The Living Church 1922-1946

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"There is only one way to salvation: we must show that not everyone who wears a cassock is an enemy of Soviet power." (Words of a Living Church member).

The Bolsheviks began directing legislation against the Church after seizing power in October 1917 (O.S.). The 1917–18 Council of the Russian Orthodox Church reacted with hostile proclamations and became increasingly conservative.[1] In 1922, during the severe famines that followed the Civil War of 1918–21, Orthodox churchmen, including Patriarch Tikhon, were harshly criticized by the Soviet government for allegedly refusing to surrender church valuables to raise money for helping the starving. In March of that year, a group of newly-emigrated anti-Bolshevik Russian Orthodox clergy, called the *Karlovtsy*, who had held their own Council (the *Karlovatsky Sobor*, named after the town in Serbia where the meeting took place) in November 1921, warned the Russians against supporting the Bolsheviks. The Karlovatsky pronouncement and the controversy over church treasures were used by the Soviet government to implicate the Orthodox Church in an international conspiracy to undermine the Soviet regime. Many Orthodox clergy were brought to trial and condemned for allegedly "anti-Soviet" activity. During these trials, the government recruited certain churchmen to testify against the accused. These men were members of the so-called Living Church, which by the time of the famines was a kind of opposition party within the Orthodox Church. It was shortly to become an officially-approved substitute for the Patriarchal Orthodox Church, dedicated to supporting Soviet power.[2]

What were the antecedents of the Living Church or Renovationism?* This is a complex question and largely beyond the scope of this article.[3] During the early 20th Century, in pre-Revolutionary Russia, many groups of intellectuals, philosophers and churchmen began voicing their concern over the plight of the Orthodox Church in its enforced alliance with a reactionary State. It is possible to discover many lines of continuity

* See footnote 2 for an explanation of the use of this term.—Ed.

between the democratic and socialist aims of these men and the aims of the men of the Living Church (also known as Renovationists). There is also a certain amount of personal continuity: for example, the so-called "Group of Thirty-Two" reformist priests, who were active between 1905 and 1907, reappeared after the February Revolution of 1917 as the "League of Democratic Orthodox Clergy and Laymen", a group which stood against the increasing conservatism of the Orthodox Church, and which included amongst its members one or two men who later became prominent in the Living Church.

B. V. Titlinov's book, *Novaya tserkov* (*The New Church*), written in 1922, contains an apology for Renovationist ideology. Titlinov declares that the new movement is not a revolution or a reformation, which would imply a definite break with the historical Church, but a reform which remains true to the original spirit of Orthodoxy. The basic task of the Living Church is to "do away with those accretions which have been introduced into Orthodox worship during the period of union between the Church and the [Tsarist] State". Titlinov calls for "priestly creativity" in the liturgy and for its celebration as in the early Church amidst the congregation. There must be ethical and moral reform in society, involving opposition to capitalism. Bishops should be elected from the lower clergy and should be allowed to marry. The Living Church, he claims, accepts the October Revolution as consonant with the aims of Christian truth.

There are three basic ideological strands in Renovationism: a political strand, concerned with promoting loyalty to the Soviet regime; an organizational strand, concerned with the rights of the lower clergy and with the administration of the Church; and an ethical strand, concerned with making Church services more accessible to the masses and with moral and social reform. The first strand was characteristic of the Living Church movement as a whole, and was indeed a precondition for the initial success of Renovationism. When the Living Church movement split into various factions, the second ideological strand was taken up chiefly by the followers of V. D. Krasnitsky, and the third by the groups which followed Bishop Antonin Granovsky and A. I. Vvedensky.

Vvedensky and Krasnitsky were among the Living Church members who gained notoriety for their part in the trials of 1922. Levitin gives important character studies of these men. He admires Vvedensky, but points to various weaknesses in his character; he portrays Krasnitsky as a vindictive and self-seeking careerist, consistent only in his efforts to subordinate Church to State. There were, however, some sincere and morally upright men among the Renovationists, for example Bishop Antonin Granovsky.[4]

On 9 May 1922, Patriarch Tikhon was indicted for alleged "anti-Soviet activity". On 12 May Vvedensky, Krasnitsky, S. V. Kalinovsky and two other Renovationists paid the first of three visits to Tikhon in prison. On

16 May Tikhon agreed to resign, naming as his deputy Metropolitan Agafangel of Yaroslavl. The Living Church then staged a "coup". Since Metropolitan Agafangel was unable to come to Moscow the Renovationists announced that the Patriarch had given them full executive powers. In mid-May they set up a Higher Church Administration (*Vysshee tserkovnoe upravlenie*) with Bishop Antonin as its head. Schism in the Church became a fact on 18 May 1922.

In early May the periodical *Zhivaya tserkov* (*The Living Church*) had begun to appear. During June several bishops declared their support for the Living Church; amongst them was the future Patriarch of the Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Sergi.[5] On 9 July the first non-celibate bishop was ordained. Metropolitan Agafangel protested at the Living Church "coup" and was arrested, and as the Living Church began to extend its control over the dioceses, many more Orthodox clergy were arrested.

Between 6 and 17 August the Living Church held a Congress (*Sezd*) to prepare for a forthcoming Renovationist Council (*Sobor*). The leader of the Congress, Krasnitsky, declared that it had been convoked in the interests of the "white" (lower, non-monastic) clergy,[6] and prevailed upon Bishop Antonin and other religious to leave the conference hall. The dismissal of Antonin was symptomatic of a schism which had occurred within the Living Church movement itself in mid-1922 (see footnote 2). Bishop Antonin, a more popular figure than Krasnitsky, had founded the "League of Regeneration of the Church" which placed more emphasis on the spiritual side of religion and on recruiting the support of the masses. Antonin represented those who were repelled by the preoccupation of Krasnitsky's group with the interests of the lower clergy as a class. At about this time, he expressed the hope that the Renovationist movement as a whole was motivated "not by clerical, caste or mercenary motives, but by elevated Christian socialist ideals". He introduced all kinds of innovations into the celebration of the liturgy, and initially his movement had considerable success.[7] The programme of the "League of Regeneration" appeared on 25 August 1922. The "Living Church" group (see footnote 2), now the rump of the original Living Church and led by Krasnitsky, remained more politically oriented: it had declared itself to be for the Church what the Communist Party was for the State, controlling and guiding it in the interest of political goals. In October, after disagreements with Antonin, Vvedensky founded a third splinter group, the "Union of Communities of the Ancient Apostolic Church". It called for a return to primitive Christianity and was ideologically the most radical of the three groups.[8]

Some people maintain that the Renovationist movement enjoyed complete government support, that the triumph of the Living Church was to a large extent engineered by the Soviet regime, and that many Renovationists were members of the GPU (secret police). There can be no doubt, however, that by no means all Living Church men were mere tools in the

hands of the regime; some at least were inspired by the highest motives. There is also evidence that the government did not consistently favour the cause of Living Church clergy against that of the Orthodox clergy. The regime was probably trying to pursue two rather different policies simultaneously: it wanted to give the world the impression that not all forms of religion were persecuted in the Soviet Union; but it also wanted to promote schism and confusion within the Church. Certainly, Living Church leaders were suspicious enough of the intentions of the government to have no doubt that the support they were receiving was liable to be conditional and temporary. In late 1922 the government did indeed begin to withdraw support from all religious movements, and shortly afterwards initiated a new anti-religious campaign.

Early 1923 saw the triumph of the Living Church over the Orthodox Church. The Renovationists now held, for example, all but four or five of the churches in Moscow.[9] The Council (*Sobor*) of the Living Church was held from 29 April–9 May.[10] Although this was nominally a universal Orthodox Council, Tikhonites were discouraged from attending it, and it was dominated by laymen and lower clergy. The Council expressed loyalty to the Soviet State, and declared capitalism a mortal sin. Members of the *Karlovatsky Sobor* were excommunicated. Resolutions were passed against monastic orders, and permission was granted for married clergy to become bishops. A "Higher Church Council" was officially established, and included members of all three Living Church groups.[11] Various reforms were introduced into the liturgy, and the Gregorian calendar was adopted by the Church. Patriarch Tikhon, still in prison, was stripped of his clerical orders.

During early 1923, Tikhon's trial was thought to be imminent, but was inexplicably postponed again and again. At last, on 16 June, the delay was explained: Tikhon recanted his earlier anti-Soviet stance and declared that henceforth he would not interfere in politics. He was released on 25 June, took over from Agafangel, and promptly began issuing decrees against the Living Church and further expressions of loyalty to the regime. There was a mass exodus of ordinary believers from the Living Church, and many hierarchs also reverted, including the future Patriarch Sergi. International pressure seems to have brought about Tikhon's release; but the government may also have decided to free him on realizing that he alone of the church leaders commanded the support of the masses.

The Living Church responded to this new challenge with structural reforms. In August 1923 the various factions were reunited. The Living Church was renamed the Russian Orthodox Church; the Higher Church Council was renamed the Holy Synod, and the journal *The Living Church* renamed *The Herald of the Holy Synod*. Thus renewed, the Living Church made great efforts to gain recognition in the world at large as the only valid Orthodox Church in Russia.

From August to November 1923 there were discussions between Tikhon and the new head of the Living Church Synod, Archbishop Yevdokim of Nizhni-Novgorod,[12] aimed at healing the schism in the Church. The discussions, however, were abortive. Further discussions took place in early 1924 between Tikhon and Krasnitsky's "Living Church" group. But by September difficulties proved insuperable and the whole venture was abandoned.[13] From now on the Orthodox Church pursued a consistently hostile policy towards the Living Church, which was now on the defensive and steadily losing adherents to the Patriarch. The Renovationists adopted a less aggressive and self-righteous policy than hitherto, and settled down to await the death of Tikhon in the hope that they would then have an opportunity to re-establish their power.

Tikhon died on 7 April 1925, leaving a *Testament* confirming his unwavering loyalty to the Soviet system.[14] For two years the Orthodox Church was in chaos. Tikhon's appointed successor, Pyotr Krutitsky, was arrested at the end of 1925, and Pyotr's *Locum Tenens*, Sergi, late in 1926. During this period of turmoil, the majority of believers remained loyal to the Orthodox Church, Sergi himself commanding mass support. The Living Church continued to decline. It was frequently unable to gather the minimum 20 members in a parish, which was the requirement for opening a church or preventing one being closed. In early 1925, the Renovationists still held one third of Russia's churches, but this figure declined throughout the year. The decline, according to some, was not only in numbers but also in morale. Nevertheless, Renovationism seems to have enjoyed continuing success in certain places. Levitin speaks of a great flowering of Renovationist activity in Leningrad between 1925 and 1930. He himself joined the Living Church as late as 1933.

In March or April 1927, Sergi was released; in May he was recognized as the head of the Orthodox Church by the government; in July he produced a declaration of loyalty to the Soviet regime, "whose joys and successes are our joys and successes, and whose setbacks are our setbacks". The Living Church continued to decline after 1927, but again opinion is divided as to the speed of this decline. One source tells us that the number of parishes in the Russian Republic held by Renovationists had fallen to 21 per cent by January 1927;[15] according to another source, the Renovationists reported a small gain in parishes during 1927.[16] In Leningrad, at least, creative Renovationist activity continued. Levitin met Vvedensky there for the first time in 1927, and reports on his colourful and indefatigable preaching, and his ability to vanquish his opponents in debates with atheists and with Orthodox Church spokesmen. The Living Church was preparing for another Council to be held in 1928, and still enjoyed widespread recognition in the outside world. During 1927 Renovationists were instrumental in contriving the arrests of numerous Orthodox prelates. The Living Church still had facilities for theological education and a number of religious periodicals.[17] In the 1930s both the

Living Church and the Orthodox Church were invited to participate in an Ecumenical Council. In 1934 the Living Church declared the Orthodox Church heretical.[18]

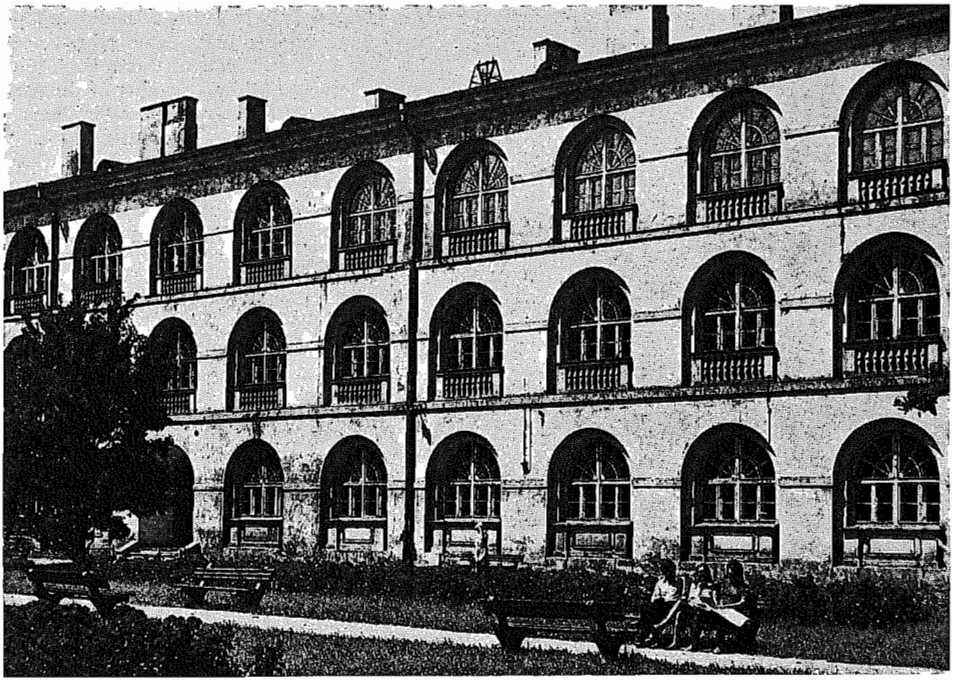
From the mid-1930s, Orthodox and Renovationists alike suffered in the purges, and during this period factional differences were rendered irrelevant, religion surviving where it could. Vvedensky became head of the Renovationist movement during the Second World War, and along with the leaders of the other Churches was evacuated to Ulyanovsk. In 1943 Metropolitan Sergi was recalled to Moscow and recognized by Stalin as Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church; Vvedensky, detained in Ulyanovsk on a technical pretext, waited impotently while most of the remaining Renovationist churches reverted to the Patriarchal fold. "Renovationism has collapsed", he admitted. By 1944 there were virtually no Renovationist churches left in Russia; recognizing the facts, Renovationist hierarchs, except for Vvedensky and one or two others, declared their allegiance to the Patriarch. Vvedensky died in July 1946. The last Renovationist liturgy was celebrated on 9 October 1946.

One reason for the failure of Renovationism was Tikhon and Sergi's quick adoption of the same tactics as the Renovationists over the question of solidarity with the Soviet regime; they did so, however, without committing the inner spiritual life of the Church to socialist ideology to the same extent as did some of the Renovationists, particularly Krasnitsky. Another weakness of the Living Church was its uncanonical position: it was founded with no sanction from a Church Council. Titlinov admits this fact, and sees here a possible cause for the unpopularity of the Living Church. In justification he points out that the Orthodox Church itself had been in a state of canonical irregularity from the time of Peter the Great until 1917. The Orthodox Church could plausibly maintain, however, that its own canonical authority had been re-established by the Council of 1917–18. But probably the most important reason for the failure of the Living Church was that it was a movement of the "intelligentsia", and so did not win the support of the believing masses who remained indifferent or hostile. Vvedensky in 1943 recognized this hostility as one of the reasons for the failure of Renovationism. Levitin tells us that the ideology and policies of many of the Renovationists reminded him of certain pre-Revolutionary mystical intellectuals. Vvedensky in particular, with his rhetoric and emotional style of celebrating the liturgy, displayed an anachronistic early 20th-century decadence. The emphasis placed by certain Renovationists, Krasnitsky in particular, on the rights of one particular group in society (the lower clergy) recalls for Levitin another aspect of the early 20th-century intelligentsia, namely its revolutionary maximalism and exclusivism.

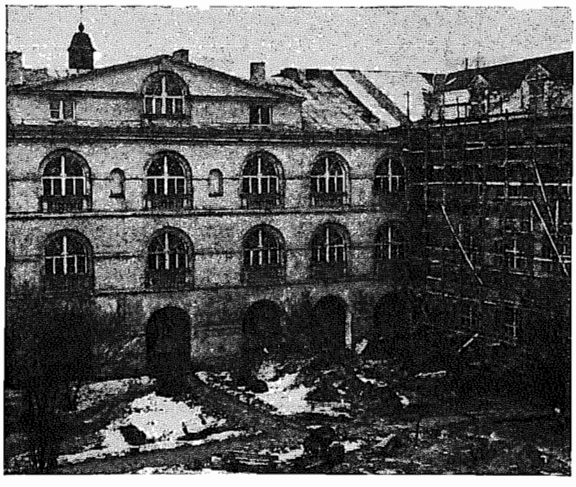
The aims of the Renovationists were enigmatic enough to be seen in some respects as reactionary, rather than revolutionary. Levitin criti-

Left Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod who died in Rome on 5 September this year during an audience with Pope John Paul I. He was a leading member of the Russian Orthodox Church's hierarchy in the USSR. (See reminiscences pp. 227-34)

Below Dr. W. Hryniewicz, Professor of Ecumenical Theology at the Catholic University of Lublin. (KUL). (See article pp. 223-6)



The Catholic University of Lublin (KUL), the only university in all the Eastern bloc countries which is not run by the State.



Building the fourth side of the quadrangle at KUL. Photograph taken in March this year by the Rev. Roger Symon (see his article pp. 223-6).

Entrance to the university church at KUL.

cizes the Living Church policy of voluntary subordination to the prevailing political regime: this recreated a subservient role for the Church similar to that which it was forced to play under the Tsars.[19] It is perhaps obvious that as the nature of the Soviet regime became less revolutionary and more reactionary, attempts by the Church to accommodate itself to this regime changed their nature accordingly; but we must remember that the pre-Revolutionary history of the Renovationist leaders reveals the startling fact that many of them had been linked with the more reactionary Orthodox organizations, such as the Black Hundreds and the Union of Russian People.[20] Many Renovationists, it seems, sought the alliance of the Church with any regime, and their motives may have had some admixture of self-glorification. Levitin quotes Vvedensky's statement that "it is good to be someone who triumphs . . .", and speaks of his "unhealthy thirst for success". Certainly, the men who led the Renovationist movement were all complex characters, impelled by diverse and often conflicting motives. Most critics judge them harshly. We must be grateful to Levitin for his fair and balanced assessments of these men, many of whom he knew personally.

The Renovationist movement remained an exotic flower, a strange product of unprecedented social upheaval. Perhaps the last word should go to Levitin, who by 1935 had decided that "Renovationism had turned out to be a deception . . .", and who afterwards returned to the Orthodox Church.

[1] For information about this Council, see: N. Zernov, "The 1917 Council of the Russian Orthodox Church", *RCL*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1978, pp. 17–20; A. Levitin and V. Shavrov, "Ocherki po istorii russkoi tserkovnoi smuty", *Novyi zhurnal*, No. 85, 1966, pp. 168 ff. All dates in this article are given in the New Style unless otherwise indicated (O.S.). In general I shall not give a source for facts of a purely narrative nature. There are many adequate summaries of the history of the Living Church, to be found, *inter alia*, in: J. S. Curtiss, *The Russian Church and the Soviet State, 1917–1950*, Gloucester, Mass., 1965; W. C. Emhardt, *Religion in Soviet Russia: Anarchy*, Milwaukee and London, 1929; W. C. Fletcher, *A Study in Survival: The Church in Russia 1927–1943*, London, 1965; W. Kolarz, *Religion in the Soviet Union*, London, 1961; M. M. Sheinman, *Khristiansky sotsializm: istoriya i ideologiya*, Moscow, 1969; N. N. Shishkin, *Sushchnost i kriticheskaya ottsenka obnovlencheskogo raskola v russkoi pravoslavnii tserkvi*, Kazan, 1970; M. Spinka, *The Church in Soviet Russia*, N.Y. and Oxford, 1956. For a summary of Soviet writing on the Living Church, see: I. Y. Trifonov, "Raskol v russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi (1922–25)", *Voprosy istorii*, No. 5, 1972. Most, if not all, important contemporary documents are reproduced in: W. C. Emhardt, *op. cit.* (includes a translation of S. V. Troitsky, *Chto takoe Zhivaya Tserkov*, Warsaw, 1928); B. Szczesniak, *The Russian Revolution and Religion, 1917–1925*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1959; and L. Regelson, *Tragediya russkoi tserkvi (1917–1945)*, YMCA, Paris, 1977. Various important works by A. Krasnov-Levitin have appeared in recent years and give further insight into events, ideas and personalities. These include: A. Krasnov-Levitin, *Likhie gody, 1925–1941*, YMCA, Paris, 1977; A. Krasnov, "Zakat obnovlenchestva", *Grani*, No. 86, 1972, pp. 93–116; No. 87–8, 1973, pp. 235–74; A. Levitin and V. Shavrov, "Ocherki po istorii russkoi tserkovnoi smuty", *Novyi zhurnal*, No. 85, 1966, pp. 141–78; No. 86, 1967, pp. 159–220; No. 87, 1967, pp. 198–244; No. 88, 1967, pp. 138–69. The complete text

of "Ocherki po istorii russkoi tserkovnii smuty" was published by Glaube in der 2 Welt (Zürichstr. 155, CH-8700 Küsnacht, Switzerland) 1977.

[2] The nomenclature of the Living Church movement can be confusing. For explanations of the nomenclature see: W. C. Emhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 385; Levitin and Shavrov, "Ocherki po istorii russkoi tserkovnoi smuty", *Novyi zhurnal*, No. 86, pp. 182–3; No. 87, pp. 198–9. The whole movement is known from the start as the Living Church (*Zhivaya Tserkov*) or as the Renovationist movement (*Obnovlencheskoe dvizhenie*). From mid-1922 the name "Living Church" properly belongs only to that faction led by Krasnitsky; two other factions are known as the "League of Regeneration of the Church" (*Soyuz tserkovnogo vozrozhdeniya*), led by Bishop Antonin, and the "Union of Communities of the Ancient Apostolic Church" (*Soyuz obshchin drevne-apostolskoi tserkvi*, or *SODATs*), led by Vvedensky. I shall use the terms Living Church and Renovationism without inverted commas when referring to the whole movement, and the terms "Living Church", "League of Regeneration . . ." and "Union of Communities . . ." with inverted commas when referring to the three factions. Levitin points out how unfortunate it was that the least attractive of the factions, Krasnitsky's "Living Church", should retain the original name of the whole movement.

[3] The Renovationist B. V. Titlinov provides a conspectus of the ideological precursors of Renovationism (B. V. Titlinov, *Novaya tserkov*, Petrograd, 1923, pp. 41–50). Somewhat indiscriminately, he brings in the Slavophils, Dostoevsky, Solovyov, Tolstoy, a gallery of early 20th-century religious thinkers, the Religio-Philosophical Meetings of 1902–3, and the liberal priests who participated in the First and Second Dumas. Needless to say, not all of these figures shared the later views of the Renovationists to the same or indeed any extent. Many early 20th-century progressive religious thinkers, including Bulgakov, Berdyaev and Gippius, were later opposed to the Living Church and its aims; in the early 20th century many who were later to become Living Church leaders were associated with the more reactionary aspects of the established Church. Troitsky, in his critique of the Living Church, places little store by Titlinov's exposition. (See: Troitsky, *Chto takoe Zhivaya Tserkov*, in Emhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 348 ff., 373–5.) Levitin also touches on the question of ideological antecedents. (See: Krasnov-Levitin, *Likhie gody*, pp. 155–6; Levitin and Shavrov, *op. cit.*, in *Novyi zhurnal*, No. 85, pp. 142–4.)

[4] See the following for descriptions of the characters and careers of various Living Church leaders. On Krasnitsky see: Krasnov-Levitin, *Likhie gody*, pp. 147 ff.; Levitin and Shavrov, *op. cit.*, in *Novyi zhurnal*, No. 86, pp. 170–2; No. 87, pp. 203–4; Regelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–7; Troitsky in Emhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 363; Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 21. On Vvedensky see: Krasnov-Levitin, *op. cit.*, pp. 133 ff.; Levitin and Shavrov, *op. cit.*, in *Novyi zhurnal*, No. 85, pp. 141–51, 163; Krasnov, *op. cit.*, in *Grani*, No. 87–8, pp. 252 ff.; Troitsky in Emhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 363–4; Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 21. On Antonin see: Krasnov-Levitin, *op. cit.*, pp. 142 ff.; Levitin and Shavrov, *op. cit.*, in *Novyi zhurnal*, No. 85, pp. 153–7; No. 87, pp. 214–22; Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 21. Levitin's works contain valuable studies of other Renovationists as well, including A. I. Boyarsky, N. F. Platonov, S. V. Kalinovsky and B. V. Titlinov.

[5] Sergi was apparently motivated consistently by considerations of what would prove in the long run to be best for the Church. From September he was to adhere to Bishop Antonin's more idealistic faction, the "League of Regeneration of the Church", and later to return to Patriarch Tikhon. Levitin is kindly disposed towards him. (See Levitin and Shavrov, *op. cit.*, in *Novyi zhurnal*, No. 87, pp. 228–32). Regelson is less inclined to approve his actions. By August 1922, out of 97 bishops, 37 recognized the Living Church, 36 opposed it, and 24 reserved judgement. (Levitin and Shavrov, *op. cit.*, in *Novyi zhurnal*, No. 87, pp. 223–4).

[6] For tension between the lower "white" clergy and the monastic "black" clergy, see: Zernov, "The 1917 Council of the Russian Orthodox Church", *RCL*, Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 18.

[7] Like Levitin, Titlinov is much more sympathetic towards Antonin than towards Krasnitsky. Writing in 1922, he sees the formation of Antonin's group as a corrective measure aimed at increasing popular acceptance of the movement. In his view,

Krasnitsky's excessively partisan championing of the lower clergy and neglect of other features of Renovationism was a wrongly conceived reform from above; what is required, and what will be provided by Antonin, is a reform from below with popular support. He hopes that, thus reformed, the Living Church will now go ahead to greater things. (See Titlinov, *Novaya tserkov*, pp. 77 ff.).

[8] For the programmes of these groups, see: Sheinman, *op. cit.*, pp. 177–81; Levitin and Shavrov, *op. cit.*, in *Novyi zhurnal*, No. 87, pp. 204–5, 220–2. Vvedensky's group appeared after Titlinov had finished writing his book. In a footnote he acknowledges its appearance, but in the interests of preserving his thesis that the split between Krasnitsky and Antonin was no schism but a final measure to correct some initial errors of Renovationism, he dismisses Vvedensky's group as of no significance. (Titlinov, *op. cit.*, p. 25 n.).

[9] Estimates of the number of Russian parishes controlled by the Living Church in 1923 range from less than one third to more than a half. (C. Lane, *Christian Religion in the Soviet Union: A Sociological Study*, London, 1978, p. 32).

[10] It called itself the "Second Council", thereby indicating that it was continuing the work of the Orthodox Council of 1917–18. This fact, however, did not prevent it from calling the earlier Council a "counter-revolutionary assembly".

[11] By late 1922 the three groups had been reconciled enough to agree to work together. After Krasnitsky's commanding position in the Living Church had been undermined by the schism, the Soviet government evidently transferred its support to Bishop Antonin's group. (Levitin and Shavrov, *op. cit.*, in *Novyi zhurnal*, No. 87, pp. 239, 244; No. 88, pp. 155–9).

[12] For information on Yevdokim, see: Levitin and Shavrov, *op. cit.*, in *Novyi zhurnal*, No. 87, pp. 232–5. Yevdokim had replaced Antonin as head of the Higher Church Administration when this was renamed: Antonin had been unwilling to accept a complete merger of all Renovationist groups. Yevdokim also soon eclipsed Antonin as leader of those Renovationists who were opposed to Krasnitsky's "Living Church", although Antonin remained head of the "League of Regeneration of the Church" until his death on 14 January 1927. (See Krasnov-Levitin, *Likhie gody*, p. 145).

[13] After this débâcle, Krasnitsky faded from the Renovationist scene. For his subsequent fate, see: Krasnov-Levitin, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–2. He died in 1936.

[14] There has been a good deal of discussion about the sincerity of Tikhon's *volte face* in 1923 and his subsequent support of the regime. He seems to have been motivated by a genuine desire to save the Orthodox Church from extinction, and his policy was undoubtedly successful. Most authors approve his action. (See: Krasnov-Levitin, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Levitin and Shavrov, *op. cit.*, in *Novyi zhurnal*, No. 85, pp. 171–8; Regelson, *Tragediya russkoi tserkvi*, p. 85; Emhardt, *Religion in Soviet Russia*, pp. 127–9, 140; Curtiss, *The Russian Church and the Soviet State, 1917–1950*, pp. 175–6).

[15] Troitsky in Emhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

[16] Curtiss, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[17] The Renovationist theological academy was shut down only in 1933. See Krasnov-Levitin, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

[18] Metropolitan Sergi had declared the Living Church heretical in 1928, but Levitin describes churches, which had reverted from Renovationist control, being re-consecrated from as early as 1925, and repentant Renovationist priests being made to recite the Creed as heretics.

[19] Levitin and Shavrov, *op. cit.*, in *Novyi zhurnal*, No. 87, p. 202. Regelson agrees with this assessment, but goes on to say that Sergi, in espousing this same policy in order to defeat the Renovationists, did the Church a disservice. See Regelson, *Tragediya russkoi tserkvi*, pp. 117–8.

[20] The League of Russian People and the Black Hundreds were two of the reactionary organizations set up in Russia after the liberalizing reforms of 1905. They aimed at promoting the interests of Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationalism. Amongst other things, the Black Hundreds organized anti-Jewish pogroms.