

of the Church. Metropolitan Evlogii was wholly supportive of the vision shared by many in the exile community to establish a Russian Orthodox seminary, to be named L'Institut St. Serge, in Paris. However this close relationship between Evlogii and the brotherhood was not without its severe critics such as members of the Yugoslavia-based Karlovtsy Synod, the so-called Russian Orthodox Church Abroad. One cleric even accused Evlogii, in writing, of capitulating to the demands of the Brotherhood of St Sophia.<sup>15</sup>

#### *Vladimir Lossky and la Confrérie Saint Photius*

Another group of intellectuals and clerics who attempted to establish a collective Orthodox identity viewed the mission and destiny of the Orthodox faith, and Russia's role in its furtherance, rather differently than the Brotherhood of St Sophia. They saw themselves as not so much preserving the flame of their native faith as bearing the torch and fanning it in the West. Whereas Bulgakov and his circle sought to build ecumenical bridges with Anglicans and French Catholics in particular, the group named after St Photius had a more explicit missionary agenda. In short, they sought to save western Christianity by helping it to rediscover the orthodoxy it had long since lost. Their goal was no less than to facilitate the "universal triumph of Orthodoxy."<sup>16</sup>

The Brotherhood of St Photius, named after the famously polemical ninth-century patriarch of Constantinople and arch-critic of the western Church, was established in Paris in the mid-1920s sometime between February 1923 and 1928.<sup>17</sup> Whether or not Lossky was a founding member is difficult to determine, but it seems likely that 1925 was the official date of establishing a manifesto for the brotherhood; at that point the young Lossky was already in Paris.<sup>18</sup> Despite the uncertain details of its origin, it is clear that the young Lossky rose quickly as a key leader.

The Brotherhood of St Photius's manifesto was a call for a universalizing movement within Orthodoxy to spread the true faith to every people, while preserving local customs, rites and liturgical languages.<sup>19</sup> It maintained a position of unconditional loyalty toward the institutional hierarchy of its native church and supported its allegiance to the Soviet state; in this way it differed in an essential way from the Brotherhood of St Sophia that repeatedly condemned the Leninist regime. The Photian brethren believed it was actually providential that Russian Orthodox Christians were dispersed and sent away from their homeland

in order that they could witness in other contexts to the truth of the Orthodox Church. They obviously shared little, if any, signs of bitterness about living in Paris after leaving Russia. Their eager adaptation of French further showed where their preferences lay. In the west they viewed "Old Catholics" as the most congenial to their message of the "hidden Orthodoxy" of the west. Rather than transplanting the Russian Orthodox faith into a new context, they wanted to resurrect what they saw as the potential for the Church in the west to discover anew the Orthodoxy it once knew.<sup>20</sup>

The activities of the brotherhood included founding the "Domaine saint Irénée" in 1926, which sought to produce Orthodox liturgical texts in French.<sup>21</sup> In 1927, Evlogii even gave his blessing to the creation of a French-language parish that was apparently initiated by the Brotherhood of St Photius. Until the late 1920s, the brotherhood was still amenable to working under the authority granted by Evlogii, who continued to assist in the furtherance of French-language Orthodox ministry.

The rupture that occurred in the late 1920s between Metropolitan Evlogii of Paris and Metropolitan Sergei of Moscow also caused a decisive break with the majority of Russian Orthodox leaders in Paris. The basic issue of contention was whether the Church outside Russia could criticize the Soviet state. Vladimir Lossky was among the minority in Paris who transferred their ecclesiastical allegiance to Metropolitan Eleutherios of Vilnius, who was now named Exarch of Western Europe. This transfer of jurisdictional authority occurred after 26 December 1930, when a decree from Sergei in Moscow confirmed a prior decision to canonically dissolve the diocesan administration of Evlogii in Paris.<sup>22</sup> After the split in leadership, the community also separated, and many of the earlier French-language efforts taken by the Brotherhood of St Photius remained under the auspices of Evlogii. The minority, who remained loyal to the decree of Sergei, regrouped to celebrate the liturgy in a private apartment while they awaited the consecration of a new canonical parish of the Russian patriarch in Paris, named "la Communauté des Trois Saints Hiérarques." Eleutherios considered the abandonment of their native patriarchal church in its time of persecution to be treasonous.<sup>23</sup> To have supported a church jurisdiction that swore loyalty to the Soviet regime in the period of Stalin's purges and some of the most devastating blows delivered to any nation or church in history, seemed tantamount to the loyalty offered to the Weimar republic by the Deutsche Christen of the same years.

By the mid-1930s this minority group of the Russian diaspora, led by the Brotherhood of St Photius, sought to increase its missionary activity