will probably be recycled again and again, as already is seen with other “big” construction projects in the city (Chapter 6).

A fascination with new horizons opened by a new approach inevitably invites the skeptical question: so what? Perhaps the way to construct a public landscape in a less manipulative way is to allow a broader democratic participation in the construction process. Ironically, the Cathedral is publicized in exactly this light, as a whole nation’s project, whereas in reality this is not and never was the case.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the Russian Orthodox Church remains the most respected institution in post-Soviet Russia, despite (or because of) its continuing alliance with the state and lack of rapport with the contemporary social needs of the majority of the population. Perhaps the major finding of my study is that a quest for a new democracy is emerging, a democracy of the weak as opposed to a democracy of the powerful; a democracy of difference as opposed to a democracy of diversity, or a democracy demanded internally as opposed to a democracy supplied from outside. Russian Orthodoxy, with its tradition of communal justice has the potential to provide this new ideal. It remains to be seen if this potential will be realized.