

A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF SOBRANIIJA:

DOUKHOBOR AND RUSSIAN ORTHODOX

by

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September, 1971

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ABSTRACT

The thesis investigates the Doukhobor meeting which has been treated in the literature as the religious-economic-social-political institution. Previous writers have assumed that Doukhobors do not differentiate their activities. A failure to recognize that there are several distinct kinds of meetings can lead to a definition of the community meeting as a "multi-purpose" meeting, a definition which, the thesis maintains, is not consistent with the Doukhobor definition.

In the literature the Doukhobor meeting has been referred to as the "community meeting," "prayer service," "business meeting" or sobranie. In determining the characteristics and the precise nature of the meeting, ambiguities arise. In the thesis one approach used to explain the variations in the descriptions of a sobranie is the reconstruction of a meeting as it took place in the nineteenth century. Discrepancies between the accounts can, in part, be understood in terms of deviations from the historical prototype. Some variations peculiar to three Doukhobor factions can be explained by historical developments within each of the separate groups. However, a comparison with the historical accounts does not completely explain the differences that are apparent among meetings presently held. It is therefore necessary to consider other ways of explaining the variations among these meetings.

This thesis argues that the "community meeting" does not encompass such a diverse range of activities as is suggested in the literature. Further, it is demonstrated that Doukhobors distinguish several types of meetings which are held on separate occasions and that unique terms are

designated to each of these meetings. By constructing a folk taxonomy of gatherings it is shown that Doukhobors distinguish several types of special purpose meetings. On the basis of this, it is argued that there are two levels of contrast to the term sobranie and that Doukhobors differentiate the Sobranie or 'Community Meeting'¹ from the molenie or 'prayer meeting.' The various Doukhor meetings are subsequently classified according to the participants' categorization of activities. This has important implications with regard to the manner in which meetings and activities are classified by the various Doukhor factions.

There is a presumed historical relationship between the Doukhobors and the Russian Orthodox Church, implying that there are, or were, connections between the two. Given that Doukhobors dissented from the Russian Orthodox Church, differences are assumed by definition, while similarities may either persist or not. When a relationship can be shown to exist between some activities and others, this not only demonstrates the connection between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Doukhobors but also suggests hypotheses which explain the behavior of the latter in terms of the former.

Because Doukhobors and Russian Orthodox members are both Russian speakers, a comparison of their taxonomies is made to ascertain whether or not they order their meetings and activities in a similar manner and whether they are making similar classifications with either the same or different terms.

Briefly, the concern of the thesis lies with the activities which

¹The distinction between sobranie and Sobranie is an analytical one and is discussed at length in the thesis.

occur at a Doukhobor Sunday meeting. The thesis also examines the terms used to describe the activities and the meetings. Comparisons are made among the meetings held by the various Doukhobor factions and these in turn are compared with the Sunday meeting of the Russian Orthodox Church.

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None of these people are, however, responsible for any errors or obscurities.

NOTE TO THE GRADUATE STUDIES COMMITTEE ON THE JOINT AUTHORSHIP

The purpose of this note is to explain the authorship of the various chapters of the thesis. Parts of the research were carried out independently by one of the two authors and in these cases that author assumes sole responsibility for the material. An indication of the division of labor is given here. The Assumptions (Chapter I, Section A), History of the Orthodox Church (Chapter II), Contemporary Doukhobor Meetings (Chapter IV), Taxonomy of Doukhobor Gatherings (Chapter VI, Section A), Categorization of Characteristics of the Divine Liturgy (Chapter VI, Section D), and Spatial Usage and the Properties of Doukhobor Meetings (Chapter VI, Section E) are the responsibility of Claire Newell. The Procedure (Chapter I, Section B), History of the Doukhobors (Chapter III), Contemporary Russian Orthodox Service (Chapter V), Taxonomy of Russian Orthodox Gatherings (Chapter VI, Section B), Categorization of Characteristics of Doukhobor Meetings (Chapter VI, Section C), and Spatial Usage and the Properties of the Divine Liturgy (Chapter VI, Section F) are the responsibility of Terrell Popoff. Both authors acknowledge responsibility for the concluding sections of the final chapter (Comparison and Summary).

PREFACE

A. Outline

The introduction to the thesis is found in Chapter I. This chapter outlines the main premises on which the study is based and the theoretical frameworks used in discussing the material in the other chapters. The latter part of this chapter will discuss the methods of collecting data and the procedure of the fieldwork.

A history of the Russian Orthodox Church will be given in the second chapter. There are numerous volumes devoted exclusively to the history of Orthodoxy and Chapter II presents only a historical sketch which is intended to provide the context out of which both Russian Orthodoxy and Doukhoborism emerged. It should be emphasized that while care has been taken in compiling the historical outline, not all dates and events have been fully documented. As the interest of the thesis lies primarily with certain social occasions and behaviors, church doctrine and beliefs could only be treated superficially.

The chapter dealing with Doukhobor history follows that of the Orthodox Church because Orthodoxy is historically prior to Doukhoborism. In Chapter III the Doukhobor history has been condensed and specific dates and events, as well as beliefs, have been sketched to facilitate comparisons with the Russian Orthodox Church.

If a strict temporal outline were to be followed, a description of the Russian Orthodox Sunday service would precede that of Doukhobor meetings. However, as mentioned before, the thesis is concerned with Russian Orthodoxy only insofar as it pertains to Doukhoborism. In order to give

the reader a frame of reference with which to follow the description of the Orthodox divine liturgy,¹ it was felt that the account of the Doukhobor meetings should precede that of the Orthodox.

The descriptions of the Doukhobor meetings which constitute Chapter IV are presented as "typical" meetings. They are considered to be typical because, while they are the account of no one individual meeting, they are a general account of any meeting which takes place. It is argued that the same pattern is repeated at the meetings. The chapter has been subdivided into several sections including: setting, participants, dress, music, sequence of events and historical prayer meeting.

The account of the prayer meeting of the past is placed after the description of the contemporary meetings for, unlike the first section of the chapter, it is a reconstruction based upon incomplete secondary accounts and therefore it cannot be fully detailed. These two main sections are meant to be read in conjunction with one another as each provides a framework with which the other can be better understood.

The comprehensive descriptions which comprise Chapter IV were included for two principal reasons. At the present time no complete descriptions of an entire sobranie are available and, as has already been remarked, this has led to inconsistencies between our own observations and the accounts in the literature. It was felt that the descriptions would also provide sufficient information to allow the reader to evaluate the subsequent analyses.

¹Stylistically it is consistent to use lower case letters in writing divine liturgy. It is recognized that the gloss for this service is usually capitalized but the reason for the use of lower case letters will become apparent in the Discussion (Chapter VI).

The fifth chapter is a description of a contemporary Orthodox divine liturgy service in Vancouver. The description considers setting, participants, dress, music and sequence of events. Details which are recurrent and typical of all divine liturgy services are outlined under these headings. It is intended that the description of a Doukhobor Sunday meeting will be kept in mind as this chapter is being read and that particular attention will be given to similarities and differences between the two occasions.

While it is recognized that there were many changes in the divine liturgy during the formative years of Orthodoxy, Orthodox doctrine maintains that the service has remained unchanged for the last several centuries. In considering the divine liturgy, the final section of Chapter V centers on the period beginning with the eighteenth century to parallel the time when Doukhobors became an identifiable group and began holding their own type of meetings. This section makes reference to the alterations since the eighteenth century and does not repeat the description in the first part of the chapter, which might be re-read in conjunction with the alterations found in this section.

The final chapter draws largely upon the two preceeding chapters, which were descriptive, and the first chapter, which was theoretical. In Chapter VI particular social occasions are examined and theoretical models are constructed and applied in an effort to explain the behavior on those occasions.

B. Transliteration

In spelling Russian words we have adhered to a transliteration system which indicates the Russian spelling and not the pronunciation. It is especially important to make this clear because there are decided variations in pronunciation between Doukhobor and Russian Orthodox speakers.

Since the Roman alphabet has fewer letters than the Russian Cyrillic script, diacritic marks (" , √ , ') and two-letter combinations have been used to indicate certain Cyrillic letters.

The only exceptions to this procedure are cases where a particular spelling has become conventional in English. For example, the spelling of the name of Peter Vasilievich Verigin follows a conventional English form rather than a transliteration which would read Piter Vasil'evič Verigin.

The following is a key for the transliteration used throughout the thesis.

<u>Cyrillic</u>	<u>Translit- eration</u>	<u>Cyrillic</u>	<u>Translit- eration</u>	<u>Cyrillic</u>	<u>Translit- eration</u>
а	a	к	k	х	x
б	b	л	l	ц	c
в	v	м	m	ч	č
г	g	н	n	ш	š
д	d	о	o	щ	šč
е	e	п	p	ъ	"
ё	ě	р	r	ы	y
ж	ž	с	s	ь	'
э	z	т	t	э	e
и	i	у	u	ю	ju
й	j	ф	f	я	ja

Russian words which have been transliterated into English are underlined and their glosses are indicated by single quotation marks. Foreign words, other than Russian words, are marked by double quotation marks and are underlined. At the end of the thesis, a glossary of the most frequently used Russian words is provided for the reader.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Assumptions

It is the objective of the thesis to be able to explain how certain events collectively constitute particular social occasions such that predictions about those social occasions can be made.¹ A social occasion can be discussed in terms of any number of a great variety of perspectives. For example it could be viewed in terms of social, religious, political, economic or legal factors, ad infinitum. Because it is impossible to consider all perspectives at once, any investigation must necessarily concentrate upon certain factors. Insofar as the thesis focuses upon folk taxonomies, spatial configurations and the distinctive features of occasions, the thesis is selective in its approach. It must be recognized, however, that while the perspectives are selective, the data presented has not initially been re-organized to substantiate particular hypotheses. Therefore lengthy descriptions of the occasions have been included, allowing the reader to follow the sequence of the events. The method of data collection has also been given in order that the limitations of material can be revealed. This is intended to enable the reader to accept or challenge the authors' analyses on the basis of the material presented. In the thesis, the three procedures (the construction of folk taxonomies, spatial configurations and distinctive features) will be used to examine the same social occasion. If similar patterns emerge from each procedure,

¹A definition of a "social occasion" follows.

then it will be suggested that they support one another and it will be assumed that similar patterns can be taken as confirmation of one another.

An occasion will be defined as the coming together of individuals at a specified time and place for a specified purpose or purposes. The beginning of the occasion is marked by the arrival of individuals at an appointed building and the termination of that occasion is indicated by the departure of the individuals from that building. In speaking about "social" occasions it is assumed that more than one individual is involved. A further assumption is made that the individuals, as members of the same culture, act in accordance with shared knowledge about those occasions. Since it is taken as given that individuals come together at a particular time and place with some common understanding of the occasion, it must also be taken as given that they meet for a purpose that is, to some extent, shared. But it lies beyond the design of this thesis to consider why individuals participate in a given situation. The emphasis is upon the activities of individuals as participants in the social occasion rather than upon their motivations for participating.

Language is communicative. Customary activities and behaviors can also be considered means of communication. The thesis is predicated upon the premise that there is a logical connection between language and behavior in that people's behavior in certain social occasions corresponds with their conceptual categorization of those occasions. This relationship can be demonstrated by considering the terms used to describe and categorize particular activities and by then examining those same activities with respect to the physical setting in which they take place. For the purposes of the thesis it has been assumed that physical space, in and of itself, has no meaning and that it is only attributed meaning by

those who use it. An attempt will be made to demonstrate a correspondence between the way activities are categorized and the way space is utilized since it is hypothesized that there is a correspondence between the categorization of activities and the use of space.

From the above discussion it should not be inferred that the authors will undertake an analysis of everything that is said and done on a particular occasion; rather, as previously mentioned, the thesis is concerned with the activities that take place within the framework set by the social occasion and the manner in which the activities are classified by the participants involved.

It is assumed that there is a fundamental difference between a participant's view of his activities and an observer's view of those same activities. It will be suggested that in order to be able to explain activities and events it is necessary to take into consideration how they are defined by the participant. This is based on the premise that different cultures perceive their world differently.

This is not so much a search for some generalized unit of behavioral analysis as it is an attempt to understand the organizing principles underlying behavior. It is assumed that each people has a unique system for perceiving and organizing material phenomena--things, events, behavior, and emotions (Goodenough 1957). The object of the study is not these material phenomena themselves, but the way they are organized in the minds of men. Cultures then are not material phenomena; they are cognitive organizations of material phenomena.²

In his classic work Language, Thought and Reality, Benjamin Lee Whorf hypothesizes that the material world is dissected along lines laid down

²Stephen Tyler, "Introduction," Cognitive Anthropology, edited by S. Tyler, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969, p. 3.

by one's native language.³ Within this hypothesis is contained the idea that cultures, and therefore languages, differentiate those things which are important to them. Given different environmental and social conditions, there will be a resultant variation in the phenomena considered to be important. It is a logical extension of this hypothesis to advocate that there is a direct correspondence between the relative importance of material phenomena and the degree to which they are distinguished by the language.⁴ Consequently, linguistic differentiations will vary from culture to culture and members of those cultures will perceive the world differently. This can become an important issue in cross-cultural studies where the observer is faced with the problem of conveying the participant's terms and concepts from one language and culture to another.

In undertaking the research, the participant's point of view was formulated by taking into consideration those Doukhobors who regularly attended the meetings. At Doukhobor meetings there is lay participation only and since all of the laity are potential participants it can be assumed that they have a common knowledge of the activities. In the case of the Russian Orthodox Church, where roles are institutionally differentiated and specialized,⁵ the preceeding assumption was modified for

³B. L. Whorf, Language, Thought and Reality, U.S.A., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1956, p. 213.

⁴Berlin, Breedlove and Raven apply this hypothesis to the naming of plant categories among the Tzeltal-speaking Mexicans. Their findings support the hypothesis that the more important (i.e. useful) a plant is to the speakers, the more it will be differentiated lexically. See their article "Folk Taxonomies and Biological Classification" in S. Tyler's Cognitive Anthropology, pp.60-66.

⁵This phrase was adapted from Bryan Wilson's article "Analysis of Sect Development" in American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, February 1959, pp. 3-15.

practical purposes. Because of the formal training of a priest and because the nature of his role is such that the activities of all others are dependent upon it, it was assumed that the priest would have a knowledge of all activities. It was from the priest's point of view that the participant's perspective was formulated in this case. This is not meant to suggest, however, that we are proposing that the other participants share with the priest an identical understanding of the activities. It is recognized that the congregation's point of view may be of interest in understanding the activities of their meetings but it was felt that this area of investigation was well beyond the scope of the thesis.

In conveying the participant's concepts cross-culturally, the observer can only formulate his interpretation and/or analysis of what he believes the participant means. It is therefore recognized that ethnographic descriptions are formulated partially by the participant and partially by the observer.⁶ Implicit in the preceeding discussion is the assumption that the participant has some understanding of the activities in which he is involved. The social scientist can then be seen as articulating the participant's constructs and extrapolating from them. Using "secondary constructs" it is possible to explain material phenomena which are ultimately defined by the participant.

It is further assumed that activities are independent of the particular individuals who participate in them. It is possible to focus upon the constants in a set of activities and to be able to explain what will

⁶This is a point brought out by Alfred Schutz in The Problem of Social Reality where he uses the term "secondary constructs." (Collected Papers Vol. I: The Problem of Social Reality, edited by Maurice Natanson, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1962.) Abraham Kaplan makes a similar distinction when he refers to "act meaning and action meaning." (The Conduct of Inquiry, San Francisco, Chandler Publishing Company, 1964, p. 34.)

occur, regardless of the particular individual who performs that activity. In relation to the thesis, there are two points which should be made clear. On the one hand, the rules governing activities and events, like the rules of grammar, are consistently applied although individuals may not be aware of them. On the other hand, the rules for predicting events and activities will be derived and constructed from the rules applied (either explicitly or implicitly) by the participants. This is necessary because it has been previously argued that different cultures categorize their world differently and that this must be taken into account.

Orthodoxy was introduced into Russia in the tenth century and soon became the State religion. The thesis reviews the history of certain beliefs of the Orthodox Church and certain of its services. However the social, economic, and political implications of these factors are not considered in the thesis. This limitation also applies to the consideration of the Doukhobors and their history.

While it is postulated⁷ that there may be a historical relationship between the Orthodox Church and the emergence of Doukhobors in Russia, it is not possible to assume that the presence of the same trait is always caused by the historical connection. The presence of some traits may be due to diffusion while others may be the result of independent invention.

⁷It cannot be stated unequivocally that the Doukhobors and the Russian Orthodox Church were historically related. Among historians the point of contention appears to be the degree to which Orthodoxy was assimilated by the people and not whether Orthodoxy was, in fact, assimilated. Some writers propose that as a result of the reforms introduced in the seventeenth century by Patriarch Nikon there were controversies among Orthodox Christians over how their Orthodoxy was to be practiced. It is argued that irreconcilable positions led to the Church's condemnation of some groups as heretical. Other authors maintain that Orthodoxy was never completely assimilated by the masses and that the development of schismatic groups and the Doukhobors can be attributed to a nominal profession of Orthodoxy and the continuance of pre-Christian practices.

It is argued that the historical connection between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Doukhobors helps to reduce the likelihood of spurious connections. As Boas remarks, "The historical method has reached a sounder basis by abandoning the misleading principle of assuming connections wherever similarities of cultures were found."⁸

In establishing whether or not traits are related, it is important to note that a characteristic will be considered similar when it can be demonstrated that it is present in both Orthodoxy and Doukhoborism. However this does not permit one to further conclude that traits evident in both groups are necessarily equivalent. On an empirical level, a characteristic will be defined by the observer as similar only if the characteristic is observed in both groups; it will be defined as equivalent if and only if the characteristic shares a definition which is common to both sets of participants. For example, if a particular form of bowing is observed in the Sunday meetings of both the Russian Orthodox and the Doukhobors, then this action will be considered similar. If the participants' definition of this activity is shared, then the activity will be considered equivalent. If a historical connection is assumed, and if it can be shown that there are equivalent and/or similar traits among the Russian Orthodox and the Doukhobors, then it can be suggested that the presence of traits among the Doukhobors can be explained in relation to those traits found among the Russian Orthodox.

In this section of the chapter we have thus far considered the main assumptions upon which the thesis has been premised. These assumptions

⁸Franz Boas, Race, Language and Culture, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1948, p. 280.

are used in attempting to explain and define particular social occasions. Furthermore, the activities of two related groups are compared with a view to further explaining the activities found within one of those groups.

B. Procedure

The collection of data was governed by the assumptions set out in the preceding section. This section will discuss how the data was gathered.

It has been estimated⁹ that at the present time there are 20,000 Doukhobors in Canada and that there are approximately 3,000 Doukhobors on the West Coast. Of those Doukhobors living in Greater Vancouver, approximately sixty attend sobranija¹⁰ there. When this study was initially begun in 1968 there were two separate sobranija regularly held in Greater Vancouver. Of the sixty Doukhobors attending, roughly one half participate in the meetings at Lockdale Hall. This is a community hall located in Burnaby which is rented on Sunday afternoons by the Independent Doukhobors. When the Independent Doukhobors of Greater Vancouver first decided to form an organization in 1948 they met in a hall in New Westminster.¹¹ In 1962 they agreed to change the location of their Sunday

⁹George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1968, pp. 1-17; Koozma J. Tarasoff, In Search of Brotherhood, The History of the Doukhobors, Vancouver, Mimeographed, 1963, Vol. 3, p. 871 (Hereinafter referred to as In Search of Brotherhood); and Harry B. Hawthorn (ed.), Doukhobors of British Columbia, Vancouver, J. M. Dent and Sons, 1955, p. 9.

¹⁰The plurals of Russian words are transliterated. For example, the ending ia is given for a neuter noun in the nominative singular case while the plural ending for the same is ja. Thus the plural form of sobranie is sobranija, and molenie is molenija.

¹¹See Koozma Tarasoff, "A Study of Russian Organizations in the Greater Vancouver Area," Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1963, pp. 149-82.

meetings to the hall in Burnaby, where they now continue to meet.

Most of the remaining Doukhobors can be identified as members of Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ or Sons of Freedom. These latter two groups held their meetings jointly in the basement of the Russian People's Home in East Vancouver. In the case of the Doukhobors who meet at the Russian People's Home, informal gatherings have been held sporadically since the 1940's. Tarasoff reports that no regular Sunday services were held then but that Doukhobors did come together as a group on special occasions such as Petrov den' (Peter's Day, June 29). During the winter months of 1968 and 1969 sobranija were held weekly at the Russian People's Home. At that time those attending said they had met there the previous winter and that, prior to this, sobranija had been held in private homes. The winter of 1969 saw the discontinuance of sobranija at the Russian People's Home. It has since been learned that there were several factors contributing to this termination of gatherings. One of the reasons given involved a conflict of opinions over the purpose of the gathering. There were those who felt that the exclusive purpose of these gatherings should be praying and singing psalms. But there were others who felt that the discussion of business matters was also appropriate. Another controversial topic centered around the problem of who should act as the starosta or 'elder.' This was an important question for them as the position involved, among other things, contacting people when special occasions arose (e.g. funerals or evening meetings) and collecting sufficient funds to rent the hall. There seems to have been yet another major issue that was also discussed at this time. Among the Doukhobors attending, dissatisfaction was expressed over the place where they met. The recurrent complaints about the overtones of the Russian

People's Home were again reiterated.¹² Some people felt that the hall had political affiliations with which they did not want to be associated. They also felt that the Russians frequenting the hall behaved contrary to Doukhobor ideals by smoking and drinking. No consensus had been attained after repeated discussions and the gatherings gradually ceased. At the present time (1971) no sobranija are held at the Russian People's Home.

Some of the Doukhobors who formerly met at the Russian People's Home now attend the sobranija at Lockdale Hall with the Independent Doukhobors. However, while these people have been encouraged to attend the gatherings at Lockdale, tensions have appeared because the Independents have asked them to make formal application to join the Society of Doukhobors of Canada. Some of those who have come from the Russian People's Home feel strongly that Doukhobors are, and must remain, "free" to carry out their way of life without belonging to any organization. Discussions at Lockdale Hall often revert back to this issue and those Doukhobors attending have not yet reached an agreement of opinion.

The data in the chapters concerning the Doukhobors was collected mainly from November 1968 to March 1969 during which time the researchers interviewed all those Doukhobors in regular attendance. Interviews were held in the respondents' home. A series of open-ended questions were asked, to which the informant responded verbally. Discussions in Russian and/or English took place between the respondent and one of the interviewers. The task of the other interviewer was usually one of taking notes or, occasionally, of taping the conversation. Each interview lasted approximately two to four hours. There were twenty-six individuals, twelve

¹²The following issues also appear in Tarasoff's study of Russian organizations in Vancouver.

males and fourteen females, who were interviewed. Ages ranged from thirty-three years to eighty-four years, with an average age of sixty. Of these twenty-six individuals, fourteen were Independent Doukhobors, eight were members of the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ and six were Sons of Freedom at that time. In addition to the research carried out in Vancouver, at the end of August 1969 approximately two weeks were spent in Grand Forks, British Columbia, interviewing three Doukhobor historians,¹³ using the available documents in the Iskra library, talking with Doukhobors and observing a wedding and funeral, as well as prayer meetings and community meetings. Subsequent interviews were conducted in the Spring of 1970 (January to April) to clarify and further investigate the findings of the previous years. Throughout 1970 and 1971 the researchers periodically attended gatherings at Lochdale Hall.

The Russian language is still spoken at all Doukhobor gatherings. Russian is also the language of conversation at gatherings in the Russian Orthodox Churches. However, the Russian Orthodox services are conducted in Old Church Slavonic. By the time Christianity was introduced into Russia in the tenth century, the doctrines and practices of Orthodoxy had been translated into the Bulgarian-Macedonian dialect, a dialect which was intelligible to Slavic people.¹⁴ This language has come to be known as Old Church Slavonic or Church Slavonic. To the present day the liturgical

¹³This term is used to describe three Doukhobor individuals who have collected material about the Doukhobor history and have published articles. They are respected by Doukhobors in general as being authorities on their history. Peter Legebokoff is the present editor of Iskra, Eli Popoff is the office administrator of the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ and William Sukhorev is the author of Istoriia dukhobortsieva.

¹⁴ See Chapter II for a more comprehensive discussion of this point.

language has remained the same. Out of this ecclesiastical language, modern Russian developed.¹⁵ Roman Jakobson states that Russian had become the literary language by the eighteenth century and was used for non-religious purposes. The Russian Orthodox Churches in Vancouver still perform their services in Church Slavonic. Since Old Church Slavonic is quite distinct from modern Russian, it is said¹⁶ that most of the words chanted in the services are not understood by the congregation.

The following discussion is intended only to demonstrate that the dialects of Doukhobor and Russian Orthodox speakers are related and mutually intelligible. At the same time, however, it will be emphasized that there are marked differences between the two. Within the larger Canadian society, Doukhobors can be identified as a Russian speaking ethnic group. They are further differentiated from other Russians by their faith and doctrine as well as by their distinctive way of speaking the Russian language. Their dialect is characterized by a mixing and blending of the different dialects of their national language.¹⁷ In his "Analysis of the Phonology of the Dukhobor Dialect," Harshenin observes that the Doukhobors lack several phonemes that are present in standard Russian, but that they possess additional phonemes absent from Russian. The use of these phonemes help to differentiate the two.¹⁸ The Russian phoneme g, for example, is frequently substituted by the phoneme h in Doukhobor Russian.

¹⁵Roman Jakobson, "On Russian Fairy Tales," in Structuralism A Reader, edited by M. Lane, London, Jonathan Cape, 1970, p. 136.

¹⁶The priests of the Russian Orthodox Churches in Vancouver and members of the congregation expressed this opinion.

¹⁷A. P. Harshenin, "An Analysis of the Phonology of the Dukhobor Dialect," Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1960, p. 15.

¹⁸Personal communication, Professor A. Harshenin.

to illustrate, the Russian word gospodi (meaning 'Lord') is pronounced hospodi in Doukhobor Russian. Harshenin found that the two dialects are also distinguished by variations in morphological, syntactical and lexical factors. For instance a lexical difference appears in the use of the word mašina. In standard Russian as used by Russian Orthodox speakers, the word mašina denotes a car whereas in Doukhobor Russian the term denotes a train. This brief discussion was intended to show that as minority groups in Canada both Doukhobors and Russian Orthodox speakers share a common dialect, although there are characteristics unique to each group.

Many of the older people who attend the Doukhobor meetings and the Russian Orthodox services do not speak English while middle-aged people tend to speak both English and Russian at their respective meetings. Since the researchers were not completely fluent in Russian, interviews were sometimes conducted in both languages while at other times the aid of a translator was necessary. In interviewing Doukhobors both English and Russian were used, the facility of the interviewee and the type of information being elicited also governed the use of one particular language. Similar remarks apply to the discussions that took place with members and clergy of the Russian Orthodox Churches. In these cases however, the help of a translator was not used even though interviews were likewise conducted in both Russian and English.

There are 13,761 Russian Orthodox in Canada according to the Canadian census of 1961, of which 1,509 reside in Vancouver.¹⁹ From September 1970 to March 1971 the researchers attended the divine liturgy services at three Orthodox Churches in Vancouver. When the divine liturgy

¹⁹Census of Canada, 1961, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1962.
"Population: Religious Denominations," Bulletin 1.2-6.

services began at the Russian Orthodox Church on Forty-Third Avenue, the average congregation consisted of four males and thirteen females.²⁰ By the end of the service the number of those in attendance had risen to nineteen for the males and to thirty-five for the females. These figures include those participating in the choir, the size of which averaged nineteen--nine of those being male and ten being female. In contrast, compared with the average of two children who were present at this Church, there were seven who attended Sunday services at the Orthodox Church on Campbell Avenue. Here the number of males also varied from the beginning of the service to the end. The number of males increased from eight to thirteen while the number of females varied from sixteen to twenty-two. These numbers include the individuals who sang in the choir. The mean size of the choir was ten, consisting of an equal number of males and females.

The Russian Orthodox Church on Thirteenth Avenue had the smallest congregation. On the average there were six males and nine females who made up the congregation. The size of the choir fluctuated from two individuals, one of who was often the priest, to six. Of six choir members, two were males and four were females. During the period of study there were never any children seen at this Church.

Of those assisting the priest or the bishop at the divine liturgy services, there were always altar boys. At the Church on Thirteenth Avenue there was one altar boy although there were instances when he was

²⁰These figures are based on the total number of males and females at the Sunday service, divided by the number of Sunday services observed during the research period. This procedure has been used in calculating attendance figures at Russian Orthodox and Doukhobor meetings.

not present and the priest conducted the service without his assistance. The number of altar boys accompanying the priest at Campbell Avenue ranged from two to four. At the Church on Forty-Third Avenue the number of helpers for the bishop varied between three and five. Of these, one helper was always a subdeacon. Subdeacons were never seen assisting the priests at the other two Churches.

The researchers were unable to interview the members who attended the Churches regularly. When members of the congregation were approached with questions about Orthodoxy or about the Sunday services, they always referred the researchers to the priest. The usual response given to the researchers, as non-members, was that it was not up to a layman to explain such matters. One was invariably told to direct queries to the priest "because he is the one who understands such matters."

From October 1970 to May 1971 interviews were held approximately once a week with the priest of Holy Trinity Church on Campbell Avenue and the bishop of Holy Resurrection Church on Forty-Third Avenue. Time did not permit extensive interviewing with the priest at St. Nicholas Church on Thirteenth Avenue. Occasionally the bishop spoke briefly with the researchers after the services but usually afternoon discussions during the week were arranged and took place in the parsonage. The priest at Holy Trinity Church lives several miles from the church building. When the interviewers made appointments with him, the arrangement always was to pick him up at his home and drive him to the church where the discussions took place. In both these interview situations, the discussions were loosely structured and sometimes followed the priests' interests. Conversations usually lasted two hours.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

In the following chapter a history of the Orthodox Church is presented. The chapter considers how the Church developed and how the Orthodox Church sees itself in relation to others. It is also intended to describe the context from which various dissenting groups, including the Doukhobors, emerged.

The Orthodox Church traces much of its early history to the first Christian communities in Judaea in the first half of the second century B.C.¹ During the first three centuries the Roman Empire adopted a policy towards Christians which fluctuated between toleration and persecution, depending on the will of the emperors. The early Christians were at first seen by the Roman authorities as a branch of Judaeism and as such stood under its protection. When a distinction was later made, the charges against Christians were atheism and anarchism. "Their rejection of the old gods seemed atheism; their refusal to join in Emperor-worship seemed treasonable."² In the fourth century the Roman Empire lost some of its unity after a long period of civil wars. In 313 A.D., Constantine and his co-emperor Licinius issued the Edict of Milan granting the first

¹Sophie Koulomzin, The Orthodox Christian Church Through the Ages, U.S.A., Keystone Publishing Company, 1956, p. 37, (hereinafter referred to as The Orthodox Christian Church), and Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959, p. 3.

²Walker, A History of the Christian Church, p. 43.

official recognition of the Christian faith.³ This edict did not make Christianity the religion of the Empire but gave it equal status with the other religions prevailing in the Roman world. Constantine later became the sole ruler of the Roman Empire. He favored Christianity and when he moved his capital from Rome to the Greek city of Byzantium in 324, he changed its name to Constantinopolis.⁴ The following year Constantine called an ecumenical council in Nicaea on the advice of his ecclesiastical advisors. The council was called to settle the prevailing Arian controversy. Constantine and his advisors saw the controversy as a threat to the unity of the Church and State. A priest Arius taught that Jesus Christ was not God in the same sense as God the Father.⁵ This contentious teaching spread throughout the Empire and caused a split within the Church. The Nicaean council condemned Arianism and gave a precise definition to the relationship of God the Father and the Son. This was the first of seven councils held to determine matters of Church doctrine and policy. The decrees of these ecumenical councils have become the canons which form the foundation of the Orthodox Church. However while the decisions thus formulated are considered to constitute the basis of the Orthodox faith, they are not of immediate relevance for our purposes and can therefore be found in Appendix A.

From the Orthodox point of view, the Church adheres strictly to the

³Timothy Ware, The Orthodox Church, Great Britain, Penguin Books, 1963, p. 26. Also, Koulomzin, The Orthodox Christian Church, p. 73.

⁴Walker, A History of the Christian Church, p. 105 and Ware, The Orthodox Church, p. 27.

⁵Koulomzin, The Orthodox Christian Church, p. 79, and Alexander Schmemmann, The Historical Road of Eastern Orthodoxy, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1963, p. 77.

promulgations of the seven ecumenical councils thereby regarding itself as the guardian of the true faith laid down by the apostles and the early Christians. It is for this reason that they call themselves Orthodox Christians, the name being taken from the Greek words "ortho" meaning 'true or correct' and "doxa" meaning 'belief.'⁶ Orthodoxy claims that there is one true faith and therefore one true Church. However, as Meyendorff points out in his book The Orthodox Church, it is a fallacy to argue that there ever was an "undivided church" which lasted for nine centuries. Throughout the whole history of the Church there were numerous divisive factors causing schisms within the Church. By moving the "New Rome" to Constantinople, Constantine geographically separated his new Christian capital from Rome which had enjoyed, until that time, the legitimacy of being the capital of Christianity.

The following centuries can be seen as increasing the separation between Constantinople and Rome. Among the factors contributing to the estrangement of the contending capitals were theological differences regarding the concept of "filioque" and the question of papal infallibility. In the sixth century the western Churches inserted the word "filioque" (meaning 'and from the Son') into the Nicæan-Constantinopolitan Creed. The Orthodox maintained that the concept of "filioque" was heretical because they believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.⁷ According to Orthodox interpretation, the word was not part of the orig-

⁶George H. Demetrakopoulos, Dictionary of Orthodox Theology: A Summary of the Belief, Practices and History of the Eastern Orthodox Church, U.S.A., Philosophical Library Inc., 1964, p. 139 (Hereinafter referred to as Dictionary of Orthodox Theology), and John Meyendorff, The Orthodox Church, U.S.A., Random House, 1962, p. vii.

⁷Ware, The Orthodox Church, p. 59.

inal text and therefore the Creed in its altered form was not acceptable since the ecumenical councils specifically forbade any change to be introduced into the Creed. The western Churches regarded the Patriarch of Rome, the Pope, as infallible, having absolute power over all the faithful. As long as the rule of the Roman Pope did not extend to the eastern Churches it did not become a controversial issue.

The Pope, however, believed his immediate power of jurisdiction to extend to the east as well as to the west.... The Greeks assigned to the Pope a primacy of honor, but not the universal supremacy which he regarded as his due.⁸

There were several other issues which developed over the centuries and which contributed to the eventual division between the eastern and western Churches. Among the eastern clergy there were two types of priests: the black clergy who took the vow of celibacy, and, the white or "secular" clergy who were permitted to marry prior to ordination. In contrast to this, the western Churches made celibacy mandatory for all clergy. In the ninth century another dispute arose over the Roman use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist because the eastern Churches had always used leavened bread. Variations in language also contributed to the differentiation of the eastern and western Churches. In A History of the Christian Church, Walker mentions that by about the year 450 very few clerics in western Europe could read and speak Greek. Conversely, he says that by 600 A.D. it was rare for a Byzantine to speak Latin. Presumably this limited communication and increased the distance between the two Churches.

Although repeated attempts were made to restore relations between the eastern and western Churches, 1054 is given as the date of the last

⁸Ibid., p. 57.

attempted reconciliation. Consequently this date is considered as marking the schism between the Roman and Byzantine Churches. It should be re-emphasized that the two Churches grew up more or less independent of one another from the beginning of Christianity, even though communication continued until the twelfth century.

The middle of the ninth century was an epoch of expansion of Christianity emanating from Constantinople. Much of the Church's energy was directed toward the Slavic countries (Moravia, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Russia⁹) lying to the north and north-west of the Byzantine Empire. The Orthodox Church subscribed to the old missionary principle of permitting each nation to conduct services in its own language.¹⁰ Concerning the conversion of the Slavs to Orthodoxy, perhaps the two people who had the most profound effect were the Greek brothers Cyril and Methodius from Thessalonica. In preparation for their missionary work in Moravia, the two monks began a translation of the Bible and the Orthodox liturgies into their native Bulgarian-Macedonian dialect.¹¹ For this Cyril invented a Slavonic script based ultimately upon Greek letters. In this way the dialect of the Bulgarian-Macedonian Slavs came to be known later as Church Slavonic. Although the Greek missionaries went to Moravia at the request of the Moravian Duke, once there, they met with opposition from the German missionaries who followed the western style of worship. The Greek clerics eventually were expelled, resulting in a Roman victory. While the attempt to found a Slavic national Church had failed in Moravia,

⁹Ernst Benz, The Eastern Orthodox Church, Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company, 1963, p. 82.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 112.

¹¹Loc. cit., and Walker, A History of the Christian Church, p. 195.

it nevertheless had far-reaching effects. When Orthodoxy was later adopted by the other Slavic countries, it was introduced in a ready-made form insofar as the texts were written in a dialect intelligible to the people.

The history of Orthodoxy in Kievian Russia begins in the late tenth century when Grand Duke Vladimir I married Anna, the sister of the Byzantine emperor.¹² On returning to Kiev, Vladimir brought with him Greek missionaries, books, vestments, icons, crosses, relics, and church utensils. In 989 A.D. a mass baptism was held in the river Dnieper for the people of Kiev.¹³ This marks the beginning of Orthodox Christianity as the State religion in Russia. For approximately two hundred and fifty years Kiev was considered to be the political, economic and ecclesiastical center of Russia. The Mongol suzerainty over Russia lasted from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, during which time a policy of religious toleration permitted the Orthodox Church to continue functioning. Gradually Kiev lost its influence as the capital and in 1325 the see of the Metropolitan was officially transferred to Moscow.¹⁴ By the middle of the fifteenth century the Russians had succeeded in driving out the Mongols and their new political independence roughly coincided with the

¹²Walker, A History of the Christian Church, p. 215.

¹³Koulomzin, The Orthodox Christian Church, p. 137, and D. Attwater, The Christian Churches of the East, London, Geoffrey Chapman, 1961, p. 45.

¹⁴Koulomzin, The Orthodox Christian Church, p. 155, and op. cit., p. 215.

independence or autocephaly¹⁵ of the Russian Orthodox Church (1448¹⁶). Until this time the Patriarch of Constantinople had traditionally appointed a Greek metropolitan to the Russian Church.

Moscow came to be regarded as the new capital of Orthodoxy after Constantinople was conquered by the Turks in 1453.¹⁷ The importance of Moscow as the ecclesiastical center was further strengthened by the marriage of Ivan III ("Ivan the Great") to the niece of the Byzantine emperor in 1472.¹⁸ Through this marriage Ivan, the Grand Duke of Moscow, assumed the Byzantine title of Czar (a slavic version of the word "Caesar")¹⁹ and as Czar headed both the Church and the State.

In the course of the sixteenth century, the relationship between Church and State that resulted from this union was challenged. One party (the "possessors" under Joseph, Abbot of Volokolamsk Monastery²⁰) was committed to the idea of a close alliance between Czar and Patriarch and therefore the acceptance of social and political responsibilities by the Church. The opposing party (the "non-possessors" headed by Nilus Sorsky,

¹⁵Meyendorff states (in The Orthodox Church, p. 143) that the word autocephalous comes from the Greek "auto," 'self' and "kephale," 'head.' According to Demetrakopoulos (Dictionary of Orthodox Theology, p. 21), in Orthodox canon law an autocephalous church is one which elects its own head or primate and is not dependent upon any other patriarch. The boundaries of the various autocephalies often coincide with national boundaries, although this is not always the case.

¹⁶Walker, A History of the Christian Church, p. 528.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 529.

¹⁸Meyendorff, The Orthodox Church, p. 107.

¹⁹Ware, The Orthodox Church, p. 113.

²⁰Paul Miliukov, Religion and The Church in Russia, New York, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943, p. 18.

founder of the Sorsk Hermitage) sought complete separation of State and Church matters. The latter party emphasized a life of monastic poverty and piety and argued that clergy should be detached from worldly affairs. The quarrel was, for the most part, settled by the apparent victory of the "possessors" and from the sixteenth century onward the relationship between State and Church vascillated between co-existence and domination.

The actions of Patriarch Nikon in the mid seventeenth century and of Czar Peter the Great in the eighteenth century demonstrate the implications of this union. As Patriarch, Nikon attempted to standardize church books and the form of worship. Many regional variations had crept into the form of worship and Nikon demanded that the Russian practices conform to the liturgical customs prevailing in the other patriarchates. In addition, with the introduction of the printing press and the mass reproduction of service books, it was felt that a prototype was necessary. The books, and consequently the practices, were altered wherever they differed from the contemporary Greek style. The reforms most frequently mentioned in the literature concern the position of the fingers in making the sign of the cross, the number of halleluiahs sung and the direction of Church processions.²¹ While crossing themselves, the Russians held two fingers together, while the Greek custom was to hold three fingers together, forming a single point; whereas the Russians sang halleluiah twice, the Greeks repeated it three times; Russian processions moved in a westward direction and, in processions, the Greeks moved the opposite way. However inconsequential these points may have appeared to some of the Russian people, when conformity with the Nikonian reforms was demanded,

²¹Stepniak, The Russian Peasantry, Third Edition, London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1894, p. 387.

there were both clergy and laity who refused to accept the new books and to adopt the new forms.

Just as there are a number of explanations for the introduction of the reforms, there are many interpretations given for the strong resistance toward the modifications. The opponents argued that the Greek practices were of even more recent origin than the Russian forms and therefore had no more, or less, justification than their own with regard to the early Christian traditions. Further questions were raised about the implications of the changes upon the saints and the other "faithful" of the preceeding centuries who had adhered to the practices now being condemned as "unorthodox." Although Nikon was deposed by a synod of the other patriarchs (in 1666 A.D.), his reforms remained effective and in 1667 a council pronounced an anathema against schismatics.²²

Dissent characterized the seventeenth century in Russia. This led finally to a schism (raskol) within the Russian Orthodox Church. Of the dissenters (raskol'niki), those advocating continuance of the former Russian Orthodox traditions severed connections with the Church and came to be known as the Old Believers or Old Ritualists. Among the Old Believers, a distinction is made between those who have retained the priesthood (popovci) and those who have rejected the priesthood (bezpopovci).²³ Throughout the seventeenth century schisms spread and the dissenters themselves split into many factions.

This has been viewed by some as a process in which the new factions can all be considered to be offshoots of the Orthodox Church. The

²²Meyendorff, The Orthodox Church, p. 110.

²³Robert O. Crummey, The Old Believers and The World of Antichrist, U.S.A., University of Wisconsin Press, 1970, p. 23.

divisions are said to have resulted from disputes arising over the proper or right (i.e. orthodox) form of worship. A more contentious position is taken by those who argue that training for the priesthood was generally characterized by a low standard of education such that the priests were only minimally qualified to perform the functions of their office. According to this reasoning, the people regarded the priests as tradesmen, performing the necessary services such as baptism, holy communion, marriage and burial which were required by State decree. This is aptly expressed by Stepniak:

The relations between the moujiks* and their pops having little, if anything of the spiritual in them ... it remains an undeniable fact that as a rule the pops are looked upon by their parishioners not as guides or advisors, but as a class of tradesmen, who have wholesale and retail dealings in sacraments.²⁴

The illiteracy of the priesthood, in conjunction with the growing distance between the parish priests and the laity, often contributed little to the spiritual education of the people.²⁵ While it is impossible not to speak of a minimal absorption of at least certain aspects of Christianity,

*Moujiks means peasants. Pops means parish priests. This is a disrespectful term which seems to be applied most commonly to "white" priests (secular or married priests). Hingley points out that the proper term for priest is svjaščennik. (R. Hingley, Russian Writers and Society, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1967, p. 151.) Also see Schmemmann, The Historical Road of Eastern Orthodoxy.

²⁴Stepniak, The Russian Peasantry, p. 373.

²⁵In Chapter I of Religion and The Church in Russia, Hiliukov centers on this point in discussing the assimilation of Orthodoxy in Russia from the time of conversion (989 A.D.) to the pre-Mongolian period. Stepniak, in The Russian Peasantry, argues the same point but with respect to the period of time from the conversion to Orthodoxy until the time of his writing (1894). Similarly, Dunn and Dunn speak about Orthodoxy in Russia from 1700 to the Bolshevik Revolution in their book The Peasants of Central Russia, (U.S.A., Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967).

according to this argument it is impossible to speak of the complete assimilation of it. Evidence is given to support the claim that the convictions of the masses remained a mixture of Orthodoxy and pre-Christian beliefs. Because Dunn and Dunn concisely express several of these ideas they will be quoted at length.

Due to organizational difficulties and shortage of personnel, the Orthodox Church failed to maintain active control over many rural areas which were nominally Orthodox. Therefore, quite apart from the questions of the peasant festival cycle and sectarian influence, peasant religious practice deviated from the official church ceremonial. These deviations sometimes went so far that peasants who considered themselves Orthodox were regarded as schismatics by the Church hierarchy, and were treated accordingly. This is a particularly significant example of the way in which the cultural screen between the peasant and the urban resident operates. The operation of the screen in prerevolutionary Russia produced in effect two cultures in one country, both in point of religion and in other areas of life. It is necessary to bear this in mind when considering any aspect of Russian history, and most especially the role of the Orthodox Church in Russian life.²⁶

This position emphasizes that schisms occurred because many of the people had only superficially assimilated the teachings and practices of the Orthodox Church. Thus while acknowledging that the immediate issues concerned specific Orthodox teachings and practices, the divisions are said to express a disparity between the Orthodox doctrine and the continuance of previously existing beliefs. It will be recalled that in accounting for the development of the numerous dissident groups the alternative interpretation suggests that cleavages arose exclusively out of theological disputes within the Church.

The reforms introduced by Patriarch Nikon had continuing repercussions on the Russian Church and society in the following centuries. But another crisis threatening union with the State was faced by the Church

²⁶Dunn and Dunn, The Peasants of Central Russia, p. 30.

when Czar Peter the Great abolished the patriarchate.²⁷ In 1721 he replaced the patriarchate with a new form of organization called the Holy Synod. A new office for a "lay procurator" was created and the remainder of the Synod was comprised of bishops and other clergy appointed by the Czar. As the Holy Synod was under the immediate control of the procurator, and ultimately the Czar, the power of the Church was subject to the State. This synodical form of organization continued for approximately two hundred years until, in 1917, the patriarchate was re-established by an All-Russian Church Council and Tikon, Metropolitan of Moscow, was elected Patriarch.²⁸

On January 20, 1918, the Council of Commissaries of the People approved the famous decree regarding the "separation of Church and State and the separation of the schools from the Church," which was promulgated on January 23.²⁹

A series of measures were begun in 1918 to prevent the propagation of Orthodoxy within the U.S.S.R. All church buildings, lands and assets were nationalized and shortly thereafter theological academies, church schools and seminaries were transferred to the control of the Commissariat for People's Education.³⁰ In order for a religious group to congregate it became necessary to obtain official recognition by the State. While this policy granted the right to meet for worship services, it did not

²⁷Meyendorff, The Orthodox Church, p. 110; Schmemmann, The Historical Road of Eastern Orthodoxy, p. 331; and Walker, A History of the Christian Church, p. 530.

²⁸Meyendorff, The Orthodox Church, p. 122; Walker, A History of the Christian Church, p. 532; Ware, The Orthodox Church, p. 137; and Nicolas Zernov, Eastern Christendom, New York, G. P. Putman's Sons, 1961, p. 125.

²⁹Meyendorff, The Orthodox Church, p. 125.

³⁰Miliukov, Religion and The Church in Russia, p. 158, and Ware, The Orthodox Church, p. 155.

allow formal religious instruction or proselytization.

This brief discussion is not intended to be a resume of the official State policy toward religious groups and the Orthodox Church in the U.S.S.R. from the October Revolution to the present day. It is intended only to indicate the general view toward which the Soviet government has tended, recognizing that religious groups in the Soviet Union have seen times of both restraint and laxity.

The re-establishment of the patriarchate in 1917 saw the beginning of further divisions within the Orthodox Church, divisions which have played a fundamental role in the recent history of Russian Orthodoxy. Before Patriarch Tikon died in 1925 he appointed three possible "locum-tenentes" or guardians of the patriarchal throne³¹ (the Metropolitans Cyril, Agathangelos, and Peter), anticipating that further councils probably could not be held regularly. Because of the incarceration of these three appointees, Metropolitan Sergius became "deputy locumtenens."³² In 1927 Sergius officially requested that the Soviet government legalize the Patriarchal Synod over which he presided, a request which was granted the same year. "The latter demand appeared to many to be going too far in the way of accommodation, for government 'legalization' necessarily implied an unspecified amount of government control."³³ Within the Orthodox Church many of the clergy protested this move, regarding it as an unacceptable compromise with the government. Sergius was finally elected Patriarch in 1943 by a small group of

³¹Meyendorff, The Orthodox Church, p. 134. Also Mare, The Orthodox Church, p. 161.

³²Meyendorff, The Orthodox Church, p. 135.

³³Loc. cit.

bishops³⁴ but he died the following year. In 1945 Metropolitan Alexis, a supporter of Sergius, was subsequently elected Patriarch.

Not all of the Orthodox clergy agreed with the position taken by Sergius and Alexis concerning the relationship of the Russian Orthodox Church and the State. Among them were a number of clergymen who, in exile after the Russian Revolution, formed The Synod of the Russian Church in Exile.³⁵

Sergius and Alexis, however, have several times put out condemnations of the Karlovtsy administration, and the Moscow Patriarchate continues to the present day to regard it as entirely illegal and uncanonical. The Synod, for its part, does not recognize as valid the elections of Sergius and Alexis to the Patriarchate; and it has ignored the condemnations published by Moscow, looking upon them as political documents devoid of any spiritual authority.³⁶

There is yet another group of priests, presently referred to as The Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America,³⁷ who originally came as missionaries to Alaska in 1794. When Alaska was purchased by the United States in 1868, the Russian Orthodox missionaries felt the need to extend their Church to other parts of North America.³⁸ At that time San Francisco was the center for Russian settlers and in 1870 it

³⁴There were nineteen bishops at this council. See Ware, The Orthodox Church, p. 167.

³⁵Also known as The Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, Russian Church Outside Russia, The Synodicals, The Karlovtsy Synod or Anastasians. See Ware, The Orthodox Church, p. 181; Tarasoff, "A Study of Russian Organizations in the Greater Vancouver Area," p. 18.

³⁶Ware, The Orthodox Church, p. 183.

³⁷Also known as The North American Jurisdiction or The Metropolia. See Ware, The Orthodox Church, p. 182.

³⁸Meysendorff, The Orthodox Church, p. 185.

was made the see of the Russian Orthodox Diocese in the United States.³⁹ The seat of the Metropolitan was later (1905) transferred to New York. By 1924 the Russian Orthodox Church of America had severed contact with the Moscow Patriarch and considered itself to be an autonomous body. Although the history of this jurisdiction is complicated, the controversy centers mainly upon the recognition of this jurisdiction by the Moscow Patriarchate. The Patriarchate was not prepared to grant complete autonomy to the North American jurisdiction and demanded the right to appoint bishops there. The late Patriarch Alexis is said to have granted an autocephalous status to the North American Russian Orthodox Church in 1970 just prior to his death.⁴⁰ It is important to remark that the new office of Patriarchate of New York has not yet been filled. In spite of this, The Metropolia considers itself to be an independent body with its own Patriarch.

From the Moscovite position, both The Russian Church in Exile and The Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America are schismatic. How they view the relationship of the Church and the State in the Soviet Union and how they view themselves connected to the Moscow Patriarchate would therefore appear to be central characteristics differentiating these two jurisdictions. In Vancouver, Churches belonging to The Russian Church in Exile and The Russian Orthodox Church of America jurisdictions are represented. Holy Trinity Church (on Campbell Avenue) and St. Nicholas Church (on Thirteenth Avenue) are affiliated with the former jurisdiction while Holy Resurrection Church (on Forty-Third Avenue) belongs to the

³⁹Koulomzin, The Orthodox Christian Church, p. 230; Tarasoff, "A Study of Russian Organizations in the Greater Vancouver Area," p. 16.

⁴⁰Bishop Antonuk, personal communication.

latter jurisdiction.⁴¹

There is a small group of Russian Orthodox Churches known as The Russian Exarchate in Western Europe⁴² who, as Russian emigres, recognize the Patriarch in Moscow. Because there are no Churches with this affiliation in North America, no further reference will be made to them.

⁴¹For a discussion of the history and development of these Churches in Vancouver see: Tarasoff, "A Study of Russian Organizations in Greater Vancouver Area," Chapters 9, 10 and 11.

⁴²Also known as the Paris Jurisdiction. See Ware, The Orthodox Church, p. 182.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF THE DOUKHOBORS

Chapter II outlined the development of the Orthodox Church, the influence of Orthodoxy in Russia and its subsequent introduction to North America. To understand the Doukhobors it is necessary to again consider the period in history that begins roughly with the seventeenth century. The history of the Doukhobors, then, is the subject of Chapter III beginning with the seventeenth century and the Nikonian reforms. Brief consideration will be given to some of the events mentioned in Doukhor literature, with the greater emphasis being given to events which occurred in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

On the basis of historical evidence many attempts have been made to trace the origin of the Doukhobors in Russia.¹ For present purposes it is sufficient to begin a discussion of the development of the Doukhobors at the time when they came to be identified as a specific group of dissidents. In 1785 the Orthodox bishop of Ekaterinoslav, in the Ukraine region, used the term duxo borec² (meaning 'those who fight against the

¹The reader is referred to Chapter II on the historical background of the Russian Orthodox Church.

²Eli Popoff, Historical Exposition of Doukhobor Beliefs, Manuscript for the National Museum of Canada, August 1964, p. 1, (Hereinafter referred to as Historical Exposition); Charles Frantz, "The Doukhobor Political System, Social Structure and Social Organization in a Sectarian Society," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1958, p. 32, (Hereinafter referred to as "The Doukhobor Political System"); Tarasoff, In Search of Brotherhood, p. 5; and Vladimir Tchertkoff (editor), Christian Martyrdom in Russia, London, The Free Age Press, 1900, p. 3.

Holy Spirit') to describe one group of heretics who repudiated all Orthodox formalities. The meaning of the word lost its pejorative overtones when it was reinterpreted by its members to mean those who wrestle with the chaotic world in an attempt to gain the peace of the spirit. Similarly it was taken to mean those who struggle against the injustice and evil in the world with spiritual instead of violent means.³

The name 'church' was rejected as was any particular man-made structure because it was contended that the spirit dwells in man and the real church is within the body. There are two points to be made in connection with the term church. The Doukhobors did not see themselves as being formally constituted in a manner similar to the Russian Orthodox Church and hence they rejected labelling themselves as a church (i.e. subject to institutionalized church discipline). They referred to the place where their meetings were held as obščij dom⁴ or molitvenyj dom, glossed respectively as 'community house' and 'prayer house.' Such a place was never referred to as xram or cerkov', terms which are glossed in English as 'church.'

Each individual was regarded as equal to all others and Doukhobors advocated a brotherhood of all mankind, recognizing God as the only

³This interpretation emphasizing the non-violent aspect of Doukhorism was insisted upon by Legebokoff in an interview. The point is also made in many of the accounts including: J. P. Zubek and P. A. Solberg, Doukhobors at War, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1952, p. 7, 177; Popoff, Historical Exposition, p. 1.

⁴This is the term given in Tarasoff's In Search of Brotherhood (Vol. 3, p. 917), but molitvenyj dom is more the commonly used form today.

supreme authority.⁵ Doukhobors were of the conviction that all believers possess the spirit of God. They said that all were equal to interpret the "Christ within" and that the individual himself was the only true priest. Perhaps it was from this precept of equality that Doukhobors renounced the authority of the clergy and government.⁶ They also opposed the formalities and the 'ritual' (ritual) of the Orthodox form of worship including the Bible as the ultimate source of inspiration, Orthodox liturgy, icons, crosses, fasts, sacraments, baptism, communion, and confirmation--all of which they saw as unnecessary externalities. Emphasizing the unity of the individual and God through the Holy Spirit, the Doukhobors interpreted baptism, marriage and communion as manifestations of the spirit but not as overt acts. From the Doukhobor perspective baptism, for example, took place when a person repented and believed in God. Consequently they regarded baptism with water "as useless, saying that water only washes off the uncleanness of the external body."⁷

Because these views were seen by the Orthodox Church and the State not only as heretical but also as anarchical, Doukhobors were continually persecuted. At first Doukhobors were concentrated in the three provinces of Ekaterinoslav, Tambov, and Kharhov.⁸ In 1792 the governor of

⁵This is a fundamental tenet professed by all Doukhobors. It can be seen, for example, in the "Declaration of the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ in Canada," proclaimed in Verigin Saskatchewan, 1934.

⁶Frantz, "The Doukhobor Political System," p. 16; Tchertkoff (ed.), Christian Martyrdom in Russia, p. 5-6; Zubek and Solberg, Doukhobors at War, p. 7.

⁷Tchertkoff (ed.), Christian Martyrdom in Russia, p. 10. See also Tarasoff, In Search of Brotherhood, Vol. 1, p. 11; Zubek and Solberg, Doukhobors at War, p. 169.

⁸Tarasoff, In Search of Brotherhood, Vol. 1, p. 33.

Ekaterinoslav advocated that the Doukhobors be shown no mercy, for their beliefs were seen by the officials as a potential threat to the Russian Orthodox people with whom they came in contact. Those practicing the Doukhor teachings were condemned to be burnt; the sentence was later remitted and they were exiled to "various regions on the periphery of the Russian Empire."⁹ During the reign of Czar Alexander I (1801-1825) a policy of toleration towards the Doukhobors was adopted. In 1802 they were relocated in Taurida along the Molochnaja River, which in English is generally described as the Milky Waters.¹⁰ Here the Doukhobors were permitted to organize their lives as they chose. The State interfered little with them, particularly regarding the matter of compulsory military service. Alexander's reign was followed by the reign of Nicholas I (1825-1855) a period during which Doukhobors were again persecuted. In 1839 the Czar delivered an ultimatum that those not renouncing the Doukhor teachings and returning to the Russian Orthodox Church would be exiled to the Caucasus. Thus in 1841 Nicholas I expelled the recalcitrant Doukhobors from the Milky Waters region and forced them to relocate near Tiflis in the Caucasus Mountains. Later, in 1887, an edict was issued enforcing universal military service. This caused the Doukhobors to take an overt stand to uphold their beliefs.

At this time in Doukhor history the hereditary spiritual leadership was held by Peter Vasilievich Verigin (or Peter the Lordly) who set out to live an exemplary life by abstaining from eating meat, smoking and drinking liquor. Not only were these proscriptions instituted among

⁹Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, p. 31.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 36.

his followers, but communal living and passive resistance were also made mandatory. In response to the edict of 1887, Peter the Lordly chose June 29, 1895 (Petrov den') as the day all Doukhobors would burn their weapons as a public demonstration of their refusal to serve in the army. Prior to the burning of arms, June 29th was said to be the day commemorating the birth of the saints Peter and Paul. In addition, the 29th of June had been recognized as an important day by the Doukhobors for on the 29th of June, 1859, their leader Peter Vasilievich Verigin was born.¹¹ This public demonstration of Doukhobor opposition to conscription led the State authorities to further persecute them. These actions eventuated in the migration of approximately 7,500 Doukhobors to Canada in 1899, although 12,000 chose to stay behind.¹²

Arrangements, negotiated prior to their arrival in Canada, appeared to the Doukhobors to protect their affairs from government interference. Education, under the authority of provincial governments, was not yet compulsory in outlying areas. Nor was there a national religion to which Canadian citizens or immigrants were forced to conform. From 1899 to 1904 Doukhobors arrived in Canada and were given land in the Prairie

¹¹Popoff, Historical Exposition, p. 18; Tarasoff, In Search of Brotherhood, p. 126; and Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, p. 76.

¹²These are the figures quoted to Tarasoff's In Search of Brotherhood, Vol. 1, p. 196; also in Hawthorn (ed.), The Doukhobors of British Columbia, p. 7; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, p. 149; and Zubek and Solberg, Doukhobors at War, p. 32. It will be noted that at the turn of the century more Doukhobors remained in Russia than immigrated to Canada. During the 1880's the Doukhobors were split into two factions, the Large Party (although numerically the smaller party) under Peter Vasilievich Verigin, and the Small Party under Gubanov. This schism has been attributed mainly to a controversy over the legitimacy of Peter Vasilievich Verigin's claim for leadership, following the death of Luker'ia Kalmykova. See Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, pp. 70-85.

regions. Under the provisions of the recently ammended Hamlet Clause (originally instituted in 1870 for the Mennonites) they were allowed to settle together and to cultivate the land jointly. Further, by an Order in Council of 1898 they, along with other pacifistic groups, were exempt from military service.¹³

Approximately 1907, the relatively homogeneous group of "Canadian Doukhobors" split into three major factions. While sharp lines were drawn between the groups over the question of pledging allegiance, less clearly defined boundaries emerged as early as 1900 when, according to several sources, approximately 2,000 Doukhobors had left the community organization to farm independently.¹⁴ The factional divisions were partially attributable to irreconcilable opinions on the question of the hereditary spiritual leadership. In 1905 government pressure demanded that oaths of allegiance be taken in compliance with the Homestead Act. The signing of the Act involved two things contrary to Doukhobor principles--private ownership of land and swearing allegiance to the Queen. To register land as individuals was a violation of the Doukhobor tenet of communal living and to swear allegiance to a monarch meant the recognition of a sovereign other than God. No consensus and no official policy were reached. In the end it became a personal decision for each Doukhobor. As a result, the Doukhobors split into three main groups.

¹³Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, p. 134.

¹⁴Woodcock and Avakumovic (The Doukhobors, p. 159) cite this figure from Bonch-Bruевич. Hawthorn (The Doukhobors of British Columbia, p. 32) quotes from the same author also.

First, those who signed the Homestead Act (about 1,000¹⁵) came to be called Independents since by owning land individually they explicitly disregarded the Community organization. Secondly, those who refused to take the oath of allegiance (roughly 6,400) were no longer eligible for Crown land and their property reverted to the government. Subsequently this latter group formed a legally recognized company known as the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood Limited (C.C.U.B.) and bought land en masse, enabling them to continue living and working together as a corporate group. And thirdly, the title Sons of Freedom came to be associated with those Doukhobors who have been zealous opponents of assimilation¹⁶ throughout the entire time Doukhobors have been in Canada, demonstrating their dissatisfactions with the Canadian government and the modern North American way of life. Few in numbers during all of Doukhobor history, they were estimated to number about one hundred at the turn of the century.

The Independent Doukhobors (now under the charter name of the Society of Doukhobors in Canada) remained in Saskatchewan after pledging allegiance. They were more or less ostracized by the other Doukhobors

¹⁵These figures are estimations given by Eli Popoff, personal communication. Similar figures are given in Hawthorn's book The Doukhobors of British Columbia, p. 8. Woodcock and Avakumovic estimate that ten per cent of the Doukhobor population was Independent by 1906 (The Doukhobors p. 198). The authors recognize that this last figure seems to contradict that given previously where it was said that by 1900 there were approximately 2,000 Independents (both estimates given by Woodcock and Avakumovic). However Woodcock and Avakumovic suggest that the decline in the number of Independents stemmed from pressures for conformity by Peter the Lordly after his arrival in Canada (1905).

¹⁶The resistance of the Sons of Freedom to the assimilative process is a point which is discussed at length in the Hawthorn Report on the Doukhobors (1952). The point is also made by Woodcock and Avakumovic.

who, particularly in the early years, are said to have been discouraged by their leader from associating with them.¹⁷ Most of the Independents recognized Peter Vasilievich Verigin as their spiritual leader but denied the authority of his successors.

Under Peter the Lordly the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood was incorporated in 1917.¹⁸ The Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ (U.S.C.C.), envisioned by Peter Petrovich Verigin as the successor of the C.C.U.B., was not incorporated until 1939, one year after his death.¹⁹ Members of both the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood and the Sons of Freedom began migrating to British Columbia to acquire land in 1908. Although both these groups acknowledge the leadership of the late Peter Petrovich Verigin, the U.S.C.C. members now respect the spiritual guidance of John J. Verigin whereas many of the Sons of Freedom follow Stephan S. Sorokin. It is interesting to note that John J. Verigin is regarded as the spiritual leader by some members of the U.S.C.C. because of his lineage although his official position remains only that of honorary chairman of the organization.²⁰

The succession of hereditary leaders frequently has been a controversial issue among Doukhobors, the most recent example of which

¹⁷Tarasoff, In Search of Brotherhood, Vol. 2, p. 496; Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, p. 240.

¹⁸Hawthorn, The Doukhobors of British Columbia, p. 10; Tarasoff, In Search of Brotherhood, Vol. 2, p. 410; and Zubek and Solberg, Doukhobors at War, p. 100.

¹⁹In conversation, members of the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ are usually referred to as "Orthodox" Doukhobors. Members of the Society of Doukhobors of Canada are generally referred to as "Independents."

²⁰John J. Verigin was chosen for this position in July, 1961. See Tarasoff, In Search of Brotherhood, Vol. 3, p. 717, and Hawthorn, The Doukhobors of British Columbia, p. 255.

concerns Stephan Sorokin. He is regarded as a spiritual leader by many of the Sons of Freedom although there are other Doukhobors who question his claim. It is not only Sorokin's legitimacy that has been questioned; throughout the entire history of the Doukhobors disputes have arisen over the question of hereditary leaders. Several writers²¹ have suggested that these conflicts are the result of "structural ambivalence" inherent in Doukhor beliefs and organization. Because every individual is free to interpret the "spirit within" himself, he is considered to be equal to all other individuals. Consequently every person has the potential for becoming a leader in spite of the fact that the descendants (putative or genealogical) of a particular family usually become the leaders. It is said that because of "structural ambivalence" there is the possibility of conflict between the unlimited freedom of individuals and the restraints placed upon those individuals by routinization.²² It becomes apparent then that if some kind of balance between the authority of the individual and the authority of the collectivity is not met, factionalism will result. For almost as long as Doukhobors have been in existence they have been wrestling with the implications of leadership, organization and routinization on their belief in freedom and individuality.

²¹Harry B. Hawthorn, Charles Frantz, Koozma J. Tarasoff.

²²According to Weber, charismatic authority rests upon the values of the extraordinary and is opposed to traditional domination which Weber says is based upon the sanctity of everyday routines. This conflict is always resolved with the charismatic authority becoming organized and permanent, finally succumbing to routinization. (H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills (eds.), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, New York, Oxford University Press, 1958, pp. 52-54, 297.) This is a point Frantz also develops in his thesis "The Doukhor Political System."

Presently in Canada members of these three factions of Doukhobors are to be found. It is important to keep in mind that the membership in these categories fluctuates. "There is no hard and fast dividing line of belief or of behavior between them the Sons of Freedom and the others, and even membership and support are drifting categories."²³ This is noticeable at meetings in Vancouver. For example it can, and does, happen that a member of the Sons of Freedom will attend a meeting of the Independents or vice versa. Although such a person participates fully, following the particular style of the group he is visiting, his past activities and allegiances are remembered and are used to explain any inappropriate behavior. Thus in attending a meeting of Independents, if an individual from the Sons of Freedom were to kneel to the floor in accordance with his style of worship, the others present would not follow his example; among themselves, they would probably explain this behavior by the fact that he is a zealous Son of Freedom. Not only do individuals attend the activities of different factions, but they sometimes also change the group with which they choose to be identified. A Son of Freedom can, for instance, become a member of either the U.S.C.C. or the Independents. Membership in the latter two groups is more stable in that membership turnover may be somewhat deterred by formal application to these organizations while such a formality does not seem to be characteristic of allegiance with the Sons of Freedom. At the present time (1971) only the Independent Doukhobors hold sobranija regularly in Vancouver. At these sobranija individuals from all three Doukhobor factions participate and sometimes the boundaries between the groups are difficult to detect.

²³Hawthorn (ed.), Doukhobors of British Columbia, p. 10.

CHAPTER IV

CONTEMPORARY DOUKHOBOR MEETINGS

Having briefly considered the history of the Doukhobors, attention will now be focused upon contemporary Doukhor meetings which are held on Sundays. This chapter describes the Sunday meetings which take place in Vancouver and Grand Forks, British Columbia.

A. Setting

It is understood by Doukhobors that a sobranie¹ begins at eleven o' clock every Sunday morning in Grand Forks and at one o' clock in Vancouver.² Doukhobors acknowledge no holy days and maintain that they hold a sobranie on Sunday strictly for the sake of convenience. Sobranija are also held on special occasions. On June 29 (or the closest Sunday to that date) the Doukhobors commemorate Petrov den' (or Peter's Day) by holding a meeting out of doors. The U.S.C.C. Doukhobors gather for a sobranie on August 1 as well. Annually they recognize this as Declaration Day; in August 1934 a declaration of beliefs was formulated and it was this document that in 1938 became the basis of the U.S.C.C. Sobranija are held year round in Grand Forks. This is also the case among the

¹The term sobranie here refers to a 'gathering' or 'meeting' in a general sense. This is the term used by Doukhobors in Vancouver in reference to Sunday meetings. In addition to the word sobranie, Grand Forks Doukhobors use another term. Molenie or 'prayer meeting' is a more specific term used only in reference to their morning meeting. This is an important distinction and should be kept in mind as the following descriptions are read.

²The Independent Doukhobors in Vancouver are the exception in that they hold their sobranija on the last Sunday of every month.

Vancouver Independents but when the other group in Vancouver held their own meetings, they did not meet during the summer months. The specific details regarding the hour, day and season peculiar to the various sobranija are taken for granted. That is, there is no announcement of the next meeting, and because of the nature and form of the meeting, there are few preparatory requirements. For example, no individual delivers a sermon which could necessitate weekly preparation; because there is no choir there obviously are no rehearsals during the week.

Shortly before the beginning of the sobranie a loaf of bread is brought to the hall and is placed on a table with salt and water. These items are the pre-arrangements necessary for the staging of a sobranie.

1. Exterior Setting

One of the original principles Doukhobors upheld was the rejection of any externalities of worship. Because the Holy Spirit dwells within man, they saw no need to attach great importance to the place where they met for prayers. Having no special buildings, rooms or paraphernalia they formerly met outside or in someone's home. Today they maintain that private houses are too small to accommodate their needs. Grand Forks is a town with a population of approximately 5,000, sixty percent of which are of Doukhobor origin.³ The Doukhobors living there have always had their own meeting hall and a new hall was built there in 1958. In Vancouver, where the Doukhobor population attending sobranija

³Tarasoff, In Search of Brotherhood, Vol. 3, p. 875.

is smaller, community halls are rented by each of the two groups.⁴ The Grand Forks dom (a word meaning 'house') is situated in the middle of a large field on the outskirts of town. It is a two-storied wooden structure, facing east-west, with large continuous windows along the north and south sides. There are no sign boards outside to indicate the identity of the building.

Both of the halls used in Vancouver are situated on side streets and while signs on the exterior identify the buildings as community halls, there is nothing to indicate that this is where Doukhobors meet. As in Grand Forks, the buildings lie in an east-west direction, with the entrance at the west end. The locations of the buildings are such that their setting removes them from obvious extraneous noises including sounds from cars passing by, children playing or industrial plants.

2. Interior Setting

One enters the dom in Grand Forks through a set of doors on the west end of the building and then proceeds up four or five stairs to three sets of closed doors. Beyond these doors lies the main room (approximately fifty feet by ninety feet) which is bounded at the far end by a built-in stage. One immediately senses a feeling of spaciousness created by the twenty foot ceiling and the uninterrupted plate glass windows. Because the windows constitute the greater portion of

⁴As the terms for the various groups are cumbersome, the following notational system will sometimes be used:

(G) denotes Doukhobors in Grand Forks (G);

(L) denotes the Independent Doukhobors who meet at Lockdale Hall (L) in Burnaby;

(R) denotes Sons of Freedom and Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ Doukhobors who hold their meetings together at the Russian People's Home (R) in Vancouver.

the side walls, they expose the surrounding countryside. The floor is highly polished natural wood with no floor covering. The walls are of the same natural wood. There are no curtains or furnishings, nor is there any type of ornamentation (such as pictures, icons, candles, flowers etc.) in the hall. The wooden benches piled along the walls, beneath the windows, are all that disrupt the emptiness of the room.

Because the hall is used on many other occasions, the lower floor or basement has kitchen facilities and a dining area to accommodate three hundred people. When the dining area is not in use, the collapsable tables and chairs are stored in the west corner, leaving a large empty area to be used as the occasion demands. In contrast to the complete absence of ornamentation in the upstairs hall, there are several small portraits of Doukhobor leaders and prominent Russian writers (e.g. Leo Tolstoy) on the basement walls.

The two halls in Vancouver are roughly the same size (thirty feet by sixty feet) and are of the same general layout, with two sets of doors, a stage at the east end, and movable chairs. In the three halls, the area between the two sets of doors is not used for socializing; rather, upon entering one immediately proceeds through both sets of doors. In Vancouver there is not the same sense of spaciousness because the rented halls have fewer and smaller windows. In addition, the darker surface of the walls seems to close in the area. Just as there are no Doukhobor accessories displayed outside, there are no Doukhobor ornaments or fixtures inside. This is not to say that there are no pictures etc. on the walls--only that they do not belong to the Doukhobors.

There are certain arrangements which are carried out just prior to the beginning of a sobranie. A 'table' (stol) is placed at the east

end of the room, about eight feet from the stage and an equal distance from the north and south walls. The table is small and can be of any shape. In one case it is round (G), in another square (L), and in the last, rectangular (R). The table can either be covered with a tablecloth or not. Thus at one hall (R) the table is not covered; at the other two halls the table is covered but in one instance (G) there is a plain white cloth and, in the other (L), there is a cloth with a white background and a multi-colored design. Upon the table 'bread' (xleb), 'salt' (sol') and 'water' (voda) are placed. In all three cases water from a tap is poured into a pitcher and placed on the table along with an empty glass and a saltcellar. A loaf of bread is sometimes put on a plate but in any case it is put near the other objects on the table. These objects are grouped together although their arrangement would appear to be arbitrary. In Vancouver, the bread is usually brought by the informal chairman who also takes it upon himself to set out these objects and the table. In Grand Forks, this duty falls upon the caretaker of the dom. Here, one of the women brings a loaf of homemade bread. It is a round loaf about eight inches high, and, though it is baked in the traditional way, there is no special preparation to set this particular loaf apart from others. The bread used at a Vancouver sobranie is usually purchased at the local store just before the meeting and is placed on the table in its commercial wrapping. As the bread is brought to the hall for the occasion, it is taken home afterwards by the donor whereas the other objects are stored at the hall and are reused at the next meeting. The display of bread, salt and water is an old

Slavic custom indicative of hospitality.⁵ When asked, Doukhobors say that while bread, salt and water may have individual meaning, in this context they are taken together to represent hospitality, the basic necessities of life and "toil and peaceful life."

The table is used to orient oneself in the building for as one enters the room, the males will group on the left half of the hall and the females on the right half. (See Diagram 1.) Using the table as a point of reference, Doukhobors say that males are on the right hand side and females on the left hand side. While from the entrance men are seen to be on the left and women on the right, Doukhobors see the reverse as being true since men are said to be on the right hand side of God and women on the left.⁶ This parallels their respective positions when one stands behind the table and faces west.

The above is applicable to all three sobranija but in Vancouver chairs are set up before the beginning of the meeting. Again in relation to the table, several rows of chairs are set a few feet from the table toward the west end. The rows of chairs are grouped so that those on the men's side and those on the women's side face each other. (See Diagram 1.)

B. Participants

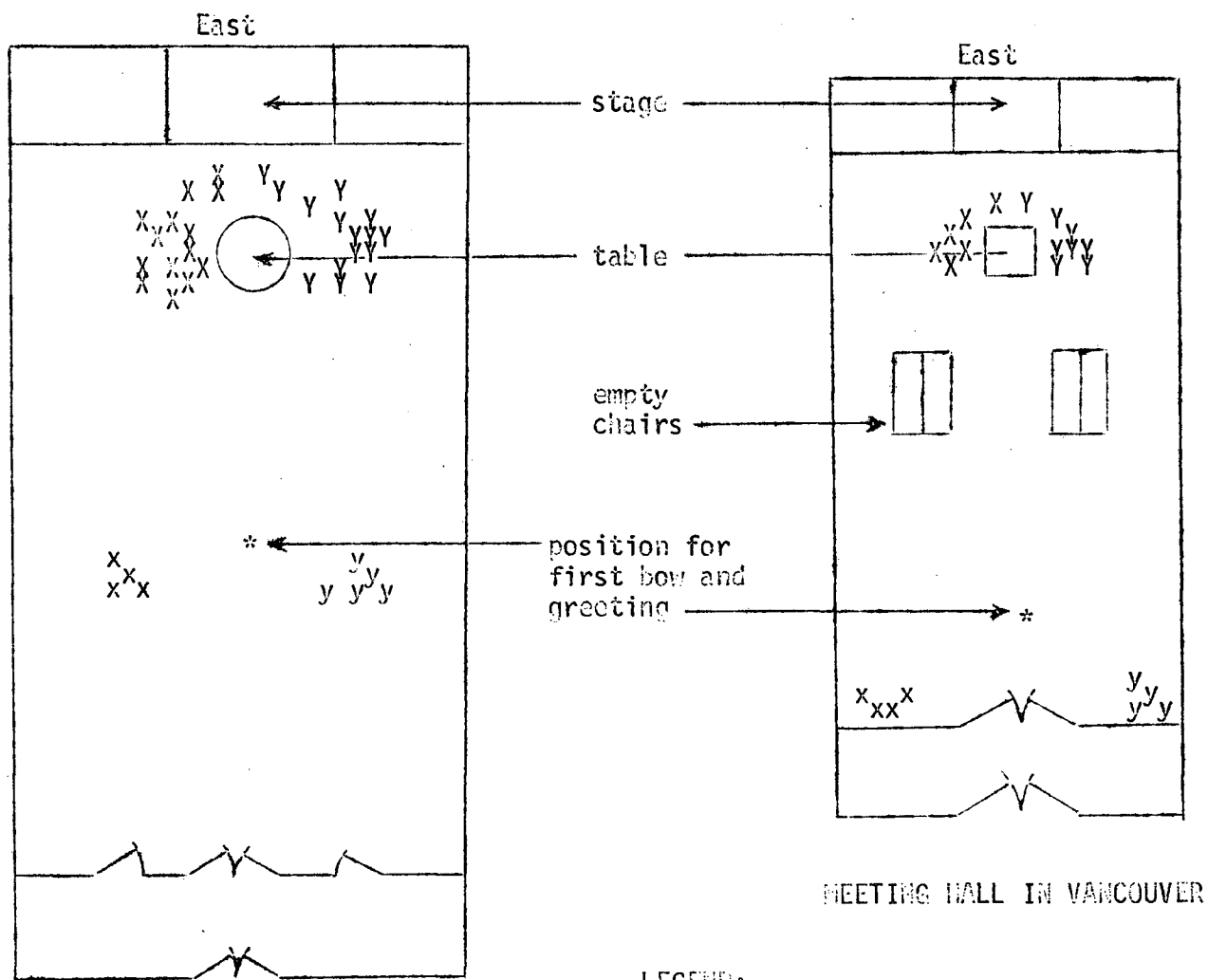
It was mentioned previously that the ages of those attending sobranija range between thirty-three and eighty-five years, the average age being sixty to sixty five years. At such a meeting there is usually

⁵Both Doukhobors and Russians say that this has been the custom for generations. See also Dunn and Dunn, The Peasants of Central Russia, p. 97.

⁶This interpretation was given by all informants.

DIAGRAM 1

DOUKHOBOR MEETING HALLS



DOM IN GRAND FORKS

LEGEND:

- x denotes males congregating before sobranija
- X denotes males during sobranija
- y denotes females congregating before sobranija
- Y denotes females during sobranija

an equal number of males and females. The absence of young people, or those between the ages of ten and thirty years, is readily apparent. Occasionally young children of both sexes accompany their parents. During the meeting children will remain with the parent of the same sex.

At a sobranie not only do most of the participants know each other on a first name basis, but because of the familiarity within the ethnic group, one can also trace an individual's parents, grandparents, close relatives, village of origin, allegiances and activities by the family name. Before the meeting begins people chat quietly, often making inquiries about other Doukhobors or talking about the differences between the various factions. In a group where members know each other, the non-member or the stranger is conspicuous upon entrance, especially if he does not give the proper Doukhobor greeting. If one fails to extend the appropriate greeting or if the proper greeting is given and one still remains unrecognized, those Doukhobors already present will ask one's family name. If the name is of Doukhobor origin one is then asked his patronymic name.⁷ From this information the Doukhobors will infer that one has come because of his background; in the case of a non-Doukhobor the reason for one's presence is asked.

During the informal conversation prior to the meeting individuals frequently glance around to check for the presence or absence of those who regularly attend. When those who are expected to be there have

⁷Among Russian speakers, one's patronymic name is differentiated from one's family name. The patronymic is the name derived from the father's first name with the addition of the appropriate suffix. This name precedes one's family name or surname. Thus for example, in the name Peter Petrovich Verigin, Petrovich ('son of Peter') is the patronymic and Verigin is the family name.

arrived, or when it is felt enough people are present, someone suggests that the meeting begin. The suggestion is usually made by an elder, always a male, who simply says "Let's start brothers and sisters." The 'elder' or starosta⁸ is expected to be the initiator probably because he is assumed to have the greatest knowledge of the traditions. The elder informally assumes this role as a function of the particular social context and not solely because of personal attributes. Thus he may be an initiator at some sobraniya and not at others.⁹ Specifically, as elder, he is concerned with choosing the appropriate time to begin. He is usually the first to give a prayer and he knows, as does everyone else, those who usually 'read' prayers.¹⁰ He picks up cues as to when a given sequence of events has terminated and a new one should commence. In some subtle manner (such as raising his eyebrows or glancing in a certain direction) he intimates that it is appropriate for the next activities to begin.

Considering all of the sobraniya the researchers attended, there

⁸The starosta (literally, 'elder') in nineteenth century Russia was the head of the mir or peasant commune. (Dunn and Dunn, The Peasants of Central Russia, p. 9.) The elder was chosen by the members of the commune to act as their spokesman and to manage the transactions of the mir. (Also see Tarasoff, In Search of Brotherhood, Vol. 1, p. 54.)

⁹Frake's article was helpful in describing this role. See his discussion of "assistants" in Subanun ceremonies, especially p. 480. ("A Structural Description of Subanun 'Religious' Behavior," in Cognitive Anthropology, Tyler, (ed.), 1969, pp. 470-487.)

¹⁰The meanings given for the Russian verb citat' are 'to read' and 'to recite.' When Russian or Doukhobor Russian speakers translate this verb into English they tend to use one form--'to read.' Thus the Doukhobors will say in English that they "read their prayers." The English speaker should remember, however, that Doukhoborism is an oral tradition and that prayers are 'read' (i.e. recited) from memory.

were few incidents that could perhaps be called inappropriate behavior. At one meeting in Vancouver, people were standing silently except for the person who was reciting his prayer. An elderly woman in her late eighties interrupted the proceedings by interjecting a few irrelevant comments (i.e. irrelevant to the proceedings). This was the only time the elder was observed to make an overt gesture; he simply called her name--"Tanya." She immediately recoiled and stood in silence for the remainder of the meeting. It should be noted that in some ways this is an atypical example for everyone present considers the old woman to be "a little senile" and excuses her on this account. Nevertheless the example was included as an illustration of how the elder is expected to handle violations of understood rules of conduct. But it is not always the elder who is expected to deal with improper situations. In the case of a person who may attempt to converse in a hushed voice with his neighbour, those around him will indicate that he is not conforming to the decorum by turning to look at him briefly.

C. Dress

At the sobraniya of all three groups, men's attire is not strikingly distinctive and it would not readily identify them as 'Doukhobor.' Men wear either suits or sports jackets and pants. Shirts range from dress shirts to sports shirts and ties are worn by some but not by others. Consistency seems to lie in the fact that some type of jacket is worn. While men may wear overcoats and hats to the hall these are removed after entering.

In contrast to the men, the women at Grand Forks meetings have a distinctively Doukhobor way of dressing. No woman will enter the dom

without her head covered. A large shawl is worn over the head and shoulders, extending to the small of the back. It is made either of cotton or lace; in the former case the fabric is plain though small groups of flowers frequently are hand embroidered on it and in the latter case a floral design in lace is evident. A three inch fringe borders the shawl in the back. The shawl fits tightly around the face in front of the ears, exposing little or no hair and is held under the throat by a broach.

Women wear a two piece outfit, a matching blouse and skirt. Skirts are full, plain and mid-calf in length. Blouses with three-quarter length sleeves button down the front and tuck under the waistband of the skirt. The blouses and skirts are of matching fabric and while some have small patterns, they are predominantly of plain material. A woman's shawl is generally of the same colour as her outfit. The prevalent colours are pastel shades of green, blue, yellow and pink.

Doukhobors wear no jewellery. Bracelets, necklaces or broaches are not worn as accessories and seldom are watches or rings seen. Rings are not exchanged at a Doukhobor wedding for it is believed that this is a "sign of materialism"; furthermore it is believed to be superfluous to the state of being married. When a person feels a need for an outward sign of marriage for the sake of the larger Canadian society, a woman will wear a plain thin wedding band. It is uncommon to see facial make-up, even lipstick, and at a sobranie in Grand Forks, one never sees a woman carrying a purse.

While this traditional dress is maintained in Grand Forks, variations are seen in the dress of women attending Vancouver sobranija. Although some Doukhobor women do wear the traditional dress in

Vancouver, this is certainly the exception. It seems characteristic of the older women (sixty-five years and over) to wear a shawl, kerchief or hat. Typically, more women have their heads covered at one sobranie (R) than at the other (L). At both these meetings, covering the head is not as strictly practiced as it is in Grand Forks. Generally, the Doukhobor women wear clothing that can be included under the vague term of "average Canadian" dress. Dark or pastel coats are worn to the halls and are kept on throughout the meetings. Again, jewellery is not displayed although possibly it maybe worn beneath the coat. Wedding rings and purses are apparent yet nevertheless they cannot be said to be common.

D. Music

Much of Doukhoborism is revealed through its particular style of singing. Doukhobors always sing without accompanying instruments, which they condemn. As their entire tradition is oral, words and musical arrangements have served as one of the principal means by which their history, prescriptions and proscriptions, and concepts of life have been passed from generation to generation. Doukhobors believe that through committing the words to memory, they will become a part of the person and be his guide for life. "Record it in your hearts; deliver it by mouth" Doukhobors say.

A child is not only taught the words to the many songs but he is also taught his own "part." Over time an individual becomes so familiar with the words and style as to be able to participate at any Doukhobor gathering. Male and female voices sing in unison, though an octave apart. There are two parts for both men and women and approximately one

half of the congregation will sing the principal melody. The others, perhaps the more musically gifted, will sing the embellishing harmonies.¹¹ There is no provision made in this communally-oriented group for such a gifted person to display his talents individually; there is no place for solos or duets. Within the group then, everyone knows the words and harmonies and the group together forms the choir which requires no formal direction. Kenneth Peacock has collected and recorded many types of Doukhobor songs and he describes their music in the following way: "All Doukhobor group singing has this strong central column of sound from which the cantilevered harmonies are projected."¹² To the unaccustomed listener the music may sound monotonous and extremely slow and solemn. When one becomes familiar with the style of singing the solemnness takes on the meaning of the words and one comes to appreciate the intricacies of the harmony.

Doukhobors divide their songs into three main categories: 'psalms' (psalmy), 'hymns' (stixi), and 'folk songs' (narodnaja pesnja). Folk songs, however, are not important to this discussion since they are never sung at a Sunday meeting. Psalms are the oldest musical form of the Doukhobor tradition. They are memorized teachings of the spiritual leaders and selected lessons from the Bible. The psalms were laid down primarily by two early leaders: Ilarion Pobirokhin (1775-1785) and Savelii Kapustin (1790-1818). Later additional contributions were made

¹¹Kenneth Peacock, "The Music of the Doukhobors," in his Twenty Ethnic Songs from Western Canada, Ottawa, National Museum of Canada, 1966, p. 39.

¹²Loc. cit.

by Peter V. Verigin and Peter P. Verigin.¹³ Although the word "psalm" is used it does not always refer to specific Biblical passages. Ideas from the Old and New Testaments have been used as the basis of some Doukhobor psalms. These psalms are teachings common to all Doukhobors rather than spontaneous invocations of individuals. They are memorized and every individual supposedly knows exactly the same psalms as every other Doukhobor. Because of the standardized nature, there is no opportunity in a psalm for individual variation.

Doukhobors say that the distinctive manner of singing psalms arose out of the religious persecutions they suffered in Russia.¹⁴ To avoid detection of their activities, the words of the psalms were made unrecognizable by extending some syllables for several minutes, creating a dirge-like effect. To illustrate, when the word slava (meaning 'praise') is contained in a psalm the syllable sla is held over a series of varying notes for about two or three minutes. This being the case, five words of a psalm may take up to ten minutes to be sung.¹⁵

Psalms most commonly deal with the Doukhobor concept of life and worship. Among other things they give the Doukhobor view of heaven and hell, church ritual, passivism, humility, brotherhood and understanding. Every psalm ends with the phrase 'glory to our God' (Bogu našemu slava).

¹³Popoff, Historical Exposition, pp. 10-13, and Peter Legebokoff, personal communication.

¹⁴The respondents interviewed related the emergence of this style of psalm singing to the time of Doukhobor persecutions by the Russian Orthodox Church and State. This explanation is also given by Hugh Herbison in his chapter on "Religion" in Hawthorn's Doukhobors of British Columbia, p. 176, and by Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, p. 22.

¹⁵Op. cit., p. 35.

Many of the psalms are in the form of questions and answers. For example, the psalm "What manner of person art thou" (also referred to as "The question and answer psalm") is said to have been composed around 1775-1785 by Ilarion Pobirokhin who insisted that the written word was lifeless as, he said, was evident in the Russian Orthodox Church.¹⁶ Because this is a lengthy psalm, Doukhobors have broken it into several parts and these are sung separately. Selected questions and answers from this psalm have been included here to indicate some of the ideas and precepts contained within psalms.

What is the kingdom?

The kingdom is neither food nor drink; it is righteousness on earth and joy in the Holy Spirit.

What is the root of all evil?

Love of money and idol worship.

How do you pray to God without priests?

With true reverence, humility and love.

What kind of works do you refrain from doing?

We refrain from anger and violence; from the judgment of others and taking of oaths, and from taking part in the terrible acts of war. We do not keep company with those who indulge in foolish giddiness, dance and other forms of devil-inspired worldly pleasures.¹⁷

While these memorized teachings are sung, they are also said (i.e. spoken) at a particular time in the sobranie. In this case they are referred to as 'prayers' (molitvy). When psalms are sung at a sobranie all those present stand shoulder to shoulder. Men and women stand with

¹⁶Popoff, Historical Exposition, p. 7.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 32-39; and Doukhobors: Their Faith, Saskatchewan, Published by the Doukhobor Society of Canada, 1961, pp. 9-24.

elbows slightly bent and hands clasped in front below the waist. All heads are slightly bowed during psalm singing. The pitch and tempo are set by one person, usually a woman, who is known to be a good singer. The person who initiates the singing has a similar position to that described for the elder. That is, whether one is informally expected to begin the psalms depends not only upon who else is present but also upon how familiar one is with the implicitly agreed upon psalm.

In addition to psalms, Doukhobors sing hymns which Peacock has categorized into several types. One group can be classified as early historical hymns. These were sung in Russia before the turn of the twentieth century. They are transitional in that they have elements which identify them as both psalms and hymns. They are not completely metered as are later hymns nor are they exclusively of the form of the older psalms.¹⁸ Hymns are further differentiated from psalms as the latter are in the form of one complete text which flows continuously from beginning to end. Hymns, on the other hand, are made up of a number of verses or stanzas and there are noticeable breaks between these since the individual who starts the hymn also starts the first few bars of each verse. As a result of the ambiguous status of early hymns they are called psalms by the Independent Doukhobors (L) while most of the remaining Doukhobors (R and G) regard them as hymns.¹⁹ The early hymns have themes similar to those presented in the discussion of psalms. In contrast to these early hymns, later hymns make reference to specific

¹⁸Peacock, "The Music of the Doukhobors," pp. 35-38.

¹⁹In interviews, the older Doukhobors from Lockdale Hall stated that they sing "old hymns" instead of "psalms." They say this is so because many of the "younger people" no longer "know how to sing psalms."

events in Doukhobor history such as persecution, imprisonment, martyrdom, the burning of their arms, treks, and "... they often reflect the longing and despair of a people undergoing persecution and exile."²⁰ In comparison with psalms, hymns are of a faster tempo and all words and phrases are known and understood by the singers. Briefly, psalms and hymns can be considered an oral record of and a commentary upon Doukhobor life.

E. Sequence of Events

At eleven o' clock on Sunday morning, a sobranie begins in the Grand Forks dom. It lasts for about three-quarters of an hour. In Vancouver the starting time is supposedly one o' clock Sunday afternoon and once a sobranie begins it lasts for about three and one half hours. People start arriving approximately five minutes before the meeting is said to begin. As individuals enter the building they give a formal greeting for this occasion. The first to arrive at the dom enter and simply bow their heads. When others arrive, usually in couples or small groups, they enter through the door on the appropriate side. The men are on the left side of the hall and women on the right but, as was noted earlier,²¹ males are said to be on the right side and females on the left side in relation to the table. People enter with their hands in front, clasped below the waist, and walk half way into the room. Here they pause, bow from the waist down saying, slavim Bogu-Bog proslav'sja or 'we praise God and God is worthy of praise,' to which those already

²⁰This quote is taken from Peacock's article "The Music of the Doukhobors," p. 36. See his chapter for a fuller discussion of the various kinds of hymns.

²¹See Chapter IV, Section A 2, Interior Setting.

present reply velikoe imja Gospod'noe povsë zemle or 'the Lord's name is known throughout the whole earth.' The procedure is the same in Vancouver sobraniya, although people walk only a few paces into the room and say slava Gospody or 'praise our Lord.' In this case those present reply Slavim blagodarim. Xristos voskres or 'We gratefully praise him too. Christ is risen.'²²

In both Grand Forks and in Vancouver, people congregate in the west half of the building (at the opposite end from the table) and talk informally while waiting for the others to arrive. On their appropriate sides, men and women chat quietly to one another. People rarely cross the hall to talk to someone of the opposite sex. When it is felt that all who are expected to attend have arrived, or when it is felt that "enough" people are there, the elder will say "Brothers and sisters let's start." This informal period can vary in length from approximately ten minutes to one hour during which time people anticipate the arrival of some thirty or forty others. It is interesting to observe that while the starting time for the sobranie fluctuates in Vancouver, the commencement of the sobranie in Grand Forks is punctually adhered to.

After the suggestion to begin has been made, people gradually move toward the opposite end of the hall and group together more or less in rows of five or six people, with the table between the sexes. (Refer to Diagram 1.) As people approach the table they assume a stance that is maintained throughout the sobranie; men stand with hands clasped below the waist while women's hands are clasped and placed at the waist. The head is slightly bowed, the eyes open. While people

²²For an explanation of the reasons for these different greetings see Chapter IV, Section F.

may glance around, they look at no one in particular. Should an individual arrive while any part of the sobranie is in progress, he will enter quietly, walk to the center of the room pause, and bow, waiting for the others to acknowledge his presence with a nod of the head before he takes his place.

Prayers are recited first by the males and then by the females. Respect for age may be evidenced by the places where people stand and the order in which they give their prayers. When people are gathered at the table to give prayers they stand in rows, males and females facing each other so that the elders stand closest to the east end and closest to the table. Perhaps the Doukhobor view of age and maleness is demonstrated in the sequence of prayers--the elder, elderly men, younger men, elderly women, younger women. Each individual recites a different prayer. Traditionally, everyone present was obliged to say a different prayer but now the number of prayers spoken varies from week to week, depending on the number of people who choose to say a prayer. At the conclusion of each prayer everyone bows together. Different types of bows occur and consequently it should be noted that the bow at the end of a prayer is called obščee poklonenie²³ or 'communal bow' by the Doukhobors. It is distinguished from the bow that is given upon entering the hall which is simply referred to as poklonenie or 'bow.'²⁴ The final prayer recited is always Otče naš or 'Our Father' (i.e. The

²³Doukhobors translate the noun poklonenie as 'bow.' However in standard Russian this term means 'worship.' The word poklonenie is derived from poklon, which means 'bow' to both speakers. But, poklon is rarely used by the Doukhobors for the above mentioned bows.

²⁴Doukhobors explain bowing as the acknowledgment of the presence of the spirit within the other person.

Lord's Prayer). The prayers take between ten and fifteen minutes to be recited. After this, three psalms are sung, the first being 'Our Father.' People group closer and closer together as the singing proceeds. This is a subtle movement of people slowly, continuously, but perhaps unknowingly, clustering together. Although most people participate, as a rule more women sing than men. As is the case during the reciting of prayers, those who do not wish to participate in the psalm singing stand furthest from the table. On the second verse of the second psalm the man nearest the east end (usually the elder) clasps the right hand of the man beside him and they bow deeply to each other three times, kiss three times--on the right cheek, left cheek and then on the lips. They turn and all the men as a group bow to the women. Only as many individuals as choose participate in this activity--generally it involves about ten men. When the men have completed the rounds of bowing and kissing, the women commence the same. The singing of psalms continues uninterrupted throughout this sequence. This act of bowing and kissing is also called poklonenie. The length of time involved for the singing of psalms, the bowing and kissing varies with the number of participants but on the average it lasts fifteen to twenty minutes. The conclusion of a Grand Forks meeting is marked by all individuals simultaneously kneeling and touching their foreheads to the ground three times. On each respective bow they repeat in unison: Večnaja pamit' vsem' pokoj nam borcam zaist'inu or 'Everlasting memory for all those strugglers of truth!' Živem požalej Gospodi dobrogo zdorov'ja. Prosti nam Gospodi i ukrepi v putjax tvojix or 'Grant O Lord good health to those living. Forgive us O Lord and strengthen us in your pathways'; Otcu i synu i svjatomu duxu or 'Of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit.' This is known as the

zemlepoklonenie or 'bow to the earth.' After the last bow people rise and nothing more is said. They slowly disperse, though some congregate to chat informally. The conversation is carried on in the west half of the hall, away from the table, just as it was prior to the beginning of the meeting. Most conversation takes place between members of the same sex. If males and females do speak to one another they usually stand near the center of the hall at the west end. Generally most people have left the dom within ten minutes and presumably they have returned home.

Both of the last two types of bows mentioned are omitted from sobranija in Vancouver.²⁵ When the three psalms have been sung, people proceed to the chairs west of the table (See Diagram 1) where they soon begin to talk among themselves. In Vancouver then, the movement away from the table and the breaking of the silence mark a change in the tone of the meeting. Once the people walk away from the table and move toward the chairs, the atmosphere becomes more relaxed as people begin to converse, re-arrange chairs and the usual sounds of people shuffling, coughing and getting themselves settled continue for about five minutes. During this time there is a conscious manipulation of people as someone inevitably says "move up to the front and closer together."

Of the two and one half hours that follow, approximately half of the time is spent singing while the remainder is taken up by group discussion. Again, not necessarily everyone participates and those people who sit in the back rows often carry on conversations with one another. During this part of the sobranie individuals do get up to go to the

²⁵For an explanation of this omission see Chapter IV, Section F.

washroom or to leave the hall. Upon occasion, if the necessity arises, an individual will cross the hall to speak briefly with a member of the opposite sex. As people often look over to the other side of the room, a husband and wife may subtly indicate to each other when to leave, for example. In this event the people then leave as unobtrusively as possible. In a Vancouver sobranie when someone arrives while the others are seated, he stops several yards to the west of the chairs, pauses, and then says 'Praise our Lord.' If those present are not in the process of singing they give the customary reply. If they are, however, they simply nod in recognition.

The choice of a psalm sung while the people stand around the table seems to depend mainly upon the preference of the individual who starts the singing. Once people are seated, the selection of hymns is often preceded by unstructured conversation until a consensus is reached as to what particular hymn will be sung at a given time. It also happens that an individual will start singing a hymn without prior discussion. Should the others have forgotten this hymn and not join in, the singing stops and a discussion follows as to whether or not to continue. This has happened occasionally during hymn singing but never has it been observed during psalm singing.

The discussions at the two sobranija take different forms. The sobranie which is held by the Independents (L) assumes a different character attributable, to at least some extent, to the formal structure of the Society of Doukhobors of Canada. The Society has an elected chairman who presides over discussions which deal with organizational matters. A new chairman is elected annually and this position does not necessarily fall upon the elder. At one meeting the discussion concerned

the proposal to build a home for elderly Doukhobors; at another, the topics centered around Doukhobor Youth Groups and an athletic association; a familiar theme is Doukhobor factionalism. Individuals begin speaking by addressing the others as "Brothers and sisters" and indicate the end of their discourse by thanking the others for listening.

Discussion of such matters continues principally among the males for roughly ten minutes or, until the women interrupt with another hymn. The subjects are not considered resolved until everyone more or less agrees on a course of action. Therefore discussions continue from one sobranie to another. The hymns which punctuate the discussion usually number nine or ten but one or several can be sung consecutively. In sum, the portion of the sobranie when people are seated can be described as discussion frequently interspersed with hymns.

The other sobraniya (R) can be described as the reverse: hymn singing interspersed with discussion. This can be readily seen by the topics that are raised. Often discussions revolve around whether or not it is appropriate to talk about "business" at a sobranie. When discussion begins, the comment usually made is "I come to sobranie to sing and this isn't a sobranie." At this sobranie the only recurrent topic pertains to the differences between the various Doukhobor groups. There is no chairman among the group, reflecting the unstructured nature of this sobranie in contrast with the other. It is because discussion is not generally held to be proper, by those attending, that hymn singing predominates this meeting.

In comparison with the entire Grand Forks sobraniya and the part of the Vancouver sobraniya when people stand around the table, the seated portion of the meeting appears to be characterized by more flex-

ibility. There is no set number of hymns to be sung nor is there a definite order to the proceedings. People seem to be able to choose the extent they wish to participate and there are less restrictions on appropriate behavior. The lack of restrictions is seen in the examples of a person leaving the room or of a thirsty individual going over to the table and pouring himself a glass of water, occurrences which are never seen while people are grouped around the table.

After about two or three hours of sobranie people often begin leaving. When either the numbers are greatly reduced or when they feel they have discussed and sung enough, someone begins the hymn 'The closing of the sobranie.' After this, people collect the bread, salt and water and put away the table and the chairs. This usually takes about thirty minutes because of the conversation that occurs while these things are being done. People then leave the hall to return home.

F. Historical Prayer Meeting

In attempting to account for some of the variations which are apparent in the meetings as described in the previous part of this chapter, a description of a late nineteenth century Sunday meeting is given in this section. The reconstruction of the meeting deals mainly with the sequence of events on this occasion, to the exclusion of other ethnographic details such as dress and music. The account which is presented in this section of the chapter has been reconstructed primarily on the basis of Christian Martyrdom in Russia edited by Vladimir Tchertkoff, the text of which is a translation of a manuscript published in Russian Antiquity, (1905). Another first-hand description was recorded by Stephen Grellet in his "Visit to the Doukhobors near

Ekaterinoslav in 1819." Several secondary descriptions were also used in researching the prayer meetings of the nineteenth century.²⁶

It is said that the Doukhobors broke away from the Russian Orthodox Church in the seventeenth century because of the emphasis placed upon what they considered to be ceremonial externalities.

The Doukhor faith at this time expressed itself in a negative attitude to outside authority. They believed external sacraments were offensive to God, and that priests and ritual acted as a barrier to actual communion between God and man. By removing the Orthodox barriers, the Doukhobors believed men and women could attain harmony with God. This harmony involved freedom from all obligations to the Church and State.²⁷

Viewing all obligations to the Church as inexcusable abuses, the Doukhobors then initiated what they believed to be the "correct" form of worshipping God.

From the time of their early history Doukhobors held a gathering known as 'God's prayers' or 'God's prayer meeting.' These phrases are glosses for the Doukhor word bogomolenie. The word Bog ('God') was often dropped so that the gathering was simply called a molenie

²⁶In Alymer Maude's A Peculiar People an account is found (New York, Funk and Wagnalls, c. 1904, pp. 142-43). In Slava Bohu, J. F. C. Wright recreates the 1877-78 mode of "religious observance" (New York, Ferris and Rinehart, c. 1940, pp. 38-39). Additional references to "prayer services" are found in Tarasoff's In Search of Brotherhood (Vol. 1, p. 92). In The Doukhobors, Woodcock and Avakumovic describe a similar gathering which took place during the time of Luker'ia Kalmykova (the late nineteenth century), p. 103. It is possible that the variations in these accounts may be attributable to differences in time, location or interpretation.

²⁷Wright, Slava Bohu, p. 13.

('prayers' or 'prayer meeting').²⁸ Doukhobors say they confine the word molenie exclusively to their own prayer meetings; they never use the word molenie when referring to prayer meetings or gatherings of non-Doukhobors.

Since Doukhobors recognized no holy days, all days were regarded as equal and a molenie could be held at dawn on any day. However in most cases, for the sake of convenience, these gatherings took place on ordinary Church or national holy-days. Because the Doukhobors did not attach any significance to particular localities, these prayer meetings were held outside or in anyone's house. Upon entering the house, it was customary to walk a few paces into the room and exchange greetings. The tradition was to bow from the waist down (obščee poklonenie) saying: Slavim Bogu-Bog proslav'sja ('We praise God and God is worthy of his praise') to which those already present replied Velikoe imja Gospod'noe povsë zemle ('The Lord's name is great throughout the whole earth').²⁹ When the exchange of these salutations had

²⁸Bonch-Bruevich in Zhivotnaya Kniga Dukhoborstev (St. Petersburg, n.p., 1909) makes reference to a bogomolenie, p. 24. The use of the word bogomolenie was confirmed in personal interviews with a number of elderly Vancouver Doukhobors including: Mr. Sam Chernoff, Mr. William Makayoff, Mr. Nikita Popoff and Mrs. Verigin, wife of the late Michael the Archangel Verigin. Further validation was obtained in Grand Forks, British Columbia from Peter Legebokoff, Eli Popoff and William Sukhorev. There is, however, no mention of a molenie or bogomolenie in the English literature on Doukhobors. But in these accounts there are references made to, and descriptions of, "religious services" and sobraniya. This is an important point and will be discussed in great detail in Chapter VI.

²⁹Although these greetings have not been documented, Nikita Popoff remembers attending moleniya in Russia when this tradition was practiced. Eli Popoff corroborates this from material he has gathered. Furthermore this greeting is still carried on at the moleniya in Grand Forks at the present time, and possibly other Doukhor settlements.

been completed, a man would stand in line on the right hand side of the room while a woman would stand in line on the left side. A plain table with a white cloth upon which was placed bread, salt and water separated the men's side from the women's. Thus the men would be standing on the left side of the room as one entered, the women standing on the right side of the room. The first man in line would start reciting a prayer followed by each one, in turn, saying a different prayer. When all the men had finished reciting, the women then began saying their prayers. Attention should be drawn to the fact that generally between fifty and one hundred people attended a molenie, all of whom were obliged to recite a different prayer. When all the prayers had been said, someone would begin singing a psalm. On the second verse of the second psalm the first man in line would clasp the right hand of the second man and they would bow very low to each other three times, then kiss three times, before bowing to the women (poklonenie).³⁰ By turns, all other males repeated this procedure until every male carried out the bowing and kissing with every other male. When the men had completed the rounds of bowing and kissing, the women then commenced the same. The singing of psalms by all those present continued throughout this sequence. At the end of the meeting, a prayer was said after which everyone returned home.

This was the form of worship in Russia and it remained essentially unchanged during the Doukhobors' first years in Canada (approximately

³⁰The sequence of the bowing is not made explicit in any of the early accounts mentioned in footnote 26 of this chapter. However the sequence in Grand Forks today is two deep bows, followed by a kiss and another deep bow. Then the participants face the opposite sex and bow once more. It is possible that the present practice carried out in Grand Forks is either the original procedure or a variation of that tradition.

three to five years). When the Doukhobors arrived in Canada in 1899, their leader Peter V. Verigin remained imprisoned in Siberia. During his incarceration, Verigin sent letters containing advice as to how his followers should meet the challenges of life in a new country. In his letters, Verigin passed on to the Doukhobors in Canada the principle of passive resistance and other moral rules of conduct which they accepted on his authority. From interviews with elderly Doukhobors, it became apparent that when Peter's letters were received they were read after the conclusion of the molenija. If questions arose over the application and implementation of his instructions, a sxodka ('regional meeting') was held. The word sxodka was used by the Doukhobors to mean a meeting held exclusively for discussion, among those within walking distance of each other. In contrast to this, a s"ezd or 'convention' was held for similar meetings and included followers from all areas.

It is important to note that at this time no discussion was carried on during the molenie; rather a separate meeting specifically for the purpose of discussion was held either following a molenie or at some other convenient time. It should be emphasized here that the reading of the letters after the molenie was the initial aberration from the original procedure. When Peter the Lordly arrived in Canada in 1902, it was a logical extension to replace the reading of his letters at the close of the molenie by his personal discourse.³¹ His speeches dealt primarily with spiritual matters. Gradually other individuals were permitted to speak of spiritual matters only. Doukhobors say that over a long period of time topics began to drift away from what could be called spiritual

³¹From interviews with elderly Doukhobors. See also Woodcock and Avakumovic's The Doukhobors, pp. 238-39.

concerns and finally turned to business matters.

It is necessary to recognize that in Russia Doukhobors sang hymns, a fact that has been documented by Bonch-Bruevich. The distinction between psalms and hymns made in the preceeding chapter was intended to make it clear that although both psalms and hymns were a part of Doukhor tradition in Russia, only the former were an integral part of the molenie. During the interval between 1899 and 1907 (?), Peter the Lordly composed a few hymns and, as Eli Popoff states,³² some hymns were taken from other Christian groups (including Baptist and Russian Evangelical Christian). However, the incorporation of these new hymns was dependent upon the approval of Verigin. In the past, informal gatherings were occasions at which hymns were sung. For example, if people did not return home immediately after the molenie they would congregate to sing. As one respondent said, "after the bogomolenie some stayed to play games but others gathered in the afternoon to sing hymns." As a result of the increase in the number of hymns, as well as the increasing persistence of informal discussions, initial modifications can be seen.

Because the changes were gradual it is not possible to give their precise dates but those interviewed maintain that several changes took place between 1902 and 1907, corroborating the account of Reibin.³³ When Peter V. Verigin returned from a visit to Russia in 1905, he held a s"ezd ('convention') at which he informed his followers that they should relinquish some of their old forms of worship. Taking advantage of his

³²See Eli Popoff, The Soul Expressive Heritage of the Doukhobor-Russian Group Singing, Unpublished Manuscript, 1968.

³³Simeon F. Reibin, Trud mirnaia zhizn, istoriia dukhoborstev bez maski, San Francisco, Delo, 1952, p. 115.

literary licence, Tarasoff suggests what might have been Peter's view of these practices.

"Now that we are in Canada" he said, "there is no need to be afraid of Orthodoxy; we can now eliminate those things, which under the Tsarist regime, were employed to muddle and confuse the opposition. Let's go back to fundamentals."³⁴

Peter the Lordly declared that some of the psalms, being composed so long ago, had lost their relevance and should be either changed or given up. The Doukhobors complied with this and other alterations. He suggested that the greeting of Slavim Bogu-Bog proslav'sja be replaced by the shorter salutation of Slava Gospody. Further, he abolished the poklonenie (the Doukhobor practice of kissing, bowing and handshaking during the molenie). In 1936 (?) Peter the Lordly's successor Peter Petrovich Verigin reintroduced into the molenie both the poklonenie and the old form of the greeting.³⁵ It was also during this time of Peter Petrovich's leadership that a more intense effort was made to compose and collect hymns and, as a result of his intervention, the singing of hymns became more prominent than the singing of psalms.³⁶ Although Peter P. Verigin reinstituted these traditions, they have not been accepted by all Doukhobors. The poklonenie and the long form of the greeting have not been reincorporated by Independent Doukhobors who recognize only the authority of Peter V. Verigin.

Having described a molenie in Russia, and having discussed alter-

³⁴Tarasoff, In Search of Brotherhood, Vol. 2, p. 396.

³⁵Tarasoff, In Search of Brotherhood, Vol. 2, p. 396. Personal interview with William Sukhorev, also to be found in his Istoriia dukhobortsev.

³⁶Popoff, The Soul Expressive Heritage of the Doukhobor-Russian Group Singing, p. 6. Also, Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, p. 349, and Peacock, "The Music of the Doukhobors," p. 38.

ations that took place in Canada, it may be useful to briefly summarize the prayer meeting or molenie as it occurred during the time of Peter Petrovich Verigin.

Early in the morning people gathered, bowed and said either Slavim Bogu-Bog proslav'sja or Slava Gospody depending on their allegiance to one or the other of the hereditary leaders.³⁷ When those already present had given their reply, the men stood on the right hand side of the table with its bread, salt and water, the women on the left side. Prayers were recited and psalms sung. The bowing, kissing and hand-shaking (poklonenie) were carried out at this point by those who accepted the authority of Peter Petrovich Verigin while it was omitted by those who did not. After the final prayer had been said, the molenie as such terminated. It was in Canada that immediately following the molenie, or shortly thereafter, people would gather to hear spiritual discussions and to sing hymns.

³⁷The researchers concluded from the evidence gathered that the use of one phrase or the other stems from allegiance to a particular leader. This is not necessarily meant to imply that people make this distinction explicitly.

CHAPTER V

CONTEMPORARY RUSSIAN ORTHODOX SERVICE

Having presented the descriptive material on the Doukhobor meetings, we will now turn the attention to the Sunday meetings which are held in the Russian Orthodox Churches in Vancouver. For comparative purposes this chapter has been arranged to parallel the organization of Chapter IV. It is intended that in reading the description of a Russian Orthodox service attention will be given to similarities and dissimilarities which appear between this meeting and the Doukhobors' meetings. One could, for instance, compare the preparatory arrangements or the number of people involved in the staging of one meeting in comparison with that of the other.

A. Setting

The Orthodox service held every Sunday morning is the social occasion which constitutes the subject matter of this chapter. The service is referred to as the divine liturgy (božestvennaja liturgija) or mass¹ (obednja). According to Orthodox doctrine, the divine liturgy is one of seven sacraments,² the other six being: confession, baptism, confirmation, marriage, ordination and extreme unction. Each one of these

¹'Mass' is a rough gloss for the Russian term obednja which is derived from the word 'dinner' (obed), hence the divine liturgy or mass implies the sharing of the eucharistic meal.

²Sacraments are defined officially as "... a holy act through which the grace of the Holy Spirit is given." (Archimandrite Anthony, A Brief Catechism of the Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church, "Russian Day" Committee, 1952, p. 44, hereinafter referred to as A Brief Catechism.)

sacraments is celebrated in the church. In the case of extreme unction, except when exceptional circumstances may sometimes be prohibitive, it is considered preferable that even this sacrament be administered in the church. As the concern of the thesis lies only with the divine liturgy, it is sufficient to mention briefly that on each of these occasions, different parts of the church are used. As it will become apparent later, the sanctuary is used by the priest on Sunday morning and "It is here, strictly speaking, that Divine Services are conducted"³ In contrast, for example, confession is held on the left side (from the congregations's point of view) of the nave, and the entire wedding service or 'crowning' (venčanie) is conducted in the central part of the nave.

On the evening prior to the divine liturgy, vespers (večernja) are held at six o' clock. Those anticipating receiving communion the following morning are obliged to "take confession," and they are expected not to "break the fast" before the service. Traditionally confession was taken the evening before the divine liturgy. However now it is not unusual for members to take confession on the morning of the eucharistic service, although this is not favored by the clergy.⁴ In contrast, at least once a year a clergyman takes confession when in the presence of other priests even though he takes communion weekly. The confessional services observed were of very short duration (approximately two or three minutes). At this time "the sinner contritely confesses his sins before

³Rev. Leonid Soroka and S. W. Carlson, Faith of Our Fathers, The Eastern Orthodox Religion, Minnesota, The Olympic Press, 1954, p. 37, (hereinafter referred to as Faith of Our Fathers).

⁴Father Vladimir, personal communication.

a priest and God forgives him."⁵

The divine liturgy is held at least once a week, though during festival times a modification of the Sunday service is held during the week. For example during Holy Week in Great Lent, prior to Easter, the liturgy is celebrated three times a week and vesper services are held once a day. The Russian word for Sunday (Voskresen'e) means 'day of resurrection' and it is on this day that a eucharistic service is held in remembrance of the Last Supper before Christ's resurrection. The service always takes place between daybreak and noon.⁶ A priest can celebrate only one divine liturgy a day and only one divine liturgy can be celebrated on a communion table on any one day. In Vancouver, while the services are not announced from week to week, they always begin punctually at ten-thirty in the morning at two of the churches (HT and SN) and at eleven at the other (HR).⁷ The services continue for two to two and one half hours.

Prior to the staging of this occasion there are certain preparations that must be made. A 'choir practice' (spevka) is held during the week. The altar breads are baked, the church is cleaned and vacuumed and wax is removed from the brass candle holders. On some occasions the icon which is placed in the center of the nave is changed in accordance with the ecclesiastical calendar and the current festival that is being celebrated.

⁵Archimandrite Anthony, A Brief Catechism, p. 149.

⁶The exception is Easter, when midnight mass is held.

⁷These abbreviations refer to:

(HT) Holy Trinity Church

(SN) Saint Nicholas Church

(HR) Holy Resurrection Church

Two initials have been used to denote Orthodox Churches in order that they may readily be distinguished from the various Doukhobor halls which were denoted by a single initial.

The cloths which completely cover the tables in the church are likewise changed periodically to correspond to the Church seasons (i.e. during Great Lent all cloths are changed to black and before the midnight Easter service they are again changed, this time to white). On Sunday morning wine is brought, along with a pitcher of warm water. Approximately one hour before the service begins, the church warden arrives, the candles are lit and put in the brass candle holders.

A divine liturgy can take place even when no adult member of the congregation has taken confession; in this case the priest and children participate in the communion. Up to seven years of age, children take communion without confession but after this age they must assume responsibility for their actions and must confess their sins. Of all those present at a divine liturgy, it is more common for children under the age of seven to take communion than for adults. For example, in a seven month period⁸ adults have been observed taking communion approximately four times (out of thirty), and two of these occasions were important festivals (i.e. Easter and Christmas). Orthodox members are supposed to take communion at least once a year, and they most commonly take communion at Easter. Another usual time is one's namesday (i.e. the day commemorating the saint after whom one is named). However, young children take communion every time they attend which, as previously mentioned, is not the case for adults.

Not only must the above preparations be made, but also a priest and congregation (among whom there must be those who know the liturgy and can respond to the priest's petitions at the appropriate times) must be

⁸September 1970 to March 1971.

present. Because the word liturgy means 'public worship,'⁹ no divine liturgy can be held by a priest alone. For a divine liturgy service, there always must be a congregation present. A divine liturgy is always celebrated in an Orthodox church in the manner described below. However, there may be instances when there is no church building available and since a divine liturgy cannot be cancelled, temporary arrangements must be made.¹⁰ Services can be held in other locations (e.g. field, house, or garage) when certain provisions have been made. There must be at least an antimins¹¹ bread and wine and icons of Christ and Mary before a divine liturgy can be celebrated.

1. Exterior Setting

Of these Orthodox churches in Vancouver, Holy Resurrection is the largest, both in terms of the size of the building itself and in terms of the size of the congregation. Of the churches, it is the most recently constructed (in the late 1950's). The church is located in a residential area, (Forty-Third Avenue and Main Street) on a corner lot, with an adjacent hall on the same property. The church building is surrounded by a lawn and garden, which extends around the hall, on all but one side. There is a paved parking area, accessible from Forty-Third Avenue. The blacktop parking area separates the church buildings from the parsonage,

⁹From the Greek word "leitourgie" meaning public service, service of the gods, or public worship. Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1933. Public worship is also a meaning given by informants.

¹⁰Father Vladimir and Bishop Antonuk, personal communication.

¹¹The word antimins has been incorporated into the Russian language but it is a loan word from the Greek language. This also applies to many other terms used by the Russian Orthodox Church.

a modest two-storey stucco house on the adjoining lot. Here, the resident priest, presently a bishop, lives alone in a minimally furnished house. Relative to the other two churches, Holy Resurrection has the most elaborate decorations and liturgical paraphernalia. It also has the largest area inside the church building. In addition, it is the only church with an adjoining building used for church concerts and meals.

Holy Trinity on Campbell Avenue, is bounded by a wire fence that is kept locked when the church is not in use. This particular church has been mentioned second of the three for, compared to the others, it ranks in an intermediary position with respect to size, number of members, and (in very general terms) interior decorations and ornamentation. On the property there is one building. Access to the basement, used for church gatherings and feasts, is gained only by an outside door on the side. The priest who officiates at Holy Trinity lives at least one mile away from the church, in a house which he shares with his (biological) sister.

St. Nicholas Church, on the corner of east Thirteenth Avenue near Kingsway, is built on a single lot among surrounding homes, most of which are of older vintage. Approaching the church, one walks up a hill, beside an alley and passes in front of a small, one room manse, located behind the church, where the monk lives. This is a very modest church, being one storey, without a basement or hall. Because it has no basement, when one enters the church one finds that a heater occupies a prominent place in the center part of the church.

All these Orthodox churches, in Vancouver, are located on side-streets and are readily identifiable by the distinctive style of architecture. Saint Nicholas is the exception architecturally because

its exterior construction is not of the typical Byzantine form; it is a brown stucco, rectangular building with a gabled roof. Of the three churches, Holy Resurrection is identified by a large sign near the east end of the property stating, in English, the name of the Church, the jurisdiction, the officiating bishop and the hours of services. Perhaps it is interesting to note that this particular Church belongs to the North American Jurisdiction which acknowledges the use of some English in the services. Of the other two Churches which belong to the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church in Exile, one (HT) has no sign outside, while the other (SN) has a small notice, tacked to the door stating, in Russian, the hours of the services.

Orthodox churches are usually built in the Byzantine style, characterized by one or more "onion-shaped" domes or cupolas. The number of cupolas varies from one to thirteen.¹² There may be more than thirteen, yet there are always an odd number of domes. Significance is attached to the number of cupolas on a church. One dome, for example, signifies that Christ is the head of the Church and three domes represent the Holy Trinity.¹³ Holy Resurrection and Holy Trinity each have three domes, while there is no dome at St. Nicholas.

On top of each cupola is a cross of the Orthodox form. There are

¹²Orthodox Catholic Christian Education Lessons, Unit 3--The Divine Liturgy, published by Metropolitan Council, Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church, 1965, p. 18, (hereinafter referred to as Orthodox Education Lessons).

¹³Soroka and Carlson, Faith of Our Fathers, p. 36. Explanations of other numbers of domes are as follows: five cupolas represent Christ and the four evangelists, seven cupolas represent the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, nine cupolas represent the nine ranks of angels, and thirteen cupolas represent Christ and the twelve disciples.

several historical explanations for the Orthodox style of the cross. This cross, which emerged around the tenth century, has a lower, diagonally placed, foot bar and a top horizontal cross bar.¹⁴ In an interview, the bishop gave the following interpretation of the bars on the cross: when facing the cross, the foot bar is tilted with the left side slanting up and the right side slanting down, because Christ was upon the cross and the sides were reversed for Him. Thus the cross has continued to be interpreted from Christ's point of view. It is tilted up that way [where the left side is raised from the onlooker's perspective, but where the right side is considered to be elevated] for the thief who asked to be remembered in the kingdom--for those who follow Christ will go to heaven. The opposite side slants down for those who will not reach paradise.¹⁵ The shorter, upper bar stands for "the tablet" nailed above Christ's head when he was crucified.

The exterior shape of the Orthodox church can be one of several forms. One church (HT) is built in the shape of a cross, meant to refer to the crucified Christ as redeemer. The other two churches (HR and SN) are rectangular, and this is said to be indicative of the ark which carries the Christian to find salvation. There are two other forms upon which Orthodox churches can be constructed: circular churches denote the infinity of the Church and the unity of earth and heaven; star-shaped buildings with eight angles symbolize the role of the Church as a guiding

¹⁴Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁵Explanations in the literature on Orthodoxy give this and similar interpretations. (See Soroka and Carlson, Faith of Our Fathers, p. 34, also Archimandrite Anthony, A Brief Catechism, p. 95.)

light.¹⁶

After walking up a few stairs, one enters the churches through a set of double doors. When inside the lobby, a person then faces another set of closed doors. He opens these and immediately proceeds into the nave.

2. Interior Setting

The interior of the church is divided into three parts: (1) 'vestibule' or narthex (prityvor); (2) central 'nave' or the church proper (sepedinaja cerkov'), and (3) 'sanctuary' (altar'). A plan of an Orthodox church is presented in Diagram 2.

VESTIBULE

The vestibule is said to correspond to the courtyard where, in the past, the catechumens¹⁷ (oglašenje) remained during the service. This portion of the church is now much reduced in size.¹⁸ At two of the Churches (HT and SN) the vestibule is an area approximately six feet by six feet, containing a large wardrobe with the clerical vestments for the various ecclesiastical seasons. Often small notices of future church events are tacked to the doors separating the vestibule from the nave. Now this area acts only as a passage-way for the members of the Church.

NAVE

Beyond these inner doors lies the nave where the worshippers

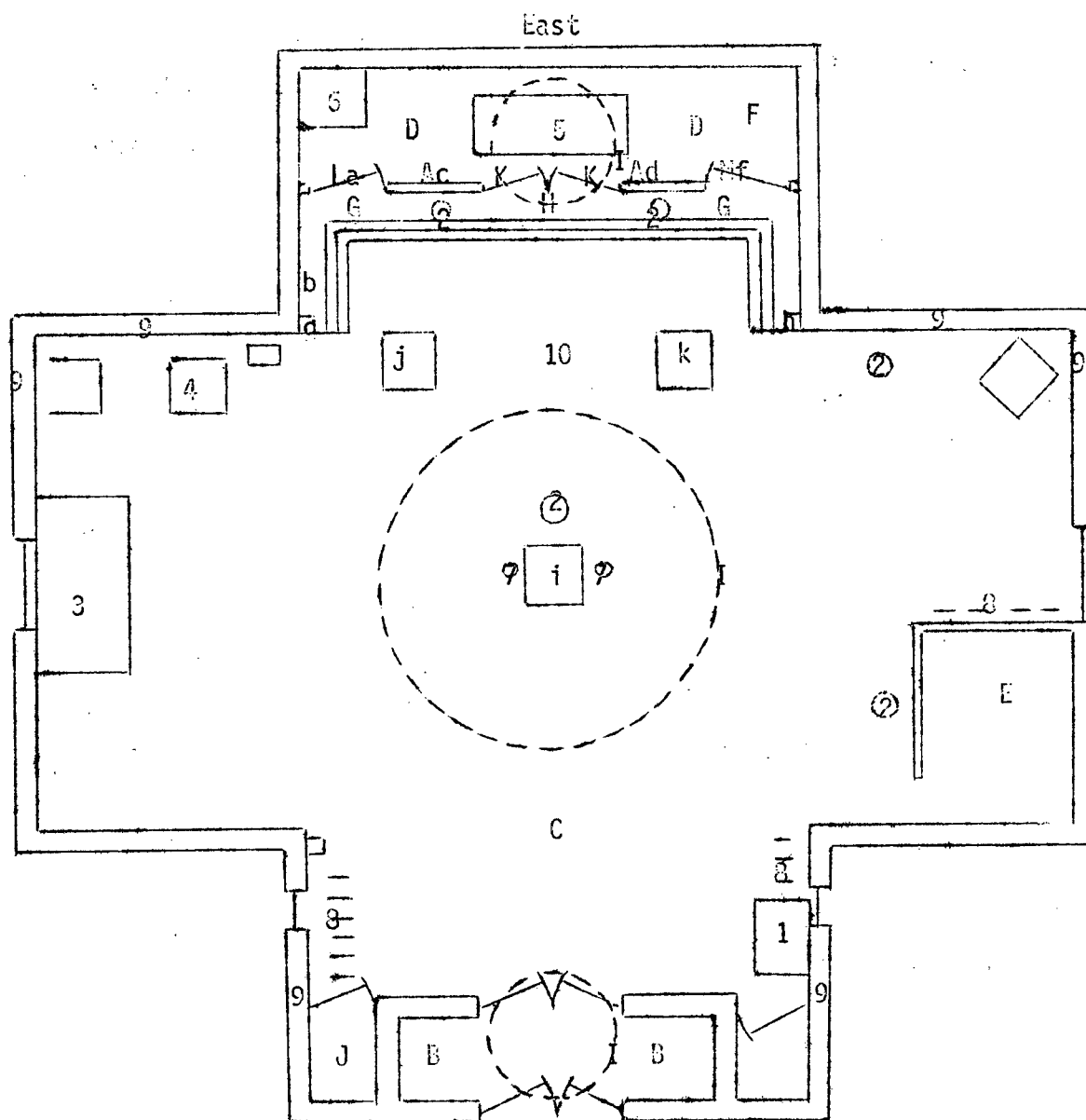
¹⁶Soroka and Carlson, Faith of Our Fathers, p. 35.

¹⁷The unbaptized or those preparing for baptism into the Orthodox Church.

¹⁸Orthodox Education Lessons, p. 18.

DIAGRAM 2

PLAN OF A RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH BASED UPON HOLY TRINITY CHURCH*



*See legend on following page.

LEGEND FOR DIAGRAM 2

PARTS OF THE CHURCH:

- A. iconostas
(or altar screen)
- B. vestibule
- C. nave
- D. sanctuary
- E. kliros
- F. sacristy
- G. solea
- H. amvon
- I. domes
- J. stairs to balcony
- K. royal doors
- L. north door
- M. south door

FURNISHINGS:

- 1. table (at which the church warden stands)
- 2. brass candleholders
- 3. coffin
- 4. crucifix
- 5. throne
- 6. table of oblation
- 7. plants
- 8. chairs
- 9. icons (not specified)
- 10. carpet

ICONS ON ICONOSTAS:

- a. Gabriel
- b. Patron Saint of Church
- c. Mary and Christ Child
- d. Jesus Christ
- e. John the Baptist
- f. Archangel Michael

ICONS ON BANNERS:

- g. banner of Mary and Christ Child
- h. banner of Jesus Christ

ICONS ON ANALOI:

- i. icon on central analoj of festival celebrated
- j. icon of Mary with Christ Child
- k. icon of Jesus Christ

gather. Upon entering the nave the western observer may notice the absence of pews and the lack of regular rows of chairs to seat the congregation. The dim lighting and the heavy smell of incense surround the person upon entering. The windows are not a predominant part of the walls, nor are they a primary source of light. The chandelier and candles are sources of artificial light though the tone of the room remains subdued.

DOMES

The central cupola outside has its counterpart inside as a large dome. The eye is drawn upwards by a chandelier suspended from the middle of the dome and as one looks up, frescoes are seen. At Holy Trinity Church, the dome is octagonal, and on every other side is a painting of one of the four evangelists (Matthew, Mark, Luke and John). At Holy Resurrection church, a painting depicting the resurrection of Christ is on the east side of the dome. On either side of this are paintings of two angels, seraphim and cherubim.¹⁹ At the third Church (SN) there are no domes and no frescoes on the ceiling.

ANALOJ

In the center of the church, below the chandelier, is an analoj or 'lecturn.' The analoj is completely covered with a cloth and has a sloped top on which rests an icon. There are several other lecturns around the nave, each with a different icon. Some also serve as stands

¹⁹The paintings on the dome of an Orthodox church are prescribed but not demanded. That is, it is not necessary to have paintings on the dome of the church; however, given that the dome will be painted, then the subject matter for these paintings is prescribed. (See Soroka and Carlson, Faith of Our Fathers, p. 43.)

for the Gospel. The icon on the central analoj is changed according to the day of the Church year and the cloth similarly varies with the Church season. In front of the altar screen, there are two additional analoi or lecturns. Upon the lecturn on the north side of the church rests an icon of "Mary, Mother of God, with the Christ Child." An icon of Christ is placed on the other analoj.

ICONS

Icons depicting the life of Christ and the saints are considered to be holy pictures. They are to be venerated but not worshipped.²⁰ Accordingly, when an individual lights a candle or prays before an icon he does this in remembrance of the saint represented and not in order to worship the icon itself. There are several explanations concerning the function of icons. They are said to add richness and beauty to the church and to help make perceptible to the believer those things which are unseen.²¹ Just as there are rules governing the painting of church frescoes, there are special rules of iconography. The subject matter, symbolism, style of figures and background, colors and materials used, as well as the procedure to be followed by the monks in the actual painting had been established by the fifth century of Orthodoxy.

Icons range in size from very small (two inches square) to very large (seven feet high and three feet wide). In two of the Churches in Vancouver (HT and HR) there are five large free-standing icons, in

²⁰This was defined by the second ecumenical council of Nicaea in 787 A.D. See Appendix A.

²¹For a comprehensive discussion of icons see: Benz, The Eastern Orthodox Church, Chapter 1. See also Soroka and Carlson, Faith of Our Fathers, p. 42.

elaborate wooden frames. At the other Church (SN) there is only one such icon. Some of these large icons are placed in the church in such a way as to section off portions of the nave. A similar feeling is created in all of the churches by the profusion of smaller icons placed about the church by members of the congregation. These smaller icons form a continuous collage just above eye-level along the north and south walls. There is one large icon on the east wall. This must always be an icon of Christ. At the other end of the church, on the west wall, there are no icons and the priest explains this by saying that people should never have their backs toward icons.²² Despite this, there are a few icons on the back wall which, according to the priest, "confuse some of the old people." The feeling of spaciousness is reduced by the many icons and furnishings that protrude into the nave. In the east end of the church a screen extending from floor to ceiling sections off the nave and blocks the remaining portion of the church from view. The vertical distance within the nave is set by a narrow red carpet (three feet wide) which begins at the inner doors and abruptly stops at the east end of the nave in front of the altar screen. As the predominant colors of icons are gold and blue they contrast with the dark tone of the wooden walls, thus making the icons seem to advance into the room. The icons seem to project into the room perhaps because most of them are not contained by frames and are not covered by glass.

BANNERS

Metallic or brocade cloth forms the background of banners. To the center of the background is sewn an icon, usually outlined in gold braid.

²²Father Vladimir, personal communication.

This purple or white rectangle is fringed at the bottom, and is attached to a seven-foot pole. There are two or three banners in each church, two always being found just in front of the steps below the icon screen. The banner with an icon of Mary rests on the north side, while on the south side is found a banner with an icon of Christ. Throughout most of the year banners rest against the walls. They are used to head processions as, for example, the procession around the church at the beginning of the Easter mass.

CANDLEHOLDERS

In front of most of the large icons, and near the lecturns with icons, are found brass candleholders. Many candles are placed in each of the candleholders as members of the congregation burn candles in remembrance of a particular person or saint. Thus, as the services proceed, more and more candles are lit as people continue to arrive until, near the end of the service, candles have been placed in most of the holders. In addition to the candles burning before icons, there are small gold lamps suspended on a gold chain from the top of all free-standing icons, in front of the crucifix and in front of the icon of the Last Supper on the icon screen. These are still referred to as the 'little icon lamps' (lampadka) even though a short candle is placed in the glass container where formerly pure oil was burned.

CRUCIFIX

It has been mentioned that there is, in the church, a large wooden cross (approximately seven feet high) with the figure of Christ attached to it. This is always located on the north side, not far from the steps at the east end. Beside or in front of the crucifix is found a

small table which often blocks the lower part of the crucifix from view. The table is completely covered with a cloth and on it, a tiered, brass candleholder rests. Members of the congregation place candles here in remembrance of deceased relatives and friends.

COFFIN

Near the crucifix, there may be a "coffin," or there may simply be a wooden rectangular box representing a coffin. The top is covered by a cloth which matches the coverings on the lecturns. The coffin lies parallel to the north wall and is situated mid-way along that wall. It remains in this position all year, except at Easter when it is moved to the center of the nave. On the wall, behind or beside this coffin, is a large icon of Christ in the tomb.²³

PLANTS

In all three churches, it is common to see flowers or plants placed on the floor, particularly on special festival days. Surrounding the icon on the central analoj, flowers are usually placed. At one Church (HR) there are palm trees beside the two lecturns in front of the elevated area at the east end of the church. At another Church (SN) plastic flowers are placed around the altar screen and around many of the icons in the nave.

BALCONY

On entering, the balcony is not readily visible to the person as one's attention is directed toward the altar screen. The balcony is

²³There is a coffin at Holy Resurrection and a wooden box as described above at Holy Trinity. Saint Nicholas is the exception, where there is no coffin nor a representation of one.

located at the west end of the nave and a staircase in the north-west corner is used by the choir members to gain access to it. This is the case at Holy Resurrection and Holy Trinity but is not true of St. Nicholas where there is no balcony. During the time when the researchers attended divine liturgy services, members of the congregation who were not part of the choir were never seen in the balcony.

TABLE

In the south-west corner of the nave at Holy Trinity and St. Nicholas there is a 'table' (stol) where altar breads and candles of various sizes can be purchased. At Holy Resurrection there is a small room with a table on the south side of the vestibule; it is used for similar purposes.

SOLEA

Separating the nave from the sanctuary is an altar screen or iconostas (meaning, a place on which icons stand). The iconostas usually extends to the ceiling of the church. Of the Churches in Vancouver, only Holy Trinity has an iconostas which does not extend the full height of the building. In this Church the ceiling is approximately thirty feet high, and the screen reaches about one half that distance. An iconostas has three doors--the north door, the south door, and the 'royal doors' (carskie dveri) or 'royal gates' which are in the middle. All of these doors open toward the sanctuary. The area on the nave side of the north and south doors is called the solea, while that in front of the royal doors is known as the amvon. The solea is elevated a step or two and the top step forms a narrow platform (approximately three or four feet wide) across the entire width of the church. To the south of the solea is a

square structure (kliros) enclosed on three sides with walls over six feet high. At Holy Trinity the kliros is sometimes used by a chanter who remains unseen from the nave. At St. Nicholas, where there is no balcony, the choir stands in this kliros during services. At Holy Trinity, perhaps because of the architecture of the building, the kliros is situated on the south side but is not adjacent to the solea. (See Diagram 2.) At Holy Resurrection there is another kliros on the north side but this is not the case in either of the other two Churches. All that is visible to the viewer is one large icon.²⁴ The amvon is usually a semicircular projection of the solea into the nave and is located directly in front of the royal doors (HT). However, the amvon is considered to be part of the solea even when it is not a physically distinguishable feature, but in such a case (as at HR and SN), it continues to be referred to as the amvon.

ICONOSTAS

As already mentioned, the iconostas forms a high wall, covered with icons arranged in a prescribed order. The screen is divided into halves by the royal doors. Because the royal doors are not the full height of the iconostas, there is an open space above them, bounded on either side by the rest of the iconostas. At certain times during the services a curtain is drawn from behind the screen, filling in this area. On the royal doors are four icons depicting the four evangelists. These surround a central icon portraying the annunciation of the Virgin. At the top of each royal door, there is a small icon (three inches by four

²⁴This applies to Holy Resurrection and Holy Trinity. At St. Nicholas a great variety of icons (rather than one large icon) covers this wall.

inches). At the upper corner of the royal door on the south side there is an icon of Christ and in the same position on the other door there is an icon of Mary. When the royal doors are closed, an Orthodox cross rests at the point where they meet.

The iconostas is divided into sections, each panel containing a full-length single figure. Dealing with the south side first, the icon closest to the royal doors portrays a figure of Christ. Next, John the Baptist or an honored saint, usually St. Nicholas, is represented and on the adjacent panel, which serves as the south door, is an icon of the Archangel Michael. With respect to the north side of the iconostas, the icon closest to the royal doors is a figure of "Mary, Mother of God." Next to Mary the saint or event for which the church was named is depicted. As in the case of the south side, the adjacent panel with an icon of the Archangel Gabriel serves as the north door. These six icons always depict the same figures.²⁵ The iconostas can consist of more than these six panels, as in the case of Holy Resurrection church where there are additional icons--St. Lawrence (south side) and Archdeacon Stephan (north side). The subject matter of additional icons along this row varies with the individual preferences of a given church. This set of icons is collectively referred to as the "deisis" tier and sometimes a series of smaller icons with Biblical scenes is placed below it.²⁶

²⁵This is corroborated by Benz, The Eastern Orthodox Church, p. 9, and Demetrakopoulos, Dictionary of Orthodox Theology, p. 108.

²⁶Soroka and Carlson, Faith of Our Fathers, p. 41.

These are the principal icons Above them hang three or four rows of smaller icons--their number depending on the size of the church--in which the whole story of redemption and the hierarchy of of the celestial church are represented.²⁷

Above the "deisis" tier is the second or festival tier including icons that illustrate the twelve great feast days of the Orthodox Church. An icon of the Last Supper is always above the royal doors and it forms the central panel of this tier.²⁸ The third tier depicts the twelve disciples; the fourth tier is allotted to the Old Testament prophets; and the fifth tier is devoted to the crucifixion. The arrangement varies when not all five tiers are present (Holy Trinity has three tiers, Holy Resurrection has two tiers, and St. Nicholas has one tier) but the fifth tier (i.e. crucifixion tier) always completes the iconostas.

On the south side of the iconostas, between the last tier and the ceiling (HR and SN), a replica of the Gospel is found. A replica of the tablet on which the Ten Commandments were given is found on the north side above the last tier.

SANCTUARY

The area bounded by the iconostas and the east wall of the building is called the 'sanctuary' or 'altar' (altar).²⁹ The word 'altar' is used by the Orthodox to refer to the entire elevated area behind the iconostas. It is not applied to any table within the sanctuary itself.

The sanctuary in Orthodox churches is, in principle, located at the geographic east of the building, (HR and HT). However, since the con-

²⁷Benz, The Eastern Orthodox Church, p. 9.

²⁸op. cit., p. 40.

²⁹From the Hebrew word meaning "a place of sacrifice."

struction of any building is in part determined by the position of the property, an Orthodox church which is built with its entrance facing south and its sanctuary in the north (this is true of St. Nicholas) is still considered to be facing east. That is, the position of the sanctuary conceptually determines the direction of the church and the placement of all properties within it.³⁰ For the Orthodox person it is the sanctuary which orients his directions and actions.³¹ Among the reasons offered for the sanctuary being located in the east are the following: (1) the East is where the first Christian Church originated, (2) the sun rises in the east, and (3) Christ, as the source of light, was born in the East and his light shines through the darkness of the world.³²

Great significance is attached to the sanctuary and only men are allowed to go through the north and south doors into the sanctuary. The priest and his helpers alone are in the sanctuary during the divine liturgy. At other times a male is permitted behind the iconostas should his presence be necessitated by the circumstances. According to the clergymen in Vancouver, even in this situation a male should vest before entering. Only the clergy are permitted to pass through the royal doors and even they must do so at specified times during the divine liturgy.

³⁰Father Vladimir and Bishop Antonuk, personal communication.

³¹Loc. cit.

³²Soroka and Carlson, Faith of Our Fathers, p. 35, and Orthodox Education Lessons, p. 4.

Women are not permitted behind the iconostas.³³

THRONE

When the royal doors are open a large fresco of Christ is seen on the east wall and a large table (four feet long, three feet wide, and three feet high) is visible in the center of the sanctuary. This table is called the prestol, or in English, the 'throne' or 'communion table.' It is equally spaced between the north and south walls, and also is equidistant from the east wall and the iconostas. The throne has several meanings attributed to it, contingent upon the actions of the priest during the service.³⁴ Over the throne there are three coverings. One of these, the sračica, is consecrated by the bishop and is never removed from the throne. The other two coverings (inditija and pokryvalo)

³³The priest and the bishop both said that in the Bible women were forbidden to enter the sanctuary. Demetrakopoulos gives the following explanation: "The reasons for these restrictions are found in Holy Scriptures and Sacred Tradition, according to which only consecrated males served God at the altars and only males are tonsured and ordained." (See Dictionary of Orthodox Theology, p. 7.) The interdiction seems to have something to do with the menstrual cycle but when interviewed neither the priest nor the bishop could (or would) elaborate either of these explanations. In exceptional circumstances elderly women, past menstruation, are permitted to enter the sanctuary.

³⁴During the "great entrance" in the divine liturgy, the throne is considered to be the grave where Christ was buried; during the first part of the Creed it is regarded as the table on which the Last Supper was celebrated; and at a later point in the Creed it becomes the place of sacrifice where the wine and bread are transubstantiated. (See Nikolai Gogol, Meditations on the Divine Liturgy of the Eastern Orthodox Catholic and Apostolic Church, New York, American Review of Eastern Orthodoxy, Reprinted 1964, pp. 29-53, hereinafter referred to as Meditations on the Divine Liturgy.)

are changed to coincide with the colors of the ecclesiastical seasons.³⁵

"The holy table after consecration cannot be used for any other purpose than the sacrifice."³⁶

Upon the throne a prescribed set of objects are found in specified positions. The antimins (also known as the corporal) is a rectangular piece of silk cloth on which is stamped a picture representing the entombment of Christ. At the four corners are small pictures of the four evangelists. Also on the antimins is an inscription by the Archbishop of the diocese consecrating the antimins and the church in which it is found. Without this cloth no Orthodox church can exist. Minute portions of relics³⁷ annointed with holy oil are sewn on the side which is turned to the East.³⁸ The word antimins is derived from Greek and Latin words and means 'in place of a table.' The Orthodox consider the antimins to be absolutely necessary for the divine liturgy to be performed and should an occasion arise where there is no throne, the antimins serves as the throne. The antimins is covered with an outer red cloth called the iliton. Together these are placed under the Gospel. The Gospel is richly bound in red velvet with silver or gold gilt and lies on the central part of the throne. It is ornamented with medallions of Christ and the evangelists. Beside the Gospel lies a gold blessing cross. Another cross stands upright at the back of the throne and in front of

³⁵Father Vladimir, personal communication.

³⁶Demetrakopoulos, Dictionary of Orthodox Theology, p. 8.

³⁷Demetrakopoulos defines "relics" as: "remains of holy persons, either parts of their bodies or possessions such as clothes or vestments", Ibid., p. 153.

³⁸H. C. Romanoff, Sketches of the Greco-Russian Church, England, Rivingtons, 1869, p. 85.

this there is a seven branched candelabrum. In front of this candle-holder is the tabernacle (daroxranitel'nica or 'communion container'), a container in which the consecrated bread and wine are reserved for administration to the sick.

TABLE OF OBLATION

In the north-east corner of the sanctuary is another table called the 'table of sacrifice' (žertvenik). In English this is usually referred to as the 'table of oblation'. This table is completely covered by a cloth and upon it are placed two icons and the utensils necessary for the preparation of the bread and wine for the divine liturgy. The two icons which are always found on the table of oblation are the crucifixion and Christ praying in the Garden of Gethsemane. The utensils include: the paten, a small disc on a stand, usually made of silver or gold, on which the various pieces of bread are put during the divine liturgy; the asterisk, consisting of two arched gold bands, is placed on top of the paten to support the veils or coverings and to keep these from touching the pieces of bread; the chalice, made of gold or silver, is the vessel into which the wine and water are poured; a veil, which is placed on top of the chalice and another to be placed on top of the paten; a larger third veil which is placed over the other two veils; a golden (or silver) spoon with a long handle used to administer communion; the spear, a small, double-edged knife used by the priest for the cutting of the altar breads; a small sponge used to wipe the paten after the pieces of bread have been put into the chalice; the 'altar breads' (or prosfora) which are brought to the table of oblation during the

divine liturgy.³⁹ The prosfora are leavened altar breads⁴⁰ made according to a prescribed procedure. Each small round bread is stamped with one of two special seals. Stamped on some of the prosfora is a square seal consisting of a cross and the letters IC XI NI KA signifying "Jesus Christ conquers." All of the other prosfora are stamped with a picture of Mary and the Christ child with the letters MP BY, signifying "Mother of God." Prosfora are used only in the divine liturgy.

SACRISTY

The south side of the sanctuary is called the 'sacristy' (riznica). Although it may be a separate room,⁴¹ in the Orthodox churches in Vancouver it is not a partitioned area but a conceptually defined part of the sanctuary. Here the sacred vessels,⁴² the censer, and vestments of the season worn by the priest, subdeacon, and altar boys are kept.

B. Participants

Bishops, priests and deacons are referred to as the major orders and are assisted by the non-ordained minor orders including subdeacons, chanters and altar boys. While the major and minor orders are ranked relative to one another there is a hierarchical structure within each of these. The head of an autocephalous Church is a Patriarch. The

³⁹For a more detailed explanation of these utensils see: Demetrakopoulos, Soroka, Romanoff, and Orthodox Education Lessons.

⁴⁰Demetrakopoulos, Dictionary of Orthodox Theology, p. 150.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 157; also Orthodox Education Lessons, p. 20.

⁴²Soroka and Carlson, Faith of Our Fathers, p. 156.

heads of all other Churches are called Archbishop or Metropolitan.⁴³

These are followed in turn by the office of bishop, priest, and deacon.⁴⁴

Each of the above offices is attributed an increasing amount of importance and respect.

At two of the Orthodox Churches in Vancouver there are priests officiating while at the third (HR) there is a bishop. A bishop can celebrate all church services and perform all sacraments. A priest can celebrate all church services and perform all sacraments, with the exception of ordination. Furthermore, a priest is not permitted to bless the antimins or holy oil. Neither a priest nor a bishop is permitted to marry once he is ordained though it is possible for a priest to marry before ordination.⁴⁵ However, should a priest marry, he cannot raise his position in the Church, for all bishops must be monks. The bishop in Vancouver was married before his ordination into the priesthood and it was not until the death of his wife that he was ordained as bishop.

During the course of the research it was concluded that there are three principal characteristics which distinguish a bishop from a priest at the divine liturgy. The bishop is assisted by at least two subdeacons and at least two altar boys. At two of the Churches (HT and SN) the researchers have never seen subdeacons assisting the priest. At

⁴³"Originally a Metropolitan was the bishop of the capital of a province, while Archbishop was a title of honor given to other bishops of special eminence, whose sees were not provincial capitals. The Russians still use the titles in this way" (Ware, The Orthodox Church, p. 299.)

⁴⁴A similar hierarchy exists in the monastic orders but a different set of offices applies. These are Archimandrite, Higumenos, Hieromonk, Hieredeacon. (See Ware, The Orthodox Church, p. 300.)

⁴⁵Orthodox Education Lessons, pp. 28-30.

the latter two Churches, there is usually one altar boy although there may be more.

Characteristic of the office of bishop are the particular vestments worn. At each ordination, as one moves up in the Church hierarchy, some new article of the canonicals is added. Thus a bishop wears different vestments than a priest. The bishop also has additional ornaments. Each article of clothing worn by the clergy for the divine liturgy has a special meaning and must be put on in a prescribed manner.⁴⁶ For the purposes at hand, it is sufficient to remark that the clergy are identified by their vestments which readily distinguish them from each other and from the congregation.

The differences between the various clerical orders do have an effect on the sequence of events during a service. The officiating of a bishop greatly magnifies the complexity of the service. The researchers have chosen to discuss the divine liturgy only when a priest officiates because bishops are much fewer in number⁴⁷ and consequently it is the exception for a bishop to conduct the service. A different format of the divine liturgy is apparent when a bishop conducts the service. For example, when a bishop officiates the divine liturgy, the royal doors are only closed once, but they are closed at several points when a priest holds the same service.

The deacon is the first of three ordained orders of the priesthood,

⁴⁶For a description of the vestments and of the symbolic significance of each article the reader is referred, for example, to Orthodox Education Lessons, and Romanoff, Sketches of the Greco-Russian Church.

⁴⁷As mentioned previously, the bishop in Vancouver is one of eleven in North America.

and the deacon's primary function is assisting the priest during services. For example, he chants the litanies. The deacon cannot celebrate any service alone and he can only assist an officiating priest or bishop. There are no deacons in Vancouver, but there are subdeacons. This is a non-ordained position and of higher rank than that of altar boy. The subdeacon who holds the litany books for the bishop and removes his stole at prescribed times during the divine liturgy. On the other hand, the altar boy's duties are confined largely to holding candles and moving to appropriate positions at required times during the service.

The 'reader' or chanter (ponomar') assists the priest at the divine liturgy by chanting the "hours" (i.e. prayers and psalms of the day) at the beginning of the service and by chanting the Epistle lesson. The chanter is not ordained; he is merely blessed.

A man is appointed 'church warden' (cerkovnaja starosta), or 'elder' (starosta) because he has "worked hard" for the church.⁴⁸ The church warden looks after the church building and during the divine liturgy sees to the proper functioning of certain of the activities in the nave. He stands at the table (in the south-west corner of the nave) where candles of various sizes may be purchased. It is through the starosta that a person requests that the priest say a prayer for a particular individual (s). When such a request is made, the starosta sends the name of the individual, along with an altar bread, to the priest in the sanctuary. After the prayer has been said and a particle removed from the prosfora, the remaining loaf, then called antidor, is returned to the starosta. He wraps each antidor in a plain white paper serviette

⁴⁸Father Vladimir and Bishop Antonuk, personal communication.

and leaves it on the table to be picked up by members of the congregation as they leave. The starosta has been observed to reprimand individuals for breeches of the rules of behavior. For instance, when a young boy entered the nave with his hat on, the starosta pulled him by the arm, took off his hat, and scolded him. It is also the church warden's duty to ring the bell at appointed times during the divine liturgy and to take the collection.

Those people attending the Russian Orthodox divine liturgy on Sundays in Vancouver can roughly be divided into two main age groups. The predominant age group at any given Church on any given Sunday is estimated to fall between forty and eighty years, with the age of the majority of people tending toward the upper extreme of this range. At Holy Trinity there are, on the average, ten children between eight and eighteen years of age. Occasionally young children under the age of seven are brought for infant communion; however, there are rarely more than five such infants on any particular Sunday. Children who attend are expected to follow the actions of their parents. If very young children become restless and noisy during the service their parents are expected to quieten them immediately. When a girl about two years old started crying during the divine liturgy, the bishop waited until she was quiet before resuming the sermon. Older children frequently leave the church and go outside for a few minutes. At Holy Resurrection and St. Nicholas it is exceptional to see children of any age at a divine liturgy. The absence of younger people between the ages of twenty and forty is apparent in all three instances.

The children who attend Holy Trinity are of both sexes though the absolute number of girls tends to be greater. At all the Churches

the number of females exceeds the number of males. This is particularly true of the most elderly, among whom there is a group of women who are both the most elderly and the most regular attenders.

At the services participants enter, buy candles, pray before various icons, and then stand in the west half of the nave. These activities are carried out at different points in time by different individuals; some people are moving about while others stand quietly. It is exceptional to see people engaging in conversation at this time, but sometimes after the divine liturgy people chat informally as they leave the nave.

People appear to recognize regular attenders or friends and to acknowledge their presence by a gesture such as a nod of the head. The non-member or stranger is not approached, but after several weeks, though he still may not be known by name, others may acknowledge his presence. Non-members and strangers generally are conspicuous by their lack of participation in the proceedings. Their presence becomes obvious if, for example, they do not cross themselves at the appropriate times, or do not burn candles before the icons.

The divine liturgy begins at ten o' clock in the morning at Holy Trinity and St. Nicholas Churches, and at ten-thirty at Holy Resurrection. The priest begins preparing for the service at this time. For the people, the service starts punctually one half hour after the priest has begun the first part of the divine liturgy. The service usually lasts two to two and one half hours and all of the participants stand throughout the whole service. There are several chairs provided and these are used intermittently by the elderly, most frequently during the sermon at the end of the service. The only times when it is considered not permissible

to be seated are when the royal doors are open, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed are being sung, or when the priest faces the congregation. It should be pointed out that while there is the provision for sitting, most people stand during the service.

C. Dress

Reference has already been made to the fact that the priest and his helpers are readily identified by their special apparel. As for the male members of the congregation, it is usual to see them wearing suits. With the suits most men wear dress shirts and ties. If a man wears an overcoat or a hat to church, he will remove these upon entering.

Generally women wear coats to the church and do not remove them during the service. The coats are of diverse styles and patterns and it is not uncommon to see coats with fur trim or fur coats at any of the three Orthodox churches. The older women (roughly sixty-five years and over) seem to wear hats with greater frequency than the younger women.

Jewellery is commonly displayed on fingers, wrists, ears and clothing. In addition, diamond wedding rings are worn on the right hand. Most women carry a handbag which they place on the floor beside them and because it remains there throughout the service, a woman's hands are left free.

D. Music

Instruments are never used in the Russian Orthodox Church. They are excluded on dogmatic grounds. In The Eastern Orthodox Church, Ernst Benz explains that the Orthodox believe man should not use "lifeless metal" instruments; man himself should be the living instrument to praise

God.⁵⁰ Benz also says that because "pagan" forms of worship employed musical instruments this contributed to the rejection of instruments in the Orthodox Church. In order to distinguish themselves, the early Christians are said to have restricted the use of instruments to activities outside of the Church. "The very absence of instrumental music led to an unusual proliferation of choral song and hymnody in the churches."⁵¹ The entire divine liturgy, except for the sermon, is sung by the priest, the reader and the choir. The music of the liturgy has developed over the centuries and is of such complex arrangement that it requires a trained choir and conductor. Many parts of the divine liturgy vary according to the ecclesiastical calendar, and therefore weekly 'choir practices' (spevka) are held in preparation for the Sunday service. Members of the congregation do not participate in the singing at the divine liturgy. It is said that the congregation are not able to take part because of the complexity of the music.⁵²

There are several liturgies that are used in the Orthodox service. The divine liturgy used throughout most of the year is that of St. John Chrysostom (c. 344-407 A.D.). St. John did not compose the liturgy in its entirety; rather, he established the practice of having certain actions, prayers and practices already in use at that time, follow each other in a certain order.⁵³ This order of the liturgy came to be associated with his name. Another form of the divine liturgy has come to be

⁵⁰Benz, The Eastern Orthodox Church, p. 146.

⁵¹Loc. cit.

⁵²This is the explanation given by both Father Vladimir and Bishop Antonuk.

⁵³Koulomzin, The Orthodox Christian Church, p. 99.

associated with St. Basil (who lived in the middle of the fourth century). The liturgy of St. Basil is used on ten occasions during the year, mainly during Great Lent (i.e. Easter Lent).

Within the framework of these liturgies, the exact words said, the sequence of their occurrence as well as the actions accompanying them are prescribed and rigorously followed at every divine liturgy. Even the parts which vary from week to week follow a set pattern. Thus the individual prokeimenon⁵⁴ (psalms), troparion and kontakion (hymns), other types of hymns, and antiphons are designated according to the festival day. The different types of liturgical music found in the Orthodox Church are very complex and would demand a discussion which lies beyond the scope and purpose of the chapter.

E. Sequence of Events at the Divine Liturgy

The divine liturgy is divided into three main parts: the proskomedija or 'preparation';⁵⁵ the liturija oglašenie or 'liturgy of the catechumens'; and, the liturija vernjaja or 'liturgy of the faithful.' Each of these parts is in turn divided into a number of litanies or petitions.⁵⁶

⁵⁴See footnote 11 of this chapter.

⁵⁵Loc. cit.

⁵⁶There are many books which contain verbatim the text of the divine liturgy. The present chapter is not concerned so much with the words said as with the relationship of the actions of both the priest and people, within the framework set by the divine liturgy. The reader is referred to Reverend Basil Shereghy, The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Minnesota, The Liturgical Press, copyright 1961 by The Order of St. Benedict; Gogol, Meditations on the Divine Liturgy; The Divine Liturgy according to St. John Chrysostom, New York, Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America, 1967.

The priest is the only participant in the preparation which begins about one half hour prior to the arrival of most of the congregation and prior to the beginning of the liturgy of the catechumens. The proskomedia is the preparation of the bread and wine for the sacrifice and subsequent communion in the divine liturgy. If a deacon is present then he assists the priest throughout the entire divine liturgy. In Vancouver there are no deacons and consequently the priest takes both roles.

When the priest enters the nave, the lights in the nave and sanctuary are off and remain off until the beginning of the liturgy of the catechumens. All the doors of the iconostas are closed and the curtain behind the royal doors is drawn. While the priest is preparing for the service in the sanctuary it is not possible to see him. Those present know that the preparation is in progress because the reader is chanting the "hours" (i.e. prayers and psalms of the day) from the balcony. Periodically the priest's voice is audible as he responds to the reader's chanting but the most of the time it is not possible either to see or to hear him.

Upon entering the nave, the priest stands in front of the closed royal doors, bows three times and prays, then he goes before the icon of Christ on the iconostas and kisses it. He proceeds to the other side of the iconostas and goes before the icon of Theotokos⁵⁷ or ('Mother of God'), kisses it while praying silently, as he did before Christ's image. After praying in front of these icons the priest enters the sanctuary by way of the south door. In the sanctuary the priest stands on the west

⁵⁷See footnote 11 of this chapter.

side of the throne and bows three times toward the east. Afterwards he kisses the Gospel, the throne and the blessing cross, asking God to cleanse him. Prayers are recited at the throne and the priest proceeds to the south side of the sanctuary where he vests. The priest says the required prayer while putting on each article of clothing. At the completion of his vesting the priest moves to the north side of the sanctuary to the table of oblation where the liturgy of preparation begins.

Standing before the table of oblation, the priest again bows three times. He then takes one of the altar breads or prosfora with the seal of Christ, and pierces it, after which he makes an incision with the spear along the right side. The priest then makes an incision along the left side of the prosfora. After making incisions along the right and left sides, and cutting cross-wise through the bread, a large square is removed from the center. All these actions are carried out according to a prescribed manner and silent prayers are said after each gesture. This square of the prosfora now represents the "Lamb"⁵⁸ and is placed in the middle of the paten and is pierced once more, this time on the right side under the letter IC. Next the wine and warm water are blessed as they are poured into the chalice. After completing this act the priest removes a large triangle from the second prosfora again according to a set procedure. This particle is removed in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary and is placed at the right side of the Lamb (at the priest's left). From the third bread the priest removes nine particles in memory of the saints. At the Lamb's left (the priest's right) the

⁵⁸"The priest cuts the Holy Bread crosswise, taking care not to cut through the seal, and says:

sacrificed is the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world, for the life of the world, and its salvation."

(The Divine Liturgy according to St. John Chrysostom, p. 14.)

priest places three rows of three particles, in honor of the prophets, apostles, saints and hierarchs, martyrs, "holy and venerable fathers and mothers," "holy wonderworkers and unmercenaries," "ancestors of God," the saint of the church, the saint of the day, and the saint whose liturgy is being celebrated, each of who is remembered by name. From the fourth prosfora portions are removed in remembrance of the Orthodox rulers and clergy and other Orthodox Christians ("the living faithful") who have asked to be mentioned by name. The portions from this altar bread are placed on the paten, at the foot of the Lamb below the letters NI KA. At the end of the row for "the living" the priest adds another particle for himself. Particles are removed from the fifth prosfora in memory of the departed founders of the Church and all other "departed faithful." These are placed on the paten below the particles for "the living." The Lamb, together with the other particles placed on the paten, represents the universal Church.⁵⁹

The particles thus removed have been blessed by the priest though the remaining prosfora is unconsecrated. The latter is now called the antidor. The antidor will be eaten at the end of the service by "the faithful," even if they have not taken holy communion.

When all the particles have been placed on the paten, the priest censes the asterisk and veils, placing them over the chalice and paten. Next the priest is required to bow and cense the offerings (bread and wine) and the sanctuary. He censes the table of oblation, the throne and finally the sacristy. The procedure for censing is as follows: first the south side of the iconostas, then the north side; the priest

⁵⁹Shereghy, The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, p. 9.

then censes the nave starting at the south-east corner working his way, icon by icon, around the perimeter of the church until he reaches the north-east corner; he goes through the royal doors to the sanctuary where he concludes with a censuring of the throne. The priest censes the throne by swinging the censer in the form of a cross: first to the east, to the north and finally to the south. The priest kisses the Holy Gospel and the throne. The congregation knows that the priest is concluding the preparation when he appears from the sanctuary and begins censuring the iconostas and nave.

At Holy Trinity and St. Nicholas, people begin arriving shortly after ten o' clock, and at Holy Resurrection they begin arriving at ten-thirty. At all three Churches people are arriving while the preparation is in progress. Before entering the nave (at the threshold of the vestibule and nave) an individual will pause, bow slightly and cross himself. This action of bowing and crossing is called obščij poklon ('group or communal bow'). The sign of the cross is made with the right hand. The thumb, index finger, and forefinger which are held together are said to be symbolic of the Holy Trinity; the other two fingers which rest on the palm of the hand, are said to represent Jesus Christ as being truly God and man.⁶⁰ The individual makes the sign of the cross by tapping his forehead, chest, right and left shoulder. Ideally, an individual is supposed to face east, then south, and finally north, each time crossing himself; but it is most common for people to enter and cross themselves only once, while facing the east.

After crossing one's self, a person will go to the starosta or

⁶⁰ Orthodox Education Lessons, p. 23.

church warden and purchase candles which he will light before various icons. Although people may come to the church together, they obtain their candles separately, and only one person will go before the icons to light his candles. The other (s) will wait at the west end of the church until the individual has finished venerating the icons. There are no prescribed rules governing which icons an individual must venerate; however consistency seems to lie in the fact that most people go to the icon on the central analoj first. At an icon, the individual bows his head and crosses himself (ideally three times) and kisses the icon; he then lights the candle and places it in the candleholder. Before joining the rest of the congregation, or before proceeding to another icon, the person will pause in front of the icon and cross himself again. Immediately after venerating the icon (s) an individual takes his appropriate place in the church--females on the north side and males on the south side. This sex separation is not strictly adhered to but it is apparent nonetheless.⁶¹ The elderly women who attend regularly stand together in a group, closest to the north-east end of the church, while those people who appear to be casual or irregular attenders⁶² seem to congregate near the west end of the church, along the back wall. The younger members (twenty to forty years) seem to constitute the predominant part of this group.

⁶¹In an interview, the priest stated that the separation of sexes was strictly observed in Russia but that today he notices this is not so rigidly maintained. He goes on to explain that while the sexes "should" be separated (as specified in the Old Testament) it is not of paramount importance--"It's not so important anymore," he says.

⁶²These are terms applied by the researchers to those people who were not recurrent attenders, who stood near the back of the nave, and who were never observed to cross themselves, bow or kneel during the service.

People continue to arrive throughout the entire divine liturgy, and usually follow the same practice of bowing and crossing, buying candles and venerating the icons. There are times when people will enter and remain at the back of the church until "important" proceedings in the service are completed. It has been observed that people will not move about when the Creed is being sung by the choir, Otče Naš (i.e. the Lord's Prayer) is being sung, or any time when the royal doors are open and the priest can be seen. The movement of people continues during the divine liturgy as people often remain at the church for only a portion of the service. When a person leaves the church he pauses at the threshold of the nave and vestibule, faces east and crosses himself.

By the time the priest has begun censuring the nave, most of the congregation has arrived and as the priest moves about the nave censuring the icons, those near him bow their heads. The large chandelier in the nave is suddenly switched on, the bells toll and the choir sings. By these events the congregation knows that the liturgy of the catechumens has begun. The sanctuary lights are also turned on although the royal doors remain closed. The priest has returned to the sanctuary where he remains unseen though his voice is audible as he chants twelve intercessions (THE GREAT LITANY). To these, the choir responds at each separate petition with Gospodi pomiluj or 'Lord have mercy.' The people cross themselves at the end of each petition. At the conclusion of this chain of prayers and responses, the choir begins to sing the first antiphon. The antiphons are selected songs from the Book of Psalms and they vary according to the Church feast-day. During the singing of the antiphon the priest prays silently in the sanctuary and at the end of the antiphon the people cross themselves. This same sequence of

actions occurs through the next antiphon and series of intercessions (THE LITTLE LITANY). At the singing of the third antiphon the curtain is drawn aside and the royal doors are opened. Now, for the first time during the service, the congregation sees the throne.

Standing on the west side of the throne, the priest takes the Gospel and proceeds first in a southerly direction around the east side of the throne and then out the north door of the iconostas, (THE LITTLE ENTRANCE). Usually preceeding the priest as he comes through the north door are two altar boys holding candles. The priest stands on the amvon in front of the royal doors with the two altar boys on either side of him. The priest faces the people and blesses them by making a sign of the cross with the Gospel. He does this by elevating the Gospel and tilting it to the south and to the north, and then lowering it. In response, the people bow. The priest returns to the sanctuary through the royal doors, while the altar boys, who were standing on the north and south sides, pass each other in front of the royal doors, returning to the sanctuary by the south and north doors respectively. The Gospel is placed on the throne and throughout this procession the choir sings hymns in honour of the feast of the day.

The priest stands in front of the throne with his back to the congregation and silently recites a prayer. While the priest is reciting the prayer he is interrupted by a male choir member who will read the Epistle of the day. The Epistle reader comes from the balcony, across the nave, to the south door of the iconostas. He kisses the icon on the door before entering, and stands on the south side of the throne. The priest blesses the reader by placing his right hand on the Epistle, after which he makes the sign of the cross before the face of the reader.

They chant a short prayer together, and afterwards the reader exits through the south door. As the reader leaves he holds the Epistle with both hands in front of his face and walks to the central analoj where he stands facing the east. When the priest has completed the prayer he stands on the south east side of the throne, facing the congregation. It is only at this point that the reader begins to chant the prelude to the Epistle. He first sings verses from the Psalms or the prophets that have some relation to the saint or feast of the day. After the prelude, the reader chants the Epistle which usually consists of selections from the letters of the apostles. At the end of the Epistle reading the reader returns to the balcony and the choir. The priest censes the throne and, standing on the amvon, censes the people, moving the censer first to the south side and then to the north side.

After censuring, the priest removes his biretta and stands on the amvon holding the Gospel. At this point some members of the congregation kneel and cross themselves while most others simply cross themselves. As the priest begins chanting the appointed Gospel lesson, the bell is rung and members of the congregation join those already kneeling. At the end of the Gospel reading those individuals who are kneeling, stand, and the members of the congregation bow their heads and cross themselves while the priest blesses them with the Gospel according to the form previously mentioned. The priest then walks through the royal doors, kisses the Gospel and returns it to the throne. The royal doors are now closed.

From inside the sanctuary the priest chants a series of intercessions (THE LITANY OF FERVENT SUPPLICATION), to which the choir replies 'Lord have mercy,' the congregation crossing themselves after each

petition. Behind the iconostas the priest unfolds the antimins in a prescribed manner. When the antimins is fully unfolded and the chain of intercessions completed, the priest exclaims, "All catechumens depart."⁶³ This marks the end of the liturgy of the catechumens and the beginning of the liturgy of the faithful.

The following hour is spent preparing the bread and wine for the sacrifice and its subsequent transubstantiation. After the antimins has been unfolded, the royal doors are opened as the choir sings a hymn and the priest censes the sanctuary, the iconostas, and the people. When he censes the sanctuary he moves from the throne, to the table of oblation, and finally to the sacristy. When censuring the iconostas and the people, the priest goes to the south side first and then to the north side.

When the priest finishes censuring, he enters the sanctuary through the north door and he recites the Cherubic Hymn three times, making a deep bow after each recitation. He proceeds to the table of oblation where he censes the offerings (bread and wine). The priest removes the large veil, folds it and places it on his left arm. He takes the paten in his left hand and the chalice in his right. After praying silently, the priest, preceded by the two altar boys, carries the chalice and paten through the north door to the amvon (THE GREAT ENTRANCE). The priest stands in front of the royal doors facing the people who kneel or cross themselves. The royal doors and curtain are closed after the

⁶³In the early centuries, the unbaptised or catechumens were required to leave the church. This disciplinary procedure concerning the catechumens was discontinued long ago but this arrangement of the liturgy was retained. Today everyone can remain throughout the divine liturgy, whether baptized or not. (Shereghy, The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, p. 29.)

priest enters the sanctuary. He places the chalice and paten on the unfolded antimins which is lying on the throne. After removing the veils from the paten and chalice, and after censuring the offering, the priest chants a series of twelve petitions (THE LITANY OF THE OFFERTORY) to which the choir responds while the people cross themselves. If there is more than one clergyman participating in the service, the celebrants exchange the kiss of peace at this point in the service. The senior priest stands in front of the throne and the others stand on the south side of the throne, according to their rank. The senior priest takes the hand of the priest closest to him and they kiss each other on the right shoulder, the left shoulder and then the priest kisses the right hand of his senior. As the kiss of peace is exchanged the senior priest says 'Christ is in our midst' (Xristos posredi nas) to which the answer 'He is and shall be' (Est' i budet) is given. This series of actions is carried out by each of the other celebrants in turn.

As the choir sings the Nicæan Creed the curtain is drawn aside permitting an individual to partially see the priest. During the singing of the Creed the priest removes the veil from the offerings and waves it gently above them, invoking the Holy Spirit to transubstantiate the bread and the wine. This action is accompanied by the repeated tolling of the church bell. As the worshipper can partially see over the royal doors he is able to see the priest elevating the veil and then the gifts (the bread and wine transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ). At this time the person in the congregation prostrates himself, or at least crosses himself. After the priest rises, for he too prostrates himself, he prays silently and censes the gifts. When the priest censes the gifts he makes the sign of the cross over them--swinging

the censer east, north and then south. After completing this act the priest gives a verbal blessing to the people who now stand and bow.

From the sanctuary the priest again chants a series of petitions (THE LITANY BEFORE THE LORD'S PRAYER) and the congregation cross themselves every time the choir replies 'Lord have mercy.' At the end of the twelve intercessions the people and priest cross and prostrate themselves (zemlepoklon or 'bow to the earth'), as the choir sings Otče naš (i.e. the Lord's Prayer). Near the end of the singing of the Lord's Prayer the priest, still kneeling, washes his hands. After washing, the priest and people stand and the priest comes forward, onto the amvon, and exclaims a petition to which the choir and congregation respond, the former verbally and the latter by the action of crossing themselves and bowing. The priest returns to the sanctuary and says a prayer. The curtain behind the royal doors is now drawn thus making it impossible for the congregation to view the sanctuary. As the choir sings a hymn, the priest behind the iconostas prays silently and makes "Christ's body and blood" ready for communion. In the nave, the church warden walks among the members of the congregation taking a collection of money. He returns directly to the table in the south-east corner of the nave when he is finished.

In the sanctuary, the priest, in preparing for communion, divides the Lamb into four parts and places these on the paten in the form of a cross. The first portion marked IC is dropped into the chalice over which the priest makes the sign of the cross. A second portion (stamped XC) the priest takes between the first two fingers of his right hand. He says a prayer. The particle is eaten by the priest who afterwards drinks from the chalice three times. The priest divides the remaining two

portions of the Lamb (marked NI and KA) and puts them into the chalice for the communicants present. He then covers the chalice with a veil and recites a prayer. The royal doors are opened and the priest, with the chalice, walks through them onto the amvon where he administers communion to children (under seven years) and adults who have taken confession. Those about to take communion proceed to the south side of the amvon. Here the priest, standing on the amvon, instructs the communicants to take "the sacred body and the precious blood." These are taken, by the priest, from the chalice with the spoon and are placed in the mouth of the individual. After the person has partaken of the gifts, a subdeacon or altar boy cleans the lips of each communicant with a red cloth. Each person then walks to a small table which has been temporarily moved to the north side, near the amvon. Here the person drinks water from a silver cup after which he takes a small piece of antidor. The water and bread are taken "to clean the mouth."⁶⁴ When all have communed, the priest blesses the people with the chalice containing the remaining particles and then he returns to the sanctuary through the royal doors, placing the chalice on the throne.

At the throne the priest wipes into the chalice the particles remaining on the paten and then he verbally blesses the people who cross themselves. After blessing the congregation, the priest covers the chalice with one veil and censes it three times. The priest, with the chalice in his right hand, faces the people who then bow.

Subsequently, the priest carries the chalice around the throne to the table of oblation. Here the priest again censes the chalice three

⁶⁴Explanation given by Father Vladimir.

times. He returns to the throne and folds the antimins. The priest, while holding the Gospel, makes the sign of the cross over the folded antimins. This is done by raising the Gospel and tilting it first to the north, then to the south, and finally resting the book on the throne.

The priest walks through the royal doors and stands facing east, in front of the amvon, and recites a prayer (PRAYER BEFORE THE AMVON). At the conclusion of this prayer the people cross themselves and the priest enters the sanctuary through the royal doors, goes to the table of oblation and prays silently. From here the priest moves to the royal doors and verbally blesses the people who cross themselves.

After the blessing he moves out onto the amvon and delivers the sermon.⁶⁵ The sermon generally consists of an explanation of the previously read Gospel lesson. The sermon differs from the rest of the divine liturgy in that it is spoken in Russian while the divine liturgy is chanted in Church Slavonic. At the end of the sermon (which lasts approximately fifteen minutes) the priest blesses the people and they either bow or cross themselves.

Before departing from the church the congregation gathers at the foot of the amvon. As the people move to the front they pause, then kiss the icon of Christ on the analoj near the amvon. If the priest has an announcement to make, he will speak as the people move forward. At such a time he may announce that there will be a gathering in the hall after the service, the date of a wedding service or the time of a special event that will take place during the week. When the priest has finished speaking, the people approach him and kiss the gold cross

⁶⁵At St. Nicholas Church the sermon is delivered earlier in the service, directly following the reading of the Gospel.

which he is holding. After this, they walk over to the small table which is again moved to the north side. They take a piece of antidor. It is usual for the altar boys to receive the antidor first, followed by the elderly women, the remainder of the congregation, and finally the choir. This marks the end of the divine liturgy.

The formal service being completed, the members of the congregation informally talk among themselves while still at the front of the nave. Shortly thereafter, they leave. By this time the church warden, and occasionally a person from the congregation, have begun to extinguish the candles and to collect them from the holders. The priest closes the royal doors and draws the curtain. Before the priest leaves, he is required to eat and drink the remaining gifts.

Almost every Sunday after the divine liturgy there is a gathering in the church hall or basement.⁶⁶ Gatherings can be held for such occasions as: pominki or 'remembrance service' for a deceased relative or member of the congregation; a particular church festival (at times such as Christmas, Lent, Easter); or when the priest has something to discuss with the members (beseda). On these occasions it is the practice to serve Russian food. The women of the church prepare some of the food while the divine liturgy is in progress and therefore a few of them leave the service periodically.

When the divine liturgy has concluded the people gradually move to the hall. The priest is often the last person to arrive at the hall because he must consume the remaining gifts and then remove his vestments. The people gather in the hall but they do not begin eating until

⁶⁶St. Nicholas is the exception. As mentioned this church has neither a hall nor a basement.

after the priest has arrived. The priest leads the people in singing Otče naš and a few short prayers.⁶⁷ Everyone present stands at this time. Afterwards the people are seated and they then begin eating. While eating they talk informally among themselves. If there are matters to be discussed, it is the priest who conducts the proceedings. Some people leave before the others, but most remain until the priest initiates a closing prayer. Gatherings such as these last approximately one or two hours.

F. Changes in the Divine Liturgy

The divine liturgy has evolved throughout approximately 2,000 years and there are many changes which have taken place during this time. Some of the developments have taken place in the last several centuries, corresponding to the time when Doukhobors began emerging, and these changes are of greater interest to the thesis. From the information reviewed, it is evident that the development of the divine liturgy service is complex but despite this it was often difficult to establish even relative dates when alterations became apparent. Possibly this is because the changes were gradual and occurred in different regions at different times or perhaps this may have something to do with the fact that the Orthodox maintain that the divine liturgy service has remained essentially unchanged throughout its existence.

The Orthodox Church views the Last Supper celebrated by Jesus Christ before his crucifixion as the first divine liturgy. However, for centuries the proceedings of the liturgy were not precisely formulated.

⁶⁷The priest says that Otče naš (i.e. the Lord's Prayer) is always sung at all church gatherings.

The prayers, hymns, readings and movements of the celebrants were variable. By the fourth century St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom had standardized two forms of the divine liturgy, but even these continued to be modified over the centuries.⁶⁸

Several of the changes were a direct result of prevailing controversies. To cite a few examples, the Nicæan-Constantinopolitan Creed was written and incorporated into the liturgy in the fourth century to define the Church's position on the relationship of God the Father and the Son. Throughout the service the doxology to the Trinity is frequently repeated. One of the reasons for its repetition in the liturgy is

that during its formative period various heresies concerning the Trinity were flourishing, and it was necessary to counteract them by mentioning the distinct names of the three divine Persons as often as possible.⁶⁹

For similar reasons the second antiphon was incorporated into the service. This is a psalm which is a statement against the Nestorian heresy⁷⁰ that was prevalent during the sixth century.⁷¹

There were other reforms but not all of these were direct responses to controversies. During the first five centuries, catechumens were not permitted to attend the entire divine liturgy. They were not allowed to participate in the liturgy of the faithful during which holy communion was administered. Gradually the policy of forcing catechumens to leave was altered, and while they still could not participate in holy communion,

⁶⁸ See Chapter V, Section D, "Music."

⁶⁹ Shereghy, The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, p. 54.

⁷⁰ See Appendix A.

⁷¹ Op. cit., p. 18.

they were permitted to remain in the church during that part of the service. The vestiges of this practice remain in the divine liturgy of today for at the end of the liturgy of the catechumens the priest says:

All catechumens, depart. Depart, catechumens. All that are catechumens, depart. Let no catechumens remain. Let us, the faithful, again and again in peace pray unto the Lord.⁷²

Formerly the sermon followed the reading of the Gospel but it was moved to the last part of the divine liturgy.⁷³ One explanation accounting for the change suggests that it disrupted the continuity of the service.⁷⁴ Other explanations say that the time of the sermon was altered because many of the people did not arrive until the service was well in progress and would therefore not have been present for this instruction if it occurred early in the service.⁷⁵ It is difficult to establish when this shift was made for, in The Orthodox Christian Church Through The Ages, Sophie Koulomzin says that it had changed by the fourth century while the priests in Vancouver suggest it is a more recent innovation. In Meditations on the Divine Liturgy Gogol, who is writing about nineteenth century Russia, remarks that "in former times" the sermon followed the Gospel reading. While this modification has been adopted in many Churches there are still those who follow the old form. St. Nicholas Church in Vancouver is a case in point.

In his book, Gogol supplements most of the text of the service

⁷²The Divine Liturgy according to St. John Chrysostom, p. 45.

⁷³See footnote 65 of this chapter where it was stated that this order is still maintained today.

⁷⁴Gogol, Meditations on the Divine Liturgy, p. 26.

⁷⁵Bishop Antonuk and Father Vladimir, personal communication.

with an explanation of the actions and the words said. From his account we see that there have been few changes in the divine liturgy between the time of his writing and the present day. One of the most noticeable differences lies in the degree of verbal participation by the congregation. Whereas the Cherubic Hymn, Beatitudes, Lord's Prayer and petitions are sung by the choir today, they were sung by the people in Gogol's time. This is evident in his account of the divine liturgy where the text is divided into parts specified for the priest, choir and people. In the Churches in Vancouver the congregations now participate only by silent prayers and by bowing and crossing themselves. They have no spoken parts. It may be of interest to note that the priest in Vancouver mentioned that in some Churches (e.g. in Ottawa) the people have retained some of these verbal responses to the present day.

Gogol mentions that prior to his writing all of the people present would join the clergy in exchanging the "kiss of peace." "In former times all present in the church kissed one another, men other men, women other women, saying: Christ is between us, and others replying: He is and will be."⁷⁶ It was learned that "a long time ago," when all of the people received communion weekly, they would ask forgiveness of each other.⁷⁷ An individual would say 'Christ is between us' to which another (a member of the same sex) would respond 'He is and will be.' Today the only time when the people participate in a similar kind of activity⁷⁸

⁷⁶Gogol, Meditations on the Divine Liturgy, p. 36.

⁷⁷Bishop Antonuk and Father Vladimir, personal communication.

⁷⁸The bishop and the priest in Vancouver draw this relationship between the two activities.

is during the Easter service. At this divine liturgy they kiss one another and say Xristos voskres ('Christ is risen') to which Voistinnyj Xristos ('Verily Christ is risen') is replied. These same words are repeated many times throughout the Easter service by both priest and congregation.

In briefly pointing out some of the modifications that have occurred in the divine liturgy, attention was drawn to the fact that numerous modifications occurred in the formative centuries of Orthodoxy. The literature indicates that by the eighteenth century the divine liturgy had assumed a stable form. From Gogol's account of the liturgy as it was practiced in Russia in the mid nineteenth century, it becomes apparent that apart from the changes mentioned above the same worship service is practiced today. The Orthodox people and clergy themselves emphasize the stability of their divine liturgy and the unaltered continuance of the 'correct form' of worship.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

A. Taxonomy of Doukhobor Gatherings

One of the objectives of the thesis is to describe and categorize particular social occasions in an effort to explain the behavior that occurs on those social occasions. In cross-cultural studies, and in the study of the Doukhobors, the researcher is faced with the difficulty of conveying terms and concepts from one language and culture to another. It is a contention of the thesis that the failure of other writers to fully explicate what the Doukhobor Russian terms denoted has led to confusion with English glosses and concepts. It is therefore necessary to take the language of the speakers into consideration, using native concepts as a basis for constructing models to explain behavior.

In the past the Doukhobor community meeting has been defined by observers as a general purpose meeting at which a wide range of activities takes place. This definition may stem from the supposition that Doukhobors do not categorize and compartmentalize their activities so that religious, economic, educational and political activities can potentially occur at a sobranie. However, the authors argue that it cannot be assumed a priori that Doukhobors make no distinctions between kinds of activities.

Chapter IV consisted of descriptions of contemporary sobranija as they are carried out in both Grand Forks and Vancouver. It will be recalled that while Doukhobors refer to these meetings by the term sobranija, the meeting in Grand Forks is also referred to by the term

molenie. Molenie was used in speaking of the meeting which was held by Doukhobors in Russia. It is necessary to now consider the usage of these two terms. When we find that different words are being used by the speakers, the problem becomes one of identifying what distinctions, if any, are being made when one term is applied rather than another.

From the descriptions in Chapter IV it becomes apparent that there are several characteristics common to the molenie and sobranie. These characteristics are: particular greetings; reciting of prayers; singing of psalms; bowing and kissing; the presence of bread, salt and water; and the separation of males and females. Furthermore, there are unique characteristics which are exclusive to the term sobranie. A particular greeting, sitting throughout, singing of hymns and verbal discussions are features unique to the term sobranie. From this it becomes apparent that sobranie is used in referring to a set of characteristics which is shared with molenie and that the term sobranie is also used to refer to a set of characteristics which is not shared with molenie.

In considering these terms as they are defined by the Doukhobors, it will be noted that molenie is glossed as 'prayer meeting' while sobranie is glossed either as 'meeting' or 'gathering.' Considering these factors concomitantly we conclude that Doukhobors use the term sobranie on two levels. On the one hand sobranie is used by the Doukhobors in referring to any congregation of people or any gathering. On the other hand sobranie is used in a more specific sense to denote a particular greeting, and times of sitting, hymn singing and discussion. Henceforth when the word Sobranie is written with a capital "S" it will be used exclusively to designate the above mentioned meeting which includes hymn singing and discussions. The small "s" sobranie denotes any

type of gathering in a more general sense thus subsuming the upper case Sobranie.¹ The distinction between the two forms of the word sobranie is made here to facilitate the observer formulating the categories of the actor. When the word Sobranie is used to refer to the 'Community Meeting,' such a meeting includes only Doukhobors. In contrast, when sobranie is used in the other sense to denote a gathering, it can refer to gatherings involving Doukhobors or non-Doukhobors. Where the term sobranie is used with reference to non-Doukhor gatherings, it can be used to refer to such occasions as a Parent-Teachers' Association meeting or a city council meeting.² Perhaps a few illustrations will clarify the usages as they pertain to Doukhobors. It is possible to use sobranie in the general sense to mean a gathering which is a convention; and it is possible to use the term s"ezd ('regional meeting' or 'convention') in a more specific sense. Clearly all 'conventions' (s"ezdy) are 'gatherings' (sobranija) but not all 'gatherings' are 'conventions.' In a similar manner molenie ('prayer meeting'), Sobranie ('Community Meeting'), svad'ba ('wedding'), poxorony ('funeral'), pominki ('remembrance service'), sxodka ('local meeting'), spevka ('choir practice'), beseda ('a meeting for discussion') are special purpose meetings--all of which can be referred to as

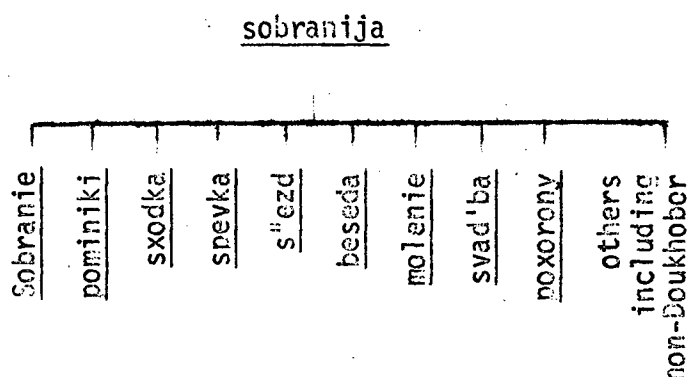
¹Concerning the use of the term sobranie, the distinction between actor and observer categories and the use of the word nacerima made by Werner Cohn was found to be useful in this discussion. For a full discussion, see Cohn's article "'Religion' in Non-Western Cultures?" American Anthropologist, Vol. 69, No. 1, February 1967, pp. 73-76.

²It is possible that Doukhobors make some distinction between terms for their own meetings and those for non-Doukhor meetings. However the manner in which the differentiation may be accomplished, has not been investigated in this thesis.

sobranija or 'gatherings.' This distinction becomes all the more apparent when diagrammatically set out as in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1

FOLK TAXONOMY OF DOUKHOBOR GATHERINGS*



*This taxonomy of gatherings is intended to be illustrative and is not meant to be exhaustive. There may be other special purpose meetings which could also be included.

Figure 1 indicates that the word sobranie is used in two senses. On one level, sobranie denotes any gathering while on the other level Sobranie means a particular type of meeting just as, for example, molenie denotes a particular type of meeting. The folk taxonomy shows that Sobranie and molenie are only two of many specific types of sobranie but the reader is reminded that these two meetings are the primary concern of the following discussion.

The contemporary molenie in Vancouver and Grand Forks and the

Sobranie in Vancouver are very predictable in that they are held regularly. Other meetings are less predictable in that they occur only when the occasion arises. In the article "A Fresh Approach to the Problem of Magic and Religion," Nischa Titiev classifies ceremonies as either calendric or critical. He proposes that calendric ceremonies are scheduled, recurrent and predictable in that they occur in fixed forms and at set times even though the participants may vary. Calendric ceremonies are social or communal in nature and therefore invariably tend to disappear when a society loses its distinctiveness or radically alters its old way of life.³ Titiev speaks of crisis ceremonies designed to meet immediate needs and consequently these ceremonies cannot be announced, scheduled, or prepared for too far in advance. When a personal or private need arises such as illness, death or marriage, ceremonies are called to meet the needs of the concerned individuals or groups.

It is useful to consider Titiev's classification in relation to the various kinds of Doukhobor meetings. Inasmuch as molenija occur regularly, on a particular day and in a particular manner, they can be called calendric meetings. Molenija formerly were the only meetings of this type. As pointed out, in Vancouver and Grand Forks, molenija are still regularly scheduled occurrences. In contrast, Sobranija gradually evolved in Canada and occurred with increasing frequency.⁴ In the past then, Sobranija were unscheduled or critical meetings and even now remain unscheduled among those Doukhobors living in Grand Forks, while they have

³Nischa Titiev, "A Fresh Approach to the Problem of Magic and Religion," in Reader in Comparative Religion, edited by E. A. Lessa and E. Z. Vogt, Second Edition, U.S.A., Harper and Row, 1965, p. 317.

⁴See Chapter IV, Section F

become calendric meetings in Vancouver. The other Doukhobor meetings such as weddings and funerals can be classified as critical meetings, arising to serve the needs of a particular occasion.

In the previous discussion the focus was upon the terms used to refer to meetings. In relation to the first part of this chapter, two meanings of the word sobranie have been distinguished and these have been separated from the meaning of the word molenie. Attention will be re-directed to the descriptions and to the components that constitute present day molenija and Sobranija. From these descriptions we find that there are particular greetings that are given at the beginning of the molenija. There are two greetings either of which can be said, depending upon the particular Doukhobor faction with which the individual identifies and the allegiance of those who are holding the meeting. The males and females stand on opposite sides of the hall in a "V" formation with bread, salt and water between them (See Diagram 1). Those present recite prayers, sing psalms, and bow and kiss. The order of these proceedings is not variable. People stand throughout the entire meeting and there is little movement by individuals except for those activities carried out in common with the others present.⁵

At Sobranija there is only one greeting that is given. The males and females are separated by the bread, salt and water. People sit during the singing of hymns and the discussions that ensue. There is, however, flexibility in this pattern of hymn singing and discussion as the frequency of hymns and the amount of discussion are variable. Throughout

⁵These last two characteristics are principally the result of observations made by the researchers. This is not meant to imply that the participants do not recognize the characteristics, but only that they are not necessarily mentioned by the participants.

the Sobranija some people freely come and go. The above mentioned characteristics of molenija and Sobranija are presented in Table I.

TABLE I

CHARACTERISTICS OF MOLENIE AND SOBRANIE

<u>molenie</u> 'prayer meeting'	<u>sobranie</u> 'gathering'	<u>Sobranie</u> 'Community Meeting'
1. bread, salt, water 2. separation of sexes 3. greeting either <u>slava Gospody</u> or <u>slavim Bogu-Bog</u> <u>proslav'sja</u> 4. prayers 5. psalms 6. bowing and kissing 7. standing in "Y" 8. --- 9. --- 10. order invariable 11. restricted movement		1. bread, salt, water 2. separation of sexes 3. greeting always <u>slava Gospody</u> 4. ----* 5. --- 6. --- 7. sitting 8. discussion 9. hymns 10. order variable 11. less restricted movement

*The broken line beside a number indicates the absence of that characteristic.

With the aid of Table I, it is possible to consider how previous authors have used the term sobranie. Examples from the literature will not be quoted at length in this chapter but brief summarizations of the types of references will be made here. A review of the relevant texts is presented in Appendix B and the reader is referred to these detailed excerpts. Charles Frantz speaks of the "sobranie or village and community meeting" at which there is "the customary bowing and kissing."⁶ He describes these "community meetings" as structured very informally and he maintains that a wide range of activities occur. Nevertheless Frantz argues that the sobranie is the central political assembly of the Doukhobors. Koozma Tarasoff often refers to "sobranyas [sic]" as "religious and business meetings" but in other instances he refers to "traditional prayer services or religious sobranyas [sic]." By examining the references of these two authors it can be concluded that the term sobranie has not been consistently applied. Perhaps it is necessary to examine in detail a specific passage which exemplifies such usages.

One of the most important institutions in Doukhobor life is the community meeting, the sobranya. Here is the Church, the school, the fraternal society, and the government ... it is assumed that as the same God is in every heart, the desired unanimity depends upon each person's giving up his own individuality so that the God within him may merge with the God in others, and in this corporate union is found the consensus of the meeting The effectiveness of the sobranya lies not in a building, which is unnecessary; not in ritual, which is minimal; not in the preaching, which is incidental; not in personal communions and prayer, for which there is no provision; and not in the heightened sensitivity of mind and heart reaching for truth, because this is not characteristic.⁷

⁶Charles Frantz, "The Doukhobor Political System," p. 73.

⁷Hugh Herbison, "Religion," in The Doukhobors of British Columbia, edited by Harry B. Hawthorn, Vancouver, J. M. Dent and Sons, 1955, p. 168.

It is important to understand how the word "sobranya [sic] " is used in this text. The author states in the first sentence that he is using the word "sobranya [sic] " to describe the "community meeting." Clearly, his use of sobranie is limited, by definition, to Sobranie as a particular meeting. While the author states this, it is evident that he is sometimes implicitly using the term in a more general sense to refer to several different types of meetings. Consequently, although the author states that he is referring to a single type of meeting (Sobranie) in fact he has confounded two levels of contrast. If one assumes, as Herbison does, that a Sobranie is a 'Community Meeting' then it should be possible to find those characteristics which were listed under the heading Sobranija in Table I. Herbison considers "ritual," "preaching" (i.e. discussion)⁸ and "prayer" to be part of the Sobranie. By grouping these characteristics under his term "sobranya [sic] " it is possible to conceptualize what the author is referring to (Table II).

⁸There is actually no "preaching" among Doukhobors in the usual sense of that term. Presumably the author is referring to personal discourses by members of the group (i.e. discussion).

TABLE II

CHARACTERISTICS OF HERBISON'S VIEW OF SOBRANYA

"sobranya or community meeting"

1. ritual
2. preaching (discussion)
3. prayer

By incorporating these same characteristics with the framework of Table I, it is now possible to visualize where misconceptions can arise (Table III).

TABLE III
CATEGORIZATION OF HERBISON'S CHARACTERISTICS
ACCORDING TO MOLENIE AND SOBRANIE

<u>sobranie</u> 'gathering'	
<u>molenie</u> 'prayer meeting'	<u>Sobranie</u> 'Community Meeting'
1. ritual	1. ritual
2. ---	2. preaching (discussion)
3. prayers	3. ---

In Table III, ritual has been included under both molenie and Sobranie as the author does not specify what he considers to be ritual. If ritual is broadly defined as patterned behavior then, because there are predictable elements in both molenie and Sobranie, ritual can justifiably be placed in both categories. For all intents and purposes, the term ritual could justifiably be eliminated from both categories.

From Tables I and III it is seen that "preaching" (discussion) can only be attributed to Sobranie. In the same way, "prayer" can only be included under the term molenie. By virtue of the fact that "preaching" (discussion) is exclusive to Sobranie and "prayer" is exclusive to molenie, it is obvious that two separate meetings have been treated as one and that both have been referred to by the general

meaning of the word sobranie.

As previously suggested, molenie and Sobranie are mutually exclusive meetings and unless they are so treated confusion will result. Misconceptions result when the researcher, as an observer, fails to conceptualize distinctions the participants themselves recognize. The recent book by Woodcock and Avakumovic (1968) provides a good illustration of the consequences of failing to make this distinction. They state:

The sobranie appears to have served three purposes, as it does among the Doukhobors to this day. First it was a religious meeting, beginning with the chanting of hymns and psalms around the table carrying the symbolic bread and salt. Then, when a level of common feeling had been established by this kind of spiritual participation, the meeting would turn to discuss the every day business of the community This brings us to the final function of the sobranie. It gave the leader the means of ascertaining the feeling of the group on particular issues before he reached his own decision.⁹

In this description a reference is made to "psalms" and these were found to be characteristic of a molenie. Other references are made to "hymns" and "business discussions," found only to be characteristic of a Sobranie. Thus elements of both the molenie and Sobranie are seen by the authors as components of a single entity.

Because other authors have not used the term sobranie in their writings, it is not possible to establish unequivocally what type of meeting or meetings are being described. Zubek and Solberg relate the events of a "religious service" in their book Doukhobors At War. They speak of separation of the sexes in a "V" formation, prayers, psalms, hymns, and bowing and kissing. In Doukhobors As They Are, Stoochnoff gives an account of a Doukhobor meeting in which he refers to the sep-

⁹Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, pp. 43-44.

aration of the sexes, bowing, psalms, prayers and messages (i.e. discussions). These illustrations indicate the writers' lack of specificity with respect to the type of meeting being discussed and it would appear that no distinction has been made between the molenie and the Sobranie. It is not possible to present a detailed criticism for the cases where the word sobranie has not been used in the literature but nonetheless it is obvious that often some confusion is apparent in the use of English glosses.¹⁰

It can be concluded that in the Russian language, as used by Doukhobors, the term used to refer to a 'gathering' and a 'Community Meeting' can be the same. In one sense of the word, Sobranie is viewed as a particular type of meeting; but in the other sense, sobranie is viewed as any gathering of people. It is these separate connotations, the particular and the general, that are not easily conveyed from one language to another.

The previous discussion has demonstrated that in the past Doukhobors viewed the molenie and Sobranie as separate meetings and that these meetings are still differentiated in Grand Forks, British Columbia.¹¹ Although some of the Doukhobors interviewed in Vancouver explicitly differentiated between molenie and Sobranie, it is apparent that this distinction is becoming increasingly vague to them. Everyone made some distinction between "formality and informality"; "standing and sitting"; "psalms and hymns"; "absence of discussion and discussion." While the

¹⁰The reader is again referred to Appendix B for these and additional excerpts.

¹¹See Chapter IV, Section F.

terms molenie and Sobranie were not always used, a distinction between types of activities was made nevertheless. It should be emphasized that although this distinction is apparent to the participants, the tendency is for them to consider the Vancouver Sobranie in terms of "formality and informality" and not in terms of the words molenie and Sobranie.

To the extent that the Vancouver Sobranie is perceived in this way, it is suggested that molenie and Sobranie are being conceptualized as a single meeting and that the term Sobranie is gradually being attributed another meaning by Vancouver Doukhobors. As the distinction between molenie and Sobranie becomes less precisely defined, it can be suggested that in Vancouver these meetings may eventually be referred to simply by the term Sobranie, a term which is consistent with that used in the literature to date. Nevertheless it is important to remark that this does not necessarily imply that an extensive range of activities is possible, a view which is not consistent with that presented in the literature. Again, it must be recognized that at the present time, within the Vancouver Sobranie, there still exist two separate parts which correspond to molenie and Sobranie.

B. Taxonomy of Russian Orthodox Gatherings

Having presented a taxonomy of Doukhobor gatherings, attention will now be directed to the construction of such a taxonomy for the Russian Orthodox speakers. Because of the presumed historical connection between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Doukhobors, consideration will be given to the Russian Orthodox classificatory scheme of gatherings. A comparison of the resulting taxonomies will be made to see whether gatherings are ordered in a similar manner and to see if, on an analytical

level, similar classifications are being made with either the same or different terms.

At the most general level, Russian Orthodox speakers use the word sobranie to mean any gathering. Further, gatherings are differentiated into two main categories--'religious meetings' (religioznie sobranija) and 'secular meetings' (svetskie sobranija). As the interest of this discussion centers upon the divine liturgy and 'religious meetings,' those meetings which are categorized as secular will not be discussed. 'Religious meetings' are dichotomized into 'God's services' or 'divine services' (bogosluženie) and 'church meetings' (cerkovnie sobranija). 'God's services' are liturgies or public worship services conducted by the priest. The priest must be vested at all of these services. In contrast to this, 'church meetings' are parish meetings at which the priest may or may not be present. If the priest attends, he is not vested. Each of these categories of 'religious meetings' are subdivided into numerous types of meetings. 'God's services' (bogosluženie) are divided into:

1. 'divine liturgy' (božestvannaja liturgija)
2. 'vespers' (večernja)
3. 'matins' (utrenja)
4. 'wedding' (venčanie)
5. 'baptism' (kreščenie)
6. 'churaching' (vocerkovlenie)
7. 'funeral service' (panixida)
8. 'thanksgiving service' (moleben)

9. others¹²

There are also several types of 'church meetings' (cerkovnie sobranija) among which are the following:

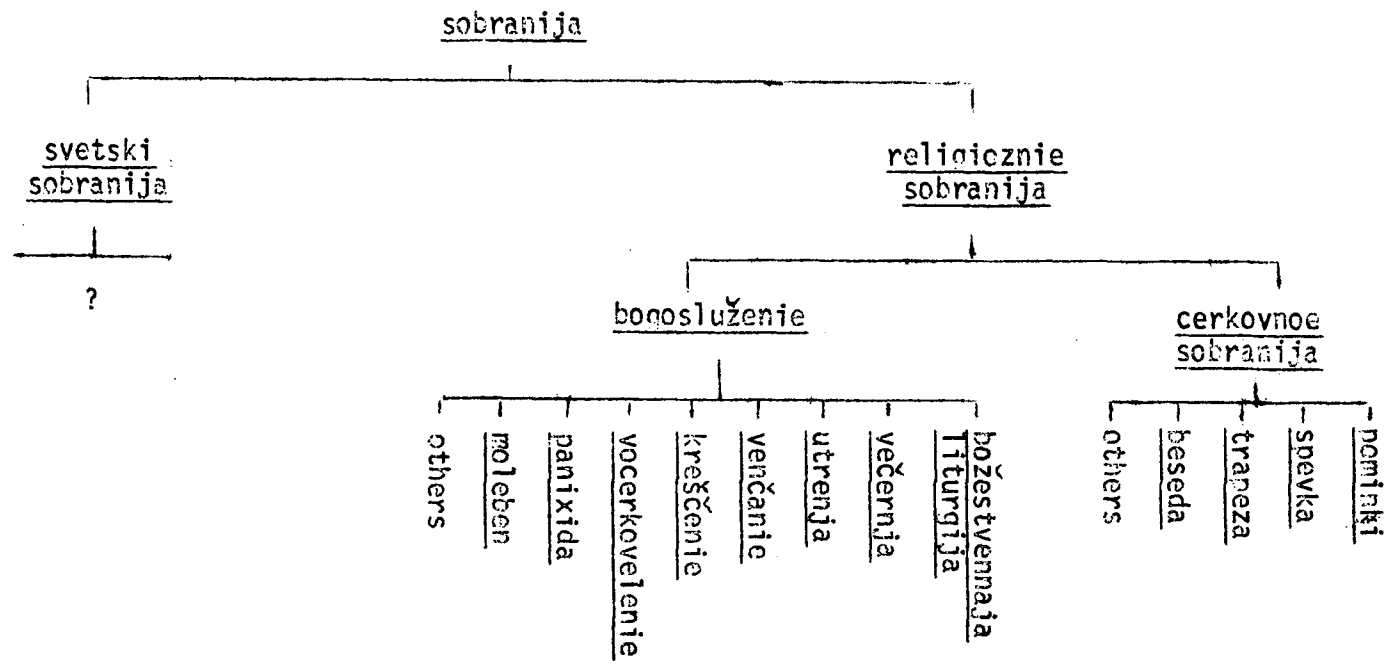
1. 'remembrance service' (pominki)
2. 'choir practice' (spevka)
3. 'dinner following a service' (trapeza)
4. 'a meeting at which the priest gives a talk' (beseda)
5. others

The Russian Orthodox categorization of gatherings is shown in Figure 2.

¹²It is recognized that both lists of meetings are not exhaustive. However it should be noted that the meetings which are listed here are those most commonly held.

FIGURE 2

TAXONOMY OF RUSSIAN ORTHODOX GATHERINGS*



*Source: Russian Orthodox priest in Vancouver.

The taxonomies of gatherings for Russian Orthodox speakers and for Doukhobors (Figures 1 and 2) show that, at the most general level, both groups use the word sobranija to denote gatherings. At the most specific level of the taxonomies, Russian Orthodox speakers and Doukhobors distinguish particular meetings but there are only two terms which are common to both. Spevka is the word both groups use to denote a 'choir practice' and the word pominki similarly denotes a 'remembrance service' which is held six weeks after the burial of the deceased followed by a meal provided by the next-of-kin.

It is evident that for Russian Orthodox speakers there are two intermediary levels that do not appear in the Doukhobor classification. The dichotomies of 'religious meeting-secular meeting' and 'God's services-church meetings' are aspects which are absent in the Doukhobor scheme. From this it can be concluded that Doukhobors do not discriminate religious and non-religious meetings at this level. Because Russian Orthodox speakers distinguish 'secular meetings' from 'religious meetings,' the taxonomy of gatherings would suggest that Russian Orthodox speakers distinguish secular activities from religious activities. The Doukhobor taxonomy of gatherings, in which there is no polarization of 'secular meetings' and 'religious meetings,' would therefore suggest that Doukhobors do not distinguish secular and religious activities in this way. At this point one may ask upon what criteria, if any, Doukhobors classify their activities within the various meetings.

C. Categorization of the Characteristics of Doukhobor Meetings

The primary concern of this section lies with the categorization

of the characteristics which constitute the molenie and Sobranie.

Consideration will first be given to the molenie and the manner in which its attributes are ordered by the Doukhobors. The molenie is regarded as one of three Doukhobor obrada (tri duxoborčeskix obrada), the other two being svad'ba ('wedding') and poxorony ('funeral'). The phrase tri duxoborčeskix obrada can be glossed as 'three Doukhobor traditions.'

As the term 'traditions' refers specifically to particular meetings, the phrase will be glossed here as 'three traditional Doukhobor meetings.'

The word obrad is defined by Doukhobors as 'custom' or 'tradition'¹³ and the 'prayer meeting,' 'wedding' and 'funeral' were, and still are, considered to be the 'three traditional Doukhobor meetings.' None of the other meetings previously mentioned are grouped with these meetings and called tri duxoborčeskix obrada. The grouping of the various meetings is indicated by Figure 3.

Not only do Doukhobors categorize 'prayer meeting,' 'wedding' and 'funeral' as tri duxoborčeskix obrada, but they distinguish specific characteristics within the meetings as obrady--'customs' or 'traditions.' It is apparent that there is more than one usage of the term obrad and thus it becomes necessary to indicate this difference. When the word obrad is used to refer to an entire meeting (e.g. molenie, svad'ba, poxorony) obrad will be written with a capital "O". When the term is used with reference to particular activities within a meeting, it will be written with a small "o." The participants identify some character-

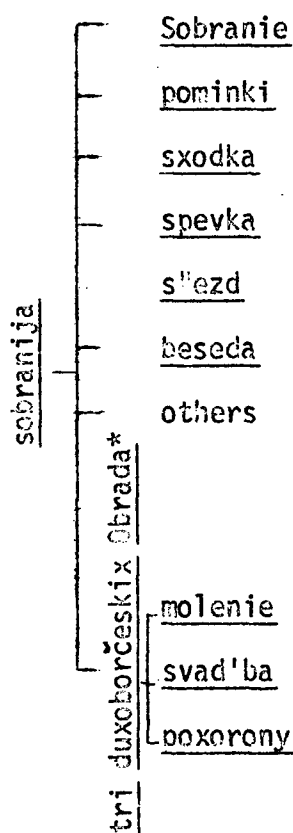
¹³Other definitions of obrad that were given in the interviews include: the way something is done; the way it was in the past; that's our style. The dictionary definition of obrad is "rite" but Doukhobors do not use this gloss in describing their activities.

istics within the molenie by the term obrad. The appropriate greeting, the separation of males and females and the presence of bread, salt and water are referred to as 'customs' or 'traditions.'

FIGURE 3

TRI DUXOBORČESKIX OBRADA-- 'THREE TRADITIONAL DOUKHOBOC MEETINGS':

'PRAYER MEETING,' 'WEDDING,' 'FUNERAL'



*The capitalization of Obrada is discussed in the text.

In examining the characteristics of these three meetings, it is necessary to understand how the characteristics are seen by the Doukhobors and how they are differentiated from the elements in the meetings which are not referred to as obrady. We find that certain activities within the molenie are identified by the participants as liturgija. In the molenie the reciting of prayers, singing of psalms and bowing and kissing are called liturgija. 'Acts of worship' is a rough gloss for the term which Doukhobors define as "reciting prayers," "singing psalms," "bowing and kissing," "those things which are not obrad," "the prayer worship." It is said that liturgija denotes 'actions directed toward God.' Thus it can be concluded that in the molenie some activities are categorized as the 'customary' or 'traditional' activities (obrady) as distinguished from those activities which are considered to be 'actions directed toward God' (liturgija).

Within the other meetings identified as the 'three traditional Doukhobor meetings,' corresponding demarcations of characteristics are found. The first part of the 'wedding' and the 'funeral' are composed of characteristics similar to those of the molenie. At both 'weddings' and 'funerals,' prayers are recited, psalms are sung and bowing and kissing are carried out. These activities are likewise called liturgija. The greeting, separation of the sexes, and the bread, salt and water which are part of these occasions, are similarly known as obrady. In addition, the hymns which are sung as another part of 'weddings' and 'funerals' are called obrady. There are characteristics which are part of these two meetings but which are said to fall into neither of the groupings liturgija nor obrady. The Doukhobors consider, for instance, separation of the relatives from the remaining people or the communal

dinner at a 'wedding' and 'funeral' as characteristics which are simply "part of" the 'wedding' and 'funeral.' They do not classify these activities by any special terms.

Initially it was found that the 'prayer meeting,' 'wedding' and 'funeral' were the 'three traditional Doukhobor meetings.' It was then established that Doukhobors do distinguish particular characteristics as liturgija or obrady. The same characteristics which were 'actions directed toward God' and termed liturgija were found to be common to all three meetings. Similarly, the characteristics of the 'prayer meeting' which were called obrady or 'custom' were apparent in the 'wedding' and 'funeral.' These classifications are summarized in Table IV.

CLASSIFICATION OF CHARACTERISTICS WITHIN THE 'THREE TRADITIONAL DOUKHOBOR MEETINGS'

*Doukhotors define obrad as
'custom' or 'tradition' and
liturgija as 'acts of worship'

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The previous section of this chapter indicated that, in reference to themselves, Doukhobors do not make the Orthodox distinction between 'religious meetings' and 'secular meetings.' But, as the above discussion indicates, they do differentiate three particular meetings from all others and they do distinguish between particular characteristics within these three meetings. The same characteristics of the 'prayer meeting,' 'wedding' and 'funeral' are classified as either 'actions directed toward God' (liturgija) or 'customary' (obradny) and the Doukhobors speak of part of the 'wedding' and 'funeral' as "a little molenie."¹⁴ However, there are many more characteristics which make up the 'wedding' and the 'funeral' and which are exclusive to each.

The researchers have interpreted their explanations to mean that all characteristics of the molenie are present in the 'wedding' and 'funeral' but that these characteristics are not always identical. A greeting is given at the 'prayer meeting,' 'wedding' and 'funeral' but the greetings are different on these occasions; prayers are recited and sung; bowing and kissing are carried out among members of the same sex at the 'prayer meeting' but at the 'funeral,' the deceased is kissed, and at the 'wedding,' the bride and groom kiss the next-of-kin. Doukhobors classify the same characteristics of the 'prayer meeting,' 'wedding,' and 'funeral' with the same terms, liturgija and obradny. The characteristics of the molenie would therefore seem to be the common denominator which can be used in accounting for why Doukhobors group the 'prayer meeting,' 'wedding,' and 'funeral' together as the 'three traditional Doukhobor meetings.' Although these findings are the result of a preliminary investigation of

¹⁴From interviews with Doukhobor informants.

the 'wedding' and 'funeral' in comparison with the 'prayer meeting,' the relationship between these three meetings appears to be an important one. It is recognized that further investigations along these lines are necessary before conclusive results can be made on this particular point.

Because Doukhobors categorize the three meetings together as tri duxoborčeskix Obrada and because the three meetings have common activities which Doukhobors call liturgija, it can be concluded that the 'prayer meeting,' 'funeral' and 'wedding' are set apart from other types of meetings. Nevertheless it is not possible to infer that 'actions directed toward God' (liturgija) are equated with "religious" and that 'customary' activities (obrady) are equated with "secular" by the Doukhobors.

Doukhorism is a wholistic concept; it is a way of life which does not separate the "religious" from the "secular."¹⁵ Therefore, it is also not possible to infer that Doukhobors separate the tri duxoborčeskix Obrada as religious meetings and that these are opposed with other, or secular, meetings. To repeat the point, this classification of 'prayer meeting,' 'funeral,' and 'wedding' can only be taken to suggest that Doukhobors separate three meetings from all other meetings and that within these meetings, activities are classified as 'acts of worship.' While the 'wedding' and 'funeral' have been considered in this context, subsequent discussions will revert to the Sunday molenie and Sobranie.

Doukhobors say that the Sobranie or 'Community Meeting' can itself be called a traditional meeting (Olrad). However the Sobranie is not regarded as one of the 'three traditional Doukhor meetings.' Within the Sobranie there are no characteristics which the Doukhobors view as

¹⁵Doukhobors do not apply to themselves a term which could be glossed as 'religion.'

liturgija. All of the components, with the exception of discussion, are said to be obrady or 'customary' activities. In other words, the greeting, separation of the sexes, bread, salt, water and hymns are the 'customary' or 'traditional' attributes of the Sobranie. The discussions that take place within a Sobranie are categorized by a different term. Porjadok is the word Doukhobors apply to the periods of discussion in the Sobranie. There are several definitions of porjadok which Doukhobors give in explaining the term. This word is glossed as 'habit.' It is also considered to mean "form" or "personal way of doing things." Because the term is applied to activities that "can change at any time," Doukhobors contrast porjadok with obrad and confine the latter word to activities which cannot change because "it is the Doukhobor way" (see Table V). Thus we see that the Sobranie and the molenie are differentiated beyond the attributes as they are listed in Table I. It has now been demonstrated that Doukhobors group the components of the Sobranie into obrady and porjadoky while those of the molenie are divided into liturgija and obrady.

TABLE V

CATEGORIZATION OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF MOLENIE AND SOBRANIE

<u>sobranija</u> 'gatherings'	
<u>tri duxoborčeskix Obrada</u> one of 'three traditional Doukhobor meetings'	<u>Obrad</u> 'a traditional meeting'
<u>molenie</u> 'prayer meeting'	<u>Sobranie</u> 'Community Meeting'
1. bread, salt, water (<u>obrad</u>)*	1. bread, salt, water (<u>obrad</u>)
2. separation of sexes (<u>obrad</u>)	2. separation of sexes (<u>obrad</u>)
3. greeting (<u>obrad</u>)	3. greeting (<u>obrad</u>)
4. prayers (<u>liturgija</u>)	4. ---
5. psalms (<u>liturgija</u>)	5. ---
6. bowing and kissing (<u>liturgija</u>)	6. ---
7. ---	7. discussion (<u>porjadok</u>)
8. ---	8. hymns (<u>obrad</u>)

*Doukhobors define
obrad as 'custom' or 'tradition';
liturgija as 'acts of worship';
porjadok as 'habit.'

In speaking of characteristics or attributes, both actions of the participants (e.g. bowing and kissing) and physical properties (e.g. bread, salt, water) have been taken into account. By concentrating on the type

of activities (i.e. what people do) within the two meetings, it becomes possible to reduce the characteristics further. All of the actions in the molenie are classified as liturgija or 'acts of worship.' There are two types of actions in the Sobranie--obradny or 'traditional' actions and porjadoky or 'habitual' actions. While these two types of actions constitute Sobranija, there can be variations in the nature of 'Community Meetings.' For example, the Sobranija held on Sundays at the Russian People's Home was previously described as primarily hymn singing with some discussion. Consequently most of the actions (i.e. hymn singing) are obradny or 'traditional' actions. Because the Sobranija at Lockdale Hall were described as discussions with some hymn singing, the reverse applies. That is, most of the actions (i.e. discussions) at the Lockdale Sobranija are classified as porjadoky or 'habitual' actions. In sum, molenija are characterized by 'acts of worship' (liturgija) while Sobranija are characterized by 'traditional' and 'habitual' actions (obradny and porjadoky).

It must be recalled that at the Vancouver Sobranie no explicit distinction is made between the terms molenie and Sobranie although it was established that Doukhobors recognize attributes definitive of the molenie (liturgija and obradny) and of the Sobranie (obradny and porjadoky). It has already been remarked that psalms are considered to be liturgija but hymns are regarded as obradny. While hymns have been categorized as obradny they have not, in the past, been part of the molenie. In Vancouver, some hymns are now sung during the first part of the meeting

or molenie, usually to the exclusion of psalms.¹⁶ This can be taken as indicating that there are modifications in the constituents of the molenie. This, combined with the fact that the distinction between molenie and Sobranie is becoming less explicit, leads the researchers to suggest that the Vancouver Sobranie is assuming a different form from that of the traditional prayer meeting.¹⁷ Whereas the entire Sunday meeting in Vancouver is considered to be an Obrad ('traditional meeting'), it is not regarded as one of the tri duxoborčeskix Obrada ('three traditional Doukhobor meetings'). On the basis of the preceeding discussion it is reasonable to hypothesize that the Vancouver Sobranie will come to be regarded by Doukhobors in Vancouver as one of the 'three traditional Doukhobor meetings.'

D. Categorization of the Characteristics of Divine Liturgy

It is interesting to consider whether or not Russian Orthodox speakers categorize attributes of a Sunday divine liturgy service. The term liturgija can be applied by the Orthodox to all the meetings which fall under the category of 'God's services' (see Figure 2). In this sense liturgija denotes 'public worship services.' Additionally, the 'divine liturgy' service (božestvennaja liturgija) may be simply referred to as the 'liturgy' (liturgija). Yet, further distinctions within the divine liturgy itself are not made with this term. It is explained that because the entire service is 'public worship' (liturgija) all the characteristics which together constitute that service are 'public worship'

¹⁶Refer to the section on music in Chapter IV where psalms and hymns are discussed.

¹⁷For a more complete discussion of this lack of clarity between molenie and Sobranie see Chapter VI, Section A.

and individual attributes are not specifically referred to as liturgija. This explanation is interesting insofar as it contrasts with the Doukhor usage of liturgija which is applied to individual characteristics within some meetings.

The term obrad is glossed by Orthodox speakers as 'customs' or 'old traditions.' They say that obrad refers to "our rules," and "how traditions are performed." In illustrating the use of the term, the priest remarked that the singing of antiphons or the lighting of candles before the icons and the accompanying crossing of oneself are examples of when the term obrad might be used. Another word is often introduced in describing actions such as these. Obyčaj is glossed as 'custom' or 'tradition.' When people cross themselves at the beginning and the end of the divine liturgy or when the petition 'Lord have mercy' is repeated, these are said to be 'customs' or 'traditions.' From these and other examples it can be suggested that the two terms obrad and obyčaj are often used interchangeably. There are two words, and Russian Orthodox speakers say that there is a difference between them, but they were unable to categorize characteristics according to the criteria which they had set. However, it does appear that sometimes (though not usually) 'customs' (obyčai) are classified into one of two types. 'Church customs' (cerkovnie obyčai) are distinguished from 'native customs' (narodie obyčai). The former phrase is used in speaking of rules such as the ones specifying that only the priest may touch the throne and that everyone must be standing when the royal doors are open. The latter phrase applies, for example, to the bringing of bread and eggs to the Easter divine liturgy. From this the researchers surmise that the phrase 'church customs' denotes features which are considered to be Church law

whereas 'native customs' are features which are executed according to local traditions.

The findings show that in discussing characteristics of the divine liturgy service there is a lack of clarity among Orthodox speakers in the uses of the terms obrad ('custom' or 'old tradition'), obyčaj ('custom' or 'tradition'), cerkovnie obyčaj ('church customs') and narodie obyčaj ('native customs'). These findings are of importance in a comparative study for they would seem to indicate that for the Russian Orthodox speakers this categorization of activities is not commonly used. It has been found that particular components of the divine liturgy are not categorized by the concepts liturgija, obrad, and obyčaj. There is considerable difference in the use of these terms between Orthodox and Doukhobors, who apply two of the terms to specific features within their meetings. Another difference lies in the fact that while the Russian Orthodox refer to obrad as well as to obyčaj, Doukhobors do not use the latter term in the context of their Sunday meetings.

Doukhobors view the actions of a molenie as 'acts of worship' while Russian Orthodox speakers view the divine liturgy as 'public worship.' It is interesting to note that neither of the groups use the term 'ritual' in speaking of their meetings. While neither of the groups apply the term ritual ('ritual') to their own activities, they do use this word in referring to the activities of "others." Thus Russian Orthodox speakers mention that they do not have 'ritual' but that other faiths do. Likewise, Doukhobors say that 'rituals' are not a part of their meetings but that the Russian Orthodox services are 'rituals.'

This can be taken as evidence that a differentiation is made between one's own activities and the activities of "others" and that the term

ritual is applied to the latter. Ritual can have the connotation of a meaningless or empty act and this may serve as a reasonable explanation of why the term is confined to the activities of others.¹⁸ If one of the connotations of ritual implies a meaningless act and, if the term is not applied to one's own activities, then it would be consistent to conclude that one's own activities are seen as meaningful. It was pointed out that of the four terms ritual, rite, ceremony and custom, custom alone does not convey the idea of a meaningless act. Even though Doukhobors and Russian Orthodox speakers are referring to different things, they gloss the word obrad as 'custom,' 'tradition' or 'way of doing things.' It was noted that the translation "rite" is given in the dictionary for the term obrad. On the basis of the data collected, it was found that "rite" is never used as an English gloss for the word obrad as used in the context of Sunday meetings. It can be suggested that the term rite is not used by the speakers because, like ritual, it can have disparaging overtones and therefore the speakers choose to define obrad in terms of 'custom' and 'tradition' (i.e. not-meaningless acts). It can be concluded that Doukhobors and Russian Orthodox speakers will apply the gloss 'ritual' to the activities of "others" but not to their own activities. It can also be concluded that in referring to their own Sunday meetings, neither group

¹⁸The authors constructed a matrix of all possible definitions of the concepts ritual, rite, ceremony and custom in order to be able to delineate the shared and unique meanings among the words. It was found that one meaning of ritual, rite, and ceremony connotes "meaningless or empty" acts. However custom is set apart from the other three terms because it is not appropriated this meaning, indicating that the word custom is not used when referring to meaningless or external actions. This and related problems are discussed at length in an unpublished paper by C. Hewell titled "Aspects of the terms ritual, rite, ceremony, custom: an application to the Russian Orthodox Church."

of speakers will use the gloss 'rite.'

E. Spatial Usage and the Properties of Doukhobor Meetings

The previous discussions have demonstrated that Doukhobors make a distinction between the molenie and Sobranie and that it is possible to see this distinction by considering the actions within these meetings. The sections concerned with the use of space are intended to determine whether there is a correspondence between the patterns of observable behavior and the linguistic groupings of actions within the meetings.

Chapter IV described the proceedings at a molenie and Sobranie. There, it was stated that as one enters, the males are always on the left side of the hall and females are on the right side. It was also noted that from the time people enter the hall until the time they leave, men and women remain on their respective sides of the hall. Doukhobors say that it is their custom that the men and women do not stand together. From the Doukhobor point of view the sides are reversed, for the positioning is interpreted from behind the table in the east end. Thus as one stands behind the table with the bread, salt and water and looks toward the entrance in the west end of the hall, males are on the right side and females on the left.¹⁹ Doukhobors speak of this separation in terms of left and right and they say that men are on the right hand of God.

The descriptions of the meetings indicated that there is a set order governing not only the placement of men and women at the molenie, but also governing the order in which men and women participate. The men say their prayers first; the men bow and kiss before the women.²⁰ In

¹⁹This point was discussed in Chapter IV, Section A 2.

²⁰See Chapter IV, Section E.

the molenie, a correspondence can be drawn between right and male, and between male and primacy of performance. Consequently there must also be a correspondence between left, female and secondary performance.

In Grand Forks and Vancouver the men and women stand in a "V" formation throughout the entire molenie, with the table between them. In Vancouver when the molenie concludes, the men and women move to the chairs which are west of the table, roughly in the middle of the hall. During the Sobranie they remain seated on their respective sides. In all cases, the actions which are part of the molenie have been described as liturgija ('acts of worship'). As already mentioned, the actions which comprise the Sobranie in Vancouver are classified as obrad ('custom') and porjadok ('habit'). (Refer again to Table V.) Considering the above points in relation to one another, two deductions can be made: (1) liturgija or 'acts of worship' occur in the east end of the hall while people are standing around the table, and (2) obrad and porjadok or 'customary acts' and 'habitual acts' take place while people are seated to the west of the table (see Diagram 3).

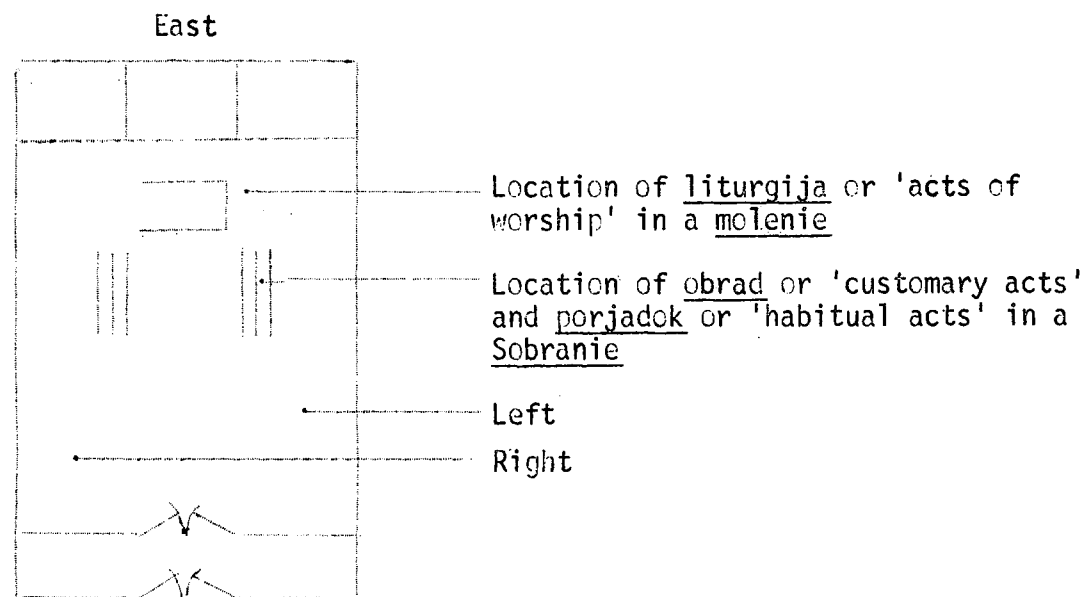
Because it is assumed that space is attributed meaning by the individuals who use that space, and because it was found that there are distinct linguistic and spatial patterns in the Doukhobor Sunday meetings, it can be concluded that there is a correspondence between the linguistic and spatial configurations.

F. Spatial Usage and the Properties of the Divine Liturgy

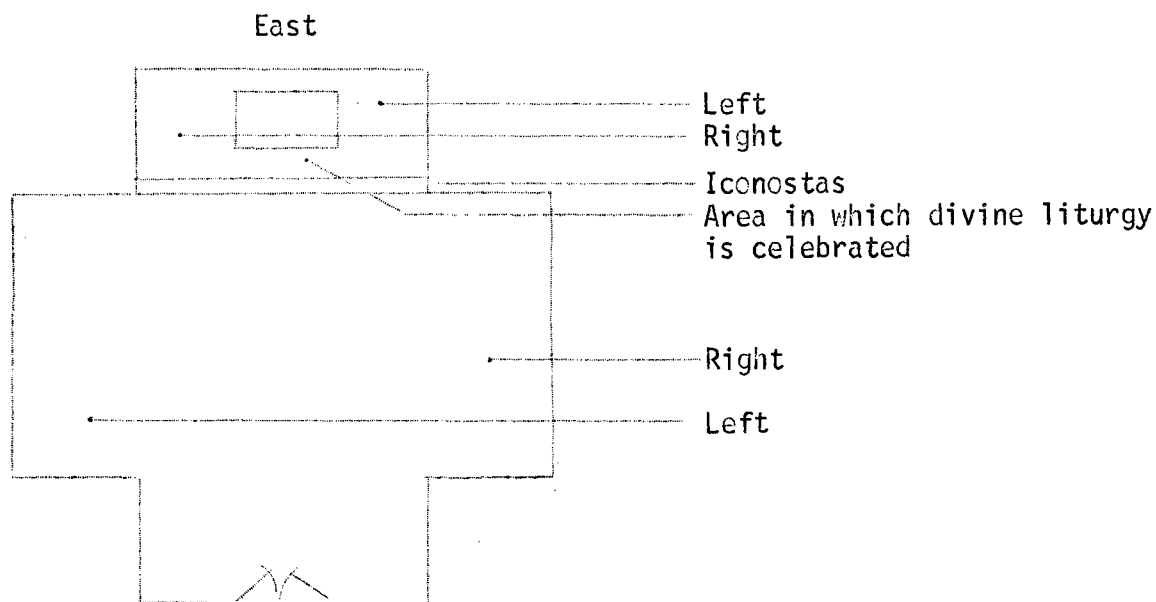
It was intended that the Orthodox use of terms would be related to the Orthodox use of space. Previously, it was indicated that Russian Orthodox speakers do not differentiate the attributes of the divine

DIAGRAM 3

USAGE OF SPACE AT SUNDAY MEETINGS



MEETING HALL IN VANCOUVER



RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN VANCOUVER

liturgy according to the terms liturgija, obrad, obyčaj. Obviously then, it is not possible to demonstrate a correspondence between these terms and the use of space. But it does appear that some of the characteristics of the divine liturgy are defined spatially.

Initially it was stated that the Orthodox church building is oriented by the throne and that the throne, in turn, is defined with respect to the east. Furthermore it was noted that the east end was separated from the rest of the church by the iconostas. Only males are permitted in the sanctuary behind the iconostas and even when in this area they should be vested. At the divine liturgy, the priest and his assistants are the only persons who pass through the side doors of the iconostas into the sanctuary.²¹ Because the divine liturgy is celebrated by the priest in the sanctuary, the Orthodox maintain that this is the most important part of the church.²² West of the iconostas is the nave where the congregation remains during the entire service.

In the description of the Russian Orthodox divine liturgy service there are many east-west and north-south distinctions. It has just been stated that the east end is considered the most important part of the church. The west, being directly opposite and farthest from the east, can be inferred to be of lesser importance. As the meaning of the east-west axis is clearly defined, it will not be considered as problematic here. Therefore the Orthodox conception of north and south will be considered.

For the observer, it is apparent that more males congregate on the

²¹See Chapter V, Section A 2.

²²For a discussion on the importance of the sanctuary see Chapter V, Section A 2.

south side of the nave and that conversely, more females congregate on the north side. When the priest was asked why the males stand on the "right" side, he replied that men are on the right hand of God. Consequently, the north side of the nave is relegated to the women. Females "should not" stand on the south side of the nave, the priest said, but now this proscription is not rigidly maintained. He explains that this is "not so important any more." There is another rule concerning women which is adhered to without exception. Women are prohibited from entering the sanctuary.²³ While they may venerate the icons on the iconostas, they cannot go through the doors (either north or south) into the sanctuary.

When the priest enters the church before beginning the divine liturgy, he prays before the royal doors, goes to the icon of Christ on the south side of the iconostas, and then proceeds to the icon of Mary on the north side.²⁴ During the divine liturgy the priest holds the censer in his right hand and moves around the perimeter of the nave, starting at the south-east corner and moving to the north-east corner. When he censes the sanctuary or anything in the sanctuary, he swings the censer to the east (the direction he is facing), north and then south. When the priest stands on the amvon and blesses the people with the Gospel, he stands facing them and tilts the Gospel first to the south and then to the north. Just prior to the PRAYER BEFORE THE AMVON the priest, standing at the throne, makes the sign of the cross over the antimins, moving the Gospel to the north before he moves it to the south. All of

²³The explanation given in Chapter V Section A 2 suggested that the interdiction may be attributed to the menstrual cycle.

²⁴See Chapter V, Section E for a more complete description of the details of the activities referred to in the present paragraph.

these actions are oriented with respect to the throne and hence, the east. They are also directed with respect to the north-south axis.

The table of oblation is situated on the north side of the sanctuary. But in discussing this table, the priest speaks of it as being on the right side in reference to the fresco of Christ on the east wall behind the throne. Consequently, the priest says that the table of oblation is on the right side of the throne.

Thus we see a contradiction between the interpretations given and the actions (or the placement of objects) within the sanctuary and the nave. With reference to the priest's actions in the nave (kissing the icons before entering the sanctuary, censing, blessing with the Gospel), the priest invariably moves to the south first. However, when the priest stands in the sanctuary, he always follows the pattern: east, north then south when blessing with the Gospel and censing. Furthermore, when an individual crosses himself his actions are prescribed so that he touches his right shoulder before the left.²⁵

It is suggested that, for the observer, these actions can be ordered by taking into consideration the Orthodox conception of the cross. It has previously been explained that when one stands in front of an Orthodox cross, the lower bar slants upwards to the left side.²⁶ It has also been pointed out that one must visualize the cross from Christ's

²⁵It is recognized that the individual touches his forehead, chest, right and left sides but the interest here lies in the primacy of the right over left. This is an important issue as the order of crossing oneself was one of the factors which led to the split with the Roman Catholic Church (the latter cross themselves in the following manner: forehead, chest, left and right shoulder).

²⁶See Chapter V, Section A 1 for a discussion of the Orthodox cross.

perspective so that it is, in fact, the right side which slants upwards. The interpretations given explain that the right side is elevated to represent the pardoning of the repentant sinner, his ascension into heaven while the left side is lowered to reflect the fate of the non-repentant sinner who was condemned.

A pattern of the rules governing the order of the actions emerges when accounted for by a right-left distinction instead of a north-south distinction. In the sanctuary, the table of oblation is then on the right of the throne (perceived in relation to the Orthodox cross). Although the priest censes the south before the north when he is in the nave, he censes the north before the south when he is in the sanctuary. Therefore, in both cases he is censuring the right side first.

Looking at the actions (or the placement of objects) and the interpretations given to them by the Orthodox, we find a distinction between actions executed in the nave and those executed in the sanctuary. Thus we see that on the nave side of the iconostas, the south side is considered to be the right side and axiomatically, the north side is the left side. On the sanctuary side of the iconostas, the south side is regarded as the left side, and the north side as the right. From this it can be said that the right-left distinction is reversed depending upon where one is standing in the church (nave or sanctuary). Therefore the perspective one will adopt in perceiving that space (in the nave or sanctuary) is reversed.

It should be emphasized that only the clergy (bishops, priest, deacons) use the area bounded by the iconostas and the east wall and so the reversal of sides in the sanctuary directs them, and not the

congregation, in orienting their actions.²⁷ Nevertheless, it can be pointed out that the male members of the congregation stand on the right (i.e. south) side of the nave and females on the left (i.e. north) side.

With this information, it is possible to construct a model of the way the space in the Orthodox church is defined and used, and a model of the qualities attributed to that space. We find that, on the one hand, right is equated with: (1) Christ, (2) male, (3) heaven, and (4) the faithful (Orthodox) and the repentent. On the other hand, left is equated with: (1) Theotokos (Mary), (2) female (menstruation), (3) not heaven,²⁸ and (4) sinners and the non-repentent. The attributes equated with the right side seem to emphasize positive aspects: (1) (Son of) God, (2) right hand of God, (3) "saved," and (4) correct belief in God. The attributes equated with the left side would appear to emphasize the opposite (not-positive) aspects: (1) Mother of God, (2) left hand of God, (3) not saved and therefore condemned, and (4) not correct belief in God.²⁹

All the attributes of "right" can be summed up by the term "orthodox" where "orthodox" is defined as correct or right in opinion (from the Greek words "ortho" and "doxos" meaning right in opinion). Conversely, the attributes of "left" can axiomatically be defined as

²⁷While it is projected that members of the congregation will be interviewed at a future date in order to ascertain their perception of this distinction, only the clergy have been dealt with at this point. It is therefore not possible to state whether or not this distinction applies to the members of the congregation as well.

²⁸The Orthodox do not speak of "hell," they speak of an eternal separation from God.

²⁹This argument was more fully developed in an unpublished paper entitled "Spatial Meaning in the Russian Orthodox Church," written by T. Popoff.

not-orthodox.³⁰ This would seem to indicate that right-left is a binary opposition that operates within the divine liturgy. This opposition appears to explain the direction of actions and the placement of objects in the Orthodox church. The opposition is a factor governing the procedure of the actions involved in crossing oneself, in blessing the people and in censuring. Presumably this opposition also operates in the location of icons and the location of the table of oblation.

Within the nave, the right-left distinction separates the males from the females. In the sanctuary, the north side is seen to be the right side and the south, the left, but in the nave the sides are considered to be reversed. Thus it can be concluded that the sanctuary is sectioned off not only physically, by the iconostas, but also conceptually, by the reversal of the right and left sides (refer back to Diagram 3).

While the Russian Orthodox and the Doukhobor conceptions of space cannot be directly compared in relation to their linguistic categorizations of the attributes of their meetings, there are some similarities that can be drawn. It has been shown that the east is where the Doukhobors hold their molenie and where the Russian Orthodox priest and his assistants

³⁰In this model Mary is relegated to the "not orthodox" side of the church. It is recognized that Mary is treated with great respect in Orthodox doctrine, but in this case she may be considered in opposition to Jesus Christ. Because of Mary's placement in the church, and because of the high esteem with which she is held in the Orthodox Church, it may be postulated that "left" is not directly opposed to "right" but that "left" is a residual category for those things which are not classified as "right." Thus while Mary is located on the left side, she may not be considered "not orthodox" for it is possible that a different principle is operating, cross-cutting these categories. (The authors wish to acknowledge the comments of Elli Kōngās Haranda on this point.)

celebrate the divine liturgy.³¹ The west end, on the other hand, is never used for either of these purposes. It is interesting to note that invariably Doukhobor males are perceived to be on the right side and females on the left side. The same dichotomy is apparent for Russian Orthodox males and females. In summary, parallels can be drawn between the east-west, right-left, and male-female distinctions made by both Doukhobors and Russian Orthodox speakers.

G. Comparison of Doukhobor and Russian Orthodox Sunday Meetings

From a brief comparison of the descriptions of Doukhobor and Russian Orthodox Sunday meetings, there are several differences which become immediately apparent. In the Orthodox Church there are a number of functionally differentiated roles. Broadly defined, there are the following categories of people at the divine liturgy: clergy, assistants, choir, congregation. At Doukhobor Sunday meetings there are no specialized roles that people assume, with the exception of the informal elder who initiates some of the activities. There is no Doukhobor choir at these meetings and most of the people join in the singing. Another difference is the striking contrast in the amount of paraphernalia and the preparations that accompany these two meetings. Relative to the molenie and the Sobranie, the divine liturgy is very complex. Without exception, the divine liturgy is held at the same time every Sunday--this sacrament cannot be cancelled. There seems to be some degree of variation with regard to Doukhobor Sunday meetings. The commencement of the molenija and Sobranija fluctuates among the Doukhobors in various locations, as

³¹For the discussion on Doukhobor use of space see Chapter VI, Section E.

does the frequency with which meetings are held. At this level of comparison these would seem to be the major differences between the meetings of the two groups.

There are a number of similarities that arise from the description of these meetings. It was suggested earlier that historical connections between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Doukhobors might be used to explain certain aspects of contemporary Doukhobor meetings.

All Doukhobors participate in the molenie at the east end of the hall. The divine liturgy is celebrated by the priest in the sanctuary at the east end of the church. The people at the meetings in both groups are segregated according to sex. In both cases the males are said to be on the right side because men are on the right hand of God. Because this is an instance where both groups interpret the behavior in the same way, it can be said that their behavior is equivalent.³²

At the divine liturgy and at the molenie, people stand throughout the entire service and sing unaccompanied by musical instruments. The speakers attribute the same explanation to the proscription on musical instruments and consequently this can also be considered equivalent.

Several different kinds of bows are executed by Doukhobors and Russian Orthodox members. As was explained, both groups of speakers use comparable terms to distinguish between various types of bows. The 'bow' that is made on entering a Doukhobor meeting is called poklonenie while the 'communal or group bow' (obščee poklonenie) is made at the end of every psalm and prayer. The 'bow to the earth' (zemleroklonenie) is the third type of Doukhobor bow. At the close of the molenie, Doukhobors

³²An explanation of this assumption is found in Chapter I.

together 'bow to the earth' in remembrance of the living, the dead and the Trinity. There is another type of 'bow' which is also called poklonenie. In this case poklonenie refers to the bowing, kissing and handshaking.³³ With the exception of the 'bow to the earth,' which is directed toward the living, the dead, and the Trinity, all Doukhobor bows are said to acknowledge the spirit within the other person. There are two different bows made by the people attending the divine liturgy. Upon entering the church, and generally at the end of every petition, one crosses himself, simultaneously bowing. This is known as the obščij noklon³⁴ or 'group or communal bow.' The zemlepoklon or 'bow to the earth' is made at "important times" during the service. Sometimes when one venerates the icon on the central analoj, this bow is made. It is usual to see some Russian Orthodox individuals 'bow to the earth' during the Lord's Prayer and the transubstantiation of the bread and wine. Both of these bows are interpreted as showing praise and humility toward God. From this it is seen that Doukhobor and Russian Orthodox members make similar types of bows and that they call them by similar terms but that these bows are given different meanings. There is one bow that has not been mentioned and which might be considered equivalent to the Doukhobor bowing, kissing and handshaking (poklonenie). During concelebration at a divine liturgy, Orthodox priests exchange the kiss of peace while they bow and shake

³³The latter two bows are not carried out in Vancouver. These two types of bows were re-introduced into the meeting by Peter Petrovich Verigin whom the U.S.C.C. Doukhobors and the Sons of Freedom acknowledge. Therefore at a molenie of Independent Doukhobors one would not expect to find these two types of bows. See Chapter IV, Section F.

³⁴The connection between the words poklon and poklonenie were mentioned in Chapter IV under the heading "Sequence of Events."

hands. This is interpreted as an acknowledgment of the spirit within the other person. Thus we see that the kiss of peace can be equated with the Doukhobor poklonenie.

Prior to the beginning of a molenie or Sobranie, one walks approximately mid-way into the hall before bowing and giving the greeting. Upon entering the Russian Orthodox church, it is usual for one to walk to the middle of the nave to the central analoj where he bows and venerates an icon. Although dissimilar activities take place after one enters and bows at the two types of meetings, some similarity can be seen in the positioning of these actions.

In the descriptive chapters, reference was made to the Doukhobor and Russian Orthodox use of the term starosta. Doukhobors gloss starosta as 'elder' and this person is considered to be an informal initiator of the proceedings at the molenie. Russian Orthodox speakers gloss the same term as 'church warden' and the church warden looks after some of the proceedings in the nave--specifically, he looks after the candles, altar breads and offering. Although the same term is used by the two groups, the functions of these men are very different. From these comparisons we see that there are several actions which are similar in the Russian Orthodox and Doukhobor meetings; there are also a few actions which are equivalent. While this can serve as one possible explanation for their occurrence among the Doukhobors, the authors recognize that the relationships cannot be considered conclusive.

II. Summary

The over-all purpose of the thesis has been to explain and define the behavior of Doukhobors on particular social occasions. The attempt

to examine the same occasions with several procedures was based on the assumption that correspondences among the findings could be taken as supportive of one another. Discrepancies among the Doukhobor gatherings may be due to historical changes. By taking the changes into account in constructing a folk taxonomy of gatherings, it becomes clear that the participants make distinctions among types of meetings. Concentrating upon two of the meetings, particular characteristics were isolated and were found to be linguistically differentiated by the Doukhobors. Furthermore, it was demonstrated that there is a correspondence between linguistically differentiated characteristics and the meaning that those characteristics attribute to the physical space. The meetings, taxonomies, grouping of characteristics and spatial configuration of two historically related groups were compared in an effort to establish the areas of congruity between them. This summary is intended to highlight the findings of the previous sections and to use these findings to extrapolate beyond the points discussed.

Contrary to the literature which states that the "community meeting" is a "multi-purpose" institution, this thesis concludes that special purpose meetings are differentiated by Doukhobors, that a limited range of activities takes place within the Sobranie or 'Community Meeting,' and that these activities are distinguished from those which occur within the molenie or 'prayer meeting.' A folk taxonomy of terms for gatherings was constructed and was, to some extent, based on the development of the Sobranie in Canada. It was then demonstrated that present day meetings can be understood with reference to this taxonomy. It was found that the molenie or 'prayer meeting' is linguistically and conceptually distinct from the Sobranie or 'Community Meeting' and that both of these specific

types of meetings are subsumed by the general use of the term sobranie, meaning any gathering. The Doukhobor taxonomy of terms does not differentiate between 'religious meetings' and 'secular meetings.' However at a more specific level, Doukhobors identify particular attributes of Sunday meetings as 'acts of worship,' 'custom' or 'habit.' This is especially interesting when compared with the Russian Orthodox taxonomy of gatherings which initially dichotomizes 'religious meetings' and 'secular meetings' but which does not linguistically differentiate particular characteristics of the divine liturgy as 'acts of worship,' 'custom' or 'habit.'

By relating the morphology of the molenie and Sobranie to the terms that are used in ordering the component attributes, it was deduced that 'acts of worship' are confined solely to the molenie. By a similar deduction, it was found that the components of the Sobranie are seen as either 'custom' or 'habit.' These findings contradict the view of meetings presented in the previous literature where it is suggested that there is great latitude in the types of activities which can potentially occur at the 'Community Meeting.'

When the Russian Orthodox and Doukhobor Sunday meetings are compared with respect to the participants' categorizations of the attributes within those meetings, there is a disparity in their classifications by the terms liturgija, obrad, porjadok, and obyčaj. It can be suggested that Doukhobors classify their activities more clearly than the Russian Orthodox and that this may be attributable to historical circumstances. There was a period in Doukhobor history when their activities were considered by the Church and State in Russia to be heretical and when Doukhobors were persecuted. It seems reasonable to hypothesize that the so-called heretical

activities (and perhaps other activities as well) were clearly defined in order that they would persist. It is possible to go beyond these findings to suggest that the Doukhobors' greater linguistic differentiation of activities is attributable to an attempt to define their own activities as sectarian and to differentiate their activities from those of the Orthodox Church.

The previous sections demonstrated that both Doukhobors and Russian Orthodox speakers orient their activities with respect to the east end of the building. It was seen that the molenie (consisting of 'acts of worship') is held around the table in the east end of the hall and that the divine liturgy is celebrated by the priest in the east end of the church. East is used by Doukhobors as the reference point in perceiving the men's and women's sides of the hall. They say that, as one stands behind the table and faces west, the men are on the north side of the hall but they are considered to be on the right. Behind the iconostas, the priest defines the sides of the sanctuary in a similar manner so that the north side is considered to be the right side.

For Doukhobors this male-female, right-left separation holds throughout the entire building but for Russian Orthodox speakers, the right-left distinction is reversed behind the iconostas at the east end of the church. Doukhobor males are on the geographical north side of the building (conceptually said to be the right) and conversely the females are on the south side (i.e. the left side). In the Russian Orthodox church, the males are on the south side of the nave (i.e. right) while the females are on the north side (i.e. left). Behind the iconostas, the north side of the sanctuary is considered to be the right while the south side is said to be the left. Taking all of these right-left, north-

south, east-west distinctions into account, it can be hypothesized that Doukhobors are adopting a perspective which coincides with that of the Russian Orthodox priest. This hypothesis is further reinforced with the recognition that during concelebration the priests exchange the kiss of peace--an action that was found to be equivalent with one of the Doukhobor bows.

Calendric meetings are viewed as communal or societal in nature and, at least according to Titiev, they tend to disappear when the society changes its traditions or loses its old ways. The conclusion has already been drawn that, in the past, the molenie was a calendric or scheduled meeting and that the Sobranie was an unscheduled or critical meeting. It was also stated that in Grand Forks these definitions of the molenie and Sobranie still apply. However, it was concluded that while the activities characteristic of the molenie are still apparent in Vancouver, the distinction between molenie and Sobranie is becoming increasingly vague. People are less apt to use the word molenie in labelling their activities at Sunday meetings in Vancouver and this can be seen as a modification of previous practices. There is another alteration that is seen in the Vancouver Sobranie. Because many of the people no longer know the words, psalms are less frequently sung, a development which is most noticeable in Vancouver. Psalms which were formerly sung during the molenie are gradually being replaced by hymns. The introduction of hymns into the molenie is significant for this can be taken as an indicator of the changing nature of the molenie and the ambiguous boundaries that are developing between the attributes of the 'prayer meeting' and the 'Community Meeting.' From the evidence discussed here, it is possible to project that a new type of meeting is emerging in Vancouver and that

some attributes of meetings are assuming a new meaning. This new type of meeting has been alluded to in the thesis as the Vancouver Sobranie and it can be hypothesized that this meeting will come to replace the molenie as the calendric meeting of Doukhobors in Vancouver.

APPENDIX A

ECUMENICAL COUNCILS¹

1. The first council of Nicaea, 325 A.D.

The first council condemned the Arian teaching and defined the incarnate Son of God as "consubstantial" with the Father. It also proclaimed the first part of the Creed and established the day on which Easter is to be celebrated.

2. The first council of Constantinople, 381 A.D.

This council defined the teaching of the Church on the Holy Trinity, particularly on the Holy Spirit. Later, this council was credited with having adopted the present creed known as the Nicæan-Constantinopolitan Creed.

3. The council of Ephesus, 431 A.D.

Nestorianism, which declared that Christ had two separate natures, was condemned by the third council. The council specified the Church's teachings on the Holy Virgin and declared that the divinity of God and the humanity of Christ were united in one person and that consequently Mary, Mother of Jesus, is the Mother of God (Theotokos).

¹The following sources were used in compiling this summary of the seven ecumenical councils: Koulomzin, The Orthodox Christian Church, p. 84; Meyendorff, The Orthodox Church, pp. 32-36; Schmemmann, The Historical Road of Eastern Orthodoxy, pp. 86-135; and Walker, A History of the Christian Church, pp. 107-149.

4. The council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D.

The council of Chalcedon condemned the Monophysites ("mono," 'one'; "physics," 'nature') who taught that Christ was only God and not man. The council affirmed that the Son of God must be confessed in two natures "unconfusely, immutable, indivisibly, inseparably united ... in one Person or hypostasis."

5. The second council of Constantinople, 553 A.D.

It further condemned the Nestorian heresy and sought to explain, in more precise terms than the council of Chalcedon, how the two natures of Christ unite to form a single person.

6. The third council of Constantinople, 680 A.D.

This council condemned another branch of the Monophysites, the Monothelites ("thelesis," 'will'). The Monothelites taught that the will of Christ has two natures. That is, there is only one will, the divine will. The council maintained that the humanity in Christ is not an abstract entity but is manifested by, and subject to, the divine will.

7. The second council of Nicaea, 787 A.D.

It defined the Orthodox doctrine concerning the images (icons) which represent Christ or the saints. The word of God was truly incarnate and became true man. He and the saints may therefore be pictorially represented. While sacred images ought to be venerated, the one whom they represent is the true object of the veneration. However, it is not lawful to pay to them the highest form of worship ("latreia"), which is due to God alone. (The distinction between 'veneration' ["proskynesis"] and 'true worship' ["latreia"] has been an important one for the Orthodox.) The veneration

of images was opposed by several Byzantine emperors, resulting in the iconoclastic controversy of the eighth century.

APPENDIX B

EXCERPTS FROM THE LITERATURE CONTAINING THE WORD SOBRANIE

This appendix contains passages from various works pertaining to Doukhobors. The writers are quoted directly. Brief prefatory comments are made before the text is cited and, in a few instances, the explanatory notes of the present authors have been marked by an asterisk.

The following is an account written by Stephen Grellet in 1819 describing his visit to a Doukhobor settlement near Ekaterinoslav. From the events that he describes it can be inferred that he is describing a molenie. The account given by Paude (1904) quotes at length from Grellet.

... The Duhobortsii collected, at about ten o' clock, on a spacious spot of ground out-of-doors. They all stood, forming a large circle; all the men on the left hand of the old man, the women on his right; the children of both sexes formed the opposite side of the circle; they were all cleanly dressed; an old woman was next to the old man; she began by singing what they called a psalm; the other women joined in it; then the man next to the old man, taking him by the hand, stepped in front of him, each bowed down very low to one another three times, and then twice to the women, who returned the salute; that man resuming his place, the one next to him performed the same ceremony to the old man, and to the women; then, by turns, all the others, even the boys, came and kissed three times the one in the circle above him, instead of bowing. When the men and boys had accomplished this, the women did the same to each other; then the girls; the singing continuing the whole time. It took them nearly an hour to perform this round of bowing and kissing; then the women in a fluent manner, uttered what they called a prayer and their worship concluded ¹

¹Stephen Grellet, "Visit to the Doukhobors near Ekaterinoslav in 1819," in Memoirs of the life and gospel labours of Stephen Grellet, edited by Benjamin Seebohm, Philadelphia, Longstreth, 1864, Vol. 1, pp. 455-57.

Jim Wright lived among the Saskatchewan Doukhobors (roughly between 1932 and 1939) and based his novel on personal experiences, corroborated by the Doukhobors themselves. Wright re-created the 1677-78 mode of "religious observance." Although he does not use a Russian term, it can be inferred that he is describing a molenie.

As the sun rose higher over the meadow, the confusion of arrival gradually subsided and the elders prepared for the ordered routine of religious observance. To the right of the ceremonial table, with its white cloth, some of the older men in somber blue beshmets formed to recite a psalm, while several grandmothers took their places to the left. Groups of men and women who were conversing here and there came to join the ceremony, and soon a large human v spread out in the meadow They spoke first a short psalm, "praise be Almighty God," their voices droning along the meadow When the last notes had floated away in the flower-scented breeze, Vasili Verigin, father of Peter Vasilivich, spoke a psalm as the assemblage stood with bowed heads:

"So says the Lord: 'The heavens are My throne; the earth is My footstool. Wherever I may rest is My home, for is not all this the work of My hands? Who will My eye rest on with pleasure: the gentle, the silent and those that fear My word.' The Lord is ever near those of contrite heart; He will save those of humble spirit. He who obeys the will of God, him God will also hear. Higher, super-human qualities do not exist in churches, and things of lower plane receive life only from human hands. Physical baptism is not true prayer before God. Oft repeated motions of ritual gladden the heart of the devil, but we pray to the only God, maker of heaven and earth. God is the spirit, God is the word, God is the man. Well it is to bow down before the true God and the true Spirit. Slava Bohu! Let us all bow to Almighty God."*

As one they knelt to the ground, touching their foreheads to the grass.

Then came the "Godly ceremony of kissing in brotherly and sisterly love." Beginning with the most devout men and women who formed the closed end of the v-shaped assembly by the ceremonial table, one by

*In the above account the author seems to be describing a molenie. However, there would appear to be contradictory evidence concerning "the psalm" spoken by Vasili Verigin. The words in single quotes appear to be the psalm while the words following, in double quotes, appear to be an interpretation of the psalm by the speaker. If this is what Wright intended, then we would argue that he has confused the two different types of meetings. Perhaps this could have resulted from the fact that by the time Wright was reconstructing the "religious observance" (molenie) it may have already assumed the new form in which the leader spoke after the close of the 'prayer meeting.'

one they stepped from their places to face their neighbor, bowed three times, then joining hands, kissed three times. The ceremony continued throughout three hours, but it was not possible for everyone to kiss everyone else in that length of time. Though there were some who had not taken part, the sun was high, and the assemblage showed signs of restlessness. Even the elders were getting hungry, so the religious service was brought to a close with the singing of another psalm. All went to their wagons to make the meal²

By the events that Zubek and Solberg include under the term "religious services," it is presumed that the account is a resume of a molenie in 1949.

The new colonists meet for religious services every Sunday morning at ten o' clock. These services are conducted much as they were in the old days before the orthodox group began to disintegrate. Men and boys form a line on one side of a small table. Women and girls arrange themselves in a second line facing the men. The table is the apex of a "V" formation. On it rest a loaf of bread, a jug of water and a shaker of salt--the symbols of Doukhobor faith--and often a vase of vivid flowers. Bread represents the staff of life for the material body and symbolizes purity; salt, the seasoning and preservative which Christ commended when he said, "Ye are the salt of the earth." All three combine to represent the love of God, the trinity. The service consists of prayers, psalms and hymns unaccompanied by musical instrument. It always closes with the recitation of The Lord's Prayer. Then each man and boy salute each other male by bowing twice, kissing on the mouth and bowing again. Each woman and girl carries out the same ritual within the female group. Bowing and handshaking follow between sexes but the formal kiss is omitted. These salutations end the ceremony which is followed by the communal breakfast.³

²Uright, Slava Bohu, pp. 38-39.

³Zubek and Solberg, Doukhobors at War, p. 216.

In Stoochnoff's description,* attention should be drawn to where the author says "after the prayers and psalms" speeches begin. While no explicit distinction is made between "prayers and psalms" and "messages," the phrasing of the account could lead one to infer that the author may be separating the two types of events. Since there is no term given to the meeting or meetings, the reader is left in doubt as to what the author intended.

Underlying the whole Doukhobor life and economy is the religious basis upon which it is built, the main focal center of religious fellowship in the meeting.

As they gather into the hall for the meeting, the men and women separate to sit on opposite sides of the hall facing each other. As others enter, bows are exchanged to acknowledge the Spirit of God within. Then commences the singing of the Lord's Prayer in a reverent position and the meeting enters into an hour and a half of religious psalms and prayers sung entirely by the congregation without instrumental music Following the psalms and prayers, messages are given by various members and visitors present, who take their place behind a small table with the simple elements of bread, salt and water--signifying Jesus, the bread and water of life ... and us, the salt of the earth ... in some of the meetings a large choir of Doukhobor youth may participate after the prayers⁴

*Stoochnoff is an "orthodox Doukhobor."

⁴John Philip Stoochnoff, Doukhobors As They Are, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1961, p. 24.

Herbison worked with the Research Committee which studied the Doukhobors from 1950-51. As part of his stated purpose, he was attempting to report Doukhobor "values and beliefs" from their point of view. Herbison, like other authors, maintains that Doukhobors do not "departmentalize" their activities and his account of the "community meeting" includes a wide range of activities.

Because Hoodcock and Avakmovic regard Herbison's account as "an excellent essay on Doukhobor religion," they cite him in their book The Doukhobors.

One of the most important institutions in Doukhobor life is the community meeting, the sobranya. Here is the church, the school, the fraternal society, and the government. The character of the sobranya is completely alien to political system, man-made legalities, and democratic procedure. The underlying principle is that God is present and available; and it is His will, not rules nor order and majorities of men, which is expected to influence decision. Moreover, it is assumed that as the same God is in every heart, the desired unanimity depends upon each person's giving up his own individuality so that the God within him may merge with the God in others, and in this corporate union is found the consensus of the meeting. In Sons of Freedom meetings there may be talk, there may be speeches, there may be anything unpredictable as well; but in the end, if there are decisions, they are not important--what remains impressed upon the people is a unanimity of mood, a shared attitude which provides the sense of belonging, which unites the people as strongly as any voting aye or nay. Its vague indefinability is of no concern. The effectiveness of the sobranya lies not in a building, which is unnecessary; not in ritual, which is minimal; not in the preaching, which is incidental; not in personal communion and prayer, for which there is no provision; and not in the heightened sensitivity of mind and heart reaching for truth, because this is not characteristic. The sobranya is a settling-down into the past, an immersion of self into the group. The singing at a sobranya is monotonous, persistent, inescapable: it is vocal magic which takes the place of other forms and determinants of unity.

Doukhorism is remarkable in that its symbols are neither numerous nor sanctified. They are simply bread, salt and water, placed at every meeting on a plain table covered with a white cloth--a big golden loaf of homemade bread, a simple shaker or carton or dish of salt, and a jug of water accompanied usually by a drinking cup or glass. The non-Doukhobor observer who has a respect for sacred symbols

will be shocked by an incident which is likely to take place during any sobranie. A thirsty child may go to the table and have an older person pour a drink of water from the jug. If a few drops remain unwanted, they are likely to be thrown out on the rough floor.⁵

Several quotations will be presented from Frantz's thesis because he is using the term "sobranie" to describe many kinds of meetings. Such a usage may stem from one of his premises in which he suggests that Doukhobors do not separate their activities from one another.

In the village and community meetings, the presence of the leader brought much greater deferential behavior than was shown to other administrative officials. Speeches by the leaders generally were absorbed in the midst of quiet awe. Deferential gestures, such as the customary bowing and kissing, were displayed....

The community meeting, or sobranie, has been the singularly outstanding institution through which widespread political participation has occurred.

It will be recalled that Doukhobors traditionally have rejected the state, the church, the priesthood, and all sacraments because these interfered with the attainment of Godly perfection. Their conceptions of the sacred life have not distinguished between the religious and the civil; the realm of the sacred embraced both. Hence, they believed no distinct social structures were necessary for political, economic, religious, or other affairs. On the contrary, God is inherent in all of nature, and all men possess immanent and permanent holiness. Individuals are guided by the "inner light," and the affairs of daily life are religious by definition.⁶

The author had frequent opportunities to observe and participate in these sobranii during his field work. The dynamics of the meeting varied considerably from those of most American groups. One observer (Mavor 1923:10) of a Doukhobor meeting during their early years in Canada made the following report: "Each man who spoke shouted in a loud voice, and the affair bore the complexion of a contest in lung power." The sobranie considered the interests of all the Doukhobor villages throughout the whole day, then "suddenly the clamour ceased without apparent formal reason. One side had shouted the other down, and the defeated side became silent. That was all A decision had been reached." The meetings have been characterized by free and

⁵Herbison, "Religion," The Doukhobors of British Columbia, p. 168 and pp. 174-75.

⁶Frantz, "The Doukhobor Political System," p. 73, and pp. 76-77.

uninhibited discussion. The face to face interaction frequently has been very intense. Cursing and fighting have not been rare occurrences. The meetings traditionally have been structured very informally, and the topics discussed have ranged widely during the course of the meeting as the interests of the group have been reviewed and elaborated. There usually have been no "sermons," as each individual has been free to speak on a subject if he felt "divinely inspired." Meetings usually have been held outdoors, weather permitting, and they often have lasted for hours, and even days. Both men and women have participated without discrimination. No formal votes have occurred in the community meetings. Rather, decisions have been made upon the basis of consensus, and sometimes unanimity.

The sobranie sometimes has gone on the road, too. Since 1902 Doukhobors—especially Sons of Freedom—have made pilgrimages of one kind or another. These have been designed to bring changes in Canadian governmental policies, or to gain new members by pointing out the retrogression of the accommodating Independent and Orthodox Doukhobors.

In sum, the sobranie has been the central political (equated with religious) assembly although it has shared authority and responsibility with the hereditary charismatic leader. It has been based more on emotion than on rationality. It has functioned to purify the community and presumably to reaffirm the solidarity of the group It has allowed for the partial resolution of personal differences and internal factional strife. Through the sobranie, the community has attempted to face the outside world as a harmonious group. The frequency with which it has been held and the intensity of expression and participation within it unquestionably attest to this view.⁷

⁷Ibid., pp. 77-78, 80-81.

From the quotations presented, it is apparent that Tarasoff* usually distinguishes "prayer services" (or "religious services") from "business meetings" but in some cases his usage of the terms is vague. However, in several instances he denies the distinction he had previously made. Note that in one of the passages cited here the author makes note of the fact that "men are on the left and women on the right", an interpretation which contradicts the Doukhobor view of where they stand.

They** were concerned basically with three things: 1. The problem of youth ("something should be taught to them about the Doukhobor movement"); 2. The concern over the fact that a number of Doukhobors were actively participating in the Russian People's Home ("which is a Bolshevik organization where people drink liquor"); 3. The need to have an independent Doukhobor organization in order to hold their own sobranyes (religious and business meetings), to give some order to the annual Petrov Day, and so forth. The meeting discussed these concerns and as a result its members decided to form an organization.

Speaking of the same group Tarasoff goes on to say:

At their Easter Service, 200 Doukhobors came Following the formal service, choral presentations and open forum speeches were the order of the day.

.... The young people were never really brought into the activities of the Society---only a few ever attended. "Religious services were always in Russian, so were the business meetings"

Nonetheless, the Fraternal Society has brought together a number of individuals who might not otherwise have joined any Doukhobor organization. Especially, this is true with those members who are disillusioned with the traditional prayer services or religious sobranyes and nevertheless desire to maintain their ethnic identity.⁸

*Tarasoff is a Doukhobor himself.

**"They" refers to the Doukhobors of New Westminster now known as the Society of Doukhobors of Canada.

⁸Tarasoff, "A Study of Russian Organizations in the Greater Vancouver Area," pp. 150, 153, 157, 162.

Since its official inception, the Society* has held sobranyes twice a month ... and has provided leadership for the Petrov Dien event.

At one of the sobranyes last year (1962), one of the people present stated that it is the Doukhobor's role today to ... join in the protest for world peace and disarmament

... the Doukhobors have been traditionally opposed to the formal structure of churches, priests and their ritualistic paraphernalia Some members use the word "Church" interchangeably with the word sobranye--but this has been periodically challenged by other members. Likewise challenged is the contention that many of the "old psalms have no meaning whatsoever and should be discarded".

The prayer part of the sobranyes and most of the business part have been in the Russian language.

Sunday afternoon, May 27, 1962, 2:15 p.m. to 5:20 p.m.

.... I came in a bit late (from another meeting just concluded in the kitchen) at a time when the group was singing some Doukhobor hymns in Russian Chairs were set up in the centre facing the front of the stage. In between was the table with the traditional bread, salt and water. Men on the left and women on the right; and some people standing in the centre amidst the chairs. It was obvious that Nikita Popoff was at the head of the meeting-- i.e. of the singing part. After the Otche ["The Lord's Prayer"], several psalms and hymns were sung. The people then sat down.

SPEECH BY KEN KONKIN (in English)

Ken noted surprise that a "prayer service" was held before this meeting. Ken, it appears, wants the religious and business meetings entirely separated. KJT. But this is really contrary to the Doukhobor tradition where sobranye meetings were practically always a combination of the two; i.e. Doukhobors don't really separate the "sacred" from the "secular"; life is a union, not a segmentary thing. ^S

*i.e. The Society of Doukhobors of Canada, in Vancouver B.C.

^SIbid., pp. 174, 179, 181, 182, 241, 243.

Harry Cheveldave: ... I look around us and note the lack of young people at this sobranye. I'm the last of the Doukhobor generation-- unless we do something about it. Let's do something positive to build up a "proper religion"....

John Chutskoff: "Spiritual ["duhovnoe"] sobranyes are necessary for us. [To the youth.] He tried in the past to organize the youth. He tried teaching them psalms--no, it didn't work..."

Ken Konkin: He have one aim: "spiritual sobranye which we do not have today."

Adjournment at 5:20 p.m.

Everyone stood up and sang "Mi Okonchali Sobranye" (We've Concluded Our Assembly)--customary ending).

Meeting announcement published in Iskra (Grand Forks, B.C.) No. 681,

May 18, 1962, p. 30, in Russian:

Notice to all Doukhobors in Vancouver and District
On Sunday May 27, 1962, at 2 p.m. in Lochdale Hall (Hastings and Sperling, Burnaby), there will take place a spiritual meeting, after which a business one of the Society of Doukhobors for the discussion of the following important questions...¹⁰

Although there are two manuscripts on the Doukhobors by Tarasoff, they have been treated separately because one deals primarily with the history of the Doukhobors (In Search of Brotherhood: The History of the Doukhobors) while the other is specifically a consideration of contemporary Russian organizations in Vancouver ("A Study of Russian Organizations in the Greater Vancouver Area"). The comments made with respect to Tarasoff's thesis apply to the following excerpts.

Even during Kapustin's time, we are told by Novitsky, the "secret sobranyes (gatherings)" were held along with regular communal prayer service, "but there significance is not known. It is only known that during the time of Kapustin's nephew these secret sobranyes [lead to] scandalous orgies...¹¹

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 249-51, 242.

¹¹Tarasoff, In Search of Brotherhood: Vol. 1, p. 82.

...if we look at the following account by the Doukhobors, describing the period up to 1836:

Sirotskoy Dom is located in the village of Moreloe. It consists of two buildings--a one-story brick structure covered with tile, and a small two-story wooden building. The first structure was used for sobranyes and prayer services,--where two rooms were present for this purpose--while the second one was used as a public forum with the administrators of the Home....

Verigin's second important letter had the status of a psalm and was read often at sobranye prayer meetings with the customary close: "Bozhu nashemu slava" (Glory to God). The "letter" was written in the style of the "Ten Commandments" and was directed towards the building of the "Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood," a title which Verigin coined to supercede the word "Doukhobor"...

Next day* Verigin and his escorts left by train for Yorkton, then by sleigh and horses forty miles north to Poterpevshe--the village of his aged mother...It was a solemn and joyous occasion as the people awaited their leader. With fur caps off, the whole crowd began to sing a psalm of welcome: "Our Dear Guest". In response Verigin took off his cap and waited until the psalm and lengthy sobranye came to a close. Then in a customary manner he bowed low and followed this by words of greetings...

**The conditions were ripe for Verigin and his communal experiment. All the features of Russian communal life, except living in villages, were introduced. There was the same groups of sobranyes, which met weekly; these same sobranyes chose their elder, who transacted business on their behalf. The sobranyes assigned the duties of each individual for the coming year and dealt with all matters affecting the domestic and industrial life of its members.

Verigin was quick to initiate reform. In 1902 he abolished the practice of "kissing" and "handshaking" which had crept into their sobranyes as foreign and superfluous ceremony.¹²

*The author is speaking of the period around 1902.

**The date is also around 1902.

¹²Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 92, 238, and Vol. 2, pp. 285-86, 320, 396.

Around 1912 there were "ten official disciplinary measures" that became effective, the last of these is:

10. All children, without exception, must come every day to the sobranye to sing prayers and hymns and to read psalms.

William A. Soukoreff recalls his youthful days when he and other villagers had to get up at 4 o'clock in the morning and walk barefooted to a designated Community Home for a prayer service...
...during the middle of April [1915], Verigin returned to the Kootenays. A sobranye was called for in Loogovoe [Pass Creek], and everyone was instructed to walk there barefooted...

It was only in 1932, though, that a youth organization was first formed by the Community Doukhobors...Evening sobranyes were held regularly at first, with the program being mainly that of singing, some drama, presentation of talks, and an attempt at learning Russian and reading books.

*All who could find standing room squeezed into the Community Home, while the rest, shawled women and bareheaded men stood in the traditional "V" in the courtyard by the jam factory. Inside, on the platform, stood a plain-clothed table with its loaf of bread, salt in a salt-shaker and a pitcher of water. When the last psalm ended Peter ascended the platform, Bonderoff, the secretary of the "Named Doukhobors", came right behind....The usual greetings were exchanged as heads bowed in acknowledgement, for there was no room to bow all the way.

"Brothers and sisters". began Verigin, sonorously: "on this beautiful day we are gathered here in the Spirit of Christ..."

According to Michael the Archangel Verigin, Peter P. Verigin advocated several changes to the new community: schools were to be accepted by all, but based on Christian principles; the kissing ritual of the Community Doukhobors which Peter P. Verigin had introduced into the sobranye meeting was to be abolished, for only one bow was necessary...¹³

*Tarasoff is speaking of the practices in the 1930's.

¹³Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 402, 406, 550, 566, 705.

Concerning the 50th Jubilee:

The big event arrived July 31-August 1 as 5,000 visitors came... People took their seats on benches facing an open stage against the background of a community meeting hall, the former community barn in the 1930's. They waited for the big moment, but first the preliminaries--the opening prayer service; the community dinner, picnic style for most, seven banquet tables for the guests (all vegetarian meals); words of greetings at the banquet table;...

"Should Folk Singing Be Permitted in the Doukhobor Community Home?" This discussion was curtailed prematurely when one elderly visitor got up and said: "This topic is not appropriate in this building." Immediately came other comments? "The news will get into the newspapers and we will be the laughing stock from our neighbours." "Is this a Community Home or is it a Prayer Home?""Folk singing, yes, but not during the time for praying"; "there should be folk songs in order to have a more complete religion"; "any other day but Sunday";...

The fact is, however, that Blaine Lake and district have already changed significantly since the first Doukhobor set foot here in the summer of 1890. Alexei Popoff, Doukhobor elder, vividly describes this change in 1951: "As it is known to all there were no churches and no community homes amongst the Doukhobors". Rather Sunday sobranyes as well as business meetings were held in the homes, although not at the same time....

4. The Doukhobor ideal rejects churches, worships no ikons or idols, supports no baptism, or confession, nor the "divine" position of ministry. Traditionally Doukhobors have held meetings, or sobranyes at which they prayed and discussed their various everyday problems (both local and international). The building where this is held is not considered "sacred", nor is it a "church"....¹⁴

¹⁴ Ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 751, 854, 905, 917.

In addition to citing Herbison's description of "Doukhobor religion," Woodcock and Avakumovic make several other references to "sobrania."

It is also interesting to note that the authors say women are on the right and men are on the left, a perspective which is not adopted by the Doukhobors.

... in Luker'ia's reign Her arrival in a village would mean a gala day of rejoicing; beginning with the welcome of the villagers, ranged in a great V on the village green, the white-shawled women on the right and the men on the left of the table symbolically laid with its great peasant loaf of rye bread and its dish of salt; continuing in psalm singing and feasting; and ending in a kind of durbar at which Luker'ia, always approachable, would listen to the complaints and requests of her followers.

Today Almost every sobranie held in Canada still opens with the hymn to their memory, 'Sleep on, you brave fighting eagles,' which has inspired many a latter-day Doukhobor to choose a path of rebellion and imprisonment....

**Within the village the sobranie served as a means for reaching Community decisions. Attended by all the inhabitants, it was usually a combination of religious gathering and business meeting.

The week was punctuated by routine events---the sobranie every Sunday and on Saturday the visit to the bathhouse

Among them*** the ceremonial life of sobrania and psalm-singing was richer than elsewhere, and they developed the strongest resistance to any concession to the materialism of non-Doukhobor life.¹⁵

*"their memory" refers to the martyrs who died in Russia.

**The authors are speaking of the period up to 1907.

***"Them" refers to the Sons of Freedom.

¹⁵Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, pp. 71, 103, 199, 200, 310.

APPENDIX C

MODUS OPERANDI

When the researchers began this investigation in 1968, Doukhobors in Vancouver were the focus of the study. Perhaps because one of the researchers is of Doukhobor heritage and has a Doukhobor surname, access to the community was not problematic. Strangers and young people are conspicuous when they attend Doukhobor meetings and this certainly applied to the presence of the researchers at the meetings. After inquiries had been made about our surnames, we inferred that the Doukhobors assumed the one researcher came to learn of his heritage and that the other came as a potential spouse. Despite repeated statements to the effect that we were colleagues, and not betrothed to each other, they continued to look upon the relationship as one of introducing the "English" (i.e. non-Doukhobor) person to the Doukhobor way of life. The fact that there were both male and female researchers was regarded as an asset, given the physical separation of males and females at the meetings. This enabled the researchers to observe and discuss the proceedings from both perspectives.

Although all Doukhobors in regular attendance at the Vancouver Sobranija were willing to talk at length with the researchers, they often referred us to the more elderly Doukhobors. The elderly Doukhobors were said to be the people who better understood their customs. There seemed to be some selectivity in the individuals we were referred to, for there appeared to be a bias toward members of the same faction. While we were

aware of this problem, it was interesting to consider this in relation to the boundaries between the various groups which are often ambiguous and/or not articulated. It should be pointed out again that there were few young people or children who attended meetings and consequently these categories of respondents are not represented in the study.

A similar non-attendance of young people at Russian Orthodox Church services drew attention to the presence of the researchers. Members of the congregation and the clergy were delighted to see a "young couple" regularly attend services throughout this year. The researchers were given the impression that they were seen as potential Church members. When members of the congregation were asked questions about the service, they invariably referred us to the priest since he was considered to be "the expert." Apart from brief comments after the service, members of the laity would not engage in discussions with the researchers about Orthodoxy or the services.

The study concentrated upon the Doukhobors in the first years of the investigation and upon the Russian Orthodox in the last year of data collecting. Our close proximity to the communities enabled us to maintain contacts and to make repeated visits to the same informants over the years. This was especially advantageous in the later stages of the investigation, when it was possible to check the on-going analysis with the respondents. When the taxonomy of Doukhobor gatherings had been constructed, it was shown and explained to various Doukhobors who were asked to make comments. The Russian Orthodox taxonomy of gatherings was constructed by the researchers in conjunction with the priest. In both cases the most usual questions asked at this stage of inquiry were "Is 'x' a kind of gathering?" and "What kind of a gathering is 'x'?"

In addition to procedural matters, there are several difficulties that can arise in joint research. A basic dilemma revolves around the separation of the individual author's ideas and contributions. As the theoretical problems are discussed and worked upon together, it becomes increasingly difficult to assess the individual contributions of the authors since ideas are continually being refined. The ramifications of this are also seen in the manner in which the individuals, as joint authors, are treated by others. It would seem to us that, as joint authors, we have become equated with each other, by the university community, and that we are seen by them as intellectually inseparable. While this problem persists a related but seemingly contradictory problem arises. We are speaking here of the question of equal recognition of authorship. In this particular study there would appear to be added intricacies since one author is male and has a Doukhobor name while the other is female and non-Doukhobor. We have noted from conversations and correspondence that inquiries are generally directed toward the former author and not to the latter. Notwithstanding the difficulties mentioned above, the benefits of a joint undertaking are to be found in the continual development and exchange of ideas, the different orientations the individuals have to offer and therefore the greater scope of investigation which is possible.

GLOSSARY¹

altar 'sanctuary.' Area east of the iconostas in an Orthodox church.

amvon The area in front of the royal doors in an Orthodox church.

analoj 'lecturn.' Lecturn upon which an icon or icons are placed.

antidor Altar bread which has been blessed by the priest. It is usually given to the congregation at the end of the divine liturgy service.

antimins A silk cloth, consecrated by a bishop, which remains on the throne.

beseda A meeting at which an Orthodox priest gives a talk.

beseda A Doukhobor meeting at which some issue is being discussed.

Bog 'God.'

bogomolenie 'God's prayer meeting.' Refers to a Doukhobor prayer meeting. Also molenie.

bogosluženie 'God's services' or 'divine services.' Used by the Russian Orthodox to refer to particular meetings.

božestvennaja liturgija 'divine liturgy.' The Orthodox Sunday Church service. See liturgija.

carskie dveri 'royal doors.' The doors in the middle of the iconostas.

cerkov 'church.'

dom 'house.' Refers to the building in which Doukhobors hold their meetings. Also molitvenyj dom, obščij dom.

Gospodi pomiluj 'Lord have mercy.' An intercession sung by the choir at the divine liturgy.

kliros A square structure in the Russian Orthodox church, enclosed on three sides. Used either by the chanter or choir.

kreščenie 'baptism.' One of the seven sacraments in the Orthodox Church.

¹The meanings given in this glossary are defined primarily with reference to the Doukhobors and the Russian Orthodox Church.

liturgija 'liturgy.' Term used by Russian Orthodox speakers in reference to the divine liturgy. See božestvennaja liturgija.

liturgija 'acts of worship' or 'actions directed toward God.' Term used by the Doukhobors to refer to certain actions in the molenie, poxorony, and svad'ba.

liturgija oglaščenje 'liturgy of the catechumens.' One of the three principal divisions of the divine liturgy.

liturgija vernjaja 'liturgy of the faithful.' A division of the divine liturgy.

moleben 'thanksgiving service.' This is a private church service usually held for an individual.

molenie, molenija 'prayer meeting,' 'prayer meetings.' A shortened form of bogomolenie or 'God's prayer meeting.' Used to refer to a Doukhobor prayer meeting.

molitvenyj dom 'prayer house.' Refers to the building in which Doukhobors hold their meetings. Also dom, obščij dom.

obednja 'mass.' Refers to the divine liturgy. Derived from the word obed, meaning 'dinner,' hence the word implies the sharing of the eucharist meal.

obrad 'custom' or 'tradition.' Used to refer to particular actions and objects in Doukhobor meetings. Also used by Orthodox speakers but not in reference to particular actions and objects.

Obrad 'traditional meeting.' An analytic distinction is made between Obrad and obrad. Obrad refers to an entire meeting which Doukhobors consider to be a 'traditional meeting.'

obščij dom 'community house.' Building in which Doukhobors hold their meetings. Also dom, molitvenyj dom.

obščij poklon 'communal or group bow.' Refers to the Orthodox person bowing and crossing himself. The phrase is sometimes used by Doukhobors in reference to a group bow. See poklonenie and obščee poklonenie.

obščee poklonenie 'communal or group bow.' The usual phrase employed by Doukhobors in reference to a group bow.

obyčaj 'custom' or 'tradition.' Used by the Orthodox in reference to actions within the divine liturgy. Not used by Doukhobors in the context of Sunday meetings.

oglaščenje 'catechumens.' Unbaptized or those preparing for baptism into the Orthodox Church.

Otče naš 'Our Father.' Our Father or the Lord's Prayer.

panixida An Orthodox church service for the dead.

Petrov den' 'Peter's day.' On the 29 June, Doukhobors commemorate the burning of their arms in Russia. Also refers to St. Peter's day (29 June) in the Orthodox Church.

poklon 'bow.' There are various kinds of bows distinguished by the Orthodox and Doukhobors. This term is not frequently used by Doukhobors. See poklonenie, obščij poklon, zemlepoklon, zemlepoklonenie.

poklonenie 'bow.' The word is used by Doukhobors to mean either a bow or the act of bowing and kissing. In standard Russian the word means 'worship.'

pominki 'remembrance service.' Refers to both Russian Orthodox and Doukhobors gathering in remembrance of the deceased. These gatherings are held six weeks and a year after the person has died.

porjadok 'habit.' Also defined by Doukhobors as form or personal way of doing things.

poxorony 'funeral.' The term used by Doukhobors in reference to the singing of psalms over the deceased, the burial and the communal dinner held after the burial.

pre stol 'throne.' The communion table in the Orthodox church.

prítvor 'vestibule.' Parthex or vestibule in an Orthodox church.

proskomedija 'preparation.' The first main division of the divine liturgy.

prosfora 'altar bread.' Leavened altar breads used in the divine liturgy.

psalom 'psalm.'

riznica 'sacristy.' The south-east area behind the iconostas.

seredinaja cerkov' 'nave.' The center of the Orthodox church.

sobranie, sobranija 'gathering,' 'gatherings.' Written with a small "s," sobranie refers to any gathering and consequently the term subsumes all types of particular meetings.

Sobranie, Sobranija 'Community Meeting,' 'Community Meetings.' Capital "S" Sobranie denotes a particular Doukhobor meeting at which hymn singing and discussions take place. It is subsumed by the more general term sobranie ('gathering').

spevka 'choir practice.'

starosta 'elder.' The term is used by Doukhobors to refer to their informal chairman.

starosta 'church warden.' Used by Russian Orthodox speakers to refer to the man who has several duties including looking after the church building.

stix 'verse' or 'hymn.'

stol 'table.' The table upon which Doukhobors place bread, salt and water. Also used to refer to any table in the nave of the Orthodox church.

svad'ba 'wedding.' A Doukhor wedding.

sxodka 'local meeting.' For the Doukhobors the term refers to a meeting within walking distance.

s'ezd 'convention' or 'regional meeting.' Implies travelling to the meeting by vehicle.

trapeza A meal at which a clergyman is present. Among Vancouver Russian Orthodox people it refers to a meal held in the hall after the divine liturgy.

tri duxoborčeskix Obrada 'three Doukhor traditions' or 'three traditional Doukhor meetings'--molenie, noxorony, svad'ba.

utrenja 'matins.' An early morning Orthodox service.

xram 'church.' Usually denotes a large church or cathedral.

večernja 'vespers.' An evening Orthodox service.

venčanie 'crowning.' The wedding service or crowning in the Russian Orthodox Church.

vocerkovlenie 'churching.' A mother brings her infant to a church service forty days after the birth of the child.

Voskresen'e 'Sunday.' The day of resurrection.

zemlepoklon 'bow to the earth.' The term refers to a Russian Orthodox person bowing to the floor and crossing himself.

zemlepoklonenie 'bow to the earth.' The Doukhobors refer to the action of bowing to the floor by this term. See poklonenie.

žertvenik 'table of oblation' or 'table of sacrifice.' The table of oblation is behind the iconostas in the north-east corner of the sanctuary in the Russian Orthodox church.

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