

Adam Drozdek

LOPUKHIN AND THE SPIRITUAL RENEWAL

Ivan Vladimirovich Lopukhin was born in 1756 on his noble family estate in Voskresenskoe in the Orel' province, son of Vladimir Ivanovich Lopukhin, a military man and a nephew of tsarina Evdokia Fedorovna. Ivan was brought up in a religious atmosphere. In 1775, he served for a few months in the Preobrazhenskii regiment, but the service ended with his illness. In 1777, he joined the army from which he resigned in 1782 in the rank of colonel and became a counselor in the Moscow criminal court and, in 1784, the president of this court. In 1785, after he was permitted to leave this post in the rank of state counselor, he occupied himself full time with masonry. In 1796, he became a state counselor in the court of Paul I, and after leaving the court in 1797, a senator in Moscow to handle criminal affairs (fifth department, later sixth department). In 1801-1805, he was heading a commission for Tatar affairs, which required making prolonged trips to Crimea. From 1807, he handled appeals from the lower courts (eighth department). In 1807, tsar Alexander I nominated him a secret counselor. In 1812, at the time of Napoleon's invasion, he retired to Voskresenskoe never to return to Moscow. He died in 1816.

Masonry

Lopukhin led a very rich spiritual life. He was religious from early childhood. As a young man, he became enchanted by the fashionable philosophy of the encyclopedists but soon renounced their views. As he described it, "I was never a real free-thinker, but, it seems, I tried more to assure myself about [the truth of] freethinking than about its absurdity, and gladly did I read Voltaire's ridicule of religion, Rousseau's refutations and other such works. A very remarkable event changed my reading taste and decisively turned me away from freethinking. When reading the well-known book *Système de la nature*, with delight did I read at its end an extract of the whole book, under the name of the *Code de la nature*. I translated this code, admired my translation, but it was not possible to print it. I decided to distribute it

in manuscript, but right after the first one was finished in the most beautiful handwriting, suddenly I felt an indescribable remorse: I could not fall asleep at night until I burned my beautiful notebook. However, I still was not at peace until I had written, as if to purify myself, *Reflection on the misuse of reason by some new writers [and refutation of their harmful principles]*" (1780) (Z 19-20 note).¹ In this work, Lopukhin pronounced the author of the *System of nature*, i.e., Holbach, and D. [Diderot?], "and such like authors" to be enemies of humankind who made their reason to be a weapon for the destruction of people (R 5, 18). Lopukhin's enmity toward French Enlightenment philosophers never waned. In his rare satirical writing (third chapter of the *Outpouring of the heart*, also published separately as the *Description of the dream of equality and violent liberty*), he spoke about Mr. L'Impiétémême, an author of *Système de la nature*, who could not yet decide who is more rational, himself or his horse (I 75-76). On a more serious tone, he counted these philosophers as members of the church of the Antichrist since they wanted to prove that the soul is mortal, self-love is the basis of all action, and Christianity amounts to fanaticism (N 3.4). The worst are deniers of the incarnation of Christ or His divinity. Some of them are atheists. Such writers lead people to believe in

¹ References will be made to the following works of Lopukhin:

I – *Излияние сердца, чтущего благодать единоначалия и ужасающегося, взирая на пагубные плоды мечтания, равенства и буйной свободы*, Калуга 1794.

M – *Масонские труды И.В. Лопухина*, Москва: Товарищество типографии А.И. Маионтова 1913: 'Ο *ζήλοσοφος: Искатель премудрости, или Духовный рыцарь* (1791), pp. 1.1-37; Любопытству читателя, p. 1.50; О свойстве и происхождении истинного каменщичество древней системы, pp. 1.52-54; О влиянии истинного каменщичество в церковь X. и о внутренней церкви вообще, pp. 1.55-59; Краткое изображение качеств и должностей истинного христианина, pp. 2.59-72.

N – *Некоторые черты о внутренней церкви* (1798) (M 2.1-57). There is an English translation of this work: Ivan V. Lopukhin, *Some characteristics of the interior church*, Mesa: Scriptoria Books 2009 [1912].

NK – *Нравоучительный катехизис истинных Ф-к М-в [франкмасонов]* (1790) (M 1.39-48).

NR – *Нечто для размышления о молитве и сущности христианства*, Орел: В губернской типографии 1814.

O – *Отрывки сочинения одного старинного судьи и его же Замечание на известную книгу Руссову: di Contrat Social*, Москва: В Университетской типографии 1809.

R – *Рассуждение о злоупотреблении разума некоторыми новыми писателями, и опровержение их вредных правил*, Москва: В Университетской типографии у Н. Новикова 1780.

V – *Вопль старинного судьи, которого иные на смех называют филантропом, Чтения в Императорском Обществе истории и древностей российских при Московском университете 1862, vol. 2, pt. 5, 144-155.*

Z – *Записки из некоторых обстоятельств жизни и службы действительного тайного советника и сенатора И.В. Лопухина*, Лондон: Trübner 1860 [1809].

imaginary equality and to defy human and divine law of respect for authorities. Such frenzy was a cause of ruin in France (3.5) so that France became a den of robbers (I 12). It is clear that “works of Voltaires, Diderots, Helvetiuses and any other anti-Christian freethinkers heavily contributed to today’s foolishness in France” (i.e., to the revolution)² and only the wise infected by the French rot would want to serve the devil and his kingdom (NR §31).

In 1782, two years after his anti-Enlightenment epiphany, Lopukhin joined the masonic order (Z 19-20 note), where he was very active. Soon, in 1784, he became a great master of the lodge “Shining Star” and supervised all Russian lodges. In 1783-1786, he was a publisher of books of primarily a spiritual nature, in which he was assisted by Novikov. He also published a short-lived *Freemasonic Magazine* (only two issues were published in 1784).

Lopukhin was not entirely satisfied with the ritual aspects of the existing masonic orders and designed his own in the *The zelosopher: the [zealous] seeker for the truth or the spiritual knight*. He described the appearance of the room at the time of induction of a new member. The room should have three tables. On one table covered with black cloth, there was the Bible was opened on Wisdom 6-7, the sign of the knight (the cross in the heart) (M 1.5), a sword, a candlestick, a skull above a lit lamp, a small vessel with water, and a small board with the inscription: “know thyself [and thereby] discover happiness that is inside of you.” On the second table covered with white cloth, there was a star with the letter G inside surrounded by four candles and an apron. Against this table, on the wall, there was a board with the inscription: “Blessed is who hears in his heart loud proclamation of the Word of God and sees the revelation of the divine light in Nature.” On the third table covered with yellow cloth, there was a vessel with water, a glove, and a masonry spade (5). However, most of the description of the induction ceremony is devoted to speeches, prayers, and songs that should be said and sung at a particular moment. For instance, he who introduces the candidate, prays that “may Wisdom Herself ... ignite in the heart of the seeking true, real desire to seek Her and may She help him in this arduous travel” (7). During inception, the candidate swears “to ask the Wisdom from God, to serve and worship Him; true worship is *with spirit and truth*: the Spirit is God and he who worships Him, should worship [Him] in spirit and in truth. John 4:24” (15). He swears to protect the soul and body from pollution and to avoid everything that can stand in the way of finding Wisdom; [he swears] to love and serve neighbors (15). The candidate should seek help from the

² Letter to Kutuzov, 14 Oct. 1790, in Я.Л. Барсков, *Переписка московских масонов XVIII-го века 1780-1792 гг.*, Петроград: Издание Императорской Академии Наук 1915, p. 16.

Source of this Wisdom (15); he should “try to know creation to see in it the Creator, to see the Creator only on account of love for Him” (17) and remember “the divine Teacher who through the fire of His suffering made possible the renewal, illumination, and infinite happiness of all creation”; “may we always love this Saving *Mystery of the Cross* in which the wisdom of this world does not believe” (19). At the end of times, “those suffering with Wisdom will be honored with Her: they will enter to the joy of Her divine triumph to the blessed Infinite Eternity of Inhabitants of the One World where the joyous Saints of the *Ineffable* are delighted by songs of Pure Spirits singing about the Glory of the *Trice-holy*: they will unite with them their voices and *in one church* there will be One Voice and One Eye for glorification and contemplation of all created and uncreated Marvels and Beauties” (22). At the opening of a meeting of a lodge, the head of the meeting should say this prayer: “O Three-in-one, One Omnipotent, Wise and Merciful God! who said with the mouth of Your Only Begotten Son, through Your holy incarnate Word, that Your Kingdom is in us. Give us Wisdom born of You; send her from holy Heavens and from the Throne of Your Glory so that it can be with us and give us understanding what is pleasing to You” (28).

In all these prayers, an emphasis is placed on Wisdom, which is fitting the ceremony and a meeting of the seekers of Wisdom. Unmistakably, however, this is the Wisdom of the Biblical provenance, since Wisdom is “the Vapor of God’s Power and Pure Outpouring of Glory of the Ruler of all: Shining of Light of the Eternal and the pure Mirror of God’s activity” (Wisdom 7:25-26). It is everywhere, but only those who love it can see it; fear of God is the main prerequisite (M 1.26). Moreover, the seeker of Wisdom should love God and neighbor, try to know God’s will, try to please Him, to be inflamed by the desire of Wisdom (27), investigate his surroundings and try to reach the innermost parts, escape vanity, love silence and by turning into oneself, try to know the root of evil to be able to inflict a damage on the kingdom of darkness from which he should free himself (28). Sons of Wisdom are motivated only by the Spirit of Love that unites them in one body, lives in them, guides them, consoles and fortifies them. They can be recognized by willingness to suffer for the Loved One (29). For all these reasons, the holiday of the seeker of Wisdom that is “God the Word that became incarnate for our sake,” should be the day of Christmas (37).

The zelosopher, the most masonic work of Lopukhin, uses masonic terminology and symbolism to a very limited extent. If this symbolism is set aside, then the meetings of a masonic lodge look very much like meetings of a Christian society for the promotion of Christian spirituality. The impression is not misleading

because this is the way Lopukhin wanted to treat masonic lodges, and this is reflected in the spirit in all of his religious writings.

God

Lopukhin did not have any doubt that God exists. Just in case someone did, then according to Lopukhin, the standard physico-theological argument should suffice: God's existence and God's "goodness, justice, and wisdom manifest themselves in all creations which prove the existence of one, eternal, infinite Being. What an ineffable art! What order! What beauty! What a harmony everywhere." It is enough to look at humans to know that God exists (R 9). Humans can overcome the strongest animals, break up mountains, and predict astronomical events. Only the blind can say that the makeup of the universe and man in it is the result of random events (10).

Such statements may appear as an encouragement to zealously study nature – as it was usually applied by physico-theologians, but Lopukhin advocated restraint in that respect. Not all can and should study nature. If some do, then the investigation of nature should not be done for one's own benefit, not for amusement, but in obedience to God, and it should not be pushed too far by trying to go beyond divinely prescribed boundaries (N 8.26). Apparently, the study of nature can be done for the benefit of others to, for instance, be able to increase crops, to mine natural resources better, or to protect oneself from the elements better. A research must not be done to satisfy mere scientific curiosity by trying to penetrate God's mysteries. Even in the driest of research, there has to be a spiritual motivation. This is true both for believers and unbelievers.

Knowledge of nature allows the regenerated, i.e., committed Christians, to appreciate the goodness and majesty of God better and can strengthen their faith (N 8.22). Knowledge of nature "reveals in the smallest creature, in the meanest plant an image of the incarnate Word and of all that It created for our salvation ... How useful is the art with which the wise unite, separate, and stir entities, analyze their makeup and return them to their original elements; in this activity, they see with their own eyes mysteries of Jesus Christ, consequences of His suffering and in the summary, in chemical phenomena they see all past and future results of His incarnation!" (8.23). Such knowledge is useful for those who want to enter the path of regeneration since it gives an idea about the workings of the Omnipresent and leads to stirring the fear of God in one's heart, which is the beginning of wisdom (8.24). If knowledge of "the outer threads of rough, elementary clothing of nature that constitutes Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, and so on, taught in regular

schools” leads to the situation when among practitioners of these sciences there is no one doubting in the existence of God, so much more useful should be the “theory of inner cognition of nature that comes from heavenly school” through which one can discover “in all creatures an image of the Holy Trinity in the trinity established by It in nature,” and thus discover the action of God in creation (8.25). How exactly the existence of the Trinity can be detected in the trinity established in nature is unclear and so is the essence of this trinity in nature. However, the heavenly school seems to be somehow involved in the process, which seems to mean that God assists people in their quest for knowledge and will guide those searching with pure motives in the right direction.

This assistance is a given for Lopukhin. “Man was created for eternal happiness in an ineffable paradise of sweetness” (N 1.2) and God created all for man’s perfect happiness which is possible through a virtuous life (R 17). God also gave humans reason and conscience to be their guides toward happiness (11). They should use the voice of reason and the voice of conscience to restore happiness which characterized human life in the original state of humanity; they can do that, at least to a significant extent, in this life, and can open a possibility of perfect happiness in their future life. They, however, cannot accomplish it on their own strength. They have to turn to God and to His Son.

New birth

How can happiness in this world and, more importantly, in the afterworld be made possible? A brief answer is: a person has to be born again (M 2.61; Z 21). Although the nature of the new birth is a mystery (NR 9), some things can be said about this most important event in human life, and Lopukhin tried to provide some answers, particularly in his main theological work, *Some characteristics of the inner church* (written in 1789), and in *Something for a reflection about prayer and the essence of Christianity* (1814).

In his original state, Adam was perfectly happy and was penetrated by the Spirit of God (N 1.2). The submission to the Spirit of God was the only form of Adam’s worship of God and love for God was his only offering (1.3). Adam was expelled from the paradise for misusing his will; heavenly wisdom evaporated from his mind and along with all of humanity he became a subject of toil and death (1.4). However, the eternal love punishes to save and sends suffering to heal. For the exiled man God provided ways of purification leading to joy and blissful immortality (1.5). The Father at all times draws man to the Son as the only way, the life, and the door to the paradise (1.6). The first sigh of Adam’s repentance was the beginning of

the foundation of the inner church of God on earth. All the righteous people that came after Adam "formed the one church in which God performed the great work of renewal/regeneration." Those led astray by Cain's spirit of darkness established on earth the church of the Antichrist (1.7). The church gained new light and spirit by the incarnation of Jesus who by His life, suffering, and death created the possibility of salvation for all people who by faith and love embrace Him and who thereby will be born of God (1.8), that is, born again. "Jesus Christ's incarnation has strengthened the restoration of His church" (1.10), which probably was not to be meant as a possibility that without this incarnation the restoration would have been possible, although it would have proceeded at a slower pace. As Lopukhin very cryptically stated, Christ not only freed man to the eternal life, but He also "regenerated the makeup of spiritual mass from which new earth and heaven are [going to be] born while all elements are crushed" (1.10). Apparently, this makeup was fatally damaged by the fall of Adam, and this appears to be Lopukhin's interpretation of all creation's groaning of pain (Rom. 8:22) and its restoration by creating a new heaven and new earth because the old heaven will be dissolved by fire (2 P. 3:12-13; Rev. 21:1) (cf. N 8.20).

Through preaching accompanied by the power of Christ (N 1.11-12) the body of Christ constantly grows until Christ's enemies are conquered (1.14). Members of this body have different gifts and tasks under the guidance of the Holy Spirit (1.13), and the members of the church differ quite significantly by the level of perfection. There are those with "a superabundance of gifts of grace and nature and shining in the fullness of light of truth and life" (2.2). Then, there are the perfectly regenerated with no trace of sin that was burned out by the mysterious fire of the cross. "They are perfectly purified vessels filled with the Spirit and life of Jesus." By the work of the Spirit they became what Jesus is by nature (2.3). There are those crucified inwardly who did not yet give their spirit to the Father, but they cannot fall. They are suitable for the apostolic work on earth to stamp Christ in human souls (2.4). Then there are those following the path of regeneration but not entirely free of the old man. There can be among them prophets and miracle workers and writers, but because they are not perfectly mature, they may commit errors even in respect to revealed truths (2.5). Next, there are those drawn by the Father: those who, believing the Gospel, follow the path of renewal and those who, helped by grace, fulfill commandments without knowing the law (2.6). There are also people who are not quite there yet and are, as it were, suspended between the two churches: they are those who search for the truth and sense the need for salvation; they include inventors of false philosophical and religious systems (2.7). And there are those who are definitely members of the church of the Antichrist: "the worshippers of

idols of the flesh and the world” (2.10); false miracle workers, the false righteous men, writers of revelations of the evil spirit, those who selfishly use the gifts of grace and powers of faith for evil (3.1). In greatest danger are occultists working for self-glory; egoists looking for knowledge out of mere curiosity, searching for ways to make gold and to extend their lives; people practicing theosophy, Kabbalah, alchemy, occult medicine, and using magnetism to do works of dark forces; the founders of sects based on the false light of natural reason (3.2); spiritual Pharisees guided by pride and founding sects acting apparently by love (3.3); sorcerers, soothsayers, murderers, drunkards, and lust lovers (3.6). It is interesting to see that the Kabbalah and alchemy, very often a common staple of masonry, are very strongly condemned by Lopukhin for being as severe a sin as murder and black magic. It is worth noting that his sentiment was not always so negative. In an originally unpublished part of the *Some characteristics*, Lopukhin just mentioned that morality based on the truth of God allows for “discovering the activity of the Spirit of God and of the Light of Theosophy. An investigation of Nature, Alchemy and Divine Magic” shows “to the worthy and elected sons the treasures of Nature, armors them with Divine Powers, and leads [them] to paradisiac dwelling of renewed Eden, the promised land” (M 54). There is apparently a positive side of theosophy, alchemy, and magic, after all, but only if done for the right reasons.³

True church is where the kingdom of God is sought before all things, where everything is counted as loss on account of Christ, where all is established by Christ, where all begins and ends with Him (N 4.1). Regeneration in Christ is available to everyone (5.1). It takes place by rebirth of His body in us, since only in this body is the image and likeness of God and only in it can live the Spirit of Christ, and the divine attribute of this birth is hidden in us and must blossom through the Spirit (5.2). In a word, regeneration takes place through a mystical union with Christ who makes the human soul to be His dwelling place so that the seed of Christ’s nature brings fruit in the soul (6.2). In this, the voice of conscience should be obeyed since it is an echo of God’s knocking at the inner door of man. Only then can “the divine power dwelling in the innermost interior” begin regeneration and open the way for manifestation inside the kingdom of God (5.5). Only the living light flowing from God can renew the spirit, the soul, and the body (5.6). Passive self-denial and humility must cooperate with this regeneration. An action based on self-love stifles this light or misuses it, thereby undermining regeneration (5.7). A newborn person must imitate Christ, defy one’s own will, hold on to faith

³ Cf. А.Г. Суворцев, *Иван Владимирович Лопухин. Его масонская и государственная деятельность. Биографический очерк*, Санкт-Петербург: Издание Петербургского Учебного Магазина 1901, p. 38.

in the moments of temptation, by the power of love endure scorn, surrender completely to Christ in the moment of weakness (5.3).

The Spirit of God gives birth in us to the *new man*, the heavenly inner man, incorruptible secret/mystical man that is the living church in which lives the Spirit of God (NR §4). In this, Lopukhin appears to have identified the inner man with the inner church. There is thus a church of Christ understood as the body of newborn believers, each believer being a carrier of the inner church, an army of one,⁴ as it were. The mystical presence of God through the Holy Spirit dwells in each inner church and at the same time unites all of them into one body, the church of Christ.

However, Lopukhin was not particularly concerned about terminological precision. He stated that Adam received directly from God the highest Wisdom in the knowledge of God and nature which was then transmitted through patriarchs to Egypt and Arabia where various schools were established to investigate hieroglyphs, symbols, and the workings of nature (M 1.52). Apparently, from here also stem true masons of the ancient system (53). Those who desire to know secret/mystical philosophy and are guided by divine Wisdom and to whom God's plan concerning the beginning and the end of creation was revealed form the Academy of Divine illumination (55), not to be confused with the German sect of Illuminati that was hostile to Christianity (54). However, "the gifts of Grace are also given outside the O[rder] of true Masonry and not only through it is the inner Kingdom of God spread on earth" (56). People from the outside of the masonic order who become so enlightened automatically become true masons (56). The inner Kingdom of God appears to be identified with the inner church, that is, with the presence of God through His Spirit in the souls of men. However, it also appears that the knowledge of God's plan is sufficient to become a true mason, i.e., someone in whom the inner Kingdom of God resides and who will become an inhabitant of the Kingdom of God in the future. Yet, this gnostic element is not sufficient. Although God can infuse divine wisdom into any person, He requires a prepared heart for this to happen.

There were friends, divine builders, and members of the secret school of wisdom. There were also virtuous souls living in the fear of God born in them of faith. They were one in spirit with the former and "all together formed one inner Church in which God performs *the great work of renewal*." The inner church is treated here interchangeably with the outer church. This can be defended on the ground that it is the same God who dwells in a person making that person the inner church and unites all persons into one body, the outer church. This inner/outer church devel-

⁴ "An army of one" is the motto of the US Army.

oped best after the incarnation of Christ, God-man, the Head and the Founder of true masonic works, who through His life and death opened to all people (M 1.57) the possibility to become children of God, who embrace Him by faith and love and become born of God.

It is thus quite clear that the Christian church is a continuation of the church that existed since Adam's times. Does the salvific work of Christ include those who lived before the Incarnation? Lopukhin seemed to assume that true masons of old would be saved just as much as masons/Christians after the Incarnation and the Passion. He could, possibly, argue that because Jesus is the same yesterday, today, and forever, temporal dimension does not apply to Him and His salvific work applies to all times, before and after the event. He is not just a Savior, but He is, as it were, a Mason-in-chief, the Head of the church that coexisted with humanity and in humanity. And when He said that without the Spirit of Christ one cannot be a Christian and that Christ lives in people (NR §37), He could have just as well said that without the Spirit of God one cannot be a true mason, i.e., a genuine believer in the triune God and His providential work. The goal of Christianity is to dwell with God (§45), but this, Lopukhin could add, has always been the goal of true masons. In this sense, not just Christians, but also masons who live in God and with God, should also listen to the Spirit and always remember God (§46). Also, Lopukhin could have argued that because true masons before the birth of Christ are said to have known God's plans, that would include the knowledge of the Incarnation and Passion, they could have become Christians before Christ was born, i.e., they could have committed themselves to the principles revealed to them by God ahead of time.

Through the incarnation, Christ spread great light in the secret school of secret wisdom (M 1.57). Faith and being born of God is the required prerequisite of this wisdom.

Path to salvation

"In order to enter the true path of regeneration, in order to come to Christ and follow Him with Him, man has to labor first on the path that leads to this living Path and this preparatory path is also a path of imitation of Christ" (N 6.3). To imitate Christ, His teaching from the Gospel should be followed; one's will should be subdued to Him (7.1); virtue must be sincerely loved; Christ on the cross must be sought in all things (7.2); identifying oneself with the life and virtues of Christ must be the order of each day (7.3). The love of neighbor must be a constant pre-occupation. Only through this God, Three in One, who is Love, can indwell one's

soul (7.4). On his path to regeneration, man must constantly deny himself and act silently before the Spirit will visibly work. So should he act before faith in Christ is quickened by His Spirit and when his is only halting and lifeless belief. The omnipotent Father secretly stimulates this belief and fills it with attraction to the Son when the disposition is right (7.5). Natural strength must be used when faith is still weak (7.6). One must use natural forces to pray and worship before the Spirit of prayer is awakened. Reason should be used to point to what is useful to the soul, desires should be directed toward heavenly things, memory should be used to remember God's commandments, and thoughts should be directed to godly subjects (7.7). Natural powers must be used to escape everything displeasing to God and to follow His will as revealed in the Scriptures and in writings of the fathers. The soul so prepared becomes the dwelling place of His Word (7.10).

In this, Lopukhin raised almost an impossible bar for each prospective Christians by, basically, requiring them to be Christians before they become Christians. On their own strength they were required to prepare the ground of their souls so that Christ can find them suitable for His indwelling. To that end, the prospective Christians should meet the requirements of the Sermon on the Mount (N 8.16). And thus, during preparation for regeneration in Jesus, attention should be paid to defying one's will, to prayer, abstinence, acts of love, and learning from knowledge of nature and oneself (8.1). One has to work on bending one's will to the will of God (8.2) and by this violence to one's own will the kingdom of God is forced into the soul (8.3). Breaking one's own will even in the smallest things draws to us the Spirit of grace (8.4). Conscience, i.e., the impulses of the heart, should be followed, but emotions of the heart should also be examined since they can be corrupted after they leave the heart (8.5). Loving one's enemy is difficult. To accomplish this, one's will should be fought by struggling with the feeling of unfriendliness, praying for one's neighbor, being humble before him, and serving him (8.6).

Then, an intensive life of prayer is required. "Prayer opens the soul to receive the Spirit of grace and draws toward it. It is nourishment that fortifies for the spiritual struggle." It has to be based on humble surrender to the will of God; at least, a prayer should ask only for what agrees with the will of God and that one's submission becomes real (N 8.8). Prayer should ask for what glorifies God and increases His kingdom, just like the Lord's prayer does (8.9). Prayer must be in the name of Jesus and should stem from the heart. In the midst of common tasks, thought should be directed toward Jesus, if only for a moment (8.10).

Then the arduous life of abstinence is needed, abstinence of the spirit, reason, and the senses. The spirit should abstain from all that is not directed by the Spirit of Jesus (N 8.12). When still on the road to the divine life, passions have to be

restrained, the lust of the flesh subdued, a struggle made with impulses that oppose pure love, and malice and anger should be crushed. "Love is the first event, the beginning and the end of the kingdom of Jesus in the soul and humility has to be His throne" (8.13). Reason should not occupy itself with hurtful and useless things, and with what does not advance Christian life. Even in useful things reason should not work at the full steam so that it is not exhausted. Reason should not try to penetrate by itself the mysteries of the kingdom. The Spirit of Jesus will reveal them to people according to their progress in the new life (8.14). Finally, the senses must be kept away from what captivates them and what can taint the soul (8.15).

It would seem that in the theological discussion concerning salvation obtained by works or by faith, Lopukhin strongly stood on the former position. However, although only in passing, he did mention that God secretly stimulates humans on their path toward regeneration, whereby the natural powers of man are enhanced and it becomes possible to love one's enemy and turn one's eyes from temptation. That is, God is present secretly behind man's struggle for rebirth, and if a sufficiently high level of spiritual purity is reached, the divine nature of Christ becomes one with the human nature of a particular person, whereby the miracle of the Incarnation is repeated on the level of one human individual. Only later in his *Notes on certain circumstances of the life and service of an actual secret counselor, senator Lopukhin* (1809), in a moment of candor, Lopukhin admitted that leaving someone to a life of Christian struggle to become a Christian is well nigh impossible and stated that man has to be born again and then evangelical morality becomes his nature and only then he will love God and neighbor; only then it will be possible for him to turn the other cheek (Z 21).

There is also a problem of eschatology. Lopukhin stated that the only way to enter the Kingdom is to be born again (NR §9). However, to be born again, the preparatory path has to be traversed first, the path which appears to be exceedingly difficult to follow, and many will not reach the goal before death, try as they may. What happens to them? Lopukhin said very little about the afterworld. It appears to be clear that there are only two destinations possible, heaven and hell (Lopukhin only mentioned punishment in this life and in the afterlife as a result of God's love and of human sin (Z 23)), but it is unclear who goes where. The born again clearly are allowed to enter the Kingdom of God. Members of the church of the Antichrist appear to be doomed to eternity with the head of this church. What about those trying hard but who did not get to the stage of being born again? Since the essence of Christianity is in new birth (NR §36), they could not even be considered Christians. Lopukhin did not provide an answer, and, arguably, left those trying in an unsettling eschatological suspense. Is it even worth trying if the road to salvation

is so torturous, with no guarantee that the travails in their travel will meet with eternal success?

By accentuating so very strongly the preparatory path to new birth, Lopukhin may have wanted to equalize theologically the chances of all people since Adam. A general statement that who wants true Wisdom should purify his soul from evil since Wisdom will not enter a polluted soul in a body given up to sin (NR §57), applies to all true seekers of wisdom including those before the Christian era. Natural powers have been present in all people and thus all people should be able, with some prompting from God, to enter the path toward new birth, before and after Christ. All would have an equal chance to gain salvific regeneration of the soul through the Holy Spirit. Because the plan of creation was revealed by God to true believers since the beginning of the world, this plan included the self-sacrifice of the Son of God and, apparently, the only advantage Christians would have would be the knowledge of this actually having happened. In that sense, it was possible to be a Christian before Christianity.⁵

Lopukhin thus believed that true masonry, i.e., the true church, started at the beginning of humanity and culminated with Christianity. Christianity is the highest, most developed stage of masonry. That is, masonry as a whole is a more generic version of Christianity, with Christianity proper being its last phase and thus Christianity is masonry in its perfection. It is interesting to observe that without, of course, mentioning masonry, Metropolitan Platon agreed with this view of the church when he stated that “the church of Jesus Christ was founded at the beginning of the world; it was first governed by oral tradition of God’s revelations, then by written law and prophetic teachings, and finally by the Gospel.”⁶

This strong connection between masonry and Christianity is best seen in the two catechisms authored by Lopukhin, one aimed at masons, *Moral catechism of true freemasons* (1791), and one at the general public, *A brief exposition of qualities and duties of a true Christian*. One begins with the question, are you a true mason? (NK §1), another with the question, who is a true Christian? (M 2.61), and there is

⁵ Not infrequently, Socrates was called by Christian fathers a Christian before Christ.

⁶ Митрополит Платон, *Православное учение* (1765), 2.§5. Such affinity of their views was surely a reason for Lopukhin to consider Platon to be “adorned with rare judiciousness” (Z 76) and to dedicate to him his poetic rendering of six psalms, *Imitation of some songs of David* (1794). The idea of the church existing from the beginning of humanity will later be repeated by Khomiakov, Алексей С. Хомяков, Опыт катехизического изложения о церкви, in his *Полное собрание сочинений*, Москва: Университетская типография 1900, vol. 2, pp. 3-4; Rościśław Kozłowski, *Rosyjska eklezjologia prawosławna w XIX-XX wieku*, Warszawa: Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna 1988, pp. 86-87.

considerable overlap between all the answers provided in these catechisms.⁷ In particular, we read that a mason is distinguished primarily by “the Spirit of brotherhood which is the same as the Spirit of Christianity” (NK §2) and the goal of the order of masonry is the same as the goal of true Christianity (§3). The main duty of masons is to love God above all and the neighbor as oneself (§4). The main task is to imitate Christ (§5) and this would mean to love all people, help them when needed (§21), love one’s enemies (§22), bless those who curse him (§23), do good to those who hate him (§24), pray for those who persecute him (§25), give to those who ask (§26), give the coat to the one who sues him and wants a shirt (§27), and expose the other cheek after being struck in one (§28). That is, the Sermon on the Mount should play the central role in the masonic life.

The church and the churches

Strong emphasis placed on personal spirituality does not rule out the significance of the official Orthodox church. In Lopukhin’s view, rites and symbols – particularly of the Greek religion, i.e., the Orthodox church, that preserved more than any other churches their original makeup⁸ – can and should prepare people for better and more real spiritual exercise of inner worship (N 2.8). “Thus, the practice of external religion is a means of [arriving at] the inner and true Christianity” even though this external religion “tore itself out from its source and the guidance of the light that constituted it has been concealed from it”; it still can be of spiritual benefit (2.9). A Christian is urged to be respectful of institutions and rites of the church, including the Lord’s Supper, and to gain benefit from them for the soul (M 66), and so is a mason taught that decrees and rites of the Christian church “should be used as the means of the *inner* [church]” (NK §19). Moreover, although one should pray at least once a day, behind closed doors, it is at the same recognized that prayers with “our brother Christians in churches” are useful (N 8.11); the precepts of the church in respect to fasting should also be followed (8.15).

In the spirit of embracing traditional rites of the official church Lopukhin discussed religion with the schismatics who rejected the official Orthodoxy because of the change in wording of prayer books, in the way of crossing oneself, in the use of

⁷ Cf. А.Н. Афанасьев, И.В. Лопухин, *Архив исторических и практических сведений относящихся до России 1860-1861*, bk. 1, pp. 18-20.

⁸ The true and best exposition of Christian religion is given by “the Greek-Eastern Church” which is testified by the conviction of the heart and reason (Z 135). Cf. Lopukhin’s preface to Александр И. Ковальков, *Плод сердца полюбившаго истину*, Москва: В Университетской типографии 1811, p. 4.

newly painted icons, and the like. Agreeing with them that the essence of all things lies in what is inside, Lopukhin in his judicial capacity tried to convince them of the usefulness of going to church, fulfilling all external duties, and obeying all church laws; all of it should be motivated by love of man and by a desire not to lead others into sin (Z 125, 136-137). This approach to the schismatics was accompanied by a personal toll since Lopukhin was criticized as a defender of schismatics (130), an accusation that could not be treated lightly, although his policy of tolerance was endorsed by Alexander I (131). Lopukhin expressed his sentiments in the *Lamentation of an old judge whom other derisively call a philanthropist* and in his *Notes*: schismatics were punished and Lopukhin was opposed to such a treatment of religious dissent. In his view, to severely punish a schismatic for what he says (V 148) is like "punishing someone suffering of fever because of his babbling. Cure the fever, and there will be no babbling. The sickness of schism results from the darkness of superstition and mindless zeal; education is the only cure; punishment only hardens schism" (149) and it can lead to discontent of thousands of people; it is easy to bring to court scores of schismatics for what they say by simply striking up a conversation with them about ritual matters and thus very easy to populate prisons with schismatics. There is a good number of stupid schismatics who gladly go to prison to make themselves martyrs (154). Therefore, because for the most part schism is caused by stupidity, deception, and ignorance (150), and because "true sacrilege is the sacrilege of the essence of holiness, but not [the sacrilege] of rites and some images, etc." (154), the spirit of Christianity should be patiently exercised when dealing with schismatics, which may be more effective than any punitive measures undertaken by the state, even if the law may allow for punishment in such cases. That is, they should be won over to the Orthodoxy not by punishment and not by detached theological discussions, but by proclamation of the Gospel that touches the heart (Z 123-4, 128). They fanatically rejected any ritual side of religion, but their understanding of Christianity was "the most radical and correct" (125). They should not be treated harshly "not to inflame fanaticism which feeds best on throwing oneself into fire and shackles, which strengthens it and spreads it even more" (123, 129, 138). Any action directed at schismatics should be in the name of justice rather than the law since "justice is higher than the laws. It is the action of eternal and unchanging truth. The laws are only its tools. And if there is such an event that the law concerning [this event] is not consonant with the essence of justice, then the enactment of a new law concerning this situation or a direct decision about this event is the duty and the right of the legislative authority which should be the sacred voice of justice pronounced in the court and in the laws" (V 150).

Incidentally, such a view of the law permeates all of Lopukhin's judicial thinking and action. In his opinion, the goal of the legislature should be the happiness of man on earth and preparation for the afterlife (Z 10); consequently, love of man should be the basis of punishment (O 30) and "the goal of punishment should be improvement of the condemned and keeping [them] from crime [cf. O 31]. Severity of punishment is only a fruit of evil contempt for mankind and of tyranny that is always useless. Uncertainty about escaping punishment can much better keep [someone] from [committing] a crime than an expectation of severe [punishment]. When planning a crime, it is more natural for a man to blind himself with thoughts that his crime will not be discovered than to imagine the extent of punishment" (Z 5). Vengeance should not be a part of punishment (10). There should be no life sentence since in a Christian country inner correction is the most important part of punishment and everyone can eventually become useful to the society. There should be no capital punishment, either; only God knows when a life should be ended (11). However, humane as this sentiment is, its theological justification is wanting: there is no shortage of capital punishment in the Old Testament and thus God's foreknowledge and His will would include the time of death received from the hand of an executioner.

The humane attitude characterized Lopukhin's personal and professional life and he was fondly remembered long after his death. He acted as he preached and he preached the spiritual renewal that can be accomplished only through God of the path given by Christ. The authentic spiritual life and a living relationship with Christ was his goal. He did not see it in the official church which, in his view, lost its way and became ossified. He did not see a chance for a revival from within of this church; therefore, he sought for spiritual help outside and he found it in the Russian version of Rosicrucian masonry. Like for Novikov and Schwarz, masonry was for Lopukhin a detour to authentic Christianity, to the living faith in Christ, as he understood it. That is why he found in the schismatics a kindred spirit, since his, like theirs, was "the most radical and correct" faith, at least, in respect to personal spiritual attitude toward Christianity. However, he did not reject externals of religion the way schismatics did, who, paradoxically, by strong insistence on rejection of some rituals infrequently made ritual aspect of religion more important than its spirituality.

Lopukhin spoke about himself as having "a strong inclination to mysticism,"⁹ and this was mysticism only in this sense of seeking authentic spirituality, the spiri-

⁹ Вопросы пункты статскому советнику Ивану Лопухину, *Летописи русской литературы и древности* 5 (1863), pt. 2, p. 70.

tuality which should characterize any believer of any faith, an everyday mysticism, as it were, not lofty mysticism of St. John of the Cross or Seraphim of Sarov. Lopukhin was a mason in form, a Christian in essence. In this respect his writings are important as devotional guides to seek and deepen the life of one's inner self. However, they are disappointing as philosophical and theological writings. They are impressionistic rather than systematic, written on the spur of the moment with little concern about clarity of concepts and consistency of statements.¹⁰ The inner church is more of a phrase than a concept. It is a summary of Biblical accounts about an inner man (Rom. 7:22; Eph. 3:16), the body being a temple of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. 6:19), the Kingdom of God being within people (Lk. 17:21), and Christ living in believers (Gal. 2:20). He may have been influenced also by the concept of the inner court of the Jewish temple and its innermost part (the Holy of Holies), which is suggested by a rather unilluminating analogy he drew between different parts of the temple and the church understood as the body of believers (N ch. 2). However, beyond using this phrase, Lopukhin did not add much to what can be already found in the Bible. His ecclesiology ends with this phrase and with reformulating Biblical verses.¹¹ He was not interested in providing a precise answer about what an inner church is; he was much more concerned about how to make oneself a seat of such a church, vague and somewhat ambiguous as the concept may be. After all, in spiritual matters sooner or later one reaches a level of impenetrable mystery, which cannot be breached by rational discussion. It is better to be spiritual rather than understand the nature of spirituality. It is better to find oneself on the right side of the afterlife even if the details of the afterlife are far from clear. The heart should always win; reason can at best be its helper – that would be Lopukhin's spiritual, and, as he understood, Christian and thereby also masonic message.

¹⁰ Lopukhin wrote *The zelosopher* in one day, without any preparation (M 1.50), more exactly, in six hours (Z 38). He wrote his masonic catechism after a conversation with Platon, right after he came back home (Z 30). "His thought constantly broke away from the height of abstraction down to the problems of life and quickly weakened in attempts of logical constructions"; "Lopukhin was unfit for a long exertion of thoughts; he thought episodically, impulsively and his thought was always adorned with subjective mood," Н. Пиксанов, Иван Владимирович Лопухин, in С.П. Мельгунов, Н.П. Сидоров (eds.), *Масонство в его прошлом и настоящем*, [Москва]: Задруга [1914-1915], vol. 1, pp. 229, 238. Cf. Я.[Л.] Барсков, *Иван Владимирович Лопухин: биографический очерк*, 1914, p. 6.

¹¹ As to the phrase "inner church," a possible influence could have come from Boehme who briefly mentioned in *The way to Christ*, in the chapter discussing the new birth, the church in a teacher and in a saint (5.6.13-14), and the heart being the true church (5.6.16). Arndt, whose book Lopukhin fervently studied (Z 19-20 note), might have contributed with his statement that the realm (*Reich*) of God, Christ, and the new Jerusalem must be in the man of faith (*True Christianity* 1.6.9).

Appendix: Haugwitz and Lopukhin

In 1785, appeared the *Pastoral letter to genuine, real freemasons of the old system* by Christian von Haugwitz.¹² The book became fairly popular among masons, also in Russia, where the German original was republished the next year, and in 1785, a translation was made, although it was circulated only in the manuscript; the second Russian translation was published in 1806.¹³ Lopukhin recommended the book as part of masonic library.¹⁴ According to Vernadskii, “the teaching of the *Pastoral letter* about the *inner church* was developed by Lopukhin” and the *Letter* was the foundation of Lopukhin’s *Some characteristics*.¹⁵ The view of Lopukhin’s dependence on Haugwitz was basically endorsed by Danilov in his excellent monograph on Lopukhin.¹⁶ However, there is no teaching about the inner church in the *Pastoral letter* and a few quotations from the book given by Vernadskii¹⁷ only confirm what little similarity is between Haugwitz and Lopukhin.

There is one common feature between the *Pastoral letter* and the *Some characteristics*, namely, both works stress Christ-centeredness in everything, in particular, in the matter of salvation. As Haugwitz wrote, “Jesus is God – these three words constitute our pastoral letter. The light of the inner world is the reflection of Jesus just as Jesus is the reflection of the Father. The inner world gave birth to the outer [world]; therefore, the kinship between the two is intimate and great” (Haugwitz

¹² [Christian A.H. von Haugwitz], *Hirten-Brief an die wahren, ächten Freymäurer alten Systems*, [Leipzig: Böhme] 1785.

¹³ It is not impossible to think that Lopukhin himself prevented the publication of the first translation. In his view, it would be better that the *Pastoral letter* were not made available to the general public even though the censor allowed it, Letter to Speranskii, 19 June 1806, *Русский архив* 8 (1870), no. 3, col. 620. However, another translation was published by Lopukhin in 1806 in *Наставления ищущим премудрости*.

¹⁴ Иван В. Лопухин, *Духовный рыцарь или Ищущий премудрости*, *Русская старина* 15 (1884), no. 11, p. 279; however, the book is not included in an undated list made by Lopukhin, *Русский архив* 8 (1870), no. 3, cols. 622.

¹⁵ Георгий В. Вернадский, *Русское масонство в царствование Екатерины II*, Санкт-Петербург: Издательство имени Новикова 1999 [1917], p. 214. The contention is simply repeated by Jo Ann Schramper, *A Russian freemason: I.V. Lopukhin*, Chicago: The University of Chicago 1963, Master thesis, pp. 19-20.

¹⁶ Andrej V. Danilov, *Iwan Lopuchin: Erneuerer der Russischen Freimaurerei. Seine Lehre von der Inneren Kirche als eigenständiger Beitrag zum Lehrgebäude der freimaurerischen Mystik*, Dettelbach: Röhl 2000, Lopukhin adopted some parts, p. 199; he took over from Haugwitz an essential extract; some parts are practically identical, p. 200. On the other hand, we read that Lopukhin’s work is not an imitation of Haugwitz, p. 18.

¹⁷ Вернадский, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-212. Vernadskii used a Russian unpublished translation of the book, which is unreliable, with changes of meanings and omission of words and phrases. Cf. remarks of Danilov, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201.

vi). Jesus is the only teacher of mankind. He is of the same essence as the Father (2, 23). The Rosicrucians want only to obey His word since only in Christ is the source of life (5) and because Christ is "God-man Jesus, our Savior, our Mediator, our only Teacher, our bosom Friend, our Brother, and at the same time our Lord and Master" (21). Without Christ there would be nothing, not even God, since God "would not be Father, but silent, dead, fruitless, eternal Unity with no feeling that would not reveal itself" (159). However, with such pronouncements acceptable to all Christians and found, one way or another, in most Christian publications of devotional character, Haugwitz somehow felt obligated to support his statement of faith with an unorthodox ontology and account of the fall. In this, Haugwitz largely followed Boehme, and many of the same elements can also be found in John Pordage, also a follower of Boehme.

In his view, there is something unnameable in God (Haugwitz 38); this inscrutable depth was called *Ungrund*, the One that exists itself eternally. It is born out of itself and "all that it gives birth to is God." The primal will (*Urwillen*) of the *Ungrund* is called the Father in the Bible. The pure born being (*Erzeugte*) of this Will is the Son (39). The Holy Spirit is the bond (*Band*) between the Father and the Son and this Spirit constantly proceeds from both of them and is of equal essence with them. They all form the triune divine depth like an infinite circle with the center everywhere and circumference nowhere, and its image is given by the fiery triangle in this circle (40). Love or the desire to communicate was the ground for motion to become the Creator. From its innermost part of its essence the Triune gives birth to the ground (*Anlage*) of creation. This is called speaking. Wisdom was the first creation and it is a substance of twofold nature, active and passive, the latter being from the passive ground (*Unterlage*) of the word, which is the female in the divinity (41). In this Wisdom, there are potentially materials for creation which are activated by God through the seven spirits (or natural powers (49)) that stand before His throne (Rev. 1:4) (44), which apparently were created first (54). Their powers are different to make any action possible (45). The pulling power became the origin of matter, the repelling power became the origin of all spirituality and the interaction of these powers resulted in the wheel of nature, the third attribute of creative matter (49). Having delineated his vision of creation, Haugwitz complemented himself by saying that the mystery of creation has never been more clearly presented (55).

Haugwitz also addressed the problem of the fall. At one point, Lucifer rebelled (Haugwitz 67), which led to the chaos with which the Mosaic creation story begins (71). When man was created, his body was from the quintessence of the new creation, his soul was from eternal nature, and his spirit from the divine source of life,

whereby man was triune, like God (75). Adam was a divinity (*Gottheit*) subordinated only to God (79, 151). Adam was also divine since he could bring life out of himself; he was male and female and “he could magically bring birth, that is, through the imaginative attractive power” (82). Animal nature was in him only potentially (84). Adam’s aethereal body allowed him to move easily through air, water, and permeate the earth (87). He was divine also through unlimited freedom of the will (89). However, when the fallen angel showed Adam the beauty of the world, he made Adam lust the way he did (92), whereby Adam became a small Lucifer (206). As the consequence, man was put to sleep and his female part was separated as Eve (93). Then the snake tempted Eve to eat the fruit (94). Adam and Eve died in their inner lives, in their union with God. Death is the separation from the principle of life (104). There was thus a double sin: first, the imagination was transferred to the animal world; second, eating the fruit, after which the paradise was lost (107). Merciful God, however, opened the way out by being born again through Jesus (115). Eve received a seed which is transmitted to all people, a seed of the Kingdom of God which all people have, a heavenly spark of life, mustard seed, where life and light appear (118). Divinity of Jesus was united with the true human soul which, in turn, was united with body and spirit (129). Whatever Christ experienced must happen to us in the small measure; He must become man in us and give birth to His divinity. We are Christians, better yet, small Jesuses (132).

As to the afterlife, there are only two possibilities, either to die in Christ and be resurrected in Him or to be thrown into outermost darkness (Haugwitz 136). Jesus died to enable the reconstruction of the image of God in humans; for now, only He possesses this likeness; thus, without having the Spirit of Jesus the image of God is impossible in humans (146). We cannot save ourselves without God’s grace and mercy (162). Nothing good comes from us, even when there is a desire of salvation; this comes from God, which is the beginning of rebirth (164). God “made Jesus our only justification, healing, wisdom, and salvation” (165). The Spirit of Jesus can live in us when we submit our freedom entirely to Him, when we become sufficiently pure to be united with Him (166), which takes place by God’s grace through Jesus’ blood (167, 201). A Christian becomes a temple of God, a habitation of Christ (168). “The main goal of our holy [masonic] order is no other than the goal of genuine Christianity ... and only true disciples of the crucified Jesus are genuine and right brothers of the cross” and Jesus is “at the helm of the order” to create “living members of His body, priesthood awaiting great works (172), a royal generation kept to rule the entire earth” (173). Only Jesus is “the support of our order, the foundation of our entire edifice, the beginning, the middle, and the end of all works of the order” (177). “The order is founded on Jesus and Jesus alone” (179).

The last factor is also stressed by Lopukhin: true masons are really Christians, but very little else Lopukhin has in common with Haugwitz. The problem of personal salvation is barely mentioned by Haugwitz, who only referred to God's grace as the avenue leading to salvation. Apparently, there is no need for some onerous preparation in the form of self-denial, retraction from the world, fasting, constant prayer, forcing oneself to love enemy, etc., which were essential elements in Lopukhin's vision of salvation. They both agreed, as all Christians do, that salvation comes through Christ, but the details of what it means in practical life differ from one account to another. Lopukhin was very concerned about the practical aspect of salvation. Haugwitz almost completely ignored it. There are some isolated ontological remarks made by Lopukhin, but by their terseness their comprehensibility is seriously undermined. For example, he observed that the Supreme Wisdom revealed to His elect the mystery of creation, "its makeup, and various actions of deeply hidden spirit of nature moved by the Spirit of God in the primal matter, in this incorruptible dust from which everything is made (Gen. 2:7) and which after the fall of creations is clothed with rough garment of elements until the blessed end of times when will emerge from it new heaven and new earth (Apoc. 21)" (N 8.20). Unlike Haugwitz, Lopukhin was not concerned about providing the reader an explanation about how matter came about and what constituted the nature of the rough garment of elements. References to the story of Adam are in Lopukhin very brief and have no unorthodox additions.¹⁸

Haugwitz nowhere mentioned an inner church. He did mention the inner Kingdom of God (Haugwitz 15), its inner possession (17), and "an inner realm of light" planted in believers (184), which should be taken to mean that through faith, Christ lives in believers, who thereby possess Christ in them (137). "Only Christ makes true Christians by informing us by his own Spirit and eventually takes full possession of powers of our souls so that we are not those who live and act, but it is

¹⁸ A passing suggestion was made that Lopukhin's Adam was androgynous (Antoine Faivre, *Église Interieure et Jerusalem celeste, Cahiers de l'Université Saint-Jean de Jerusalem* (1976), no. 2, p. 79); the suggestion may have been motivated by the fact that in the few sentences that mention Adam, Lopukhin did not mention Eve. However, that may have been done to accentuate the connection between the fall of Adam and putting of the old Adam (N 1.13; cf. N 8.28; NK §38; M 2.72). The French translation of the *Some characteristics* used by Faivre only mentions "the old man" (N 1.13) as, incidentally, also did the English translation, which is not the only infelicity of this latter translation. On the other hand, an indirect indication of Lopukhin's acceptance of androgynous Adam could be the fact that Lopukhin's pupil, Koval'kov, explicitly endorsed it, [Александр И. Ковальков], *Созидание церкви внутренней и царства света Божия*, Орел: В Губернской типографии 1815, p. 13. In his preface to this book, Lopukhin recommended it to be worthy of reading and acceptance by all true Christians (p. 6).

Jesus who lives in and through us. It is his Spirit who possesses and leads us, transforms us into God's children" (139). Lopukhin could easily agree with this. However, Lopukhin did not join Haugwitz in the latter's attempts to explain the new birth in terms of substances that connect Jesus and a man (e.g., 140). Lopukhin was satisfied with pronouncing the nature of this birth of the Spirit as a mystery (NR 9). Laboring on uncovering the way of salvation, Lopukhin was not at all concerned about propping up his pronouncements with some ontology, refined theology, or interpretation of the creation story that would validate his practical views.

Although it is hardly possible to follow the path Lopukhin delineated, he was in his statements a Christian through and through, concerned just as much about masons and non-masons, and so his writings have been written accordingly so that, as he hoped, everyone could spiritually benefit from them. Haugwitz addressed his book to masonic novices and stressed too many times the fact that they are masons. He acknowledged the possibility that Christ could act through other avenues, not only masonic lodges, including other "Christian religious parties" and in all of humankind, but, as he added grandiloquently, the masonic order had secret teachings, whereas people outside have to rely entirely on faith (185). Masons can through "philosophical rebirth" even now prepare a fully paradisiac essence and lift for good "the pressure of physical poverty" (186). Presumably, even before the total restoration of perfection of the universe, masons could regain the paradisiac state of the body, whereby they, like Adam, could fly through the air, go down to the depth of the earth, or go through the closed door, like Jesus did. Lopukhin was concerned more about mortifying his body to become born again rather than about reinstating the paradisiac state of the body. The latter was at best a vague future prospect.