

**„1 DECEMBRIE 1918” UNIVERSITY ALBA IULIA
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THEOLOGY DEPARTMENT**

Resume of the PhD thesis:

**THE OLD RITE ORTHODOX
CHURCH FROM ROMANIA**

**HISTORY, EVOLUTION AND
ACTUALISATION**

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Keywords:

Lipovans, liturgical reformation, The Russian Orthodox Church, Old Rite, Patriarch Nikon, Avvakum Petrovici, The Metropolis of Staryi Vovchynets, Russian Lipovans, orthodox missiology, sectology, dialogue, ecumenism, The Romanian Orthodox Church, The Lipovan Church, The Old Rite Orthodox Church from Romania, Lipovan.

Acknowledgements of the thesis

During the official Christianisation of the Russian people in the 10th century, there was set the basis of an eastern Christian community which was meant to develop the further centuries, becoming nowadays an extraordinary religious authority, highly supported by the political power. Since the period of the last dynasties of the Byzantine Empire, the byzantine traditions were transferred to the Russian Orthodoxy, due to the oppressive Ottoman and Latin threats addressed to Constantinople, proved politically weakened at that time. The fall of Constantinople (1453) and the Metropolitan of Moscow turned into Patriarchy, (1589) were the two main events which motivated intellectuals and clergy of that time to reach the conclusion that the Byzantine tradition and the Orthodox leadership should have been taken by the Russian Orthodox Church. However, the Russian Orthodoxy started to develop apart from the communion to the other Orthodox Patriarchies, and the worship and the religious life were

generally torn away from the authentic traditions of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

In the 17th century, Patriarch Nikon started a liturgical reformation causing great religious and political tension because of its mismanagement and the unwilling result generated to the Russian clergy and flocks, animated by the secularised authority of the state, generating an unfortunate schism with two groups: the supporters of the Nikonian Reforms and the followers of the traditional Russian old Rite. Starting with this point the Lipovans were given birth, characterised by conservatism seldom exaggerated, supported by their refusal for any religious or liturgical innovation. Although the Council of Moscow (1666-1667) agreed Nikon's reforms and blamed the reluctance of the old believers, the tensions continued even more intensified. The political power, approved by the ecclesiastical authority began a set of persecutions, more or less fair, aiming the old rite believers. This tense and tragic situation lasted for several centuries, until 1971, when the anathema of the Council of 1666 was abolished and the dialogue with the Lipovans was resumed in the recent decades.

Persecuted and weakened, the Lipovans were forced to settle in remote areas of Russia or other areas outside the borders. Thus, a large community of old believers was settled in the Romanian Lands being known under the name of Russian Lipovans. Our country welcomed and provided them the possibility to express their religion and integrated

into a group of people who openly advocated for freedom and mutual understanding for all. Thereby, the Russian Lipovans have become not simply a minority but an ethnic and religious group who attended many important events of the Romanian people. Simultaneous to the official acknowledgement of the Old Rite Christian Church with article 673/1949, the Old Rite Orthodox Church from Romania, with its residence at Braila, has become part of the religious cults accepted by the Romanian Constitution. Nowadays, the community of the Russian Lipovans preserve an old ethnic and religious tradition worthy to be analysed and examined.

Contextualisation of the content of the thesis

This scientific research entitled *The Old Rite Romanian Orthodox Church. History, evolution and actualisation*, submitted for the PhD in Theology, has been started in 2019, at the PhD Theology Department of the “1 Decembrie 1918” University of Alba Iulia, under the supervision of PhD Rev. Professor Mihai Himcinschi, the head teacher of the Dogmatic Theology department. It should also be mentioned that the year 2016 when I signed for the PhD courses, the Rev. professor was teaching Orthodox Missiology, accordingly, the theory framework, the paths for research and the objectives had been structured to cover up the area of Missiology. Most of the thesis is more likely fitted to an auxiliary domain of Orthodox Missiology. Thus, at an objective approach, the

research would convey Theological and others domains, as well. There had been used historical concepts to present the general background, social aspects to link the topic to the social approach of the last four centuries, and the liturgic concepts to provide a point of view related to the leading causes of the Lipovan Schism in the 17th century.

This research is distinguished by the usage of historical, liturgic, social and missionary content of the bibliography which had been carefully analysed and exploited in the process of elaboration of the thesis. It ought to be mentioned that the Orthodox Missiology doesn't recently use the terminology of sect or sectology. In the actual social and religious context, the newly approach of the above terms is: religious movements, cults, religious entities or religious groups. The term of sect is rarely used only in contexts describing groups of people who promote and apply fundamental or radical religiosity among themselves and the people around them, as we see the example of certain neo protestant cults nowadays. In the 20th century we could find many books of Sectology which were meant to present historically and evolutionarily, certain religious movements from outside the Orthodox Church, but also missionary directions which might be used in relation and dialogue with these movements.

The topic of this thesis fits the structure of the Sectology domain, overcoming a typical discourse, presenting, generally, only negative aspects or simply subjective ideas of the old rite church and particularly, the

Lipovan cult in Romania. Analysing objectively the old rite religion, it should be mentioned that this cult has had some features specific to sects starting from 17th century until today, but many of those have been vanishing and the Lipovan cult may no longer be regarded as an archaic fundamentalist religious cult with an ancient doctrine. Therefore, the Old Rite Orthodox Church serve as an important element in the religious culture of our country regarding their mission, and to whom the Romanian Orthodox Church had a reasonable and constructive dialogue during the last century. The mission of our Church is not to fight against any other religious cults but to preserve the truth about God, focusing on the real danger of our century: the desacralization of the world.

Reasons for choosing the topic

The topic of this thesis has not been chosen at random. One of the reasons would be that in the context of losing most of the religion substance, it is fundamental that all the Orthodox Churches gather their forces. If in the previous centuries the menace for the Orthodox Church came from protestant and neo protestant cults, and other oriental religious manifestations, nowadays, the Romanian Orthodox Church has to fight more and more against the secularized world which attempts to remove religion from the public space by underestimating spiritual values of the humans. Thus, the Old Rite Orthodox Church could be considered a good ally in the fight against secularisation,

that becomes more and more intensified. The second reason for choosing this topic is the poor research of the topic in the Romanian orthodox theology. This position might be supported by the fact that the ethnic Russian Lipovans represent a minor percentage in the population of the country, however we find necessary a real, pertinent and well-balanced approach of the topic.

The main theory the thesis is based upon

This research started with the question: *Who are the Russian Lipovans and can we speak about a good inter – relationship or a constructive dialogue between the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Old Rite Orthodox Church from Romania?* In order to clarify the answer, it is required to analyse the main causes of the Lipovans' schism in order to avoid those mistakes for the future, but also to set some missionary directions as to facilitate a good dialogue between the two cults, so as to reach a common final goal: the unity of the Church, portraying the importance of the Orthodoxy in the world and providing a spiritual refuge for the modern man who is broke away from religion and God.

General aims and main objectives of the thesis

In the existing context, when the materialistic society seems to overlook the idea of religion, or any other profound aspects related to the idea of faith: like the spiritualisation of the world and the focus on the spiritual side of the human, this thesis is meant to bring out historical

information and missionary data related to the cult that has constantly been misunderstood or suppressed. Nowadays, the mission of the church filtered by an active ecumenism, is to promote dialogue and also identify mutual resemblances with other cults which could be used for the spiritual improvement of the human, disregarding the tendency of judgement or dominance over negative aspects or paucity of any religious movements. Taking into account the above-mentioned arguments, this thesis is intended to point out similarities between the two cults that might be put into dialogue: the old rite Church and the Orthodox Church.

The first objective of the thesis is to present historically the birth, the development and the evolution up to nowadays of the old rite Church, being constantly aware that any historic event or any religion could not be analysed objectively unless it is defined a context of formation and evolution. It is generally easy to qualify as superficial the old rite Christians and especially the Russian Lipovans as being schismatic. But, if we look carefully at their historic background, we could notice that their conservatism is in fact justified by the incorrect implementation of the liturgic reform of Patriarch Nikon, but also by the unfair involvement of the state in this matter, who was willing to satisfy his own political and social interests, over the religious aspirations of the people. The presentation of this historical context is expanded up to the present day in order to see the position taken by the Russian Orthodox Church

in this tragic event, but also the reason why certain old believers moved to the Romanian territories.

The second objective of this thesis is to focus on the birth and the evolution of the Russian Lipovans community on our lands. Likewise, it will be analysed the way they blended into the social, political and religious pattern of our country, and their response to the legislative framework. The Romanian Orthodox Church, represented by specialists in Missiology, has tried to comprehend the characteristics of the old rite Christians, especially in the second part of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. Thus, there will be presented perspectives on the topic, and also the position of the representatives of the Russian Lipovans in certain political and religious events and manifestations from the history of the Romanian people.

The third and probably the most important objective of this thesis is the missionary aspect of the topic. Starting with the missionary reform made by Nikon in the 17th century, focusing on the main cause of the so-called schism of the old rite, we will point out situations which might be avoided or differently approached in order to keep clean the image of the Orthodox Church.

The fourth objective is to highlight common characteristics which could facilitate closeness and might promote and support dialogue between the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Old Rite Church from Romania. We concede it far more important because the mission of the Church is to develop the paths and the ideas of their faith on positive aspects. This is the best way to discuss and

analyse distinct, parallel and negative aspects and eventually removed. The old rite Christians and the Russian Lipovans have been put aside and condemned for their faith throughout history, justifying their tendency of introspection and reluctance in dialogue and social relationships, although we gladly notice a change in attitude in the last few decades. Moreover, we could provide some missionary directions and opportunities for discussion through which our Church might have a dialogue and come closer to the Russian Lipovan community.

Previous studies related to the topic

The reform initiated by Patriarch Nikon in the second half of the 17th century in the Russian Orthodox Church, generated the apparition of certain apologetic writings from those who were defending the preservation of the old russian orthodox rite and the authors were not only bishops or intellectuals but also priests, monks and Christians. The reformative measures applied and often imposed were supported more or less realistic by the official Church and by the political power, as well. During the subsequent centuries after the Council of Moscow in 1666-1667, a great number of Russian clergy and theologians, who supported the old believers rite and were specialized in philosophy, sociology and literature, have written about the Lipovan schism, about the measures and the persecutions initiated by the Church over this religious group, providing an opinion on the topic.

When old rite Christians started to flee outside the borders of the Russian territory, forced by the oppressive measures taken by the political power at the command of the Russian official Church, there have appeared other writings related to the religious and social profile of the Lipovans. Analysis on the old rite Christians could not be found only on Russian territories but also in the western lands. We could find studies, articles and dissertations of some foreign scientists who were passionate by the study of this phenomenon, or other Russian theologians who were remarked in Theology for their approach on the topic and whose researches were translated in English and French. The most representative research is professor's Paul Meyendorff thesis entitled *Russia, Ritual and Reform. The liturgical Reforms of Nikon in the 17th century*, in which the events are exposed in a concise and objective way, presenting Nikon's reform and the birth of the Lipovans. I have also used as reference the researches of other theologians and scientists who have studied the subject, as: John Meyendorff, George Florovski, Nikolai Uspenski, Georg Michels, Pierre Gonneau, etc.

In the Romanian theology, the subject has been analysed for the first time by the Orthodox Bishop Melchisedec Stefanescu (1823-1892), into an emblematic project remembered until today and entitled *Lipovans, or Old Believers or Old Rituals and the Russian Heretics*, printed in 1871. It was one of the most ample written book under the name of this Romanian Bishop, whose topic was of a great interest, being also translated in Greek and

printed at Constantinople in 1876. Although it has been criticised by the Russian Lipovan community, its importance is generally acknowledged. At the end of the 19th century another monograph of the Lipovans, written by the Orthodox priest Dan Dimitrie (1856-1927) from Bucovina, appeared and is entitled *The Lipovans from Bucovina*. During the 20th century, the topic of Lipovans has also been found in researches of other Romanian theologians and missiologists, specialized in sectology, as: Vasile Gh. Ispir, Pr. Alexandru Constantinescu, Petru Deheleanu, or Petru I. David. The topic is also presented in the anthologies of Orthodox Missiology, focusing more on the aspect of religious movement of the Old Rite community, rather than on the idea of sect. The Old Rite schism is analysed too in the Romanian Theology by some specialists in the history of the church.

In the process of writing this thesis we have used some books, studies, and articles belonging to some intellectuals of the Russian Lipovans community in Romania. Even though their researches haven't been well known, and couldn't be easily found in many theologian libraries from our country, we have managed to read them for this thesis. But, it is important to mention that most of them consist of social and historic detailed information. Religious and theological information is very rare, only when providing information about life and the activity of some communities of Old Rite believers, notably bishops. We will name some important book used as scientific resource for our thesis: *The tragedy of the Russian schism:*

The Reform of Patriarch Nikon and the beginning of the Lipovans (Alexandr Varona, 2002) which we consider the best study regarding the history of the Lipovans, *Russian Lipovans from Romania. A study of human geography* (Filip Ipatiov, 2002), *The Lipovans. Linguistic studies* (Victor Vascenco, 2003), *The community of Russian Lipovans* (Svetlana Moldovan, 2004), *The Lipovans: History, mythology, literature* (Alexandra Fenoghen, 2009), *Roman Municipality and the community of Russian Lipovans* (Petru Flenchea, 2009), *Catholic, protestant and Lipovan Communities from Basarabia during the 19th century* (Ion Gumenai, 2013), *Russian Lipovans in Bucovina (1774-2012). Contributions* (Daniel Hrenciuc, 2013), *Russian Lipovans from Iasi. Social, demographic and economical dynamics* (Pavel Iacob, 2013), *The Russian Lipovans from Romania – history and present. The Community of the Russian Lipovans from Braila – role model of pluri-ethical in a national and international context* (Pavel Tudose, 2015), *The Russian Lipovan monograph from Braila. Fishing as traditional activity* (Ioan Muntean, 2015), *Russian Lipovans in studies and documents – 2 tomes* (Leonte Ivanov, 2019), *The culture and the traditions of the Russian Lipovans – Remembrance* (Feodor Chirila, 2019), *From the history of the Russian Lipovans* (Feodor Chirila, 2019), *The Lipovans. Files of history and spirituality* (Alexandr Varona, 2020), *Russian Lipovans from Dobrogea – history and specific traditions (the second half of the 18th century – 2011)* (Cerasela Dobrinescu, 2020), *The Russian Lipovans from Romania:*

history, identity, community (Marius Lazar, Iulia Elena-Hossu – editors, 2020), etc. The Bibliography and the footnotes also provide other titles of books and articles which belong to the above mentioned authors, but also belonging to other specialists and intellectuals who have written about the Russian Lipovan community and the old rite faith.

It must be noted an important aspect regarding the stage of the research and the material used for writing this thesis. Really useful for the research have been the two magazines belonging to the Russian lipovan community from our country: *Downs and Kitej-Grad*. The first of the two is an informational periodical written in Romanian and Russian, published monthly for a duration of over there decades (the first one was published in November 1990), describing events happened in the old rite communities from Romania, but also consist of well documented studies about the history of the Lipovans, about life and the activity of certain personalities. The second magazine appears also monthly, not as old as the *Downs*, which appears under the coordination of the Research and Study Centre with reference to the Russian Lipovans from Romania.

The methodology of the research

Whereas this thesis has an interdisciplinary feature, we have used in our research several scientific methods in order to achieve all the intended objectives and to provide an overall and objective perspective of the topic. The methodology of the research consisted of a thorough

analysis of several biographical resources, both in Romanian and other languages, in order to present the most important information related to the history, tradition, evolution and the present of the Lipovans, in general, but particularly the Russian Lipovans. Our main purpose was finding and analysing books, articles and documents which stood for the importance of the topic, mostly through their importance but also through their latest apparition. Firstly, we have used the historic-critic method, through which we have managed to track the most important coordinates regarding the rise of the Lipovans, also their evolution during the last centuries and their actual settlement; all of these leading to the formation and acknowledgement from the Romanian state of the Old Rite Orthodox Church in Romania. This above-mentioned method helped us to identify the cause which inflicted the rise of this religious cult and the reason why they settled here. We have used the comparative method, as well, by making a correspondence between the cult, tradition and the religious and social manifestation of the Russian Lipovans and our Romanian Church. Although we have tried to point out not necessarily negative aspects but mutual elements which could provide for a beneficial dialogue between the two churches. Regarding the viewpoints and the appropriate direction related to the topic we have used the analytic-synthetic method. This method helped us to outline precise information, yet unpublished regarding old rite orthodox believers' community from Romania.

Briefings of each chapter

The first chapter of the thesis. Entitled *The genesis and the development of the old rite orthodox cult*, had as main purpose the outlining of the most important historical, social, political and religious information regarding the rise of the Lipovans, their development for the last centuries and the Russian Orthodox Church's position for the existence of this religious group considered schismatic up to now. The first part of this research adds information related to the most important facts of the period between the Russian's convert to Christianity (10th century) up to the 16th century, focusing on the important aspects related to the general atmosphere of the beginning of the 17th century, which was defining for the break between the old orthodox believers and the official Church due to the intensity of the events and extensive tension. In this chapter we will also present the social, political and religious context of the 17th century, pointing out the main reasons for the tension between the two groups, leading to the scission of the Russian Orthodox Church. The second part of the chapter is exclusively related to the mandatory Nikonian reform and the rise of the Lipovans, focusing on its implementation and also the decisions of the Orthodox Council of Moscow (1666-1667) which affected mostly the situation of the old believers and the status of the political power related to the Church. We have also inserted some personal historical references by motivating the reasons for the apparition of a schism due to the religious tension during the second half of the 17th century in Russia. The third part of the chapter

displays the Lipovans' situation after 1667 until nowadays. In this chapter there are presented short biographies of three important figures in the history of the Lipovans (archpriest Avvakum Petrovici, governess Morozova and priest Nikita Dobrynin) who are highly appreciated until today by the community of the old ritualists, but also their relationship with the Church and the State. This chapter is ended with the presentation of some of the most representative events from the last decade in order to support the closeness between the Old Rite Church and The Russian Church.

The second chapter entitled *The history and the recent position of the Old Rite orthodox Church in Romania*, is meant to define the context in which the Lipovans settled here, their hierarchy in the church and their relationship with the Romanian country and the Romanian Orthodox Church in the present days. The first part of the chapter introduces the reasons why the old believers had chosen to flee their homes from Russia and settle in Bucovina, Basarabia, Moldova and Dobrogea, marking the foundation of the Metropolitan at the White Fountain, an important event for the evolution of the Old Rite Orthodox Church although controversial for the researchers and specialists. Furthermore, we present the Russian Lipovans' position related to the most important events from our history, as: the Great Union in 1918, the apparition of communism in Romania or the return to democracy in 1989. The second part of the chapter expose some details related to the statistic situation of the Lipovan cult, pointing out the number of believers, the organizational structure of the Old

Rite Orthodox Church from Romania and the lipovan monastic settlements from our country. The third part of the chapter consists of a well-documented research on the course of dialogue and the relationship between the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Old Rite Church, starting from Bishop Melchisedec Stefanescu until today, pointing out the most important events in our church which cross the topic under discussion.

The third chapter, entitled: *Doctrinal and liturgical peculiarities of the Old Rite related to other Orthodox Churches* brings under the spotlight the most important missionary, liturgical and historical subjects underlying the old ritual by comparison to the general aspects of the other Orthodox Churches. The first part of this chapter of the thesis brings up the most important aspects and the analysis of the Lipovan schism of the 17th century such as: cross oneself by using two fingers, the changes made to the Nicene Creed, the number of wafers used during the religious service, the directions of the church services, etc. The second part of the chapter consists of a personal analysis on the importance of iconography and of the icon for the Russian Lipovans, pointing out their faithfulness for the icon, which is a worthy example in this secular society. The third part of the chapter brings into the spot light the liturgic reform of the Lipovans, analysed from the missionary point of view, considered very important by some liturgists. Therefore, we will prove how it could affect the unity of the church a misapplied liturgic reform. We believe that only by understanding the correct application

of the liturgic reform and its impact on the unity of the churches, we could make a bond to the Old Rite Orthodox Church if not a communion. The last part of the chapter presents some missionary directions in relationship to the old believers by asking one essential question: Could we say that the Russian Lipovans in general and the Lipovans in particular are considered a sect? It is quite a sensitive topic, analysed by Romanian orthodox missiologists from the second half of the 19th century until nowadays.

The presentation of the content of the thesis

INTRODUCTION

I. THE GENESIS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OLD RITE CULT

1.1. RUSSIA DURING THE 17TH CENTURY – POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONTEXT

- 1.1.1. Political and executory system
- 1.1.2. Social environment and movements
- 1.1.3. The Russian Orthodox Church in the first
half of the 17th century

1.2 PATRIARCH NIKON'S REFORM AND THE SUPPORTERS OF THE OLD RITE CHURCH

- 1.2.1. The Nikonian Reform and the Lipovans
- 1.2.2. The Great Orthodox Council of Moscow
(1666-1667)
- 1.2.3. The refusal of the Nikonian reform.
Personal considerations

1.3. THE SITUATION OF THE LIPOVANS IN RUSSIA AFTER 1667 UNTIL TODAY

- 1.3.1. Three emblematic personalities of the
Lipovans: archpriest Avvakum Petrovici,
governess Feodosia Morozova and priest
Nikita Dobrynin
- 1.3.2. The situation of the Lipovans after the
Council of Moscow from 1666-1667

II. THE HISTORY, THE EVOLUTION AND THE ACTUAL SITUATION OF THE OLD RITE ORTHODOX CHURCH FROM ROMANIA

2.1. THE CONTEXT OF SETTLEMENT OF THE OLD BELIEVERS IN THE ROMANIAN TERRITORIES

- 2.1.1. Preliminary. The divisions of the Old Rite Orthodox Church
- 2.1.2. The context of settlement of the old rite believers in the Romanian territories
- 2.1.3. The origin of the notion of “lipovan”
- 2.1.4. The Metropolis settled at the White Fountain
- 2.1.5. The Russian Lipovans and the Great Union of 1918
 - 2.1.5.1. *The Great union of 1918 and the local minorities*
 - 2.1.5.2. *The Russian Lipovans and the Great Union of 1918.*
 - 2.1.5.3. *The religious and politic status of the Russian Lipovans after 1918*
 - 2.1.5.4. *The Russian Lipovans and the hundred anniversary of the Great Union*

2.2. THE OLD RITE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE PRESENT

- 2.2.1. The actual statistic regarding the lipovan cult (number of believers, bishoprics, parishes and clergy)
- 2.2.2. Monastic lipovan settlements from our country

- 2.3. RAPPORT AND DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE ROMANIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH AND THE OLD RITE ORTHODOX CHURCH
 - 2.3.1 Bishop Melchisedec Stefanescu and the old believers
 - 2.3.2 The Russian Lipovans and the conferences of peace
 - 2.3.3 Patriarch Justinian Marina and the Metropolitan Ioasaf Timofei
 - 2.3.4 The theology school department for the old Rite Orthodox Church
 - 2.3.5 The religion class

III. DOCTRINAL AND LITURGICAL PECULIARITIES OF THE OLD RITE RELATED TO OTHER ORTHODOX CHURCHES

- 3.1. RELIGIOUS PECULIARITIES OF THE OLD RITE CULT
 - 3.1.1. The spelling of the word Jesus
 - 3.1.2. Crossing oneself using two fingers instead of three
 - 3.1.3. Changes made to the Nicene Creed
 - 3.1.4. The number of wafers used during the religious service
 - 3.1.5. The directions of the church services
 - 3.1.6. The religious verse: “Hallelujah, Hallelujah, praise to you God!” and its changes
 - 3.1.7. The cross with four arms vs. the cross with eight arms; the Russian painting vs. the Renaissance painting
- 3.2. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ICONOGRAPHY AND OF THE ICON FOR THE RUSSIAN LIPOVANS

- 3.2.1. The Russian iconography until the 17th century
- 3.2.2. The Russian icon and the old believers (the Lipovans)
- 3.2.3. The importance of the iconography and of the icon for the Russian Lipovans nowadays
- 3.3. THE LITURGIC REFORM AND THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH BY THE MISSIONARY POINT OF VIEW
 - 3.3.1. Conformity and diversity of the cult in the history of the Orthodox Church
 - 3.3.2. The Mission of the church and the importance of the liturgical reform in the Orthodox Church
 - 3.3.3. The Unification of the Church through the diversity of the cult as mandatory
- 3.4. MISSIONARY DIRECTIONS IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE OLD BELIEVERS (LIPOVANS)
 - 3.4.1. Are the old believers of the Russian Lipovans a sect?
 - 3.4.2. The mission of the Church in relation to the Russian Lipovans

CONCLUSIONS

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: The text of the document from the local council of the Russian Orthodox Church from May 30 – June 2, 1971, through which it is decided to remove the anathematization of the old rites and their supporters.

APPENDIX 2: Patriarch Justinian's preach at the installment of the new Metropolitan Ioasaf Timofei as commissioner of the Old Rite Lipovan cult

APPENDIX 3: The confession of faith in written and read in the church by heterodox and schismatic believers in converting to Orthodoxy. For the Lipovans.

APPENDIX 4: Title page and issues of the paper of Melchisedec Ștefănescu, *Lipovenismul, adică schismaticii sau rascolnicii și ereticii rusești*

APPENDIX 5: Title page of Dimitrie Dan, *Lipovenii din Bucovina*

APPENDIX 6: Illustrative pictures for the history of the Lipovans

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