesh and dwelt among us, to give strength to actions to rise again to unity; so that we might again receive our privileges." By the word is meant both the infusion of divine light into man and the extraction from man into all mental and physical things. "He who does not have the Spirit of Christ is not His. This Spirit directly flows from the bosom of the Highest Truth and leads all to it. It is the breath of God, the outpouring of divinity, the invisible presence of Christ with His own and within them. All that is true, worthy of knowledge, that enlightens and strengthens the mind, this Spirit reveals from the depths of divinity."

The moral teachings of the Doukhobors bear the same stamp of austerity that marked the teachings of the Gnostics and Manichaeans. The basic idea of the former, that the flesh originates from an evil principle, led them to the most severe morality. According to Clement of Alexandria, they abstained from meat and wine, exhausted their bodies, condemned marriage and the birth of children out of hatred for the flesh and its evil principle. The Manichaeans, viewing their bodies as prisons of the soul, were no less severe towards themselves; they exhausted their bodies and forbade even the most indifferent pleasures. This same severity, reaching extremes, is also visible in modern times—in those beliefs where the spirit of false mysticism predominates.

The Manichaeans, to more easily attract the Orthodox to their side, often used expressions from Holy Scripture in their teachings but interpreted them in a mystical and allegorical sense, as the Doukhobors do now, and like them, they rejected the external, did not pay any respect to the Virgin, God's saints, the cross, and icons. True, they pretended to accept baptism, but understood it as Jesus Christ, who said: "I am the living water"; they accepted the Eucharist, but these were, in their opinion, the words of Jesus Christ—"the living bread"; they revered the cross, but again understood it as Jesus Christ stretching out His hands; they honored the Mother of God, but called by this name the heavenly Jerusalem; they respected St. Paul and St. John, but gave these names to two persons of their sect, and so on. This doctrine was even more clearly expressed among the Paulicians, who were the successors of the Manichaeans. They had no bishops, deacons, or sacred orders separate from the laity; there was no law, no decrees, or anything similar; they were guided in everything by the New Testament, in which they interpreted everything allegorically, especially the sacraments; their rejection of external worship was so strong that it produced Iconoclasm at the beginning of the 9th century. The Paulicians, persecuted in the 9th century by Empress Theodora, scattered to various places, and some of them moved to Bulgaria; from there, through Lombardy, in the 11th century, they appeared in the Languedoc region under the name of Albigensians; in the 12th and 13th centuries—under the name of Henricians, Petrobrusians, Waldensians; in the 14th and 15th centuries—under the name of Wycliffites, Hussites, and others, and left traces of their teachings in modern beliefs that reject the external aspects of the Church. False mystics also interpret Holy Scripture in a mystical sense; Eckartshausen has the same concept of the Church as the Doukhobors. "The true Church," he says, "is only the inner Church. Its members are scattered throughout the world; however, they are united among themselves in spirit and truth; they alone constitute the society of the good, the invisible kingdom of the inner, which, properly speaking, is the kingdom of God." False mystics also say about all external rites, ceremonies, and institutions of the Church: "that they do not represent anything true to the mind and that all this should seem unimportant to sound reason." "The society of the true Church," writes Eckartshausen, "knows no rites, no ceremonies; in external societies, there must be rites; this is a matter of externality, signs of humanity: but where virtue is in the heart, truth and wisdom are in essence, there rites and statutes are unnecessary; in the kingdom of external forces, spirits fall and are useless."

However similar the doctrine of the Doukhobors may be in some parts to the teachings of the Manichaeans and false mystics, it is even more closely aligned with the teachings of the Quakers—in their judgments about Jesus Christ, justification by faith, opinions on the inner word and future resurrection, moral rules, and views on Holy Scripture and the Church in all its relations. To see this similarity, it is enough to present here the essence of the Quaker belief as it is presented by Mosheim, who thoroughly investigated the system of their belief. "Their primary dogma," he says, "is the opinion that in the soul of every person there is a certain particle of that mind and wisdom which God Himself possesses: this imaginary heavenly wisdom they call the inner word, the inner Christ, the action of the Holy Spirit, etc. From this proposition, they conclude: I) that all religion consists in heeding and following the promptings of this inner word; II) that Holy Scripture—the external word—does not show us the true path to salvation, but only turns the mind to the inner word and leads to the inner Teacher—Christ. III) that those who do not have this Scripture—pagans, Jews, Mohammedans, etc.—are not deprived of salvation; for it is enough for them to learn from the inner word and so on. IV.) To achieve salvation, there is no need to be a Christian externally. V.) Our bodies greatly hinder the perception of the inner Christ in the heart; and therefore, for a closer union with God, it is necessary to turn one's attention away from all external objects. VI) One should not think that after the liberation of our souls from the bonds of this body, these bodies will ever rise again; this resurrection should be understood only allegorically, or about some heavenly bodies. VII) Quakers do not respect the external deeds and merits of Jesus Christ and accept the entire Gospel history of Jesus Christ allegorically about their inner Christ, His mystical birth, suffering, death, and resurrection in the human heart; hence they conclude VII) that external worship is unnecessary, and it is enough to give spiritual worship to the inner Christ; rites that strike our senses, such as Baptism, the Eucharist, even the singing of psalms and the very holidays—only turn our attention away from the inner teachings of divine wisdom. IX.) In life, they are abstinent to the point of severity: to weaken the power of the flesh over the soul, it is necessary to deny oneself in everything that flatters our senses and, contenting oneself only with the necessary, moderate the taste for all pleasures. Hence comes their severity in appearance, the rustic simplicity of their clothing, the roughness of their manners, and moderation in food; they do not observe any social customs; they do not bow to anyone, do not take off their hats, and address everyone with the word: 'thou'; they do not sue anyone, do not give oaths in court, do not carry weapons, and do not attack anyone, even to preserve their own lives." Exactly the same reasoning and rules are found among the Doukhobors.

The doctrine of the Doukhobors coincides with the teachings of the Anabaptists, if only because the latter is very close to the teachings of the Quakers. Moreover, among the Doukhobors, one can even find what is characteristic of the Anabaptists' belief, and consequently, suspect that the latter also participated more or less in the formation of their sect. The Anabaptists teach, among other things, that the baptism of children is an invention of the devil, that the Church of Christ should be free from all sin, that all things should be common to all the faithful, and that civil government is useless in the kingdom of Jesus Christ. And among the Doukhobors, especially

those from Tambov, we find the most sharp rejections of infant baptism; the same prejudice about the sinlessness of their Church; the same community, extending even to children; the same bold rejections of secular authorities. The same similarity can be found in other particulars of both beliefs. For example: "The Anabaptists do not recognize anyone as a judge in matters of doctrine and do not have any established confession of faith, but are content with the Bible, which they all interpret in their own way." So think about their doctrine and so preserve it and the Doukhobors.

"Some Anabaptists are called Sabbatarians, because of their strict observance of the Sabbath." A similar observance of the Sabbath remains to this day among the Molokans, the main pseudopods of the Doukhobors. "The Anabaptists—during their service, consisting mostly of prayers pronounced with kneeling, and from the Bible—interpret the Bible and especially turn to the Apocalypse. They also have it established to pray three times a day: in the morning, at noon, and in the evening." The same regulations we see among the Doukhobors: even their marriages and funerals are performed in the same way as among the Anabaptists; finally, their domestic lifestyle and manner of dealing with others seem to be borrowed more from the Anabaptists than from the Quakers. Thus, the main ideas constituting the doctrine of the Doukhobors all came to them from the West. What prompted the local individuals to adopt and assimilate this foreign, non-Orthodox doctrine? And how, under what circumstances, could this doctrine initially penetrate from the West into Russia and spread so widely here? The Doukhobors themselves explain this by the following reasons. "We were born," they write, "and suddenly over each of us were performed the external Christian rites, as are now performed over our children: we grew up, matured, some even grew old, going all the time of our lives to Church, but what? Let us tell the truth: how we sat in it with boredom, not understanding at all the bookish word, read quickly, indistinctly, and hastily, or loudly sung. Our mind from our sitting in the churches did not acquire any knowledge either about ourselves or about what our Lord God is and what His holy will is. And so we lived in blindness, like many sons of Israel: in all evil unrepentantly. Now, thank God, we are in a different state: having begun to go to our meetings, listening to the word of God, clearly explained and, understanding it, we saw with unspeakable amazement the Lord Jesus, the Son of God, in Him the Father and the holy will of God and our evil will; and we prayed already in knowledge, that the Lord God would help us, renouncing ourselves, that is, our evil will, to follow the good will of God. Now, coming to Church, we understand more than before what is read here: and, it seems, the Church readings are not boring for those who have learned to understand them at home."

After a brief description, having spoken about the establishment of the clergy and their duties—to instruct the people, they continue: "they are obliged to this by an oath and now, those who take upon themselves this duty; but who does not see that they seek only glory or enrichment for a luxurious life, and have completely abandoned their duty to lead us to the Lord? Seeing that our acquaintances run away, we ourselves loved to study the word of God at home, so that we might live on earth pleasing to God. We are simple: in the churches, the word of God is not

explained; what is read there, we do not understand: we lived in blindness, the blind seek what to fill themselves with. Now the opportunity presented itself to us to hear the word of God in the story: we listened to it. Let it be so, that, desiring to know our heavenly Father, we fell into a wrong doctrine: but why were we not warned by the right one? It is better to see the light with one eye and not clearly, than to be blind with both." Thus, the incomprehensibility of Orthodox worship, the attractiveness of the Doukhobor doctrine, and the negligence of the pastors were, according to the Doukhobors, the reason for their deviation from Orthodoxy to this doctrine, which they hold to this day: and the accidental appearance of teachers of this belief—the means of its initial spread in various places. But these reasons do not fully, satisfactorily explain their case, even because they, as judicial testimony, are quite insincere: the true reasons, it seems, are hidden in the spirit of the time and those individuals who adopted the Doukhobor doctrine. At least, these reasons should be found here more than in any other private, incidental circumstances. It is known that the 16th and 17th centuries, in the history of mankind, were times of universal ferment and changes in the religious-political field; this general spirit could not but be communicated more or less from the West to the East: in the days of religious changes, Russia could not but take part, as far as it was possible according to the course of its affairs. However, everything that required changes in our Church was contained no more than in the letters of Church books and very few decrees, which sometimes entered it at the request of various circumstances, already past. And the Church itself saw the need for them, and hastened to satisfy them, changing in itself what required transformation, but not at all touching the sanctity and purity of faith, which, in its essence, is always unchangeable and inviolable.

Among all this, any change in the religious field, whatever it may be, although it does not change the very essence of religion, but in the persons following it, cannot but produce, according to their difference, and actions of different kinds. There are people in every belief, constituting its support, understanding the spirit of their faith, who, with all the necessary changes in its external appearance, always remain faithful to their faith and will always maintain a true balance between the extremes, usually destructive; but at the same time, there will always be those who, clinging to materiality, with every shock in the form of religion, remain with its mechanism, with its fruitless external ritualism. And one of the extremes already presupposes the other here: there will be those who, wishing to place themselves above all external salvation, will seek religion only internal, spiritual and, one might add, dreamy. So it happens for the most part with all changes in religion: so it was with that insignificant in its volume, but remarkable in its spirit change, which occurred in the Russian Church under Patriarch Nikon in 1667, with the undertaking of the correction of Church books. Then, with the purification of the letter of the sacred books, those inspired by the true spirit of faith were more enlightened; but those who sought in religion the letter, and not the spirit, and concluded it in externality more than in its inner strength, remained where they were before—stubborn defenders of its ritualism, its mechanism! Hence various sects of Old Believers, who, defending the ancient letters, corrected by the Orthodox Church, thought that they were defending the Church itself and its ancient faith. Following this, opposite sects appeared, who not only dared to defend the corrections made by

the Church, but also against what was always accepted and sanctified by it, sects in which the tendency to the internal and spiritual predominates, and to which especially belongs the belief of the Doukhobors, as in it this one-sided tendency is especially revealed. True, this tendency was not easy to manifest itself in Russia in the 18th century, when the common people were too rude and more capable of remaining with the ritualism of religion than to deviate into the realm of the mystical and dreamy. But when Peter the Great, having fulfilled his actions on the political field of Russia, boldly introduced into it the lamp of foreign enlightenment and for this opened free entry to foreigners themselves; then, along with useful sciences and knowledge, human speculations on religious subjects were also brought here, albeit secretly, which could be assimilated here the sooner, that there were already minds and hearts capable of accepting it, especially in the significant class of then's Streltsy. From the highest, their general character—self-will and riot; tamed and suppressed by the powerful hand of the Great Monarch, he tried to compensate for his salvation with the spirit of self-will in faith; therefore, various opinions of Socinians, Anabaptists, Calvinists, which appeared in Russia from 1709, found the most zealous followers and stubborn defenders mainly among the Streltsy; therefore, the very doctrine of the Doukhobors had as its first organ a Streltsy—the famous Lushkin. It is noteworthy that this doctrine, in later times, spreading from Moscow and its environs further and further, intensified especially in Ukraine; for it, tamed then by the force of autocracy, also tried to find scope for the restless spirit of its independence—in religious self-will; the Don Cossacks, once special champions of violent independence, appeared in the same time as the most ardent zealots of the Doukhobor doctrine.

Now, to some extent, the reasons that the Doukhobors themselves put forward as the only ones that contributed to the appearance and spread of their doctrine acquire their significance and strength. The externalities of the Orthodox Church seemed to them useless, incomprehensible, and empty, not because it was really so, but because, elevated by the spirit of self-will to a false height and having taken the courage to judge the faith by their own definition, they already looked at it from this incorrect point of view, from which it should have seemed to them in a completely perverted form; and this very perversion, no matter how erroneous and false it was, could not but diminish in them the due respect for the rites of the Church. The doctrine, or what was accepted, alone seemed to them clear, full, and satisfactory, not because it could really elevate the spirit to the bright and pure, but because it alone could correspond to the demand of their spirit; therefore, it could more easily and freely pour over to them, the more it found in them readiness and satisfaction. The Orthodox clergy seemed to them inactive, neglecting their flock, not because it really forgot its pastoral duty, but because it could not and should not satisfy the demands of their spirit, already vain and disobedient. They were prejudiced by the Doukhobor doctrine, as they themselves say, but prejudiced not because they did not have the opportunity and means to know the true, Orthodox doctrine, but because, in the given circumstances, with a certain state of their spirit, they were especially capable of accepting and assimilating the belief to which they fell and which they follow to this day. Undoubtedly, the establishment of the Doukhobor doctrine was also facilitated by other, partial reasons: for

example, the character and behavior of their heresiarchs—their courtesy and insinuatingness predisposed minds and hearts in favor of their doctrine; the desire to enrich themselves, or at least to improve their poor peasant life ("no matter how poor we are, we will be rich," said one Doukhobor teacher to the converts),—the way of life and mutual treatment of the Doukhobors among themselves (they live in communities and consider it their duty to help each member). But these, and similar reasons, as partial, could act in favor of the Doukhobor doctrine only in a series of secondary reasons, under the influence of the main and general ones.

We have seen before that in the doctrine of the Doukhobors everything is borrowed and foreign: therefore, the main ideas were drawn by the Doukhobors from those beliefs in which the tendency to the internal, spiritual, and moral predominates, but in the doctrine of the Doukhobors—the one-sidedness of the spiritual is clearly revealed, as in all mystical teachings, and its distinctive character—morality. The true Church, according to the spirit of their doctrine, is not contained in any one religious society, different from others by a certain kind of external doctrine and institution; its limits are extended far and embrace various confessions and all religions existing in the world: sealed by a single sign—the action of inner enlightenment, under which all particulars mean nothing, it does not exist definitely anywhere, and at the same time can exist everywhere; it remains something boundless, invisible; hence the immensity and indefiniteness of the volume in the main basic idea about the Church and other concepts dependent on it. On the other hand, the entire external side of religion has no importance or substantiality in the doctrine of the Doukhobors; the whole complexity of ritual actions in the sacraments, all external institutions and decrees of the Church, even the very history of the external life of Jesus Christ—are only an expression of what should happen, or actually happens in the depths of the human soul: there is only substantiality, where the action of the inner word is revealed; hence all the belief of the Doukhobors, not suppressed by externality, suppresses this externality itself; all religion is accomplished in the internal: here is the priest, the altar, the sacrifice, and all sacred actions. Such a religion, stripped of everything material and plunged into the darkness of the mystical, has always pleased and pleases those who, with the liveliness of imagination, combine excessive strength of feeling; for it itself is nothing else than a tense representation and feeling. Corresponding in its direction to the direction of their mental powers, it alone seems to them worthy of the human spirit, alone—divine and pure: but, in fact, being a deviation of true religion into one of the extremes, it always leads its followers—to the same extremes,—both in their belief and in their very activity. The concept of the visible Church has the same force in Religion as in Philosophy—the concept of the visible world: reject in it—the reality of the material: then the mind, rising above all habits and getting lost in the boundlessness of its ideas, will build theory upon theory, construct assumption upon assumption, but in them there will be nothing definite: so in Religion; when the reality of the visible Church—the faithful guardian of sacred truths, is rejected, and when the internal, embracing all believers, passes into some boundlessness, then the field opens up for vain speculations, false propositions, empty fictions: hence in the doctrine of the Doukhobors, the sacred history of the first man—his creation and fall, expanded in spiritual understanding, as if it does not fit within the circle of the

visible world and is transferred into the abyss of the pre-temporal world; the present world seems—a huge prison of the human soul, a boiling cauldron of heterogeneous aspirations; visible nature appears as a vestment of divine power, as magical letters, in which the enlightened from above comprehend the mysteries of the past, present, and future; in Holy Scripture, they see not Jesus Christ Himself, but a collection of mystical hieroglyphs, or as if a gallery of some paintings, on which everyone can see and recognize what he pleases. With such a direction and action of the basic idea, what should happen in the whole belief of the Doukhobors?—One of two things: either, under the false light of imaginary inner inspiration, which in its essence is nothing more than the fantasy of each,—all dreams, all arbitrary fictions will seem immutable truths, and—the more lively and exciting the representations, the more powerful and strong the stimulus to act on the mind all the more deceptive mysteries; all false religiosity; and this is obvious self-delusion and fanaticism: or—when sound reason carefully examines these dreamy creations of inner revelation, they will fall into the same nothingness from which they were called and disappear like a soap bubble; but this very disappearance of them will strongly cool the soul to any belief,—this religious disillusionment will plunge it into dead unbelief for a long time.

The most moderate mysticism usually leads to strict morality: but if it deviates further and further into the realm of empty contemplations; if, as in the doctrine of the Doukhobors, the world is represented as a prison, and the flesh as a chain of the human soul; if in the series of sacred truths—other similar chains and prisons of dreams are introduced, which should have the closest influence on moral morality: then its severity naturally turns into gloomy and wild severity; the striving for the spiritual decisively suppresses all relations of material life; the neglect of the sensual reaches open war with human nature itself; the motives to virtue are directed to the point that they change it into frenzy, into moral fanaticism. And one of the moral extremes is always close to the other: when the darkness of self-delusion dissipates, the excitement of fanaticism subsides (which happens not infrequently); then all the falsely—sublime virtue of the mystic falls into dust and nothingness; for what can remain then for its support? All internal, dreamy creations, on which it held, are destroyed, and in externality—the very belief has long rejected everything that could serve as its support: with the decline of internal motives—the unbridled zeal for virtue must turn into unbridled self-will, and with the lack of external—give way to obvious depravity.

Such is the course of beliefs, pouring into the noise of the mystical: such is it in the belief of the Doukhobors. In it have already been expressed, although at different times, both extremes to which it is capable. From the very appearance of it in Russia to the end of the last century, there was a period in which this belief gradually led its followers to self-delusion and fanaticism: not only did each of them flatter himself with the inner sensation of the imaginary outpouring of the spirit in his heart, but everywhere in their sect appeared prophets, dreaming of a special providence of them from above, and all in general, calling themselves the royal priesthood, people of renewal, no longer recognized sin in themselves. There came stormy times for the

Doukhobors; they thought to stop the stream of their doctrine with severity, punishments, persecutions: but opposition to them only inflamed and strengthened their fanaticism, which from time to time became more fiery, more daring; subjected to various punishments, they almost considered themselves the descendants of the innocently slain Abel, persecuted by the tribe of Cain, and their stubbornness and bitterness they put on a par with the heroic deeds of the ancient Christian confessors; they did not avoid dangers, but even boldly went out to meet them and for the most part themselves boldly attracted them to themselves with their unreasonable and impudent actions; not content with having arbitrarily rejected all the externality of Religion and not submitting to the decrees of the government, with obvious impudence they spoke out against the decrees of the Church and its ministers, against the institutions of society and its authorities; and at the very beginning of their sect, when it did not yet have a name or definiteness in doctrine, from its bosom other, private sects were born, which, agreeing with it in the rejection of all externality, early revealed in their activity the spirit of extreme fanaticism; such are, for example, the Skoptsy, who are called a special and higher degree of Doukhobors (a),—the Morelshchiks, who burn others or themselves to inherit salvation; and among the Doukhobors themselves, victims were seen who, in some religious frenzy, were ready to starve themselves or die on a burning fire. Can fanaticism spread further?—

But when the external circumstances of the Doukhobors changed, the whole course of their belief changed. The beginning of the present century was the beginning of this remarkable change in their sect: when all disputes about their faith ceased, when they were granted complete freedom of conscience and external peace with the Orthodox Church, when their fanaticism, meeting no resistance anywhere, freely expanded in all directions,—and from the second decade of the present century, we no longer see traces of it anywhere; on the contrary, the preponderance of the opposite extreme is constantly revealed. Already passed for the Doukhobors is the self-delusion that lifted them into the realm of mystical fictions, and from there led them to fanaticism; now, in reasoning about their doctrine, they are immersed in the greatest ignorance and, it can be said with certainty, have no permanent rules of belief,—they themselves do not know what dogmas of faith they accept and what they essentially believe. Therefore—to appear among them, as before, unreasonable aversion from the externality of Religion; for they themselves introduce some rites among themselves, albeit superstitious and empty: there is no longer a constant striving for the internal and spiritual; the spirit of intolerance to various sects is not noticeable, for they have already gone out of the custom of even exclusions from their society: they are already too indifferent to their own belief; there are no longer any disturbing enterprises for the resolution of religious issues,—they live in society peacefully and calmly: they do not even care about maintaining their declining and more and more distorted doctrine.—This direction of their belief is also reflected in all their activity: already softened are their unreasonable cries against the spiritual and secular authorities, but from this they have not become better at all; already unknown to them are the frenzied actions of imaginary virtue, but hardly are they in their greater part not alien to all true virtue.—True, some still recognize them as good and honest people, although special views and beginnings have already weakened their

former strict rules: but even this their goodness and honesty only deceive the straightforward; to pretend before others is more necessary for the present Doukhobors than their rules of morality were once strict, but even this pretense often deceives them: those who had the opportunity and time to see them closer and observe their way of life and customs with attention,—noticed among them a very great corruption of morals, as a necessary consequence of vague concepts about faith: In particular, if among them there are virtuous people, their virtue depends not on belief, but on that which is common to the happiness of the human race, the moral feeling in man is stronger than all his false religions; even when his vain creations are overthrown into dust, it alone, though not for long, can still nourish and preserve love for virtue—

With such a state of the beliefs of the Doukhobors at the present time,—what should be expected from it in the future?—In the extreme threatening it now, it is unlikely to fall lower than it rose before on the false height of delusion and fanaticism; for nothing counteracts it in this new direction, and everything, it seems, is in a hurry to accelerate its course: The internal dignity of their Religion is weakening by itself; and in externality, there are now no decrees for the preservation of the purity of faith and morality;—before, the very spreaders of the doctrine were familiar with some education and thus could support their sects: now—all still claim to inner enlightenment; but as if in order to neglect external enlightenment; their old men, on whom they look as special guardians of the doctrine, ascribe to themselves a knowledge of religious things greater than that which Christ Himself has,—a clear proof of how high this inner enlightenment is in them. Before, the Doukhobors themselves, at the request of various circumstances, often concluded their doctrine in writing; and thus could protect it from new distortions and final oblivion: now, even their former writings are not known among them; and the doctrine is transmitted from mouth to mouth from the old men to their children, even more ignorant—If no new circumstances are invented, that, less than in the past, they must come to obvious unbelief and extreme depravity: what was, and is,—guarantees the fidelity of what should be. The initial origin of the doctrine we are considering and its distinctive character throughout show what relation it should have to the doctrine of the Orthodox Church: this diverse combination of various religious myths, which is revealed everywhere in the doctrine of the Doukhobors, cannot constitute true belief, in which everything should be one and harmonious, like truth itself, where even the slightest admixture of religious myths already presupposes signs of something alien, unclean. The very direction of the Doukhobor doctrine to the spiritual alone,—the striving into the realm of the moral,—where rarely either fanaticism is aroused, or unbelief is infected, as one of the religious extremes, should convince everyone that their belief cannot but be a deviation from the straight, true path. This belief arose not against those rites and decrees of the Church, which, as accidental and indifferent, could be in it, or were not; but rejected even the externality of Religion, which, having been established in the Church not without the will of God and sanctified by centuries, should always remain inviolable, sacred; it irreverently touched the very sanctuary of faith—the divine sacraments, in which everything is holy and inviolable. Destroying and refuting the external Church, the doctrine of the Doukhobors tried to erect the inner Church: but here too the great Cornerstone, on which alone the wonderful temple of the Lord is built, if

not completely neglected by the builders, is at least moved by them from its place, and one might add,—already placed not in honor: already not on it rests the divine economy of human salvation, not on the visible sufferings and death of Jesus Christ is founded the hope of the purification of our sins and our reconciliation with God. Here everything is based on the inner action of the Spirit, on the mystical enlightenment from above: since without the merits of Jesus Christ, we have neither spirit nor true enlightenment; it is obvious that everything based on this imaginary enlightenment, holds only on the deceptive fantasy, on the blind and pernicious self-delusion. According to the doctrine of the Doukhobors—one can belong to the true Church, leading to the kingdom of glory, having devoted oneself to Mohammed, or another false teacher; even those who recognize the acting here Spirit as Jesus Himself, see in Him not the pre-eternal Son of God, but one of the properties of God, such as wisdom. After this, is it necessary to condemn the doctrine of the Doukhobors, when it condemns itself?—If through a series of doctrines that make up its composition, descending to its first source, that starting from the doctrines of the Quakers and false mystics,—it must come to the doctrine of the Gnostics, on which it holds, as one of the many branches of a tree on its root: but the doctrine of the Gnostics was condemned by the Apostle Paul, when he wrote to Timothy: "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called: Which some professing have erred concerning the faith" (1 Tim. V 20-21).

Consequently, the Apostle preemptively condemned the doctrine of the Manichaeans, which originated from the Gnostic, and all those branches that from them were produced and will be produced until the end of the ages: condemned, therefore, the doctrine of the Doukhobors. And in particular, the various opinions of which it is composed, have long been rejected by the Church. For example, the opinion of Origen about the existence and fall of our souls before the creation of the visible world was condemned at the V Ecumenical Council, although he accepted it as a simple opinion and did not reject through it either original sin, or the importance and reality of the merits of Jesus Christ. With even greater severity, the Church condemned the offspring of the Manichaeans, overthrowing all Christianity; it does not recognize as pure either the doctrine of the false mystics, or the Quakers, or the Anabaptists. In various ways, the doctrine of the Doukhobors has been recognized as false and heretical by the Holy Synod, which, as the chief representative of our Church, pronounced that "the sect of the Doukhobors is outside any established confession of the Christian Religion, that it is nothing else but an ignorant deviation from Orthodoxy and the rules established by the holy Orthodox Church, and that those wandering in this schism do not belong to the class of its true children."

The doctrine of the Doukhobors has a relation to the civil state of man, for it touches on social life. What should human society be according to the spirit and requirements of this doctrine? It is not a Monarchy,—for authorities (say the Doukhobors) are not needed for the sons of God; not an Aristocracy,—for all are equal by their nature and inclination to fall; not a Republic, where the law should rule,—for the external law is superfluous for the children of God; inner enlightenment, or the word should replace for them all social institutions and decrees:—and thus

it is an Ultra-Theocracy, where everything, not only in the inner life of a Christian, but also in the external life of a citizen—should happen according to the immediate arrangement and assistance of God Himself, according to the inner universal inspiration and support from above. But the times of a proper Theocracy no longer exist for man; one can find it in idea, but not in experience; and therefore the Ultra-Theocracy of the Doukhobors is a kind of Plato's Utopia,—only in a religious direction.—Let us suppose, however, that the idea by which the Doukhobors wanted to arrange human society could find, although in other respects, its application in practice; but what should happen then with the whole society? Rejecting the oath,—it removes from conscience the sacred obligation, respected by all; condemning all kinds of distinctions and honors,—it takes away external motives from patriotic zeal and puts on a par the distinguished talent with the ordinary mind; recognizing as superfluous judges and courts,—it betrays society to the mercy of unbridled passions; rejecting war and even the custom of carrying weapons,—it leaves the whole society defenseless, betrays it into the hands of the first external enemy and deprives it of the means to defend its sacred rights,—its benefit and well-being. The very belief of the Doukhobors, in its application to the social order of things, is harmful and pernicious. What can be expected from those who, believing in the inner, immediate enlightenment from above,—all the unrealizable dreams of the mind, all the whimsical desires of an evil heart are ready to recognize as the action of higher inspiration, the obvious suggestion of God Himself? who, on all social decrees and laws look with an unfriendly eye and the very sacred power recognize as something contrary to the true spirit of the holy religion? They need only an occasion and means to produce those terrible disturbances, those bloody wars, which marked themselves with a similar belief in the face of the Anabaptists of Westphalia. Fortunately, the sect of the Doukhobors is not so populous as to dare to bold attempts; it must contain within itself only a restless spirit, which could be expressed in devastating eruptions, if it possessed greater means, more multiplied its followers and significantly increased its forces. But the far-sighted government timely prevented the possible danger. Gathered from their dispersion into one society, placed almost on the borders of Russia and thus removed from any communication with others, the Doukhobors no longer have the means to see the growth of their sect; and the numerous experiences of generosity and paternal care, shown to them by the Supreme Power, finally pacified and their restless spirit, curbed and humbled the violent impulses of their fanaticism. All that can still be desired is—their final conversion to the path of Orthodoxy; and the present time seems the most suitable and favorable for the accomplishment of this saving and salutary work in them. Before, fanaticism so strongly possessed their minds, and the circumstances so loudly called in their hearts, that, carried away by their belief—the Doukhobors, were not able to heed the words of truth,—the peaceful and meek appeals;—in the future, they must more and more cool in their unreasonable zeal, may even cool to any religion, come to complete unbelief. Now—the sect of the Doukhobors is still making the transition from one extreme to the other; it still stands at the crossroads, as if in indecision, where to direct its course; although it itself is moving further and further with the inclination of the wavering to unbelief in its own doctrine. This critical time of the moral-religious turning point of the

Doukhobors,—when the excitement and heat of their fanaticism and immoderate zeal have subsided, and meanwhile the final cooling of the mind and heart has not yet come,—should be the most precious in the days of their healing, and may be the only one, when if there is still hope to return them to sound reasoning and again arouse in them the true, spiritual life in Christ Jesus. For a sure success, only—reliable means are needed, and they are rich in the wise foresight and Christian love, which, to the glory and well-being of our Church and all mankind, are united in a friendly alliance on the ancient throne of our Most August Monarchs.
