The Donald W. Treadgold Papers

Number 103
May 1995

*In Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies*

# The Fate of Russian Orthodox Monasteries and Convents Since 1917

By Charles Timberlake

*Originally presented at the conference*

***"Religion in the Life of the State in Russian History"***

*held at the University of Washington, May 8, 1993.*

The Henry M. Jackson
School of International Studies
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*Presented at the conference "**Religion in the Life of the State in Russian History**", held in Honor of the Retirement of Donald W. Treadgold, University of Washington, Seattle, May 8, 1993.*

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*About the author in this issue.....*

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ISSN 1078-5639


Director: Daniel C. Waugh
Managing Editor: Colleen F. Halley

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# Religion Since 1917

The passing of Dr. Donald W. Treadgold in December 1994 is a reminder of the rich legacy left to us by this remarkable scholar in Slavic studies. Those of us who were privileged to have Dr. Treadgold as a mentor were deeply influenced by his integrity as a person and his steadfast commitment to the highest standards of academic and professional excellence.

In May 1993 at the University of Washington, his former students gathered for a conference in his honor on the occasion of his retirement. The theme of the conference centered on a topic at the heart of Professor Treadgold's area of academic expertise and interest: "Religion in the Life of the State in Russian History".

There can be no question but that an understanding of the Russian Orthodox Church is critical to any perceptive assessment of Russia's past, the dark night of Soviet communist rule, or the prospects for Russia's future.

This issue of the *Treadgold Papers* features Charles Timberlake's indepth research of orthodox monasteries and convents since 1917. In addition to this work from the 1993 conference, there were also notable papers given by: Kent R. Hill, "The Russian Orthodox Church and Other Christian Confessions in Russia Today"; Edward J. Lazzerini, "The Islamic Peoples of the Russian Empire and the State"; and John McErlean, "Prince Kozlowski and Catholicism in Early 19th-century Russia". These papers have been published elsewhere. Additional papers by Robert L. Nichols and Henry R. Huttenbach appeared in No. 102 of the *Treadgold Papers*.

The contributions of Dr. Donald Treadgold to Slavic studies are significant. But his influence is not just reflected in his own extensive bibliography, but in those numerous and important works by his students. The following paper serves as yet another fine example of this legacy.

Kent R. Hill
President, Eastern Nazarene College

# The Fate of Russian Orthodox Monasteries and Convents Since 1917

By Charles Timberlake

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Because monasteries were major custodians of Christian spiritual and cultural values and were significant autonomous centers of wealth and economic enterprise, the Bolsheviks launched a direct attack against them on November 8, the first day of Soviet power, in the Decree on Land. This act, which nationalized monastery land and all other forms of property, was but the first salvo in a long barrage of legislative acts with the ultimate objective of rooting monasteries and convents completely out of the old Russian culture that the Bolsheviks despised and sought to annihilate.

Building on legislation enacted from 1917 to 1924 that stripped monasteries not only of their land and buildings, but also of the consecrated objects they used in their religious services, Lenin's successors added legislation that deprived monasteries of income, that imposed exorbitant taxes on income and property of monks, nuns, and priests, and simultaneously deprived them of government-subsidized social services. Implementation of these laws justified imprisoning and beating some monks to death and shooting others. As a result, by 1939 the Soviet government had abolished--so far as can presently be determined--every monastery and convent inside the boundaries of the Soviet Union.

For the same reason that the Bolsheviks exterminated the monasteries--i.e., that they were major custodians of Russia's spiritual and cultural values, and were autonomous economic centers--the Russian populace, of virtually every political stripe, had concluded by the mid-1990s (the date of this writing) that Orthodox monasteries and convents should be returned to the Russian Orthodox Church. The forces at work are well illustrated by events surrounding Patriarch Aleksii II's visit on August 15, 1992, to the Kirillo-Belozersk Monastery-Museum in Vologda Province. He accepted an invitation from local political figures to visit the monastery, but insisted on calling it "an unofficial side trip" en route to visit other monasteries of the North, and especially to

commemorate the 600th anniversary of the death of St. Dmitrii of Priluki, patron saint of the city of Vologda, and the reopening of Spaso-Prilutskii Monastery which Dmitrii founded on the bank of the River Vologda some twelve miles NE of the provincial capital, Vologda.[1]

A welcoming party from Kirillov met Patriarch Aleksii at nearby Ferapontov Convent-Museum (Denisov, 606-09), where a bell-ringing ceremony was performed for him on bells loaned by Kirillo-Belozersk Monastery-Museum (Denisov, 583-85) for the occasion.[2] He climbed the scaffolding being used by artists restoring the frescoes that Dionysius (Dionisii in Russian) painted here in the last half of the fifteenth century and studied at eye-level the original frescoes recently revealed by cleaning that removed later restorations,[3] and then went with the welcoming party to Kirillo-Belozersk Monastery and walked through a well orchestrated program.

After a tour of the monastery grounds, viewing of the restoration work being done by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and a mid-day meal in the monastery's refectory, a group of local officials--including heads of the Kirillov Village Soviet, the Kirillov County (*raion*) Soviet, Vologda Province Soviet, and a personal representative of President Boris Yeltsin--formally presented him a request, supported by some 2,000 signatures of local residents, to accept the Ministry of Culture and Tourism's proposal to transfer Kirillov Monastery from its jurisdiction to the administration of the Russian Orthodox Church which would convert it into a functioning monastery. The Patriarch graciously declined, citing as his reasons inadequate financial and human resources to support such a large monastery (the largest territory enclosed by monastery walls in the former Russian empire). He warmly thanked everyone for the invitation, praised all the scholars and artists for their careful restoration work, and asked them to continue it. The group invited him to return in 1997 for the commemoration of the 600th anniversary of the founding of the monastery. He promised to give the invitation serious consideration. The local officials pledged more money to complete the restoration for the 1997 event.[4]

The year 1997 will also mark the eightieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Where the Bolsheviks used the State in the first decade of their rule to wrench the monasteries from Church control, state officials now plead for the Church to take back the

monasteries and to revitalize the culture and economy they once nurtured. Russian history has gone full circle in this highly visible and emotional arena of human activity. The values imbedded in monasticism are once again more popular than the values espoused by the Bolsheviks, and many segments of a bewildered and socially fragmented population hope the monasteries will become an instrument for rooting out the remnants of Bolshevik values and restoring the Russian spiritual and material culture that the monasteries once perpetuated. As surviving cells, these monasteries can, in the right combination with other surviving cells and with aid from local and central government, help rejuvenate a once-robust Russian civilization and help provide social services so woefully lacking in the Russian village today.

The first part of this paper establishes some quantitative and qualitative descriptions of Russian monasteries and convents that the Bolsheviks acquired when they claimed possession of the former Russian empire in 1917.[5] The second part of the paper analyzes the means by which the Bolsheviks nationalized monastery property. The third part identifies some of the uses the Soviet government made of these monasteries, with the particular objective of determining whether those uses preclude readaptation of those buildings and grounds to typical monastery purposes when, and if, they are returned to the Church and the latter decides to reopen some, or all, of the monasteries.

The fourth part of the study illuminates the numbers, geographic location, and types of religious communities returned to the Russian Orthodox Church since World War II and their fate to 1985. The fifth, and final, section of the study examines the numbers, types, and geographic distribution of monasteries returned to the Russian Orthodox Church since 1985, and offers some observations about the roles these monasteries and convents are playing and are likely to play in the foreseeable future.

## I. Numbers of monasteries and monks, convents and nuns, and their geographic distribution on the eve of the Bolshevik coup d'etat in 1917.

When the Bolsheviks claimed power over the Russian empire in 1917, the nation had some 1,000 to 1,250 monasteries, convents, and attached properties (such as a hermit's chapel in the woods near a monastery, a community of nuns attached to another institution, or a church with attached residence in Moscow or St. Petersburg where monks or nuns could live while in one of the cities on business). The researcher of this topic encounters major discrepancies in numbers presented as the total for monasteries and convents in Russia in the first decade of the twentieth century. These discrepancies result from the fact that some numbers include separately all small, satellite monasteries and convents (singular: *skit*), higher-clergy houses (singular: *eparkhial'nyi dom*),[6] and colonies of nuns (singular: *zhenskaia obshchina*) that were subsidiaries of a monastery or convent, while other numbers include only the main monastery or convent to which such satellite bodies were attached.

But the problem is even more complicated, for even the Holy Synod--the administrator of monasteries and convents--sometimes issued two significantly different sets of numbers during the same year. In 1909, for instance, a list the Holy Synod compiled to show annual income for monasteries and convents included names of 847 monasteries/convents. In the same year, the Synod listed a total of 942 as a result of an official census it conducted.[7] Using the broader definition (listing subordinate entities separately), L. I. Denisov, compiler of one of the two most complete guides to Russian monasteries, convents, and attached units, identified 1,105 institutions, provided historical sketches, and located each by a separate number on a map he appended at the end of his 984-page reference work published in 1908.[8] For instance, Denisov named fifteen monasteries, etc. for Finland, listing separately all *skity*, hermitages (singular: *pustyn'*), communes, and higher clergy houses subordinate to the main monastery on Valaam Island. The Synod's list designating amount of income contained only the three autonomous monasteries or convents in Finland.[9] (As Table 1, I have appended in English characters the list Denisov included for December 1907.) In a recent study, a Russian scholar lists 1,257

monasteries, convents, and satellite institutions as the total in 1917. Table 2 (appended to my study) shows the various numbers and sources a scholar encounters while researching this topic for the twentieth century.

For July 1, 1896, one compiler enumerated 789 "monasteries, hermitages, sketes, and women's colonies (but excluding the few subsidiary monasteries in which only a few monks lived to perform religious services) in the Russian Empire." Table 3 shows the numbers of each type of institution that such a calculation produced.

Excluding the 64 higher-clergy houses, approximately one-third of the remaining religious communities had come into existence in the nineteenth century. Of that one-third, the overwhelming number were convents. Of the 241 convents and other women's religious communities, 233 (96.5%) were founded in the 19th century.[10] Table 4 shows the rapid growth of convents in the nineteenth century.

Geographically, monasteries and convents were virtually everywhere in the Russian Empire, but the overwhelming majority was located in European Russia and Ukraine, approximately the territory of the original Kievan state when Christianity came to Russia in 988. (Table 5 shows geographic distribution.) Provinces with the largest number of monasteries were Moscow 54, Novgorod 39, Vladimir 30, Tver 27, Nizhnyi-Novgorod 26, Iaroslavl 24, and three provinces with 20 each: Vologda, Kiev, and Tambov. Approximately 28 percent of all monasteries and 51 percent of all convents (37 percent of the two combined) were located inside city boundaries. In the Caucasus almost all were outside cities, while in Siberia almost all were inside cities.[11]

The monastic population was divided into two groups, as in western Europe: those who had taken monastic vows (*monashestvuiushchie*) and forsaken all civic titles to form a special estate (*soslovie*) which in Russia was called the black clergy (*dukhovenstvo chernoe*),[12] and the novices (males: *poslushniki*, females *poslushnitsy*), who were called the "white clergy," most of whom were young people preparing to take monastic vows and doing most of the daily work in the monasteries.

In 1892 the entire population of the monasteries and convents was 42,940 people: 7,464 monks and 6,152 male novices; 7,566 nuns and 21,758 female novices. Out of a population of 73,888,641 (by government reckoning) Orthodox residents in the Russian

Empire that year (36,671,068 men, 37,217,583 women), the monks, nuns, and novices collectively comprised 0.006 percent of the Orthodox population (0.004% of the male and 0.008% of the female populations).[13] By 1910 the numbers of monks and novices had reached 9,950 and 9,335, respectively, or a total of 19,285. Corresponding numbers for convents in 1910 were 14,059 and 47,663, for a total of 61,722. Collectively, the monastery/convent population in 1910 was 81,007. In 1910, the Holy Synod expended 397,263 rubles for support of the permanently staffed monasteries.[14]

At the beginning of the twentieth century monasteries and convents were divided into residential monasteries (*obshchezhitel'nyi*--all terms are given here in singular form), nonresidential (*neobshchezhitel'nyi*), permanently-staffed (*shtatnyi*), and nonpermanently-staffed (*zashtatnyi*). In the residential monasteries, monks and nuns received all necessities from the monastery, and any income for services they performed was reserved for the use of the monastery as a whole. In nonresidential monasteries, monks and nuns ate in the refectory, but had to buy clothes and all the other paraphernalia required of a monk or nun from income they received for rendering services or from the sale of religious objects (such as candles and icons) they made in the monastery/convent.

Permanently-staffed monasteries had an allotted number of positions for monks/nuns who could receive full support from the Church. This category of monasteries was subdivided into gradations, based on the size of subsidy given to them and the degree of rights they received. At the top of this system of classification were the four first-class monasteries with the designation of a *lavra* (from the Greek *laura*) and the seven designated as *stavropigal'nye*: Solovetskii, Simonov, Donskoi, Novospasskii, Voskresenskii (called Novyi Ierusalim), Zaikonospasskii, and Spaso-Iakovlevskii. The title comes from two Greek words for "cross" and "erect" and indicates that the patriarch participated directly in the founding of these monasteries, and administered them directly from his office. (The Holy Synod later replaced the patriarch in this role.)[15] See Table 3 for the number of monasteries and convents at each grade.

## II. Bolshevik confiscation of monasteries, 1918-1941.

In the Decree on Land (November 8, 1917) the new Soviet government nationalized all the land, livestock, implements, farm buildings, "and everything pertaining thereto" (Article 2 of "Peasant Instructions on the Land"), with livestock and farm implements being preserved "for use of the state or communes" (Article 5). All "highly developed forms of cultivation...shall be transformed into model farms to be cultivated exclusively either by the state or by the communes" (Article 3). All nationalized land was to be handed over to township (*volost*) land committees and county (*uezd*) soviets of peasants' deputies until the Constituent Assembly met and decided the ultimate fate of land in Russia.[16]

Implementing the land decree was a major task for fledgling land committees and county soviets, especially in isolated rural counties where extremely wealthy monasteries or convents were located. (Table 6 is a list of the twenty-one monasteries with greatest annual income. Besides income, monasteries had other forms of wealth: land, factories, precious metals.) Because so many legal questions were associated with the confiscation of monastery property, several provincial soviets addressed appeals to the People's Commissariat of Justice in Petrograd (later Moscow after the capital was moved) to send "specialists on the religious question." Vitebsk, Vologda, Voronezh, and Smolensk provinces, for instance, addressed such appeals.[17]

In an effort to provide more guidance, the central government issued on February 5, 1918, the Decree on Separation of Church and State. By this decree, the government nationalized all the land, buildings, libraries, and even consecrated objects used in religious services. Article 12 stated flatly that "No church or religious society has the right to own property. They have no rights of a juridical person," and Article 13 said "all the properties" of existing churches and religious organizations were "national property." But, by special resolution, the local or central state authorities could "assign at no cost to appropriate religious societies...buildings and articles specially designated for religious services."[18]

But the Decree on Separation of Church and State not only did not solve some of the problems it addressed; it was totally silent on other problems related to monasteries, such as the fate of the monastery population. Furthermore, the Fundamental Law on

Socialization [i.e., use] of the Land, issued February 15, only two weeks after the Decree on Separation of Church and State, seemed to permit monks and nuns to retain control of their former monastery/convent lands by adopting the new charter the government issued to encourage peasants and workers to form workers' communes and artels. Article 4 said that "the right to use land may not be restricted: neither on the basis of sex, religious belief, nationality nor citizenship."[19] The geographic location, broad range of types (designated by the elaborate nomenclature explained above), and income levels of Russian monasteries shaped significantly the date and means of nationalization, and the disposition of nationalized property. Let us here analyze these variables as factors in nationalization and disposition of property to approximately 1929.

To try to bring some order to the process of nationalizing and disposing of monastery and other forms of church property, the Commissariat of Justice created a special commission made up of V. D. Bonch-Bruevich, P.A. Krasikov, M.A. Reisner, I. M. Reisner, A. F. Evtikhnev, M. I. Galkin, I.I. Anamenskii, T. P. Gukovskii and others. This commission worked out instructions on implementing the Decree on Separation of Church and State and Schools from the Church, and the Commissariat approved it August 24, 1918. But, these instructions made no specific mention of monastery land and capital, although they mentioned several specific possessions of monasteries: e.g., the subordinate churches with attached guest rooms located in cities.[20]

Some deputies in the Congress of People's Deputies noted that "categorical references to closing monasteries are not in the Decree on Separation of Church and State, nor in the resolutions and supplementary explanations to the decree by Department VIII of the People's Commissariat of Justice." Citing this statement by the deputy, monks from the Petropavlovsk Monastery (Denisov 721-22) convinced the Ranenburg County Revolutionary Committee of Justice of Riazan Province to cease liquidation of their monastery.[21]

The Soviet government never adopted a special measure ordering the closure of monasteries. They merely applied other measures, some of which referred directly to monasteries and some which referred to kulaks, to achieve their objectives. Among laws applied were those that labeled resistance by monks to nationalization of monastery property as "anti-Soviet." Examples of applying various

other measures is the order of December 11, 1917, that transferred all matters related to education and teaching from religious institutions to the Commissariat of People's Enlightenment. All educational institutions located within monasteries were closed, and the Commissariat removed all their educational materials for use in secular schools.

Also, the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR), which entered into force in July 1918, had special significance for the monastery population. Article 65(d) denied monks the right to vote or be elected to office. Henceforth, it was very difficult for monks to serve in leading posts in artels, unions, and societies they were forming to camouflage themselves and their monasteries under Soviet law.[22]

The government also adopted certain specific measures to strengthen local authorities who were encountering not only sabotage, but open resistance in their efforts to remove objects from monasteries. A particularly effective means the local population created to resist nationalization was the leagues (*bratstva*) of laymen to defend churches and monasteries. In January 1918, in response to Aleksandra Kollontai's ordering an armed force to confiscate Alexander Nevsky Lavra so she, as Commissar for Social Welfare, could use it as one of her institutions, a large crowd gathered to block entry of the armed group. They did not disband even after a priest was shot. This spontaneous event evolved a few days later into a march through Petrograd by hundreds of thousand who were organized and led by Metropolitan Veniamin of Petrograd. Immediately afterward, the leagues began to form. In Petrograd and Moscow, some six to ten percent of the population joined such leagues. The main device for defending a monastery or church was to ring a church's bells incessantly to warn the league's members who then formed a human sea around a building to prevent approaching state officials from entering. In Iaroslavl the leagues were especially effective.[23]

In response, the Sovnarkom on July 30, 1918, adopted the resolution "On Sounding the Alarm Bell [O nabatnom zvone]" which prohibited monks from ringing the church bell to alert the local "religious fanatics." This "anti-Soviet act" would be punished severely in court.[24]

Still another specific decree aimed at monasteries was the December 7, 1918, Sovnarkom decree "On Cemeteries and Funerals

[O kladbishchakh i pokhoronakh]." The objective of this act was, by abolishing fees for a grave site and funeral service, to deprive the monastery population of a significant source of income.[25]

By mid-1919 the monasteries had been quite successful in finding temporary haven as "workers' cooperatives" (*trudovye kollektivy*) and artels. The regime was annoyed by these "reorganized" monasteries; "The monastery population (especially the monks)," one Bolshevik writer complained, "is accustomed to a collective existence....But this can all be labeled [merely] 'Christian socialism.'"[26]

The regime decided to root these monastery cooperatives from the state-supported agricultural communes. On October 30, 1919, the Commissariat of Land and the Commissariat of Justice addressed the question directly in a circular to the land committees (*zemotdely*). Since religious organizations had as their objective "worshipping god" (*bogosluzhebnye tseli*), they did not qualify to be registered as production or general economic entities and therefore had no right to an allotment of land.[27]

The following spring, June 20, 1920, the Third All-Russian Congress of Officials of Soviet Justice adopted still another resolution entitled "On Separation of the Church from the State" [Ob otdelenii tserkvi ot gosudarstva] stating that it was impermissible and a contradiction of the interests of the revolution to allow religious collectives the special rights and privileges of landowners' communes and producers' communes."[28]

Because support for the Bolsheviks was weak in many localities where particularly wealthy monasteries/convents were located, the early Soviet government created a new category of state servant--"Commissar of monasteries"--whom it dispatched directly to the wealthy monasteries. Such a commissar had the major task of checking on "the anti-Soviet activities of monks," supervising the monastery's administration, and, ultimately, presiding over its confiscation. At least three commissars served at the Holy Trinity Lavra in Sergiev Posad from 1918 to 1920. They signed income and payment vouchers, considered petitions to transform land parcels into "communes" within the lavra, supervised movement of the monastery population, made decisions about expenditures on maintenance of buildings, etc.[29]

Several monasteries defended themselves by various means. In July 1918 Spasskii monastery fired upon soviet soldiers

approaching it. Iaroslavl had several incidents of resistance, in addition to the work by the leagues of laymen, and was known among the Bolsheviks at the time as one of "the foremost centers of clericalism." Resistance occurred in Nizhnyi-Novgorod, and in 1919 the territory of Solovetskii monastery on islands in the White Sea was well armed.[30]

Nationalization of the property of Holy Trinity Lavra at Sergiev Posad also produced much resistance. The commissar conducted an inventory of the lavra's property early in November 1919. The chairman of the Sergiev Posad Soviet presented the inventory's results to a plenum of that body. The monastery had bonds (*kreditnye bilety*) valued at 70,000 rubles, interest-bearing notes of 700,000 rubles, 15 pounds (*funtov*) of silver coins, 72 pounds (2 *puda*) of copper coins, and several ingots of silver.

Having heard the report, the presidium of the Sergiev Posad Soviet decided to confiscate all the monastery's institutions, close the monks' living quarters, and send the monks to Chernigov monastery and Gethsemane skete. In view of the exceptional historical and cultural value of the architecture of the lavra, the presidium placed the buildings under state protection and transferred them to the Department of Museums and Preservation of Art Objects and Antiquities of the People's Commissariat of Enlightenment. On April 20, 1920, Lenin signed the decree that transformed the lavra into a museum of historical-artistic treasures. On the basis of these two decrees, preparations began for implementing nationalization of the lavra.[31]

To provide advice on the physical tasks of preserving the museum-lavra and publicizing its scientific value, an agency of the central government--probably the Commissariat of Enlightenment--created the special Commission on the Preservation of Monuments of Art and Antiquity of the Trinity-Sergiev Lavra. Monastery priest P. A. Florenskii was the official secretary (*uchenyi sekretar*) of the commission. Soviet organs of power that approved him for this work were unaware, apparently, of his work, in the spiritual academy and his publications in *Bogoslovskii viestnik* [Theological Messenger]. He had written many articles against scientific socialism and the Russian Marxists. Chair of the commission was I. E. Bondarenko, who had ties with Patriarch Tikhon and informed the latter of the work of the commission. Also on the commission were the son of a famous counterrevolutionary S. P. Mansurov,

daughter of the writer T. V. Riazanova.

This commission recommended that the Holy-Trinity Lavra be turned into an "Orthodox Vatican," an autonomous church-state within Russia modeled on Vatican City in Rome. Apparently having learned of its error in composing the commission, the government abolished the group in autumn 1920.[32]

In his study of the nationalization of monastery property, V.F. Zybkovets discovered that 722 monasteries (out of 1,242) had been completely nationalized by January 1, 1922. Of the 531 not yet nationalized, 207 were subordinate entities with relatively small amounts of property. Of the 722 nationalized monasteries/convents, 673 had been nationalized before 1921 and 49 in the year 1921. The amount of property confiscated was 8,275,000 *desiatiny* (22,342,500 acres) of land, 42,476,000 rubles in various forms of capital, 84 factories, 1,816 income properties and hotels, 277 hospitals and asylums, 436 dairy farms, 603 livestock and horse farms, 311 apiaries. The monks and nuns who had lived in these monasteries/convents before October 1917 had settled among the regular population after nationalization.[33]

## III. Fate of nationalized monastery buildings, objects and land.

### A. FATE OF BUILDINGS AND OBJECTS.

Virtually every encyclopedia-length article on the history of Russian monasteries written by Soviet historians ends with the nearly identically worded sentence: "the nationalized property of the monasteries was transferred to the narod for its welfare."[34]

**1) Provision of social services** was one use of former monastery property. Zybkovets identified 48 sanitariums and sanatoriums and 168 children's colonies (sometimes this means an orphanage, sometimes a juvenile detention center) and day nurseries.[35]

An example of such use is Danilov Monastery in Moscow. It served until 1983 as a place of detention for juvenile delinquents and simultaneously as a holding area for orphans while they awaited openings in permanent orphanages. "It was not a good combination of young people," my guide to the restored monastery observed. "In the center of the courtyard there," he said, pointing to a neatly restored lawn intersected by asphalt sidewalks, "stood a statue of Lenin the first time I saw this place."[36]

Other uses were 976 schools or organized courses, 287 Soviet institutions, 188 military institutions, 349 hospitals and infirmaries.[37] One might note, by way of comparison, that in 1892 Russian Orthodox monasteries were homes for 134 hospitals with 1,593 beds. Twenty-four of these hospitals, with 286 beds, were supported by private persons and groups, and 110 with 1,307 beds, were jointly maintained by the government and the monasteries. Eighty-four almshouses with 1,237 people were also inside monasteries. Of these, 28 (with 459 people) were maintained by private persons and groups, and 56 (with 778 people) were maintained by the government and monasteries.[38]

2) **The libraries and archives.** Almost all the books in monastery libraries were sent to Saltykov-Shchedrin Library in Leningrad and, especially, to Lenin Library which the Soviet government, building upon the basis of the Rumiantsev Museum, wanted to make into the largest library in the world. Lenin Library was also the place to which they sent the nationalized libraries of various ministries of the former tsarist government. A reader often sees in a rare reference book the stamped message: "property of [proper noun] Monastery" followed by the Soviet equivalent of the word "Discharged." The large libraries of many private citizens were also confiscated and sent to this library. Monasteries' manuscript archives were sent to the Manuscripts Department of the same two libraries or to existing state archives, such as the State Historical Archive in Moscow.

Portions of some archives and manuscript collections remained in monasteries that were converted into museums. Among these were sometimes collections of hand-written bibles. At Kirillov Monastery-Museum, for example, I have seen an archive composed of a portion of the former archive and materials gathered from four other nationalized monasteries (among them Ferapontov and Nilo-Sorskii) in the area of present-day southern Vologda Province. (The territory around Kirillov was a part of Novgorod province in the tsarist period and the first decade of Soviet rule.)

3) **Icons and other consecrated objects.** All three historians I have interviewed at the monasteries where they work on restoration know exactly the place to which objects were sent from the monastery each studies. Objects taken from northern monasteries went primarily to the Russian Museum in St. Petersburg. (From Valaam, the monks took their consecrated objects to Finland when

they moved there in 1940.)[39] I have no information about the destination of consecrated objects taken from southern monasteries.

Some religious objects from the North, and surely the South also, were used in the Museums of Religion and Atheism. Probably the most infamous in the North was the one established in Kazan Cathedral on Nevsky Prospekt in former Leningrad. When I visited in 1971, icons were laid out in two great long rows, one on each side of a specially built, tilted exhibition table in the center of the cathedral, and a row snaked around one entire wall of the cathedral. Under each a note of some 50-80 words explained to the uninitiated the message embodied in the icon. One that I will never forget explained a painting depicting an angel above and behind the head of the seated tsar as meaning that "the Russian state was completely under the control of the Church." In this museum was also a special exhibit that gave scientific explanations of the "miracles" related in the Bible, and another was devoted to Iurii Gagarin's visit to "Heaven" and his account of what he saw, and did not see, there.

**4) Museums.** Some of the monasteries with the most elegant buildings (such as Holy Trinity Lavra at Sergiev Posad), the most elegant frescoes, or famous cemeteries were placed under the jurisdiction of the Department of Museums and Antiquities of the Commissariat of Enlightenment (which later became the Ministry of Culture), as museums. Some of the major examples are Novodevichii Convent in Moscow, Alexander Nevsky Lavra in St. Petersburg, Kirillov Monastery near Belozersk in which some icons and copies of Dionysus's most masterful frescoes from nearby Ferapontov Monastery are exhibited.

Optina Pustin' monastery (Denisov, 270-73) which first tried to camouflage itself by "self-reorganization" into an agricultural commune in 1922, lost that status in 1923 when local authorities converted it into a museum and hired the monks as state employees to care for the museum. At the time of nationalization, government employees cut the bell loose from its tower. Since only a small piece broke when the bell hit the ground, men banged it with sledge hammers. Elderly residents remember hearing its ringing response to the hammers for approximately one week. In 1928 state officials closed the museum, and the monks went to other monasteries or into hiding. The following year, the government closed all seven churches in the nearby town of Kozelsk, where some monks were earning a living by performing religious services. Later, its

buildings were used by an agricultural-technical school. A diesel engine worked inside one of the churches for an extended period of time before the monastery was restored to the Russian Orthodox Church in 1987, one of several returned as preparation for observing the millennium of Christianity in Russia.[40]

**5) Warehouses, commercial buildings, farm buildings, etc.** Urban monasteries with less elegant buildings often became warehouses, recreational centers (*dom kultury*, a "house of culture" in which people played dominoes, saw films, listened to political speeches), drug stores, commercial shops, or other such secular buildings. The compilers of the reference work *Sorok sorokov*, on monasteries, convents, and churches in the city of Moscow, have provided an excellent visual record of the transformation of religious buildings to secular purposes by juxtaposing pre-1917 photographs and recent photographs of the same buildings. Without such a record, it would be impossible to guess the original purpose of the building.[41]

One example that I have studied first-hand during six visits scattered during the summers of 1992, 1993, and 1994 is Voskresenskii (Resurrection) Convent at the edge of the state farm village of Goritsy (pop. of some 800) on the Sheksna River, near Beloe Ozero (White Lake) in Vologda Province. (Denisov has a historical sketch of this convent, pp. 605-06.) The former major church in the compound is a "house of culture" for the village. The former cells for nuns are inhabited by homeless people. Almost all other buildings are empty; a few are used for storage of logs and bricks. One inebriated male I met on the grounds of this former convent in 1994 extended me a beggar's hand, explaining his need to beg by saying: "Perestroika, you understand; perestroika. Zwei kindern, zwei kindern. Perestroika."

Agreeing to give him some money if he let me interview him, I asked: "To whom does this convent belong?"

"To whom? [long pause]. I don't know," he said with a shrug.

"Has it been returned to the Russian Orthodox Church?"

Again, after pauses and shrugs, he said "I think not."

"Where do you live?" I asked.

"Here," he said, pointing to the ground.

"How much money do you pay for rent to live here? and to whom do you pay it"? I asked.

"Don't pay," he said, avoiding my eyes by looking at the ground.

He said approximately 40 people lived in these abandoned buildings. Every summer, I saw laundry on the same line in front of one of the buildings, and split stove wood for cooking and heat stacked against the building's outside wall. Each of the summers I have visited, a small group of volunteers from St. Petersburg has been restoring a small chapel on the river bank outside the convent wall. In answer to my question: "Why do you do this?" they answered "Because it should be done. It's in terrible condition."

The city of Tver provides another detailed example of the fate of monasteries and churches in the Soviet period. Located some 90 miles northwest of Moscow, Tver is a city of some 400,000 residents and the capital of Tver province. According to a list in the office of the Department of Cultural Affairs of the Tver provincial government, 26 buildings that were former churches or monasteries still existed on January 1, 1993. Among them were 23 Orthodox churches, 1 mosque (*Tatarskaia mechet'*), and two Orthodox monasteries. One monastery, with only one church on its territory, was undergoing restoration, but was not under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. Five former Orthodox church buildings that were located inside the compound of the second monastery (the Monastery of the Nativity), which had been returned to the Orthodox Church, were being used as follows: one was a physical exercise center, two were residences, and two were functioning churches.

A complete list of uses of the 26 buildings (counting the two monasteries and the five churches in the monastery compound separately) is as follows: 11 functioning churches (10 Orthodox, 1 mosque), one functioning Orthodox monastery, one office for a cooperative, one repair shop, one exhibition hall, one former monastery not yet returned to the Orthodox Church that was being restored architecturally, four were being used by provincial government agencies (e.g., a warehouse for the provincial government printing office, a facility for the city's heat & power department), two were occupied by federal government agencies (e.g., the Northwest Heat and Power Industry), two were residences, one was rented out for (showing?) films, one was a facility for gymnasts (*dom fizkul'turnika*). The list contains the names and location of an additional 672 former buildings of the Russian Orthodox Church located in Tver province, but outside the city of Tver. Their most frequent uses are granaries, hay barns and storage

sheds for state farms and collective farms. Many are simply listed as "not being used," i.e., abandoned and empty.[42] Such a list does not, of course, reveal the significant number of churches and monasteries that were destroyed between 1917 and 1993.

**6) Destroyed.** In rural and urban areas, some monasteries were simply demolished. In Moscow, a famous monastery and convent, and large numbers of churches, suffered this fate at the hands of Stalin's city planners who set out consciously to transform the city's medieval, religious image into a modern, secular appearance. The result was the Stalinesque appearance that still glares above many areas of Moscow from such architectural monoliths as Moscow State University, Ukraina Hotel, and various apartment houses and government office buildings. (Some of my Moscow friends satirically call this style "Sovetskii renaissance.") Among the most notorious examples of monasteries and convents demolished during the Soviet period are Chudov (Miracles) Monastery and Voznesenskii (Ascension) Convent on the grounds of the Kremlin, immediately to the right after passage through the Spaski (Savior) Tower entrance from Red Square. From 1928 to 1932 Stalin's builders razed them, and replaced them with a building designed to match the baroque style of the former Senate building (built at the end of 18th century) next door to it. The new building was first occupied by a military school, then it became the Kremlin Theater, and still later the building of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.[43]

In Russia in general, and in Moscow in particular, Khrushchev continued the destruction that Stalin had begun. The four-volume reference work, *Sorok sorokov,* is a census of churches, monasteries, and convents in the present-day city limits of Moscow with a brief historical sketch of each structure from the date of its founding to the mid-1980s. The census compares the number of various types of church buildings in 1917 and the number in 1985. These figures show that by 1985 the Soviet government had demolished 434 of the 846 major houses of worship belonging to all denominations (*khramy*--churches, mosques, cathedrals, temples) that existed in 1917, 734 of the 1,670 altars (*prestoly*), and 60 of the 77 chapels (*chasovni*). (In their calculations, the compilers of the census counted churches inside monasteries individually.)[44] Side-by-side photographs of the original buildings and the buildings in their current form show the architectural modifications made to convert

them into all manner of uses. One would never guess that many of today's food stores, repair shops, bakeries, warehouses, etc., were once churches without the help of such historical documents.

**5) Prisons.** One of the most frequent forms of "welfare" the Russian narod ostensibly received from the nationalized monastery and convent property was a vastly expanded system of prisons. Converting monasteries into prisons was not a new idea; it is but one of many dozens of examples of the Communists' building the modern totalitarian state on the foundation of absolute autocracy they inherited.[45] Apparently the first monastery that the Bolsheviks converted for permanent use as a prison--and it would become one of the most notorious--was the complex of monasteries on the brutally winter wind-swept Solovetskii islands in the White Sea.[46]

Churches were sometimes temporary holding cells for persons on their way to monastery/convent prisons. The mother of a Russian colleague related her childhood experiences in such a sequence. In February 1930, their land in Ukraine was confiscated as kulak property, and her whole family (her mother, father and a younger sister) were sent to the city of Vologda where they lived for three months in a church, sleeping on bunk beds, made of planks, 12 beds high, then were moved to Zaonikievskii Monastery (Zaonikieva Vladimirskaia Bogoroditskaia pustyn', in Denisov, pp. 127-28) some 10 miles outside the city of Vologda.[47]

The father was later separated from the family and was eventually shot, either in the northern Urals or near Vorkuta. The family never learned exactly where or when. The oral account that finally reached the family says that the father was asked "Do you believe in god"? When he answered "yes," he was shot.[48] But, the reliability of oral and printed information from Soviet Russia is virtually impossible to assess. The best source available today in Russia for family members to determine the fate of a relative who was sent to a concentration camp is the document the Russian security police (successor to the KGB) supplies to relatives who have submitted official forms requesting such information.

**6) Other uses.** Only since glasnost' have we begun to learn of some of the more bizarre uses of former monasteries. The most recent example is of Pokrov Monastery in Suzdal (Denisov 113-14) where the Soviet military tested bacteriological weapons, using prisoners as laboratory animals.[49]

B. USE OF CONFISCATED MONASTERY LAND.

As directed in the Decree on Land, local government officials preserved intact the farms and agricultural enterprises that were "highly developed" at the time of nationalization. This directive preserved many large parcels from distribution to the peasantry. The efforts by the monks to transform their lands into communes also preserved these lands intact. Thus, many monastery lands passed directly into state ownership as communes, state farms, or artels early in the process of confiscation on a national scale. Data on confiscation of monastery land up to March 1921 show that of the 400 monasteries nationalized in 24 provinces of the RSFSR, 116 had become state farms (*sovkhozy*) and 85 had become communes or artels.[50]

Solovetskii Preobrazhenskii (Transfiguration) monastery, for instance, was nationalized in summer 1920 after defeat of the Whites in that area. That monastery had 66,000 *desiatiny* (178,200 acres) of land, and in combination with the lands of the 33 other institutions subordinate to it, had a total of 116,588 *desiatiny* (314,788 acres) of land. The government converted the monastery into a diversified state farm that produced meat, dairy products, and vegetables on an approximately 50-acre highly fertile vegetable farm that specialized in vegetables suited to local conditions--especially potatoes, cabbage, onions, turnips, and chicory. Immediately after nationalization, the approximately 200 monks remained on the state farm in the capacity of hired workers.[51]

## IV. From World War II to Gorbachev's new policies in 1985.

Stalin's anti-religious campaign that began in 1929 and continued through the 1930s apparently closed the last functioning monastery in the Soviet Union. The law on religious associations of April 8, 1929, immediately expelled from confiscated property all clergymen who earned more than 3,000 rubles annually, and also prohibited them from renting such property.[52] In the following month, on May 21, a decree by the USSR Council of People's Commissars required all monks and other members of the clergy to pay the heavy income taxes levied on "kulaks."[53] An August 5 decree denied monks and nuns participation in any social security programs administered by the state. They were required to purchase such services [if any could

be found] privately.[54]

By 1939, so far as I can learn, no monastery or convent functioned as a religious institution in the Soviet Union. But, those located on territory that seceded from the Russian Empire in the months surrounding the Bolshevik Revolution and retained their independence until 1939 or 1940 survived. What happened to them individually during the period of 1917 to 1941 is difficult to determine.[55] It is clear, however, that during World War II, while Germany occupied these former (pre-1917) Russian territories, monasteries and convents remained open. In addition, while Hitler pursued a policy of courting all religious groups in the Soviet Union, and especially the Orthodox Church, monks and nuns reopened some of the nationalized monasteries and convents located on German-occupied territory that was inside the pre-1939 borders of the Soviet Union.[56] Stalin's compromise with the Russian Orthodox Church in 1943 recognized the legal existence of some sixteen monasteries on German-occupied territory. As shown in Table 2, 104 monasteries and convents existed inside the boundaries of the Soviet Union at the end of World War II in 1945: 88 on territory acquired during the period since 1939, and 16 that reopened on German-occupied territory during the War.[57]

As a part of Khrushchev's anti-religious campaigns of the late 1950s and early 1960s, the government closed almost all of these 104 monasteries and convents, some of them quickly and brutally. As Table 2 shows, the numbers dropped to approximately 90 by the mid-1950s, 69 by 1958, 40 by 1961, and to 16 by the end of Khrushchev's reign in 1964. Of these 16 (six monasteries and ten convents) which functioned until Gorbachev's new ideas produced specific policy changes, all the convents and all the monasteries, except Holy Trinity-St. Sergiev Lavra at Zagorsk, were on territory occupied by Germany during World War II. (Table 7 is a list of these 16 institutions.)

Beginning with preparations for the celebration of the millennium of Christianity in Russia, the Soviet government more readily returned churches and monasteries to the Russian Orthodox Church. The first major event was the return in 1983 of the Stavropigial'nyi Danilov Monastery in Moscow (Denisov, 407-11) to serve as the new location of the office, and nearby residence, of the Russian Patriarch.[58]

## V. From 1985 to present.

Despite the return of various churches and monasteries in the 1980s, the Russian Orthodox Church still did not have the right of a juridical person to own property. Only the new law on religious toleration passed in 1990, and about which Patriarch Aleksii II was consulted directly,[59] restored the status of juridical person to the Church. In an interview on June 10, 1992, Patriarch Aleksii noted the irony of the state's extra-legal return of the Church's former property:

> The transfer to the Church of immovable property it used to own until 1917 began before it was officially recognized as the Church's property. We have got back more than 5,000 churches, 148 monasteries, and 16 theological schools. Regrettably, many of them are lying in ruins and will require immense human efforts and considerable financial resources to be restored. I must admit we are still in no condition to finance the restoration of all churches, monasteries and other buildings which the Church owned 75 years ago, and will have to deal with the problem stage by stage.[60]

After adoption of the 1990 law on religion, the State returned former Church property at an even more rapid pace. By September 1992, the Russian Orthodox Church owned 167 of its former monasteries and convents, and by September 1993 it listed 97 monasteries, 102 convents, and 13 buildings subordinate to them for a total of 212 properties. (See Table 8.) All except three--a monastery in Mt. Athos in Greece, a convent in Jerusalem, and a community of monks in France administered by the Mt. Athos monastery--were on territory of the former Soviet Union. But, many of the 212 properties are in the former union republics, especially Ukraine (50) and Moldova (14), which have become independent (more or less) nations in the 1990s. The conflict between the Russian Patriarch and the Ukrainian Metropolitan, followed by reawakened historical demands in Ukraine for an autocephalous church, show that not all questions related to the fate of Russian Orthodox monasteries and convents will be settled soon.

The fate of monasteries and convents in the immediate future will be determined by two major sets of circumstances. One set is

made up of those pre-1917 physical and economic remnants of monasteries that have survived in the rural areas (land, buildings), under Communist labels such as *sovkhoz* and *kolkhoz*, and in urban centers (icons and other consecrated objects used in various types of religious services), in art museums or "museums of atheism and religion," that could be returned physically and legally to the monasteries and convents that once owned them if events, ideas, and people intersect in particular ways. The second set of circumstances, which will determine the fate of the first set, is composed of the perceptions that various groups have manufactured (and continue to alter) of the roles that monasteries and convents have played in Russian history generally, and that a particular monastery or convent has played in the town or region where one of these groups lives.

In addition to the national movements for preservation of historical and cultural monuments that appeared when the Communist Party eased censorship and lost its monopoly on institutions, regionalism (economic, cultural, political) began to develop in some provinces of Russia. While slower to develop, this movement received special impetus in the period of gridlock between President Yeltsin and the parliament (the Supreme Soviet) in Moscow in 1992 while the Constitutional Convention considered granting broad autonomy to non-Russian constituencies within the Russian Federation.

Because large provinces inside the Russian Federation would be less privileged than certain smaller non-Russian areas, some of these larger provinces began demanding greater autonomy. One example is Yeltsin's home province of Ekaterinburg Province (called Sverdlovsk during most of the Communist period), which declared itself independent from Russia and adopted the name "Republic of the Urals." Two other examples are Vologda Province, which began drafting its own constitution, and the Republic of Karelia (approximately 90% Russian population), which appointed its own foreign minister who began conducting separate relations with Finland and other Baltic countries. One graduate student from Iaroslavl Province explained to me that he chose as the topic for his doctoral dissertation at Moscow State University the culture of the Iaroslavl Principality "because the Communists disseminated the Muscovite view of Russian history, and seriously slighted Iaroslavl's contribution to Russian history and culture."

Initially, the resurgence of regionalism and the debate over the nature of Russian civilization, and the role of religion in it, was dominated by non-intellectuals--people who were second-level journalists, local elementary and secondary school teachers, even military officers. Historians, because they lost all credibility when Gorbachev and his successors announced that they would stop lying about Russia's Communist past, were conspicuous by their absence from this debate during its first five to seven years. A few, formerly dissident, historians in the Academy of Sciences did provide considerable advice and material aid to young scholars who were founding periodicals that sought to present short articles on Russian history to the layman. The two most important such journals (both published in Moscow), which are similar to *American Heritage Magazine*, are *Rodina* (no. 1, January 1989, ISSN 0235-7089) and *Nashe nasledie*. Unique in Russian history since 1917, these journals feature many articles and excellent photographs on glossy paper devoted to monasteries, convents, and churches in various parts of Russia and former noblemen's estates, especially in the Moscow area.

By 1994, some history teachers in regional universities and pedagogic institutes, by exercising the new freedom of access to archives and to choose topics they wished and to reach conclusions based on evidence, had elevated local and regional studies (*kraievedenie*) to a position of respectability in Russia and the West. Two journals of high quality devoted to local studies are *Russkaia provintsiia*, published quarterly in Novgorod (No. 1, 1992, ISSN 0869-6535), and *Zemstvo*, which is published quarterly in Penza (No. 1, 1994). One result of the revival of local studies is the unearthing of many documents and letters that families have hidden for generations, and collection of oral histories of elderly citizens who experienced the anti-religious campaigns during Stalin's collectivization and Khrushchev's religious repression.

The Russian Orthodox Church now utilizes its new freedom to publish data about itself, such as an information bulletin that lists names, addresses and phone and telefax numbers, name of administrator, and other such data, about its monasteries and convents. During the Communist period, the Russian Orthodox Church was prohibited from publishing even statistics and a list of names of churches under its jurisdiction.

Reasons cited in the current public discussion in Russia and

abroad for returning monasteries and convents to the Church are practical and spiritual. Practically, monasteries (and churches) can help provide some of the social services so acutely needed after the collapse of the social infrastructure that formally delivered goods and services, poor though they were, to the Russian village. Medical and psychiatric services are especially needed. Even in Moscow, where one church created and now maintains a psychiatric clinic, necessary medications are virtually nonexistent.

If monks can regain some of the skills they once had as farmers and managers of agribusinesses, such as the 40 acres of crops specially adapted to the Russian North they raised on Solovetskii islands and similar crops other monks raised on Valaam Island (Denisov, 194-95),[61] they can play a very important role as teachers of new techniques and disseminators of new technologies to the local peasants seeking a subsistence level in farming. Returning as absolute property some portion of a monastery's former land that has been preserved intact as a state farm for some 70-75 years could occur as a part of a larger scheme for privatization of land, especially that held as state farms. Today, the new monk-farmers have the same problems as virtually all other Russian farmers and peasants: lost knowledge of how to produce and distribute commodities for sale in an open market.

Teaching monks to farm, supplying capital and materials to support monastery and convent handicraft industries, providing medical supplies to clinics opened by monasteries, convents, and churches would soon make many monasteries and convents self-sufficient. With careful structural and artistic restoration, many of the more remarkable monasteries and convents could earn a significant annual income from tourists--curious non-Orthodox foreigners as well as Orthodox believers on pilgrimages. Such pilgrimages were a major source of income for many monasteries in the tsarist period. Providing such financial and material support are ways that private and public organizations in the West could help Russians repair the damage from 70 years of enforced neglect or outright hostility to religious structures generally, and monasteries/convents in particular.

In 1993 an agency of the Moscow Patriarchate contacted the Office of International Programs at Oklahoma State University asking for literature on "market agriculture" and general explanations of the structure and functioning of privatized

agriculture. In addition, they were interested in videos that answer such practical questions as how to determine when a cow is ready to calve.[62] Such practical aid would yield much greater rewards than the ostensible aid delivered by all but a tiny fraction of the thousands of American teenagers who invade Russia each summer intent on saving the Russian soul but inattentive to the needs of the body in which it resides.[63]

In tsarist Russia, monasteries and convents fostered broad development in the handicrafts. Around the monastery at Sergiev Posad were colonies of painters, coppersmiths, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, candle makers, woodcarvers, and still others who produced items for the monastery as well as for sale. Several of those crafts survive in the same area today in the production of items for sale to tourists.

In addition to these economic activities that would have local, regional, and national significance, the monasteries can make, and are making, a valuable contribution to the moral and spiritual regeneration of the Russian population. The restoration of churches and monasteries to the Russian Orthodox Church is a first step in establishing new (or returning to old) moral guidance; it attempts to combat crime, drunkenness, wife-beating, and teach values about sexual behavior and general etiquette.

A survey of attitudes that a branch of the Academy of Sciences in Saratov conducted in villages near that city in 1991 measured the peasantry's attitude to traditional Christian values. The survey presented (without identifying them) the Ten Commandments as ten separate statements and asked the people interviewed whether they agreed or disagreed with each. The results showed that significantly less than half of those interviewed agreed with the commandments. The largest agreement was 50% for commandments one & eight, 33% with commandment 5, but less than one-third agreed with any of the remaining commandments. Commandment 2 was supported by 17.6%, but 17% volunteered that "it is impossible to live by" that principle. At the end of the interview the interviewer explained that the statements to which they responded were the Ten Commandments, and asked where the person interviewed first heard them. Ninety percent answered that they heard the commandments for the first time during the interview.

In response to the same poll, 39.3% of the peasantry identified themselves as atheists, 22.4% were uncertain, and 18% attended

church regularly.[64] Stranded between state-repudiated Christian ethics and collapsed "socialist morality," Russian society is without a socially articulated moral code to replace, or restore, either of the two codes it has lost.

What role can monasteries and convents play in this process of redefinition? They can perform once again the task they performed from 988 to 1917: disseminate Christian values in a pagan land. They can play, on an organized scale, the role one priest played, at age 70, in 1993. Abandoning his comfortable parish in Moscow, he reopened the church in a tiny village deep in rural Iaroslavl Province where his grandfather had been the priest until the church was closed in the 1920s.[65] Such reconnection to one's roots brings individual satisfaction; collectively, such reconnections help heal the wounds of a nation--a necessary prerequisite for restoration of a sense of peace about a nation's role in the world. Functioning churches, monasteries, and convents are already a visible symbol, for many Russians, that something positive has resulted, along with the misery from economic and social woes, from the new course launched by Gorbachev and Yeltsin. The rebirth of local self-confidence to experiment with economic and political initiatives, coupled with adoption of a new moral code, are essential prerequisites for transforming the remnants of the Soviet village into a vibrant village of the future Russia.

Table 1
Russian Othodox Monasteries and Convents,
and Numbers of Monks & Nuns in Them
December 1907

| Provinces & Regions | Monasteries | | | | Convents | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Independent | Subordinate | Total | Monks and Novices | Independent | Subordinate | Total | Nuns and Novices |
| 1.Akmolinsk | | | | | | | | |
| 2.Amur | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 3.Arkhangel | 10 | 10 | 20 | 618 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 458 |
| 4.Astrakhan | 3 | - | 3 | 177 | 2 | - | 2 | 138 |
| 5.Bessarabia | 10 | 6 | 16 | 528 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 373 |
| 6.Warsaw | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 7.Vilensk | 2 | 1 | 3 | 65 | 2 | - | 2 | 90 |
| 8.Vitebsk | 3 | - | 3 | 65 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 232 |
| 9.Vladimir | 17 | 6 | 23 | 710 | 11 | 1 | 12 | 1484 |
| 10.Vologda | 17 | 9 | 26 | 608 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 540 |
| 11.Volynsk | 8 | 2 | 10 | 344 | 4 | - | 4 | 387 |
| 12.Voronezh | 9 | - | 9 | 738 | 8 | - | 8 | 1994 |
| 13.Vyborg | 2 | 11 | 13 | 1052 | 1 | - | 1 | 38 |
| 14.Viatka | 6 | - | 6 | 229 | 5 | - | 5 | 1430 |
| 15.Grodnensk | 3 | - | 3 | 68 | 1 | - | 1 | 53 |
| 16.Don | 3 | 1 | 3 | 111 | 2 | - | 2 | 656 |
| 17.Ekaterin-oslav | 1 | 2 | 3 | 80 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 640 |
| 18.Enisei | 3 | 1 | 4 | 42 | 2 | - | 2 | 171 |
| 19.Zabaikal | 2 | 1 | 3 | 36 | 2 | - | 2 | 33 |

| Provinces & Regions | Monasteries | | | | Convents | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Independent | Subordinate | Total | Monks and Novices | Independent | Subordinate | Total | Nuns and Novices |
| 20.Irkutsk | 3 | 2 | 5 | 144 | 1 | - | 1 | 237 |
| 21.Kazan | 12 | 1 | 13 | 721 | 10 | - | 10 | 1981 |
| 22.Kaluga | 9 | 3 | 12 | 771 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1826 |
| 23.Kiev | 14 | 6 | 20 | 2805 | 6 | - | 6 | 2308 |
| 24.Kovensk | 2 | - | 2 | 36 | 1 | - | 1 | 52 |
| 25.Kostroma | 11 | 1 | 12 | 313 | 8 | 3 | 11 | 1316 |
| 26.Kuban | 4 | 2 | 6 | 494 | 3 | - | 3 | 413 |
| 27.Kurland | - | - | - | - | 1 | 2 | 3 | 44 |
| 28.Kursk | 9 | 3 | 12 | 1265 | 3 | - | - | 1919 |
| 29.Kutaissk | 14 | 7 | 21 | 942 | 4 | - | 4 | 317 |
| 30.Lifliand | 1 | - | 1 | 20 | 1 | - | 1 | 90 |
| 31.Liublin | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | 24 |
| 32.Minsk | 4 | - | 4 | 65 | 1 | - | 1 | 71 |
| 33.Mogilev | 6 | 2 | 8 | 220 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 434 |
| 34.Moscow | 32 | 6 | 38 | 2219 | 22 | 1 | 23 | 3878 |
| 35.Nizhnyi Novgorod | 8 | - | 8 | 375 | 17 | - | 17 | 5541 |
| 36.Novgorod | 23 | 5 | 28 | 660 | 15 | - | 15 | 1464 |
| 37.Olonets | 11 | - | 11 | 277 | 3 | - | 3 | 136 |
| 38.Orenburg | 1 | 1 | 2 | 74 | 7 | - | 7 | 1345 |
| 39.Orlov | 9 | - | 9 | 587 | 6 | 1 | 7 | 2076 |
| 40.Penza | 7 | - | 7 | 375 | 12 | - | 12 | 3799 |
| 41.Perm | 5 | 1 | 6 | 469 | 14 | - | 14 | 2644 |

| Provinces & Regions | Monasteries | | | | Convents | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Independent | Subordinate | Total | Monks and Novices | Independent | Subordinate | Total | Nuns and Novices |
| 43.Poltava | 3 | - | 3 | 128 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 1164 |
| 44.Primorsk | 1 | - | 1 | 101 | - | - | - | *64 |
| 45.Pskov | 8 | - | 8 | 260 | 5 | - | 5 | 434 |
| 46.Riazan | 10 | - | 10 | 327 | 12 | - | 12 | 1498 |
| 47.Samara | 6 | - | 6 | 388 | 11 | - | 11 | 2694 |
| 48.St. Peters-burg | 6 | 2 | 8 | 394 | 6 | - | 6 | 839 |
| 49.Saratov | 2 | - | 2 | 65 | 11 | - | 11 | 2262 |
| 50.Semipala-tinsk | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 51.Semirech-ensk | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 52.Simbirsk | 4 | 2 | 6 | 132 | 5 | - | 5 | 1024 |
| 53.Smolensk | 10 | 1 | 11 | 304 | 5 | - | 5 | 487 |
| 54.Stavropol | 1 | - | 1 | 53 | 1 | - | 1 | 425 |
| 55.Suvalsk | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | 71 |
| 56.Syr-Dar | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| 57.Sedletsk | 1 | - | 1 | 36 | 2 | - | 2 | 248 |
| 58.Tavrich | 6 | 1 | 7 | 360 | 4 | - | 4 | 376 |
| 59.Tambov | 10 | 1 | 11 | 610 | 12 | - | 12 | 3354 |
| 60.Tver | 15 | 1 | 16 | 341 | 10 | - | 10 | 2169 |
| 61.Tersk | 2 | - | 2 | 35 | 2 | - | 2 | 301 |
| 62.Tiflis | 14 | 1 | 15 | 163 | 3 | - | 3 | 178 |
| 63.Tobolsk | 4 | - | 4 | 83 | 2 | - | 2 | 420 |
| 64.Tomsk | 2 | - | 2 | 27 | 4 | - | 4 | 501 |

| Provinces & Regions | Monasteries | | | | Convents | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Independent | Subordinate | Total | Monks and Novices | Independent | Subordinate | Total | Nuns and Novices |
| 65.Tula | 4 | - | 4 | 145 | 5 | - | 5 | 1166 |
| 66.Turgaish | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | 118 |
| 67.Ural | 1 | - | 1 | 24 | 1 | - | 1 | 65 |
| 68.Ufa | 6 | - | 6 | 76 | 6 | - | 6 | 1233 |
| 69.Khar'kov | 5 | 3 | 8 | 1033 | 5 | - | 5 | 1021 |
| 70.Kherson | 2 | - | 2 | 95 | 3 | - | 3 | 377 |
| 71.Chernigov | 9 | - | 9 | 322 | 6 | - | 6 | 659 |
| 72.Cherno-morsk | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 73.Estliand | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | 2 | 206 |
| 74.Iakutsk | 1 | - | 1 | 10 | - | - | - | - |
| 75.Iaroslavl | 14 | - | 14 | 482 | 9 | - | 10 | 1445 |
| TOTALS | 438 | 102 | 540 | 24,444 | 345 | 22 | 367 | 65959 |

## Table 2

## HOW MANY ORTHODOX MONASTERIES IN RUSSIA 1896-1993?

| Year | Number | Source |
|---|---|---|
| 1896 | 789 | "Monashestvo," 730 |
| 1909 | 847<br>942<br>1105 | Spravka, cited in Zybkovets, 201<br>Otchet Sinoda, cited in *ibid*<br>Denisov (see Table 1) |
| 1917 | 1242 (+15 foreign) | Zybkovets, 113-97 has name, population, landed property for every monastery. |
| 1920 | 352 | Ellis, 125 |
| 1922 | 520 | Zybkovets ("722 were nationalized by January 1, 1922"), 77 |
| 1929 | 0 | Ellis, 125 |
| 1932 | ? | "near-complete destruction of the remain- ing overtly functioning monasteries," Pospielovsky, *ATHEISM*, 2: 65. |
| c.1945 | 104 | Ellis, citing CRA report, 1970: 22-23.<br>88 in newly acquired territory; 16 opened in German-occupied territory |
| mid-1950s | "ca 90" | Pospielovsky, CHURCH, 343; Ellis, 125. |
| 1958 | 69 | Pospielovsky, ATHEISM 2: 136; Ellis, 125 |
| 1961 | 40 | Ellis, 125 |
| 1965 | 17 | Pospielovsky, CHURCH, 343. |
| 1977 | 16 | Ellis, 125 (One was in Jerusalem) |
| 1985 | 16 | Jane Ellis, (See Table 7) |
| 1989 | 35 | "Third Wave," 5. |
| 1993 | 212 | *Informatsionnyi biulleten* (See Table 8) |

## Table 3

### Number and Types of Monasteries and Convents, 1896

| Men | Women | Type/Status |
|---|---|---|
| 4 | 0 | *lavry* |
| 64 | 0 | higher clergy houses (*Arkhiereiskie doma*) |
| 7 | 0 | *Stavropigial'nye* (Synod-administered) |
| 54 | 19 | First-class |
| 67 | 33 | Second class |
| 115 | 76 | Third class |
| 184 | 166 | Non-class |
| 495 | 294 | Totals (789) |

## Table 4

### Monasteries and Convents by date of founding

| Number | % of total | Date of founding |
|---|---|---|
| 21 | 2.9 | Unknown |
| 19 | 2.6 | In the 11th century & earlier |
| 19 | 2.6 | In the 12th century |
| 20 | 2.8 | In the 13th century |
| 44 | 6.0 | In the 14th century |
| 53 | 7.3 | In the 15th century |
| 99 | 12.0 | In the 16th century |
| 145 | 20.0 | In the 17th century |
| 73 | 10.1 | In the 18th century |
| 241 | 33.0 | In the 19th century |
| 725 | 100% | Totals (excludes 64 higher-clergy houses) |

## Table 5

## GEOGRAPHIC/ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF 725 RUSSIAN ORTHODOX MONASTERIES AND CONVENTS, 1896

| Number | Percent | Geographic/administrative region |
|---|---|---|
| 653 | 90.0 | EUROPEAN RUSSIA |
| 36 | 5.0 | CAUCASUS |
| 3 | 0.4 | TSARIST POLAND (Privislianskoi krai) |
| 3 | 0.4 | FINLAND Preobrazhenskii and Konevskii mona- steries (with 5 *skiti* subordinate to them) and a colony of nuns, all in Vyborg province. |
| 30 | 4.1 | ASIATIC TERRITORY |
| 725 | 99.9% | TOTALS (less than 100% because of rounding) |

## Table 6

## 21 MONASTERIES WITH ANNUAL INCOME ABOVE 100,000 RUBLES IN 1909

| | |
|---|---|
| 932,000 | Kievskaia-Pocherskaia Lavra (Kiev prov.) |
| 573,000 | Aleksandr-Nevskaia lavra (St. Petersburg) |
| 337,000 | Pochaev (Volynsk prov.) |
| 283,000 | Troitse-Sergiev Lavra (Moscow prov.) |
| 283,000 | Zachat'ev (Moscow) |
| 259,999 | Sarovskaia pustyn' (Tambov prov.) |
| 237,000 | Ioannovskii (St. Petersburg) |
| 214,000 | Mikhailov (Kiev prov.) |
| 194,000 | Troitskii (Kiev prov.) |
| 194,000 | Biziukov (Kherson prov) |
| 187,000 | Voskresenskii (St. Petersburg) |
| 186,000 | Solovetskii (Arkhangel prov.) [stavrop. mon.] |
| 170,000 | Skorbiashchen (Moscow prov.) |
| 150,000 | Bogoiavlenskii (Moscow prov.) |
| 145,000 | Novo-Ierusalim (Moscow prov.) [Stavrop. mon.] |
| 143,000 | Valaam (Finland) |
| 140,000 | Verkhotur'e (Ekaterinburg prov.) |
| 126,000 | Donskoi (Moscow city [Stavrop. mon.] |
| 125,000 | Volokolam (Moscow prov.) |
| 103,000 | Nilova Pustyn' (Tver prov.) |
| 103,000 | Mitrofanov (Voronezh prov.) |

In Moscow Province: 6.
In Kiev and St. Petersburg provinces: 3 each.
Source: Compiled from tables in Zybkovets, 198-200.

## Table 7

### Russian Orthodox Monasteries and Convents in the USSR, 1985

MONASTERIES (6):

Holy Trinity (Troitskii) Monastery of St. Sergii in Zagorsk
Monastery of the Caves (Pecherskii) near Pskov
Monastery of the Dormition (Uspenskii) in Pochaiev in W. Ukraine
Monastery of the Dormition in Odessa
Monastery of the Holy Spirit (Sviato-Dukhovskii) in Vilnius (+ nuns)
Monastery of the Dormition in Zhirovitsii, Belarus (+ nuns)

CONVENTS (12: 10+2 communities of nuns on territory of two monasteries).

7 in Ukraine:

- Convent of the Protecting Veil of Our Lady (Pokrovskii) in Kiev
- Convent of St. Florus (Florovskii) in Kiev
- Convent of the Holy Trinity in Korets, Rovno region
- Convent of the Nativity (Rozhdestvenskii) in Alexandrovka, Odessa region
- Krasnogorsk Convent of the Protecting Veil of Our Lady in Zolotonosha, Cherkassk region
- Convent of St. Nikolai in Mukhachevo, Trans-Carpathian region
- Convent of the Ascension (Voznesenskii) in Chumalevo, Trans-Carpathia

5 in Baltic republics, Moldova and Belarus

- Convent of the Ascension in Zhabka, near Kishinev, Moldova
- Convent of the Dormition in Puhtitsa, Estonia
- Convent of the Holy Trinity and St. Sergius in Riga
- [+ 2 colonies of nuns listed above on monastery territories]

Source: Jane Ellis, *The Russian Orthodox Church*, 124-25.

Since publication of Ellis's book in 1986, declarations of independence have placed all but two of these eighteen monasteries and convents (the monasteries in Pskov and Zagorsk) outside the boundaries of the Russian Federation, and Estonia sometimes claims the territory on which the Monastery of the Caves is located near Pskov.

Table 8

## DISTRIBUTION AMONG DIOCESES OF JURISDICTION OVER MONASTERIES,CONVENTS AND THEIR SUBSIDIARY INSTITUTIONS SEPTEMBER 1993

| Diocese | Monasteries | Convents | Other | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Arkhangel | 3 | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| Cheboksar | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Cheliabinsk | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Ekaterinburg | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| Iaroslavl | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| Ivanov | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Kaluga | 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| Kirov (Viatka) | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Kostroma | 2 | 4 | - | 6 |
| Krasnodar | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Krasnoyarsk | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Kursk | 3 | 1 | - | 4 |
| Moscow | 12 | 6 | 2 | 20 |
| Nizhnyi Novgorod | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Novgorod | 3 | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| Novosibirsk | 2 | 2 | - | 4 |
| Omsk | 0 | 1 | - | 1 |
| Orlov | 1 | 0 | - | 1 |
| Penza | 0 | 1 | - | 1 |
| Perm | 1 | 0 | - | 1 |
| Petrozavodsk | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Pskov | 2 | 0 | - | 2 |
| Riazan | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| Rostov-on-Don | 0 | 1 | - | 1 |
| St. Petersburg | 3 | 1 | 4 | 8 |
| Samara | 0 | 1 | - | 1 |

| Diocese | Monasteries | Convents | Other | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Saransk | 1 | 0 | - | 1 |
| Saratov | 0 | 1 | - | 1 |
| Smolensk | 2 | 0 | - | 2 |
| Tambov | 1 | 1 | - | 1 |
| Tobolsk | 1 | 0 | - | 1 |
| Tula | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Tver | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Vladimir | 5 | 4 | - | 9 |
| Volgograd | 4 | 1 | - | 5 |
| Vologda | 1 | 0 | - | 1 |
| Voronezh | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| **SUBTOTALS: RUSSIA** | 66 | 49 | 11 | 126 |
| Belarus | 2 | 6 | - | 8 |
| Estonia | 0 | 1 | - | 1 |
| Kazakhstan | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Latvia | 0 | 2 | - | 2 |
| Lithuania | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Moldova | 7 | 7 | - | 14 |
| Tatarstan | 1 | 0 | - | 1 |
| Udmurtiia | 0 | 1 | - | 1 |
| Ukraine | 17 | 33 | - | 50 |
| Uzbekistan | 0 | 1 | - | 1 |
| **REPUBLICS SUBTOTALS** | 30 | 53 | 0 | 83 |
| Greece (Mt.Athos) | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| Israel | 0 | 1 | - | 1 |
| **GRAND TOTALS** | 97 | 102 | *13 | 212 |

*11 urban chapels with dormitories (*podvor'ia*), of which 5 were in Moscow, 2 in St. Petersburg, the remainder in other Russian cities; 1 *skit* in Russia, and 1 colony of monks (under jurisdiction of Mt.Athos diocese) in France.

Source: *Informatsionnyi biulleten'*, vyp. 3 (Moscow: Sinodal'naia biblioteka, September 1993).

## Notes

[1] "Patriarch Alexis II to Visit Vologda," TASS, August 13, 1992; "Russian Patriarch Completes his Tour of Russian North," TASS, August 24, 1992; "Russian Patriarch Gives Press Conference," The British Broadcasting Corporation, Summary of World Broadcasts, August 28, 1992--all in Nexis Database.

In October 1992 I saw on Russian Television in Moscow a special program, approximately one hour in length, devoted to the Patriarch's visit to Vologda. Included was an interview with a monk in Spaso-Prilutskii Monastery on the necessary tasks for reopening a monastery. In addition to repairing churches and living quarters, he stated that an additional early step was acquiring dairy cows so that the monastery could become self-sufficient in milk, butter, and cheese. After they became self-sufficient, they planned to make their surplus available to the local community.

For a description of Spaso-Prilutskii Monastery in 1908 and a historical sketch of its development, see L. I. Denisov, compiler, *Pravoslavnye monastyri Rossiiskoi imperii: Polnyi spisok vsekh 1105 nyne sushchestvuiushchikh v 75 guberniiakh i oblastiakh Rossii (i 2 inostrannykh gosudarstvakh) muzhskikh i zhenskikh monastyrei, arkiereiskikh domov i zhenskikh obshchin* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo A. D. Stupina, 1908), 119-23. Henceforth, immediately after the appearance of the name of a monastery or convent in the text of my study (but not in tables or footnotes), I will supply (in parentheses) the pages in Denisov's compilation that contain a historical sketch of that institution. Example, Spaso-Prilutskii Monastery (Denisov, 119-23).

David Remnik published notes on an interview he conducted with elderly residents of the village of Priluki at the end of the 1980s or beginning of the 1990s. See *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 209-13.

The memories that elderly peasants related to Remnik in that interview are strikingly similar to those that Ms. Desiaterik wrote in her memoirs about her life as a prisoner in the 1930s in another monastery in the immediate vicinity of Priluki. See *n.* 47 below.

[2] After a long period in which no church bells were cast in the Soviet Union, two factories had begun manufacturing them again by 1992. Interview with Il'ia Alekseevich Smirnov, senior colleague (*starshii sotrudnik*) Kirillov Monastery Museum, in Kirillov Octo-

ber 9, 1992. For a history of the industry of church bells in Russia, see Edward Williams, *The Bells of Russia: History and Technology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

[3] *Iz istorii restavratsii i izucheniia pamiatnikov iskusstva: Ferapontovskii sbornik*, Vypusk 3-i (Moscow 1991) is devoted to the art and architecture of Ferapontov convent and especially the frescoes of Dionysius.

[4] Interview with Il'ia Alekseevich Smirnov, October 9, 1992.

[5] To save space and reduce redundancy in this study, I will use the term "monastery," as the Russians do, to mean monasteries and convents collectively. In Russian, the distinction is made by inserting the adjective "men's" or "women's" before the noun "monastery." On those occasions when I wish to stress that a statement refers both to monasteries and convents, I will use both nouns.

[6] See *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* 11(St. Petersburg: Brokgauz-Efron, 1892): 280.

[7] V. F. Zybkovets, *Natsionalizatsiia monastyrskikh imushchestv v Sovetskoi Rossii (1917-1921 gg.)* (Moscow: "Nauka," 1975), 201 has a table showing these three sets of numbers, and he gives examples of the different ways compilers of lists entered autonomous and subordinate monasteries, sketes, etc.

[8] See note 1 above. The second major reference is V. Zverinskii, *Material dlia istoriko-topograficheskogo issledovaniia o pravoslavnykh monastyriakh v Rossiiskoi imperii.* 3 vols.(St. Petersburg, 1890-97). Other major articles that attempt to supply numbers for various types of monasteries, convents, and subordinate entities are: N. V-ko, "Monashestvo i monastyri v Rossii," *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* 38(St. Petersburg: Brokgauz-Efron, 1896): 725-33 (Hereinafter: "Monashestvo" BE), and Ia. Galiashkin, "Monashestvo v Rossii," *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' bibliograficheskogo instituta Granata*, 11-oe stereotipnoe izdanie 29(Moscow, n. d.): 255-69 (Hereinafter: "Monashestvo" G).

[9] Zybkovets, 201; Denisov. 189-99.

[10] "Monashestvo," BE: 730.

[11] Ibid.

[12] "Dukhovenstvo chernoe," *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* 22(St. Petersburg: Brokgauz-Efron, 1894): 265f.

[13] "Monashestvo," BE: 730.

[14] "Monashestvo," G, 266-68.

[15] "Monashestvo," BE, 732; "Monashestvo," G, 266-67.

[16] "Decree on Land" can be found in many compilations of documents on the early Soviet period. These quotations are from James H. Meisel and Edward S. Kozera, compilers, *Materials for the Study of the Soviet System*, 2nd, enlarged edition (Ann Arbor, Mich.: George Wahr Publishing Company, 1953), 19-21.

[17] Zybkovets, 48.

[18] Meisel & Kuzera, 63-64; Zybkovets, 47.

[19] In Meisel and Kuzera, 64-70; Zybkovets, 48.

[20] Zybkovets, 48-49.

[21] Ibid., 49.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., 61; Dimitry Pospielovsky, *A History of Soviet Atheism in Theory and Practice, and the Believer*: Vol. 2: *Soviet Antireligious Campaigns and Persecutions* (New York: St. Martin's, 1988), 17. (Hereinafter, this series will be cited: Pospielovsky, *Atheism*, followed by the volume and page numbers. Example: Pospielovsky, *Atheism*, 2:17.)

[24] Zybkovets, 49-50.

[25] Ibid., 50.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., 51.

[28] *Revoliutsiia i tserkov'*, 1920, No 6-8: 117, quoted in Zybkovets, 54.

[29] Zybkovets, 55-56. A historical sketch of this, the most prestigious of Russia's monasteries, is in Denisov, 443-59.

[30] Ibid., 66-67. Denisov, 10-19, has a description and historical sketch to ca. 1900 of the major (Preobrazhenskii--Transfiguration) monastery and its subordinate entities on the Solovetskii islands.

[31] Zybkovets, 76.

[32] Ibid., 76-77.

[33] Ibid., 94, 100.

[34] For examples, see the articles in *Sovetskaia istoricheskaia entsiklopediia* 9(1966): 603-05, and in *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia* 16(1977), 487-89, which is a translation by Macmillan publishers of the third edition of the Russian-language *Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia* (Moscow, 1970-78).

[35] Zybkovets, 94.

[36] Interview with Dekan Aleksandr Troitskii, Deputy Director of the Synodal Library in Danilov Monastery, Moscow, July 8, 1992. See also Jane Ellis, "The Return of the Danilov Monastery to the

Russian Orthodox Church," *Religion in Communist-Dominated Lands* Vol. 14, no. 2 (Summer 1986): 216-18.

[37] Zybkovets, 94.

[38] "Monashestvo," BE, 732.

[39] In response to a letter that D. Likhachev, Chair of the Board of the Soviet Cultural Fund, and seven other academicians and scientists wrote to the editors of *Izvestiia* asking the government to return the former buildings of the Russian Orthodox Church on Valaam Island and the archipelago, the editor of *Izvestiia* published the letter on September 14, 1989, and lambasted the "barracks-socialism" of the Soviet government that allowed some one-third of the 200 historical and architectural monuments on Valaam Island and the archipelago to fall into ruin. Noting that "the churches, monks' cells, farm buildings, workshops, gardens and forests with their intricate drainage system and canals were all created by workers in black habits, dedicated to the idea that work is prayer," the author agreed that these properties should be returned to the Church. "We, too, must all come to understand someday that what we have here is a rare unity of form and content and ... in trying to restore the form alone, we end up with dead buildings that no tourist center or museum can breathe life into." Translation published in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, vol. 41, no. 38 (October 18, 1989): 31.

[40] Pospielovsky, *Atheism*, 2: 57. After the monastery's return to the Russian Orthodox Church, monks discovered the remains of St. Ambrose. In 1990, some 5,000 people appeared at the monastery to participate in the ritual of the removal of those earthly remains. By 1990, 40 monks lived in the monastery, approximately one tenth the number at this monastery in the late tsarist period. See Valeri Dyomin, "Rebirth of a Monastery," *Soviet Life*, May 1990: 56-60; Nadezhda Pavlovich, "Optina pustyn': Pochemu tuda ezdili velikie?" *Pamiatniki Otechestva*, Nos. 2-3, 1992: 156-63; Aleksandr Nezhny, "Optina Pustyn Shone Brightly," *Current Digest of the Soviet Press* vol. 39, no. 50(January 13, 1988): 32.

[41] Semen Zvonarev, compiler, *Sorok sorokov: al'bom ukazatel' vsekh moskovskikh tserkvei v chetyrekh tomakh* (Paris: YMCA Press, 1988-1990): Vol. 1: *Kreml' i monastyri* (1988). The title of the multi-volume work might be translated as "Forty x Forty" or "Forty Forties." The author of the introduction explains that he chose the title from the historical name given to the annual religious procession from the seven districts of medieval Moscow. Moscow

was divided into seven districts, called "forties," in 1551 (as the ancient city of Novgorod had been divided into administrative units called "fives") with a main church (the *sobor*) for each forty. Thus, for reasons not completely clear, the annual religious procession was composed of "Forty Forties." See vol. 1, p. 8.

[42] "Spisok kul'tovykh zdanii-pamiatnikov arkhitektury Tverskoi oblasti," (28 typewritten pages). I am grateful to Irina Viktorovna Petushkova and Larisa Petrovna Sobolevskaia for making this list available to me.

[43] *Sorok sorokov*, 1 (1988): 92-110 has a historical sketch and photographs of the monastery and convent destroyed and the building that replaced them.

[44] *Sorok sorokov*, 1: 8-9 for the text; photographs are throughout the volume. The volume, *Razrushennye i oskvernennye khramy: Moskva i Sredniaia Rossiia s posleslovieм "Predely vandalizma"* [*Demolished and Defiled Houses of Worship: Moscow and Central Russia with a Prologue "The Boundaries of Vandalism"*] (Frank/Main: Posev-Verlag, 1980), is a collection of 130 pages of photographs of remnants of former churches in the city of Moscow (40 pages) and central Russia (90 pages). "Central Russia" means, in this volume, a triangular area formed by a line running NE from Moscow to Vladimir-Suzdal, and NW from there to Rostov-the-Great, and back SW from there through Sergiev Posad (Zagorsk) to Moscow. Page 137 retells the story of Stalin's order to Petr Dmitrievich Baranovskii, veteran restorer of architectural monuments, to prepare a plan to tear down the Cathedral of St. Basil the Blessed on Red Square because it was "a hindrance to automobile traffic across Red Square."

[45] For instance, see A. S. Prugavin, *Monastyrskie tiurmy v bor'be s sektanstvom: K voprosu o veroterpimosti* [*Monastery jails in the struggle with sectarianism: On the Question of Tolerance*] (St. Petersburg: Posrednik, 1904) for an account of the arrest and detention in monasteries of Old Believers in the nineteenth century. Solovetskii Monastery was also occasionally used in tsarist times as a prison for rivals to the throne. See n. 46 below. "Convents had long served, of course, as prisons for unwanted women. Peter I had his sister, Sofiia, sent to Novodeivichii Convent, for instance."

[46] Patriarch Aleksii II's visit to this island in his August 1992 tour of selected Russian monasteries of the North was particularly symbolic. The journalists accompanying him did not miss the op-

portunity for related stories. See, for instance, Gerald Nadler, "Terrible gulag now a tourist site; Monastery served as island prison," *The Washington Post*, September 27, 1992.

[47] Kseniia Evlampievna Desiaterik, "Tiazhëlye vospominaniia," ["Painful Reminiscences"]. I am grateful to Victor Kostelanets for allowing me to read and quote from these handwritten memoirs of his mother (1918--). At the time they were loaned to me, in 1994, Mr. Kostelanets was Visiting Professor teaching power electronics in the Department of Electrical Engineering in the University of Missouri-Columbia.

[48] Interview with Victor Kostelanets. Columbia, Missouri, January 3, 1995. This information his mother presented orally as supplemental to her handwritten memoirs.

[49] "The Mystery of Pokrov Monastery: Who Started the Development of Bacteriological Weapons in the USSR, and When?" Federal Information Systems Corporation, Official Kremlin International News Broadcast, November 17, 1992. In Nexis Database.

[50] Zybkovets 98, 101.

[51] Ibid., 99.

[52] Pospielovsky, *Atheism*, 2: 62-63.

[53] Pospielovsky, *Atheism*, 1: 44.

[54] Pospielovsky, *Atheism*, 2: 63.

[55] A very useful sketch history in English of the fate of religious institutions on the territories that the Soviet Union annexed after the Hitler-Stalin agreement of August 1939 is Wassiliij Alexeev, "The Russian Orthodox Church under German Occupations, 1941-1945" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1967), 24-43.

[56] Ibid. Mr. Alexeev includes subchapters on the revival of religion in the Pskov Region, Western Belorussia, Ukraine, Transnistria (the portion of Ukraine occupied by Rumanian troops), and the southern Russian areas of the Don Cossack Region and Rostov-on-Don Region. While these subchapters show that the major tasks for believers were reopening damaged churches and finding enough priests to perform services in them, they also contain incidental references to reopening monasteries, such as those on pages 183 and 239.

[57] Ellis, 125. Note that the report does not refer to any monasteries or convents reopened in Russia on territory not occupied by Germans. With restoration of the Patriarchate, the government allowed the Church to establish the patriarch's headquarters in the former

Holy Trinity Monastery at Zagorsk. But, since the Church did not acquire the status of a juridical person, it could not own property. The monastery compound, even while being used by the Patriarch, remained a museum and historical preserve.

The Soviet government also restored churches, monasteries, and convents to other organized religious groups in the Soviet Union. For example, in 1946 it allowed the Ivolga Datsan Buddhist monastery, which had been closed along with 45 other Buddhist monasteries in the 1930s, to reopen. See, for instance, Fiona Fleck, "Buddhists in Buryatia Pour Vodka Libations and Chant," Reuters Limited, December 11, 1992, Nexis Database. See also Marcus Warren, "Buddhism Reincarnated," *The Sunday Telegraph*, July 26, 1992, on the return of this monastery and permission during the Yeltsin period to reopen eighteen Buddhist temples.

[58] Jane Ellis, "The Return of the Danilov Monastery to the Russian Orthodox Church," *Religion in Communist-Dominated Lands* 14, no. 2 (Summer 1986): 216-18. The Synodal'naia Biblioteka (Synod Library) is currently located at this monastery, but the Patriarchate plans to move it eventually to another monastery in Moscow. I am grateful to the staff of that library for helping me locate research materials for this study.

[59] "Interview with Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Alexei II," Federal Information Systems Corporation, Official Kremlin International News Agency, June 10, 1992, in Nexis Database. See Sabrina Ramet, "Religious Policy in the Era of Gorbachev" in Sabrina P. Ramet, ed., *Religious policy in the Soviet Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993): 31-52, for a discussion of other aspects and motives for Gorbachev's religious policy.

[60] Ibid. This is primarily a translation of the interview *Nezavisimaia gazeta* conducted with the Patriarch. For statistics on congregations, buildings, ceremonies for all religious groups in Russia--not only Russian Orthodox, but also such groups as Old Believers, Seventh-Day Adventists, and Hare Krishnas--see the tables at the end of the articles: "Guarantees of Freedom," *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, 39, no 50 (January 13, 1988) and "How Many Church Buildings and Monasteries Have Been Turned Over to the Church in Recent Years?", Ibid., 42, no. 36 (October 10, 1990): 31.

[61] Denisov, 194-95 has an inventory that includes buildings, social services, and the economic enterprises founded and managed by the monastery, 191-95.

[62] This information was supplied to me by George Jewsburg, Professor of History at Oklahoma State University. The request was sent to Arthur Klatt, Director of the Office of International Programs at Oklahoma State University.

[63] "Guarantees of Freedom," *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, 39, no. 50(January 13, 1988): 1-14, has tables with numbers of people representing foreign religious denominations in Russia in November 1987. Some good examples of the large literature on this topic are: Anita Deyeneka, "Rethinking Our Russian Mission," *Christianity Today*, April 4, 1994; Fiona Fleck, "Russian Orthodoxy Battles Foreign Missionaries," November 8, 1993, Reuters News Service-CIS and Eastern Europe, Nexis Database; Thomas S. Giles, "Has Rift Between Orthodox, Protestants Begun to Heal?" *Christianity Today*, September 12, 1994: Adam Tanner, "Lubavitch Faith Returns to Russia," The Independent Press: *Moscow Times*, February 18, 1994, Nexis Database; Daniel Snider, "Russian Law Imposes Restrictions on Foreign Missionary Activity, *The Christian Science Monitor*, July 21, 1993.

[64] Petr Velikii, "The Effect of the Russian Peasantry's Moral Orientation on Its Selection of an Economic Management Mode," a paper presented to the conference "The Village in the Year 2000," Columbia, Missouri, January 1992. (A typescript copy is in my files.)

[65] Serge Schmemann, "A Russian Priest, and a Church, Resurrected," *New York Times*, March 8, 1993.

[66] "Monashestvo," BE: 730.

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