Frank B. Kortschmaryk, Ph.D.

CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE EUROPEAN EAST AND MESSIANIC ASPIRATIONS OF MOSCOW AS THE "THIRD ROME"

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*"FRANCE AND ALL OF EUROPE
THINK LIGHTLY OF THE MUS-
COVITE EXPANSION, AND YET
THAT IS THE CHIEF FACTOR
WHICH MAY DESTROY THE EN-
TIRE EUROPEAN SYSTEM".*

Hryhor Orlyk

*(From his memo to the French Cardi-
nal Minister Fleury)*

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KIEVAN CAVE MONASTERY AND THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE EUROPEAN EAST

(Paper presented at the scientific conference of the Historical-Philosophical Section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, New York, N.Y., February 13, 1967).

1. The Tasks of Ukrainian Historiography

The tasks of contemporary Ukrainian scholarship are extremely difficult and complex. For while the historians of other nations can concentrate their attention wholly on the study of peoples' past, Ukrainian historians, apart from this task, must apply their knowledge and energies to an equally important problem, that of emending and refuting the biased interpretations of Ukrainian history disseminated by our "good" neighbors for political reasons. Thus the study of Ukrainian history, should attract those scholars who have reason to believe that our historical past is based on solid and objective evidence. This dual task is doubly difficult because of the scarcity—or even total absence—of source material indispensable to the study of aspects and processes which have been either distorted by historians hostile to the Ukrainian people or not researched at all. It should be noted that this applies in equal measure to the Ukrainian historians behind the Iron Curtain and to those living in the free world. While the former do have access to source material, the prevailing political conditions in the Soviet Union prevent Ukrainian historians from utilizing them for objective study; the latter, while enjoying the freedom of objective study and analysis, have no direct access to the source material. Needless to say, this situation, caused by political factors, is detrimental to the continued development of Ukrainian historical science.

An encouraging phenomenon, however, is the fact that there is a growing interest in the West in the history of the European East which at the present time poses a formidable threat to the entire world. Russia, viewed until recently by the free world as a political and ethno-cultural monolith (obviously under the influence of Russian historiography), is beginning to be recognized as a totalitarian empire composed of many nations with a distinct historical past, which have fallen prey to Russian aggressiveness.

It would be erroneous to assume that this growing interest of the free world in the problems of Eastern Europe caught the Russians by surprise. On the contrary, realizing the motivations behind this concern for the captive non-Russian nations, the Russians launched a thorough reassessment of their politically motivated historical conceptions. They mobilized hundreds of "experts" in an obvious attempt to revive the old Great Russian line of historiography and to demonstrate its allegedly "scientific" foundations to the suddenly curious West. Thus the appearance of numerous works in the humanities, philology, ethnography, history, and archeology, showing the "blood" relationship of the three "fraternal" peoples—Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian—whose history and cultural development is allegedly rooted in the "common past".

Deprived of access to the source material used by the Soviet scholars and unable to study the recent archeological finds in Ukraine and other countries of Eastern Europe, the Ukrainian scholars in the free world are handicapped in their efforts to refute the Soviet Russian allegations. But even on the basis of the available evidence and that gleaned from the highly subjective and biased works disseminated abroad for sheer propaganda purposes, it is clear that there is no validity to the Soviet claims. Instead of presenting evidence of the common origin of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples, the Soviet scholars are being increasingly confronted by the evidence that "the ancient *Rus'* State", known in history as the Kievan *Rus'* "was formed as a result of continued and externally unaffected de-

velopment of Eastern European tribes"[1] which inhabited the territory of contemporary Ukraine since the Neolithic Age.[2] If it is considered that "north of the Prypiat River the Slavic language was not heard until the middle of the first millenium A.D."[3] and that "the settlement of Slavs", i.e., the Kryvyches and the Viatyches, "is said to have taken place in the period between the seventh and the tenth centuries A.D. north to the Ilmen Lake, in the direction of the White Lake, down the River Volga into the future Rostov-Suzdal province, into the upper reaches of the Don River and possibly the central Oka River,"[4] how can we believe in the statement that "the Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian peoples stem from the same root—the Kievan *Rus'* people—who established the ancient Kievan *Rus'* Realm"[5], when the beginnings of the Kievan Realm are closely associated with the reign of the Kievan prince Kyi. The period of Kyi's reign, which, according to Rybakov, falls into the sixth century, was "characterized by a whole series of fundamental changes in the internal and external history of Eastern Slavs"[6] with whom the Ugro-Finnish tribes inhabiting the central areas of later Muscovy had not yet established any relations. The fact that the tribes which inhabited the northeastern areas of Eastern Europe had their own distinct culture[7] and that the "northeastern cities which knew other tongues" and which at the turn of the fourteenth century formed the nucleus of the despotic Muscovite state "were originally non-*Rus'* cities" while

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[1] Braichevsky, M.Y., *Koly i yak vynyk Kyjiv,* Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR, Kiev, 1963, p. 132.

[2] Shovkoplias, I.H., *Arkheolohichni doslidzhennia na Ukraini,* Acad. of Sc. of the Ukrainian SSR, Kiev, 1957, p. 91.

[3] Berstein, S.B., *Ocherk spravnitel'noi grammatiki slavianskikh yazykov,* Acad. of Sc. of the USSR, Moscow, 1963, p. 62.

[4] Tretiakov, P.N., *Arkheologicheskie pamiatniki vostochno-slovianskikh plemen v sviazi s problemoi etnogeneza,* Acad. of Sc. of the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1939, No. I.

[5] Dmytrychenko, V.S., *Narysy z istoriji suspil'no-politychnoji ta filosofs'koji dumky narodiv SRSR doby feodalizmu,* KOLDU, Kiev, 1961, p. 8.

[6] Rybakov, B.A., *Drevniaia Rus', Skazaniia-Byliny-Letopisy,* Acad. of Sc. of the USSR, Moscow, 1963, p. 35.

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the so-called *Rus'* (i.e., Kievan—B.F.K.) "culture did not make its appearance there until the eleventh century",[8] shows clearly that the allegation of the Russian-Ukrainian "blood" ties is unfounded and scientifically false.

Moreover, when the princes Askold and Dyr of the Kievan *Rus'* engaged in a military campaign against Byzantium in 860 A.D.,[9] the northern territories of Eastern Europe were not even colonies of the Kievan Realm. Finally, how can we believe in the existence of some kind of "blood" ties between the Ukrainian and the Russian peoples or in the assertion that the Kievan Realm was the cradle of the three "fraternal" peoples when in fact the origin of the Russian people goes only as far back as the establishment of the Muscovite principality whose "real founder was...the son of Nevsky", that is, "Daniel (1263—1303)",[10] and when the core of what later became the Russian people was not of Slavic origin.

The same is true of the geographical aspect of the term *"Rus'"* which was appropriated by the Russian historiography, contrary to all evidence, in order to identify the entire historical past of the Kievan *Rus'* —Ukraine with the Muscovite principality which, under Peter I, (1682—1725) grew into a Great-Russian empire. There is ample and irrefutable evidence that the term *"Rus'"*, which appeared in the period between the reign of Kyi and the settlement of tribes recorded in the chronicles, applies solely to the territory of present-day Ukraine. For example, the first Novgorod chronicle states: "Archbishop Niphont travels to *Rus'* thus Kiev summoned by Iziaslav (1146—1154) and Metropolitan Klym. He was appointed by Iziaslav and

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7 Rudynsky, M.Y., *Kamiana Mohyla,* Acad. of Sc. of the Ukr. SSR, Kiev, 1961, p. 138.

8 Tretiakov, P.N., *Drevnerusskii gorod Kleshchyn. Problemy obshche-stvenno-politicheskoi istorii Rossii i slavianskikh stran,* Moscow, 1963, pp. 49-50.

9 Nahaievsky, O.I., "Kyrylo-Metodijivs'ke Khrystiianstvo v Rusi-Ukraini," *Zapysky ChSVV,* Rome, 1954, p. 9.

10 Milkovich, V., *Vostochnaia Evropa, V "Istorii Chelovichestva"* H. Hel'-mol'ta, St. Petersburg, 1903, Vol. V, p. 506.

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the bishops of *Rus'* land without previous approval of Tsarhorod (Constantinople)." The Ipatii chronicle, under the year 1141, records the following: "Sviatoslav fled Novhorod to his brother in *Rus'*"[11] and his brother was in Kiev at the time. Under the year 1154 the same chronicle records: "This summer Diurhy with the Rostovites, and the Suzdalites, and with all children went to *Rus'*" and "this winter Diurhy went to *Rus'* having heard of Iziaslav's death."[12] The Lavrentii chronicle, under the year 1223, not only provides the territorial meaning of the term "*Rus'*" which corresponds to present-day Ukraine but also cites the indifference of the Rostov-Suzdal princes towards the vital interests of *Rus'*.

"The *Rus'* princes, Mstyslav of Kiev and Mstyslav of Toropych and of Chernihiv, and others, having decided on a campaign against the Mongols, expected that they would be joined by them (Rostov-Suzdal princes). They sent for help to the great prince George, son of Vsevolod, of Vladimir (on the Kliazma —BFK); he sent to them the kindly prince Vasylko ...with the Rostovites, and Vasylko did not arrive in time in *Rus'*. And the princes of *Rus'* fought against them," that is, the Mongols on the River Kalka, "and they were defeated and few escaped death...And some ten thousand Kievites alone died in this campaign, and there were tears and sorrow throughout *Rus'*... Having heard this, Vasylko, now in *Rus'* turned from Chernihiv to his Rostov."[13]

The most telling example, however, of the historically unpalatable appropriation of the term "*Rus'*" by the Russian scholars and the deliberate manner in which they gave this falsehood world-wide dissemination can be found in the order of Peter I delivered by Menshikov to V. Dolgorukii in Copenhagen in 1713: "All periodical journals describe our state as Muscovite and not as Russian; therefore please take under

[11] Chubatyi, M., "Kniazha Rus'-Ukraina ta vynyknennia triokh slovian-s'kykh natsii", *Zapysky NTSh*, Vol. CXXVIII, New York, 1964, pp. 65-66.
[12] *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei, Ipatievskaia Letopis'*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1962, pp. 468 and 476.
[13] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 446-7.

advisement that it should be called Russian, as we have indicated to all others. . ."[14]

In the light of evidence cited above, the allegation of the Soviet historian Tikhomirov to the effect that "the term Russian for the designation of the whole country, including all of Eastern Europe, was adopted towards the end of the sixteenth century"[15]—is unfounded and wholly indefensible. In view of this persistently tendentious interpretation and politically motivated falsification of history, the Ukrainian people had no other choice but to adopt the term Ukraine which was used to describe the central lands of the Kievan Rus' as early as the twelfth century (1187 and 1189)[16]. This designation is used on all significant European maps of the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries.

The territorial differentiation can also be seen from the personal data sheets of students who attended various West European universities in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Students originating from the central areas of Muscovy, renamed "Russian Empire" during the reign of Peter I, were identified as follows: e.g., Mag. Alexius Boldyreff, Mosquensis; Michael et Anton Slotwinski, Wladimirensis, Mosquiter; Dan. Zarnekowsky, Muscovita, 20. III. 1624; Nicol. Oseretsky, Moscua-Russ., 16. VIII. 1774; Nestor Maximowitsch Ambodick, ex Moscovia Russus, II. IX. 1774.[17]

On the other hand, students who came from the land of Rus' proper, i.e., the present-day Ukraine, bore the following identifications: Simon Guldenmeister, natus in Ukraina, 16. VI. 1617. CL. VI. Dan. Butovitz, Szernechovia ex Ukraina, 17. XII. 1715; Paul Florinsky, 4. XI. 1749, Pultawa-Ukrainus; Joh. Gorgolius, Ucrainiensis ex Nizna, 23. V. 1766; Roman Zebricov,

[14] Soloviev. S., *Istoria Rossii s drevneishikh vremen*, Vol. XVII, Moscow, 1863-79, p. 404.
[15] Tikhomirov, M. N., *Rossia v XVI stoletii*, Acad. of Sc. of the USSR, Moscow, 1962, p. 27.
[16] *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei*, op. cit., pp. 653 and 663.
[17] Oljancyn, D., *Aus dem Kultur- und Geistesleben der Ukraine*, KYRIOS, Berlin, 1937, No. 3, pp. 267-277, No. 4, 352-362.

Charcovio-Ucrainicus, 4. V. 1780; Peter Feodorowitsch Popow, 26. X. 1804, Nischin in der Ukraine.[18]

These are facts and *contra factum non est argumentum.* Yet the Russian scholars persist in their distortions of history claiming that the Russian and the Ukrainian peoples have a common origin which can be traced to Kievan *Rus'* and even Russifying some of the saints of the Ukrainian Church.[19] The task of utmost importance, therefore, for Ukrainian scholarship is to unmask this bias and to present the Ukrainian people's past is true, objective terms. In shedding more light on the Christianization of the European East prior to the Tatar invasion, the vast role of the Kievan Cave Monastery cannot be overlooked.

2. *Early Beginnings of Christianity in Eastern Europe and its Official Adoption in the Kievan Realm*

The beginnings of Christianity in Eastern Europe, particularly in *Rus'*-Ukraine, can be traced to the activity of the Apostles and, later, to the first centuries A.D. The tribes of Antes, considered to be the direct ancestors of the Ukrainian people, are known to have maintained strong trade relations with the Romans in the first centuries of our era. They even engaged in "campaigns up to the borders of the (Roman) empire".[20] Moreover, the rather flourishing relations of our ancestors with the Greek colonies on the northern shores of the Black Sea were a factor in the spread of Christianity to the ancient territory of Ukraine. It was to these colonies that some of the early Christians were deported, e.g., the Roman Pope St. Clement I in the first century A.D. As a matter of fact, his remains were used in consecrating the Kievan Metroplitan Klym Smoliatych in 1147 (without consultation with Byzantium).[21]

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[17] Oljancyn, D., *op. cit.,* No. 3, pp. 268-278, No. 4, pp. 353-365.

[19] Grunwald, Constantine de, *Saints of Russia,* New York, 1960, p. 29.

[20] Rybakov, B. A., *Drevniaia Rus'. Skazaniia — Biliny — Letopisi,* Acad. of Sc. of the USSR, Moscow, 1963, p. 15.

[21] Nazarko, I., Sv. Volodymyr Velykyi, *"Zapysky ChSVV, Rome,* 1954, pp. 17-18.

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The presence of Goths in the Black Sea steppe region also contributed to the spread of Christianity in Ukraine. The Goths, having adopted Christianity, maintained close relations with the Antes[22] and are known to have been in some sort of political dependency to their king Bozh.[23] Christianity was making even greater inroads during the period of the so-called alliance of the Antes tribes, which was the "direct precursor of the future Rus'",[24] particularly during the reign of Kyi in the sixth century A.D., which " marked a whole series of changes in the internal and external development of Eastern Slavs", that is, the Ukrainian people, notably: formation of tribal alliances; unification of small tribes; development of a distinct culture (known from archeological finds) which embraces the Kiev area and the forest-steppe east of the Dnieper River. The center of the culture was in the basin of the River Ros; there was an onset of mass campaigns against Byzantium and the colonization of the southern areas; there is a legend in Syria telling of the courageous people named "Rhos" neighboring with the Amazons; Byzantine and Goth authors write a great deal during the sixth century about the Slavs in general and the eastern Slavs in particular; the military of the Slavs is not infrequently hired by Byzantium; the Slavs form a strong barrier against the Avars," who occupied late in the sixth century all of the Danube lowland and engaged in occasional raids into the territory of ancient Ukraine. All of this attests to the fact that "the sixth century was turning point in the history of the (eastern) Slavs, and makes the appearance of the epic tales glorifying the heroic Slavic princes Mezhamyr, Lavryta and Kyi as quite credible." Particularly the legend of Kyi's famous campaign "on to Tsarhorod" and his founding of "a city on the Danube...corresponds to the historical reality of the sixth century".[25] A particularly strong upsurge in Christianity took place at the turn of the ninth cen-

[22] Shcherbakivsky, V., *Formatsija ukrains'koi natsii*, New York, 1958, pp. 110-111.

[23] Braishevsky, M. Y., *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 132-133.

[25] Rybakov, B. A., *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6.

tury when Kiev's grand princes consolidated their power by conquering the smaller tribes and engaging in large sea and land campaigns to the Asian shores of the Black Sea. For example, the *Zhytiia* of Yurii of Amastryd tells us of a "*Rus'* raid "on the Amastra"; the *Zhytiia* of Stefan of Surozh tells us of a raid "by the *Rus'* prince Bravlin on Surozh"[26] in the Crimea, which is said to have been Christianized by the end of the eight century. Yurii Amastryd's piece also speaks of a *Rus'* prince who became baptized". [27] The Arab chronicler Ibn Khordatbeh mentions "*Rus'* merchants who called themselves Christians".[28]

Relations with Byzantium were also conducive to the spread of Christianity in *Rus'*-Ukraine during the early part of the ninth century.[29] It can be stated without exaggeration that part of our ancestors became Christians as early as the period of Prince Askold's reign, who must have been a Christian himself because a church——St. Nicolas—was later built at his gravesite.[30] The degree of Christianization of *Rus'*-Ukraine in the first half of the tenth century can be seen from the treaty of Grand Prince Ihor (915-945) with Byzantium, signed in 944. At that time, the majority of Ihor's delegation were Christians who pledged "by the church of St. Elias" that they would "defend everything that is written in the treaty."[31]

Princess Olha (945-960), upon adopting Christianity early in the second half of the tenth century, sought to establish Christianity as the official state religion, according to some historians.[32] It was not until the reign of Grand Prince Volodymyr (978-1015), however, that Christianity attained the status of

[26] Hrushevsky, M., *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, Vol. I, New York, p. 393.
[27] Nahaievsky, I., *Starodavnia Ukraina v svitli istorychnykh pamiatnykiv, Logos*, Vol. XXV, p. 197.
[28] Nazarko, I., *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[29] Shekera, I. M., *Mizhnarodni zviazky Kyivs'koi Rusi*, Acad. of Sc. of the Ukrainian SSR, Kiev, 1963, p. 28.
[30] Ohienko, I., *Ukrains'ka Tserkva*, Prague, Vol. I, p. 29, 1942.
[31] *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei*, Vo. I, p. 52.
[32] Nazarko, I., *op. cit.*, p. 34.

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state religion in *Rus'*-Ukraine. A statesman of great foresight, Volodymyr the Great succeeded in both consolidating the vast Kievan Realm which included most of the East European territory inhabited by Slavic as well as non-Slavic tribes and in introducing Christianity thus establishing spiritual and political ties with the civilized world of the time. We need not dwell here at length on the well-known dynastic relations of Volodymyr the Great with Byzantium or the actual baptism of Kiev's population "on the River Pochaina"[33] in 990 since these facts are quite extensively treated in both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian works. Suffice it to say that after Volodymyr's marriage to the Byzantine princess Anna and following the baptism of Kievites, a methodical Christianization of the rest of the realm was undertaken with great vigor and efficiency as recorded in the chronicles, e.g., "churches were erected in the cities, priests were assigned to them, and people were brought in to be baptized in every city and village".[34] Kiev, the capital of the vast realm, set an example for all other minor centers of the empire in impressive church construction. Kiev was also the site of the first Christian schools,[35] which trained future priests, missionaries, and other church personnel, and which became the centers of translation of religious books for the rapidly growing ranks of Christian faithful throughout the realm. Thietmar of Merseburg, who visited Kiev early in the eleventh century, found as many as 400 churches and eight trading bazaars[36] which attracted "innumerable throngs"[37] of people and merchants from many parts of the world. Kiev became an even more impressive city during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, who, upon assuming the "im-

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[33] *Ustiuzhskii Letopisnyi Svod*, ed. by K. N. Serbyna, Acad. of Sc. of the USSR,Moscow -Leningrad, 1950, p. 34.

[34] *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisci*, Vol. I, p. 118.

[35] Bidnov, V., "Shkola i Osvita na Ukraini", *Ukrains'ka Kultura*, Regensburg, 1947, p. 20.

[36] Marchenko, *Istoriia ukrains'koi kul'tury*, Kiev, 1961, p. 49.

[37] Polonska-Vasylenko, N., *Kyiv za chasiv Volodymyra ta Yaroslava*, Prague, 1944, p. 34.

perial title",[38] continued to develop the city, adorning it with golden-domed churches of great beauty. By far the most beautiful among them was the St. Sophia Cathedral. It should be noted that Kiev's St. Sophia became a model for similar shrines in Novgorod and Polotsk. In terms of "planning and general architectural composition"[39] the St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev constituted a unique example of Kievan architecture, quite different from other shrines of the contemporary Christian world.

The all-out effort to strengthen Christianity within the confines of the Kievan Realm continued with unabated effort during the reign of Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054). He formed the first "translating commission" which was charged with the task of translating from Greek into Ukrainian works of both religious and secular nature.[40] Grand Prince Yaroslav founded one of the first libraries in Eastern Europe, which was attached to the St. Sophia Cathedral.[41] It was during the reign of Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise that Kiev became the center of cultural and religious life among the people Rus'-Ukraine and the spiritual capital of Christianity for all of Eastern Europe. The height of Kiev's cultural development—and that of the entire Realm of Kiev—is described by the French historian Levesque who said (in 1049) that "this land is happier, better united, more powerful and culturally better developed than France."[42]

The spread of Christianity in the ancient Kievan Realm during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise is also described by the chronicles of the time: "The Christian faith gained acceptance among the members of Yaroslav's family; there were more priests and more monasteries."[43] This at a time when Novgorod

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[38] Rybakov, B. M., Zapis' o smerti Yaroslava Mudroho, No. 4, Moscow, 1959, p. 249.

[39] Povstenko, O., Katedra Sv. Sofii u Kyievi, AUVAN, New York, 1954. pp. 187-8.

[40] Chizevsky, D., Istoriia ukrains'koi literatury, New York, 1956, p. 42.

[41] Golubinsky, S., Istoriia russkoi tserkvi, Moscow, Vol. I, 1904, p. 736.

[42] Sichynsky, V., Ukraine in Foreign Comments and Descriptions from the Sixth to the Tenth Century, New York, 1953, p. 37.

[43] Ustiuzhskii Letopis', Svod., p. 42.

(as early as the 1070's) is said to have been pagan, according to the chronicle, which mentions only the prince and his wife to have been on the side of Christianity.[44] On the basis of available evidence the obvious inference is that areas located at a substantial distance from the great trade route "between the Varanginas and the Greeks," populated by non-Slavic peoples, were even more oblivious to the influences of Christianity. Thus the chronicler's reference to the spread of Christianity during Yaroslav's reign refers only to Kiev, the center of Christianity for both the surrounding realm and the entire European East. This does not apply to the northern and northeastern territories which could at best be considered as mere colonies of the Kievan Rus'-Ukraine. Popularization of Christianity in these distant areas, inhabited by Ugro-Finnish tribes, did not begin until the second half of the eleventh century thanks primarily to the monks of the Kievan Cave Monastery which became the principal moving force of Christianity in all of Eastern Europe.

3. *Ascetics of the Kievan Cave Monastery and Their Missionary Work in Eastern Europe*

Since monasticism was considered to be the purest manifestation of Christian faith, the idea of monastic life gained popularity among the faithful of the Kievan Rus'-Ukraine. The development of monastic life was particularly favoured by princes and the nobility. Consequently, a number of monasteries, founded by princes and boyars, emerged in Kiev and in such centers as Novgorod, Pereiaslav, Chernihiv, Volodymyr Volynsky, Halych, and Turiv. These monasteries, however, were not as highly valued by the people as those founded by the monks themselves. In this latter category was the Kievan Cave Monastery, founded by monk Antonius during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise. Nestor the Chronicler tells us that Yaroslav was particularly fond of the Sts. Apostles Church in the Berestiv part of Kiev, which he had built.

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[44] *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisci*, Vol. II, pp. 170-1.

"Among numerous priests who enjoyed Yaroslav's support was one by the name of Ilarion," say the chronicler. "He was a kind, pious, and studious man. He used to spend hours atop the hill where the monastery stands today. Eventually he dug a cave in the mountain and stayed there often in pious meditation and prayer. It was monk Ilarion who was chosen by Yaroslav to become the Metropolitan of Kiev.

"Living in Kiev at the same time was a man who hailed from Liubych and who loved travel. As a pilgrim he found his way to Mount Athos and after seeing all the monasteries there decided to become a monk. One of the local superiors ordained him into monkhood, gave him the name Antonius, and told him 'to return to *Rus'* bearing the blessings from Mount Athos.' He predicted that Antonius would play a great role in the development of monastic life in *Rus'*-Ukraine. Antonius returned to Kiev and started visiting various monasteries. He could not find one that he would really like. He then took to the hills looking for a place that he was hoping God would indicate is the right one for him. One day he came to the mountain where Ilarion had dug out his cave. He made his home here and prayed, 'My Lord, let me live in this place and may the blessing of Mount Athos descend upon it.'

"And so Antonius began his life of work and prayers on the mountain. He ate only dry bread and drank water. He worked day and night as the cave grew bigger and bigger. When people found out about this righteous monk, they started coming to him, toting gifts and asking for his blessings. When Iziaslav (1054-1078) succeeded his father Yaroslav as the Grand Prince of the Kievan Realm, monk Antonius was already well known throughout the land of *Rus'*. Iziaslav and his wife visited the monk at his cave and asked his blessings.

"When the number of monks increased to twelve, Antonius named the monk Varlaam as their superior and left the group. He dug a new cave in another mountain, where eventually a new monastery was built. When the original group of monks continued to grow, they built a church and then asked Antonius for permission to establish a monastery. Antonius was over-

joyed and asked Prince Iziaslav to place the mountain under the ownership of the monks. They built a beautiful church and a monastery and surrounded it with a wall. It became known as the Cave Monastery because the first monks lived in the cave built by Ilarion. When the construction of the Cave Monastery was completed, Prince Iziaslav founded St. Demetrius monastery and named Varlaam as its superior. This was done to add prestige to the new monastery and to increase its income. But (as Nestor the Chronicler pointed out) many monasteries were founded by princess and boyars, but they were not as popular as those built by the toil, tears, and prayers of the monks.

"When Varlaam joined St. Demetrius monastery, the monks again turned to Antonius and asked him to name another superior. When asked by Antonius whom they would like to have for a superior, the monks replied 'whomever God and you are willing.' Then Antonius said, 'Who is more obedient, kind, and humble that Theodosius? Let him be your superior.' Upon becoming the monastery's superior, Theodosius acquired the Studite rules and adopted them for the Kievan Cave Monastery. From there, the order spread to all other monasteries of Eastern Europe. Theodosius, who lived in strict adherence to the rules while developing charitable activity, accepted any person into the order who was willing to do likewise. And this is how I wrote it down ond put the date (1051) when and how the Cave Monastery came into being..."[45]

The Kiev Cave Monastery grew rapidly in stature and in size. By the 1070's it had some 100 monks.[46] In addition to being preoccupied with charitable activity, they translated many works from Greek and rewrote scores of Old Bulgarian pieces which were disseminated throughout the realm. Moreover, using the Greek and the Bulgarian works as models, the monks created original literary pieces which formed the basis of early Kievan literature. The first chronicles, novels, monographs on the lives of individual saints, sermons, and various collections appeared

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[45] *Kievo-Pecherskii pateryk po drevnym rukopisam,* tr. by Maria Viktorova, Kiev, 1870, pp. 1-6.

at the time and were widely disseminated by the monks throughout the European East along with the Christian faith and the Kievan culture. The monks endeared themselves to the population by their charitable work, notably among the needy and the orphans. The Cave Monastery sheltered them and the monks taught them various crafts thus helping them become useful members of the society.[47]

Like the Apostles, the monks of the Kievan Cave Monastery carried the word of God to every populated area of the European East. They did so at the risk of their own lives. For example, St. Leontius died a martyr's death in 1073 in the Rostov-Suzdal region where he had been preaching Christianity among the non-Slavic tribes since 1051. His relics were found untouched, holding a manuscript in the hands containing names of priests and deacons ordained by St. Leontius.[48] Another monk of the Kievan Cave Monastery, St. Kuksha, also died a martyr's death at the hands of the Viatyches.[49] Some of these monks, according to the Kievan Cave *Patericon*, died a death similar to Christ's. For example, St. Eustratius was crucified and his body pierced with a spear. Another monk, Nikon, was put in irons and tortured until he "bled to death" and "rotted from the wounds". Inspired by such examples of steadfastness and devotion to Christ's faith, "pagans and Jews" asked to be converted to Christianity, according to Polycarp, and even the ruthless "Polovtsians became monks".[50]

In addition to Sts. Antonius and Theodosius, a number of other monks of the Kievan Cave Monastery gained wide repute as early as the second half of the eleventh century both within the Kievan Realm and far beyond its borders, for their dedication to the Church of Christ and for their efforts in cul-

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[46] Ikonnikov, V., *Opyty izsledovaniia o kul'turnom znachenii Vizantii v russkoi istorii*, Kiev, 1869, p. 93.

[47] Vernadsky, I., *Zvenia russkoi kul'tury*, Berlin, 1938, p. 34.

[48] Vlasovsky, I., *Narys istorii Ukrains'koi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy*, New York, 1955, Vol. I, p. 56.

[49] *Kievo-Pecherskii pateryk, op. cit.*, p. 39.

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 33-38.

tivating the faith among the newly converted Christians. Included in this group was Varlaam, the first superior of the Cave Monastery, who journeyed to Jerusalem and Tsarhorod as a pilgrim. On his return journey, Varlaam is known to have visited many other monasteries. He died in the Assumtion Monastery near Volodymyr Volynsky in 1065. The Monastery's second superior, St. Stephen, founded a large monastery on the River Klov, which eventually became famous throughout the Realm. Among others worthy of note was Nestor the Chronicler, hiero-deacon of the Cave Monastery who was also the author of the "Lives of Sts. Borys and Hlib"; the monk Ahapyt who knew the art of curing with herbs; Gregory and Alepiy, whose icons were known throughout the European East.[51]

In line with their desire to spread Christianity and the strict monastic life to the larger centers of the Realm, the monks Antonius and Isaac journeyed to Chernihiv in Left-Bank Ukraine and founded the Holy Mother monastery in the Boldeny mountains.[52] The monk Nikon established a monastery near Tmutorokan, which "adopted the rules of the Cave Monastery".[53] It should be noted that Theodosius, who was a talented writer, established the first literary group on the Kievan territory and authored, in addition to numerous sermons, two treatises on monastic life, *Pro Kaiannia* (On Repentance) and *Proty Korystlyvosty* (Against Covetousness). Polycarp and Simeon started the Cave *Patericon* and the description of the lives of saints, while Gregorius was "the first author of religious hymns"[54] which gave rise to the original "Kievan chant."

Even the grand princes, who began to alternate frequently on the Kievan imperial throne (Yaroslav the Wise held the title of "tsar" or "tsesar", meaning emperor)[55] respected the

[51] Vlasovsky, I., *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.
[52] *Polnoe Sobranie, op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 185.
[53] Ikonnikov, V., *op. cit.*, p. 94.
[54] Luzhnytsky, H., *Ukrains'ka Tserkva mizh skhodom i zakhodom*, Philadelphia, 1954, p. 72.
[55] Rybakov, B. M., *Zapis ob smerti Yaroslava Mydroho*, Moscow, 1959, No. 4, p. 245.

Kievan Cave Monastery because of its stature and influence as the center of Christian culture. When as a result of the struggle for the Kievan throne among the elder Yaroslavyches (1073), Sviatoslav (1073-1076) secured the power by illegal means, Theodosius, superior of the monastery, not only declined an invitation to attend a royal dinner at the palace but took a stand against Sviatoslav in his sermons and pronouncements. When threats failed to dissuade Theodosius, Sviatoslav changed his attitudes and began to visit the monastery, lavish gifts upon it, and even paid homage to Theodosius who, in turn, allowed his name to be mentioned in the liturgy, if only "after the name of Iziaslav".[56] This strong stand of Theodosius reflects both the prestige of the monastery and its strong influence even on the personal occupancy of the imperial throne. Therefore, every aspiring prince, in an effort to secure the support of the highly influential representatives of the Kievan clergy, built churches and monasteries and lavished gifts particularly on the Kievan Cave Monastery. In gaining the support of the monks, the prince would also enjoy popularity among his subjects who respected the word of their spiritual leaders. Despite the political decline of the Kievan Realm after the death of Yaroslav the Wise, Kiev continued its growth as a cultural center.

As mentioned above, Grand Prince Iziaslav founded the St. Demetrius Monastery in Kiev, transferring the Cave Monastery's supierior Varlaam to this new institution which he support with his own funds. To maintain the prestige of this monastery, the monk Isaiah, again from the Cave Monastery, was named successor to Varlaam.[57] Following in the footsteps of Iziaslav, Grand Prince Sviatoslav also contributed generously to the Cave Monastery and founded yet another, St. Simeon's Monastery, in Kiev. He also supported the literary group organized by Theodosius at the Cave Monastery. A valuable relic of his appreciation of books is the famous *Sbornik* (Collection) of Sviatoslav, rewritten by sexton Ivan in 1073, as well

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[56] Hrushevsky, M., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 66-7.
[57] Ikonnikov, V., *op. cit.*, p. 94.

as the second Collection of Sviatoslav of 1076, compiled by a man named Ivan from "many of the prince's books."[58] According to the chronicles, it was during the reign of Sviatoslav that the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary was started at the Cave Monastery. The Kievan *Synopsis* described this magnificent shrine as follows: "This heaven-like church was decorated internally and externally as if with God's hands. It was all laid out with gilded stones, painted with beautiful colors, and decorated with icons. Its floor was also laid out with multicolored stones arranged in different patterns; its domes were gilded and a golden cross of great weight spired above the top of the church".[59] It should be noted that this highly regarded temple of worship was completed by Grand Prince Vsevolod and decorated by the famous icon painter Olympius, a monk of the Kievan Cave Monastery.[60] This church was respected not only because of its beauty but because the "most important item in the monastery's cathedral was the icon of the Holy Mother brought from Constantinople by the masters who built the church; from the very moment, it had miracle-making powers."[61] Grand Prince Volodymyr Monomakh (1113-1125), an exceptionally talented ruler, supported the cultural-religious activity of the Cave Monastery and founded new monasteries. An examplary Christian ruler, he was particularly fond of the Kievan Cave Monastery which was regarded as a kind of theological academy at the time and served as a source of bishops for many eparchies of the vast Kievan metropolitanate which embraced the entire European East until the end of the thirteenth century.[62] Saved almost miraculously from a childhood desease, Volodymyr Monomakh built beautiful

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[58] Hrushevsky, M., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 67.
[59] Bolkhovitinov, E., *Opisanie Kievopecherskoi Lavry*, Kiev, 1847, pp. 11-12.
[60] Sichynsky, V., *Istoriia ukrains'koho mystetstva*, New York, 1956, Vol. I, p. 36.
[61] Kazansky, P., *Istoria pravoslavnogo russkogo monashestva*, Moscow, 1855, p. 78.
[62] Ikonnikov, V., *op. cit.*, p. 94.

churches throughout his kingdom. Infatuated by the beauty of the Cave Monastery's Assumption Church, Volodymyr built a similar shrine "in the city of Rostov and his son Heorhi erected one in Suzdal."[63]

The activity of the Kievan Cave Monastery was supported as much by he grand princes of Kiev as by the lesser princes. According to the chronicles, prince Yaropolk Iziaslavych granted the *volosts* of Nebel, Drevlia, and Lutsk, as well as the environs of Kiev, to the Cave Monastery. His son-in-law, Hlib Vseslavych, donated 600 *hryven* of silver and 50 *hryven* of gold to the monastery and financed the completion of a guest house there. After Yaropolk's death, his wife Anastasia contributed an additional 100 *hryven* of silver and 50 *hryven* of gold to the monastery and bequethed five of her villages to the monks shortly before her death.[64] Additional support for the monastery came from its former members who headed some of the bishoprics of the large Kievan metropolitanate. For example, Yefrem, the Bishop of Suzdal, "donated to the Cave Monastery an estate in Suzdal with the St. Demetrius Church and the surrounding villages."[65]

Moreover, some of the princes, fascinated by the pious, ascetic life of the Cave Monastery's monks, sometimes joined their ranks thus enhancing the monastery's prestige and contributing to the propagation of the Christian faith. For example, Sviatoslav, prince of Lutsk and Chernihiv, having built with his own money the Holy Trinity Church over the gate of the Cave Monastery, as well as the St. Michael's Church and a hospital, himself entered the monastery and lived there for the rest of his life. Having adopted the name of Mykola, the prince lived in the monastery as an ordinary monk for 36 years. By his humility and deep devotion to the Ukrainian Church and the people, Sviatoslav- Mykola endeared himself in the hearts of thousands. It is said that "almost all of Kiev" came to the

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[63] Bolkhovitinov, E., *op. cit.*, p. 12.
[64] Kazansky, P., *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

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monastery to bid him farewell when the news spread that he was about to die.[66]

Bishop Simeon, one of the monastery's founders, described aptly the stature of this great institution in all of Eastern Europe when he wrote to monk Polycarp: "Who has not heard of the great Cathedral, the beauty of Volodymyr, and the Suzdal Church which I have built myself? They have countless towns and villages. A tithe is being collected throughout the land to support them. All of this is under my administration. Yet in all honesty, I would gladly give up all of these honors just to be... in the Cave Monastery, even a nobody, or to be one of those poor men begging for alms at the gates of the great Lavra..."[67]

The great Kievan princes, as a rule, visited the Cave Monastery and the grave-sites of its founders before they took off for long military campaigns. They brought gifts, prayed, and asked the hegumen for his blessing. The princes seldom left Kiev until they came for prayers at the grave-site of Theodosius and obtained the blessings of the superior. Upon returning from campaigns, they also stopped at the monastery to thank God for bringing them home alive. Furthermore, according to the chronicles, "some of the princes came to the monastery to write their last wills and bequests that were binding on their heirs."[68]

Writing about the Cave Monastery and its achievements in spreading Christianity throughout the European East, Metropolitan Eugene stated: "No other institution has gained so much glory by its blessed deeds of humaneness and goodness for the benefit of all people" as this monastery. It was "justly called holy and capable of miracles."[69] Considering that the monastery continued to be the principal moving force of Christianity since the second half of the eleventh century particularly among the pagan tribes of the vast Kievan metropolitanate, it is not surprising that its fame and prestige spread to all parts of the European East.

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[66] Vlasovsky, I., op. cit., Vol. I, p. 57.

[67] Kievopecherskii Pateryk, op. cit., p. 28.

[68] Bolkhovitinov, E., op. cit., p. 16.

[69] Ibid., p. 14.

Following the example of the Kievan emperors, the lesser princes also built monasteries in various centers of the great Kievan Realm during the reigns of Volodymyr the Great and Yaroslav the Wise. The missionary and cultural work of these monasteries however, assumed greater magnitude only after the arrival of the Cave Monastery's monks to these distant areas of the Realm. For example, despite the fact that Novgorod had a rather wide network of monasteries as early as the second half of the eleventh century, more intensive cultural work among the masses did not begin until the Cave Monastery's monks became bishops in Novgorod, specifically Nykyta (1096-1108) and Nyphont (1130-1155).[70] The latter, in an effort to develop missionary work among the people, founded the Spas (Savior) Monastery near Pskov in 1154 and two years later, in cooperation with the monastery's hegumen Avraam, the bishop built another monastery and the Preobrazhenska Church.[71] The same was true of the northeastern regions which eventually formed the nucleus of the Muscovite principality. Here, gradual Christianization of the Ugro-Finnish tribes did not begin until the arrival of the Cave Monastery's ascetics. Thus, monk Herasym, who settled on the River Volohda in 1147 and founded the Holy Trinity Monastery, "after prolonged hostility" with the natives "preached the word of God for thirty years" among the various tribes of this remote region. Similarly, "paganism prevailed in the lands neighboring on Volohda until the appearance of monasteries,"[72] founded on the instructions of the Cave Monastery's ascetics who headed the bishoprics of the Kievan metropolitanate. An example of the stature the hermits enjoyed can be found in the chronicle of Ipatii who said that "prince David, and the princess, and the clergy, and the boyars, and the people were overjoyed"[73] over the elevation of the Cave Monastery's hegumen Teoktyst to the rank of Bishop of Chernihiv. Altogether, some fifty monks of the Kievan Cave Monastery were

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[70] Kazansky, P., *op. cit.,* pp. 151-2.

[71] *Ibid.,* pp. 163-4.

[72] Kazansky, P., *op. cit.,* p. 167.

[73] *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei,* Vol. II, p. 274.

named bishops of various eparchies of the Kievan metropolitanate over a period of almost two centuries.[74] Thus it can be stated without exaggeration that the Kievan Cave Monastery was truly the principal force behind the spread of Christianity in all of Eastern Europe. Moreover, thanks to the wide-ranging missionary work of these monks, the basic tenets of Christian faith and the highly developed culture of the Kievan Realm spread to the various areas of Eastern Europe where they found fertile soil to grow and develop until the present time.

Following a brief period of decline after the fall of the Kievan Realm and the destruction of Kiev in 1240, the Kievan Cave Monastery gradually regained its former stature with the emergence of the Lithuanian-*Rus'* state. In expanding their kingdom to the east, the Lithuanian tribes found the basic elements of political organization in what was formerly the Kievan Realm and incorporated them in the establishment of the Lithuanian-*Rus'* state which became the stronghold of Orthodoxy after the decline of the Galician-Volhynian principality in 1340. Thanks to the missionary work of the Cave Monastery's ascetics, particularly its superior David who became a personal chaplain of Queen Juliana, wife of Grand Prince Olgerd (1340-1377),[75] the Holy Trinity Monastery was founded in Vilnius as early as the middle of the fourteenth century. It was in this monastery's first church that "Prince Olgerd's twelve sons from his first wife, Maria, and his second wife, Juliana, were baptized in the Orthodox faith."[76]

This revival of the Kievan Cave Monastery and the missionary work of its monks within the boundaries of the Lithuanian-*Rus'* state renewed the relations of Kiev with its neighbors and opened the way for the revival of the Kievan metropolitan see.

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[74] *Kievo-Pecherskyi Pateryk,* pp. 27-8.
[75] "Kievsko-Pecherska Lavra",*Kievskaia Starina,* Vol. XV, Kiev, 1886, p. 295.
[76] Vlasovsky, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, pp. 151-7.

II. THEORY OF MOSCOW AS THE THIRD ROME AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MOSCOW PATRIARCHATE

An analysis of the historical processes leading up to the rise and fall of individual empires reveals that following the decline of the Roman empire the center of power was transferred to Constantinople—called by Greeks: the "Second Rome." In a similar manner, after the fall of Byzantium, Muscovites called Muscovy as the "Third and Last Rome", an empire that was to surpass in power and grandeur both Rome and Byzantium. A closer examination of historical developments in the European East following the decline of the Kievan Realm shows that the political foundations of the Third Rome date back to the second half of the thirteenth century and are closely related to the invasion of the Tatar hordes.

The crossing of the Tatars over the vast expanses of Eastern and Central Europe and their settlement on the upper reaches of the Volga River resulted in the subjugation of peoples of the former Kievan Realm by the Tatar khans who began to interfere in the external and internal life of the East European peoples. Moreover, the political paths of the Rostov-Suzdal princes, on the one hand, and the Galician-Volhynian rulers, on the other, heretofore dependent on Kiev, took off in diametrically opposite directions. Of course, the course were determined by the geographical proximity of the Golden Horde to the northeastern lands, which had been in a kind of colonial relationship to the former Kievan Realm, and the lands of *Rus'* -Ukraine proper, which became part of the Galician-Volhynian state as early as the first half of the thirteenth century. While the Rostov-Suzdal lands were in direct dependency of the Golden Horde, the Galician-Volhynian lands were only nominally under the rule of the Horde which maintained only the so-called

"yarlyks" in that area recognizing formally the local predomi-
nance of the Galician-Volhynian princes. Consequently, while
the Rostov-Suzdal princes were virtually under total subser-
vience to the Horde's khans, the Galician-Volhynian princes
managed to further develop the kingdom along the traditional
lines of the former Kievan *Rus'*-Ukraine and to seek allies in
the Christian European West against the Golden Horde which
sought to dominate all of Europe. It should be recalled that
Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254) even issued a "bull to the
Christians of Poland, Czechia, Moravia, Serbia and Pomerania,
urging them to a crusade against the Tatars".[1] And were it not
for indifference of the West European princes to the Pope's
appeal and the efforts of the Galician-Volhynian princes, notably
King Daniel (1211-1264) to wage such a crusade—the map of
Europe would look differently today.

In the meantime, the rivalry between the Rostov-Suzdal
and the Galician-Volhynian princes over the lands of the former
Kievan Realm led to the transfer of the Kievan metropolitanate
to Vladimir on the Kliazma and the establishment of a separate
Galician-Volhynian metropolitanate which included the Galician,
Volodymyr, Peremyshl, Turiv, Lutsk, and Kholm eparchies.[2]
This, of course, angered the Rostov-Suzdal princes who de-
manded the liquidation of the latter metropolitanate. Supported
by the Golden Horde, the Rostov-Suzdal princes succeeded in
persuading Constantinople to appoint hegumen Peter,candidate
of Galician prince George I (1301-1308) "metropolitan of Kiev
and all of *Rus'* "[3] instead of a separate metropolitan for Galicia-
Volhynia following the death of Nyphont in 1305. This ill-
timed decision of Constantinople sharpened the conflict be-
tween Halych and Vladimir on the Kliazma. Upon being trans-
ferred to the Rostov-Suzdal lands, the Kievan metropolitans,
while nominally retaining the title "of Kiev and all of *Rus*", in

[1] Hrushevsky, M., *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, Vol. III, New York, 1954, p. 72.
[2] Luzhnytsky, H., *Ukrains'ka Tserkva mizh skhodom i zakhodom*, Phila-
delphia, 1954, p. 178.
[3] Vlasovsky, I., *Narys istorii Ukrains'koi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy*, Vol. I,
New York, 1955, p. 104.

reality cooperated with the local princes and the khans of the Golden Horde, thus becoming tools in the latter's imperial designs. As the principality of Muscovy, established in the second half of the thirteenth century, continued to grow in power, this conflict persisted, involving the grand Lithuanian princes who succeeded in establishing a separate metropolitan see for the Lithuanian-*Rus'* state as early as the first half of the fourteenth century. The signature of the first Lithuanian-*Rus'* Metropolitan, named Theofil, can be found in the documents of the Constantinople patriachate from the years 1317 through 1329.[4] Just as their precursors of Rostov-Suzdal, who had opposed the establishment of a separate metropolitan see for the Galician-Volhynian principality, the Muscovite princes were even more bitterly opposed to such an institution within the Lithuanian-*Rus'* state. A particularly strong opponent of such a move was Ivan Kalita (1328-1340) who was held "in such high favors by the Mongols that they allowed him to rule independently in his principality and even placed their armies at his disposal".[5] Determined to extend his sphere of influence and to transform Moscow into *the* center of cultural and religious life in the European East, Ivan Kalita "persuaded Metropolitan Peter of Vladimir to transfer his seat to Moscow"[6] and succeeded in having the newly eregated metropolitan see within the Lithuanian-*Rus'* Kingdom abolished. And although the Constantinople records show that the Lithuanian-*Rus'* metropolitante was abolished because of the allegedly small number of faithful and because of its proximity to *Rus'*,[7] the real reason was Muscovy's unmitigated expansionist drive. Constantinople's attitude merely compounded the problem, adding fuel to the fire: early in the second half of the fourteenth century, Patriarch Philotey, in a move that contradicted every rule of ecclesiastical order and procedure, elevated both Roman, the candidate of the Lithuanian-*Rus'* King-

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[4] Hrushevsky, M., *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 274.

[5] Milkovich, V., "Vostochnaia Evropa" in *Istoriia chelovichestva* by H. Helmolt, Vol. V, St. Petersburg, 1903, p. 506.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 506.

[7] Hrushevsky, M., *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 274.

dom, and Alexis, the nominee of the Moscovite princes, to the ranks of metropolitans of "Kiev and of all *Rus'*" with jurisdictional rights over the same territory.[8] Thus the conflict, which had originally involved Halych, the Lithuanian-*Rus'* princes, and Muscovy, now encompassed Kiev as well. Having regained some of its past glory and the traditional seat principal roadblock to Muscovy's expansionist designs. When Theognost died in 1353 and, like his predecessor Peter, was buried in Moscow, Metropolitan Theodoryt of Kiev again became the sole spiritual leader of all the lands in Eastern Europe.[9] Of course, this lasted for but a short time because, as we know, Patriarch Philotey named two metropolitans to the Kievan see in 1354 and Metropolitan Roman did assume the seat in Kiev.[10] Still,, this fact is of crucial importance in that it reflects the revival of Kiev—"the mother of Rus' cities—after the decline of the Kievan Realm, and, more significantly, the importance attached to the title "metropolitan of Kiev and of all *Rus'*" by the Muscovite rulers in their efforts to see Moscow replace Kiev.

The importance of Kievan metropolitans in the intense struggle for domination in Eastern Europe can be seen from the fact that Grand Prince Olgerd ordered "the imprisonment of Metropolitan Alexis (upon his arrival in Kiev) and confiscated all of his religious vestments."[11] The conflict between the Lithuanian and Muscovite princes continued despite Alexis' escape to Moscow. Halych, which was successful in restoring the Galician-Volhynian metropolitanate, became again involved in the conflict toward the end of the fourteenth century[12] However, after the death of Metropolitan Antonius in 1391, the struggle was largely between the Lithuanian-*Rus'* princes and Muscovy, which led to the partition of the old Kievan see into the Kievan and Muscovite metropolitanates and, subsequently, to the establishment of the illegitimate Muscovite metropolitan

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[8] Luzhnytsky, H., *op. cit.*, p. 149.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

[10] Hrushevsky, M., *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 390.

[11] Vlasovsky, I., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 109.

[12] Hrushevsky, M., *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 392.

see.[13] The latter obtained its "confirmation" from the artificially created Moscow patriarchy.

Because of meekness and almost total subservience of the Rostov-Suzdal and, later, Muscovite, provinces, the Tatars managed to establish control over most of the East European territories and sought to influence the political life of contemporary Europe. Later, this role was gradually assumed by the Muscovite princes after they managed to free themselves from the waning influence of the Tatar khans.

But the Tatar attempts to dominate Europe merely consolidated the resistance of the Christian princes, and the Muscovite rulers, quick to learn from the experience of their precursors, sought to tie in their aspirations with the great tradions of ancient Rome. Moreover, since Byzantium — and even to a greater extent Kiev, which was the bulwark of Christianity in Eastern Europe — presented an obstacle to the messianistic designs of Muscovy, the Muscovite rulers sought to bypass these great centers of Christianity by tracing its spread in the East to the work of the Apostles, despite historical evidence to the contrary.

This wholly distorted approach of the Muscovite rulers became apparent as early as the first half of the fifteenth century, particularly after the Florentine Union. In their efforts to elevate Moscow as the cultural-religious center of the East, the Muscovites established their own metropolitan see without previous permission of the Constantinople patriarchy and contrary to the latter's striving towards union. Thus the Muscovite metropolitan see, illegitimately conceived, was wholly subservient to the political interests of Muscovy as the center of the future empire. The all-out attempt to legitimize the inheritance from both the first and second Rome became clear when Ivan III (1462–1505), in his marriage of the Byzantine Emperor's niece, adopted the Byzantine two-headed eagle as the official insignia of the Muscovite state[14] and claimed the title of the "Russian Emperor".

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[13] *Ustiuzhskii Letopisnyi Svod.*, ed. by K. N. Serbyna, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, p. 81.
[14] Mirchuk, I., *Istorychno-ideolohichni osnovy teorii III Rymu.* Munich, 1954, p. 17.

Taking advantage of the growing tensions between the Polish clergy and the spiritual leaders of the restored Kievan metropolitanate, which wavered between Rome and Constantinople following the Florentine Union, Ivan III proclaimed himself "the defender of the Orthodox population of Poland[15] thus setting the stage for Muscovy's ecclesiastical-political designs on the Lithuanian-Rus' state. While these attempts have seemed unrealistic and overly pretentious in the 1480's, the decline of the Tatar power emboldened the Muscovite rulers to gradual implementation of their expansionist plans. Since the revived Kiev (in the person of Grand Prince Semen Olelkovych) [1455—1471][16] again posed the only threat to the grand designs of Muscovy, the Muscovite rulers resorted to all possible means to destroy it.

Having proclaimed themselves the sole "defenders" of Orthodoxy, they preferred to use the Tatar khans in the direct confrontation with Kiev. Thus, in the spring of 1482, Ivan III asked Mengli-gerey to raid the lands of Casimir (1447—1492), that is, „the Podolian lands or the Kievan cities". And by the end of summer, the Tatar khan did indeed launch an attack on Kiev. The news of the oncoming Tatars reached Kiev in a few days and the city's *voievoda* did his best to prepare for the assault. But the odds were too great. On September 1, 1482, the Tatars sacked the city and its environs, burned and robbed the churches, and returned home with hundreds of captives. As a present, the khan sent the golden chalice from the St. Sophia Cathedral to the Muscovite prince. And even though Prince Casimir aroused the entire Lithuanian-Rus' state to restore Kiev and thus present a show of power to deter the Tatars, it was as far as he could go. Meanwhile, Ivan III "thanked Mengli-gerey for the Kiev assault... and asked him not to conclude a treaty with Casimir but to continue his raids "into the latter's domain".[17] Having thus used the Tatars in the initial stages of the onslaught, the Muscovite princes

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[15] Milkovich, V., *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, p. 520.

[16] Hrushevsky, M., *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 247.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 327.

procceded to the next phase of their preconceived design — to conquer the lands of the Lithuanian-Rus' state.

As a result of repeated raids of the Muscovite chieftains, a large portion of the Lithuanian-Rus' state found itself under the domination of the Muscovite princes. In dispatching an envoy to the Lithuanian Grand Prince Alexander (1492—1506) in 1493, Ivan III identified himself as "the emperor of all *Rus*'". When the Lithuanian rulers accused him of "departing from traditions", the Muscovite legates replied that the Grand Prince of Muscovy "did not make any innovations: he was merely claiming what was his since time immemorial, that is, to be the emperor of all *Rus*'". Under pressure, the Lithuanian princes not only abdicated the rights to Novgorod, Pskov, Tver, and Riazan — the lands which were in the political domain of the Lithuanian-Rus' state — but acknowledged the usurpation of the title "emperor of all *Rus*'" by the Muscovite prince.[18]

These were tremendous successes for Muscovy at this stage in history. But the Muscovite princes did not stop here. Early in the sixteenth century they appropriated "the vast territory with 319 cities and 70 districts, including the Chernihiv region" thus making repeated inroads into the Lithuanian-Rus' state. And while the negotiations between the Muscovite princes, on the one hand, and the representatives of Poland, Hungary, and the Apostolic See, on the other, did result in a temporary truce between Muscovy and the Lithuanian-Rus' state, they also revealed clearly the ultimate goals of the Muscovite despots. Ivan III, in replying the Pope, said: "we hope that the Pope is well aware of the fact that the *Rus*' land has been handed down to us by our ancestors..." At the same time, he advised the Lithuanian grand prince to cede the rest of *Rus*' lands to Moscow „if peace is to prevail between Moscow and Lithuania".[19]

If we consider the gradual decline of Byzantium as a balancing power between the east and the west and the simultaneous emergence of Muscovy as a result of its undisguised

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[18] *Ibid.*, p. 277.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 279-280.

aggressiveness, it is no surprise that the Muscovite scholars be-
gan to believe in the messianic destiny of Moscow as the center
of the Christian east. It was in this climate that the theory of
Moscow as the "Third Rome" was born. In subsequent years,
it became both Muscovy's principal doctrine and a tool in its
expansionistic policies.

Since the Muscovite Church, in its deliberate effort to be-
come a national institution, refused to acknowledge the authori-
ty of Rome (even negating the unity with Byzantium), the Mus-
covite scholars even distorted history to trace the adoption of
Christianity directly to the Apostles. Taking advantage of the
fact that neither the Kievan nor the Novhorod interpretation of
St. Andrew's missionary work in Rus'-Ukraine tied in with By-
zantium, Muscovy, "in the interest of placing the Muscovite
Church over that of Byzantium, incorporated the legend of St.
Andrew into its own spiritual heritage", thus tracing the origins
of Muscovite Christianity to Apostle Andrew despite historical
evidence to the contrary.

"Muscovy needed proof that true Christianity, i.e., the Or-
thodoxy, is preserved in Muscovy; and this proof was found in
the appropriation of the legend of St. Andrew, brother of Apostle
Peter. Thus Moscov 'disproved' Rome's claims to primacy creat-
ing an illusion of the "Muscovite Church's equality with Rome".[20]

Having advanced the theory on the adoption of Christianity
directly from Apostle Andrew, the Muscovite rulers, ably aided
by their scholars, evolved yet another myth by tracing their
dynasty to Emperor Augustus, i.e., to ancient Rome. This, they
felt, gave "historical legitimacy to the theory of the Third Rome".
Thus, "in the eyes of Muscovite's sixteenth century scholars, not
only the Second Rome (Byzantium) but also the First Rome
should accede to the primacy of the Third Rome (Moscow)".[21]
This illusory messianism was utilized by the Muscovite rulers
to strengthen the hold on the territories already under their

[20] Hryshko, V., *Istorychno-pravne pidhruntia teorii III Rymu.* Munich,
1953, p. 53.
[21] Ohloblyn, O., *Teoriia III Rymu v XVI-XVII stol.*, Munich, 1951, p. 36.

control and to expand their dominion to the rest of Eastern Europe.

How this "messianism" was applied in reality can be seen from the Muscovite conquest of Novhorod, one of the oldest commercial and cultural centers of the Kievan Empire. In 1477 Ivan III „not only destroyed the city but robbed all of its wealth".

According to Olearius, "no sooner was the tyrant got into the city, but he pillag'd it, so that at his departure thence he carry'd away three hundred wagons loaded with gold, silver and jewels, besides the rich stuffs and other sumtuous moveables, which he dispos'd into other wagons, and convey'd to Moscow, whither he also transported the inhabitants, and sent Moscovites thither in their stead".[22]

The sacking of Novhorod was repeated by Ivan the Terrible (1533—1584) in January and February of 1570. Sir Jerome Horsey, who traveled in Muscovy in 1572, provided the folloving description of this socking: „He (Ivan the Terrible) chargeth it with 30 thowsand Tartors and tenn thowsand gonnors of his guard, withowt any respect ravished all the weomen and maieds, ranzacked, robbed, and spoilled all that wear within it of their jewells, place, and treasur, murthered the people yonge and olde, burnt all their howshold stuff, merchandices, and warehowses of wax, flaex, tallow, hiedes, salt, wynes, cloth, and silks, sett all one fier, with wax and tallow melted down the kennells in the streats, together with the bloud of 700 thowsande men, weomen and children, slaine and murthered; so that with the bloud that rann into the river, and of all other livinge creaturs and cattell, their dead carcacess did stoppe as it wear the stream of the river Volca, beinge cast therin. Noe historic maketh mencion of so horrable a massacre. Which being thus done and distroied, the citie leaft dissolute (desolate) and wast, he returned with his army and Livonian captives towards his cittie Musquo. In the way he imployes his captaines and other offi-

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[22] Olearius, A., *History of Muscovy, Tartary, Persia,* rendered into English by John Darries of Kidwelly, London, 1669, Lib. 2, p. 36.

cers to drive and take owt of the towns and villages within 50 miells compas all sortts of people, gentilmen, pessants, merchants, and mouncks, old and yonge, with their famillies, goods, and cattells, to goe clens and inhabitate this great and ruinated cittie of Novogorod, exposing them to a new slaughter; for many of them died with pestilence of the infected new and noisome eyr and place they came unto, which could not be replenished with people to any purpose, though many sent owt, of divers ages, remote towns and places, to inhabit ther.[23]

Even more sordid testimony of Moscovy's "messianism" at work is provided by the chronicle kept by Ivan the Terrible himself. In it "he wrote down the names of his victims to commemorate their souls. Some names were followed by these horrid notations: 'with his daughters'; or 'twenty men from Kamensky'; or '87 from Matvishev'; or 'have mercy, O Lord, on the souls of 1,505 of your subjects from Novhorod'; and so forth. This register alone totals 3,470 victims".[24]

Although devoid of any historical evidence and based solely on falsified legends, the theory of the Third Rome was also used by the Muscovite rulers to counter the arguments of their adversaries.

"Why are you telling us about the Greeks", Ivan the Terrible is said to have replied to the Papal legate when the latter tried to persuade him to accept the Union of Florence. "The Greeks are not a Gospel for us. We don't believe in Greeks, we believe in Christ. We accepted Christianity at the beginning of the Christian Church, when Andrew, Peter's brother, crossed our lands on his way to Rome. Thus we adopted Christianity at the same time that you did in Italy..." [25]

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[23] Bond, Sir Edward Augustus, *Russia at the close of the Sixteenth Century.* Comprising, the treatise "of the Russe commonwealth", by Dr. Giles Flecher; and the "travels of Sir Jerome Horsey"... now for the first time printed entire from his own manuscript. Ed. by Edward A. Bond. London, 1856, pp. 162-3.

[24] Milkovich, V., *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 516.

[25] Miliukov, P., *Ocherki po istorii Russkoi kul'tury*, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1905, p. 24.

Still, to gain greater legitimacy for this religious-political design of Muscovy, her rulers and scholars sought the approval of either the Apostolic See or the eastern patriarchs.

Muscovite Tsar Fedor Ivanovich (1584–1598) discussed the establishment of a Moscow patriarchate with the patriarch of Antioch as early as 1586. Patriarch Joachim said that this could not be done without a synod of all eastern patriarchs, which the tsar asked him to convene as soon as possible. But when Patriarch Jeremiah of Constantinople arrived in Moscow in July of 1588 without a patriarchal charter for Muscovy, the Muscovite government placed him and his entourage under house arrest without any contact with the outside world. When Jeremiah finally did sign the document, it was under duress and pressure from the Muscovite authorities. Even the "Russian" scholars admit that "the consent for the establishment of a patriarchate was virtually extracted from the Greeks by force".[26] Thus "for the first time... the doctrine of the Third Rome as the official ideology of the Muscovite state and Church found its expression in the act of establishment of the Moscow patriarchate toward the end of the sixteenth century. This was indeed a moment of great political significance in the history of the Muscovite Church and state"[27] since the document also incorporated the idea of the "Third Rome" which corresponded wholly to the messianic designs of "Russia". Needles to say, this was achieved against the will of the Constantinople patriarch and, therefore, in violation of the Church rules and procedures.

The next step in the "Rsusian" plans was to gain recognition of the newly established patriarchate. Realizing that this could not be accomplished by means of threats or intimidation, the Muscovite rulers resorted to bribery. For example, according to Kapterev, "in 1592, after the arrival of the official document from the Constantinople patriarch and the sobor confirming the establishment of the patriarchate in "Russia", the tsar (Fedor Ivanovich) sent his emissaries Gregory Noshchokin and Andrew Ivanov to the east with rich gifts, whereby it was permitted to pay 2,544 pieces of gold to churches and monasteries in Jeru-

salem and its environs. Patriarch Sofron alone received 500 gold pieces, a mitre, and a gold chalice for holy water, as well as a table cloth decorated with precious stones, and 160 ermine skins".[28]

Thus the Muscovite rulers, having achieved the recognition of both their deceitful doctrine and the newly created patriarchate, emerged on the world political arena as the "heirs" of the former Roman emperors and the sole "defenders" of the true Apostolic Christianity to assume their self-conceived role of "messianism".

[26] Hryshko, V., *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[27] Ohloblyn, O., *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[28] Kapterev, N., "Snoshenia Yerusalymskikh patriarkhov s russkim pravitel'stvom s poloviny XVI do kontsa XVIII stoletii", *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii Sbornik*, St. Petersburg, Vol. XV, p. 14.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AN URSR   Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

AN SSSR   Academy of Sciences of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

KOLDU   Kiev Lenin Order State University.

NTSh   Shevchenko Scientific Society.

PSRL   Full Collection of *Rus'* Chronicles.

SPB   St. Petersburg.

SA   Soviet Archeology.

ChSVV   Order of St. Basil the Great.

AUVAN   Annals of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences.

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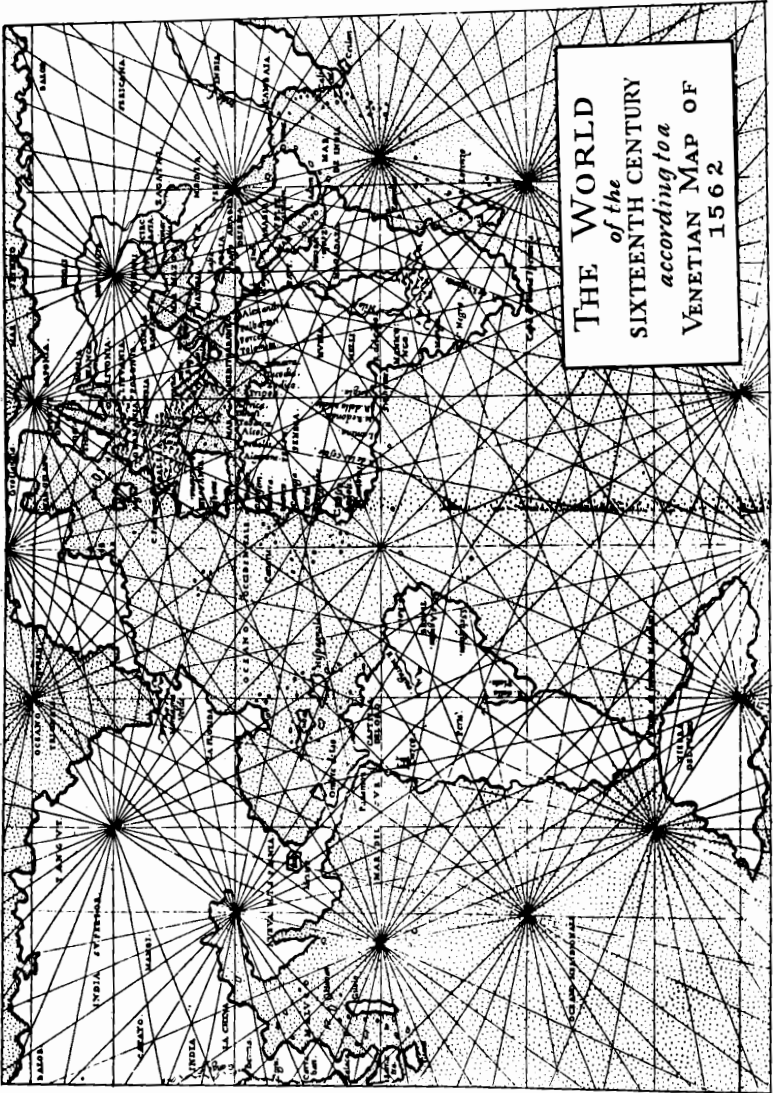Keptarev, N., "Snosheniia, yerusalimskikh patriarkhov s russkim

praviteľstvom s poloviny XVI do kontsa XVIII stoletii",
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ginally by Adam Olearius, rendered into English by John
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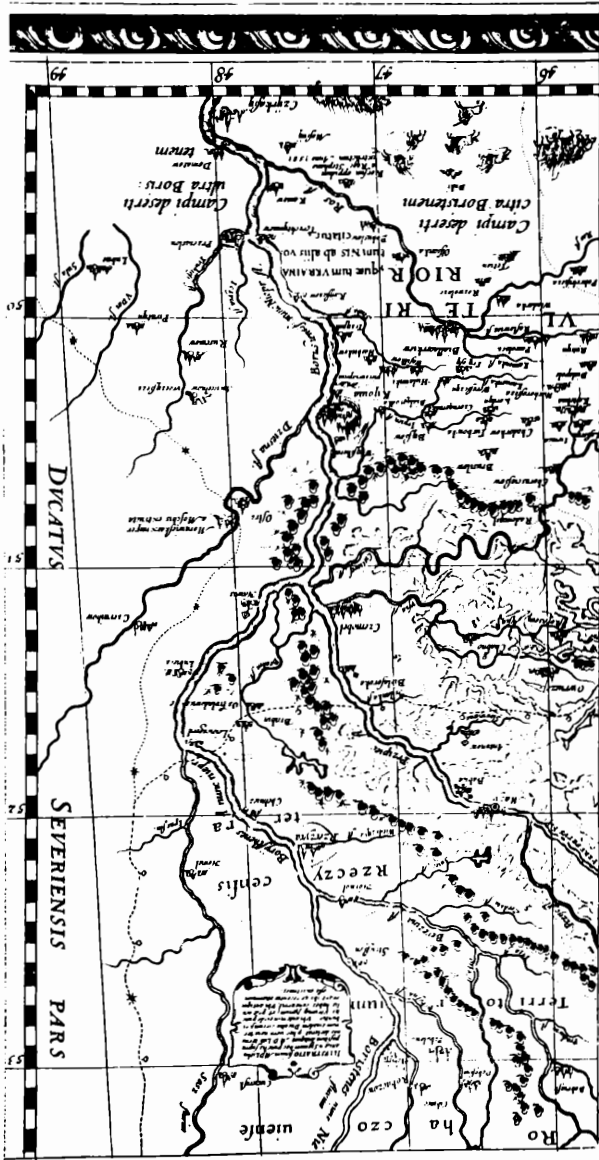
Toronto - New York - Paris, Sept. 1971.

Legend: — — — — Borders of Kievan - Rus' Empire;
.... Rus' proper and colonies dividing line.

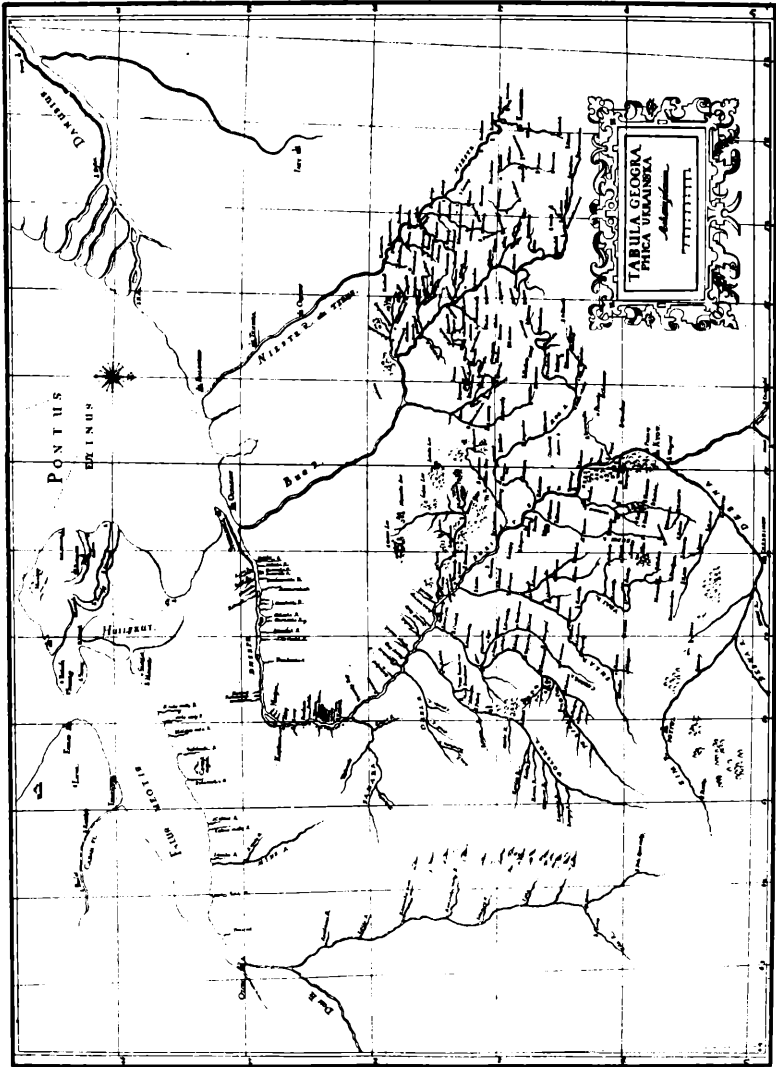THE WORLD of the SIXTEENTH CENTURY according to a VENETIAN MAP OF 1562

A map of the Black Sea area, made before 1580, one of the
earliest known bearing the name of Ukraine.
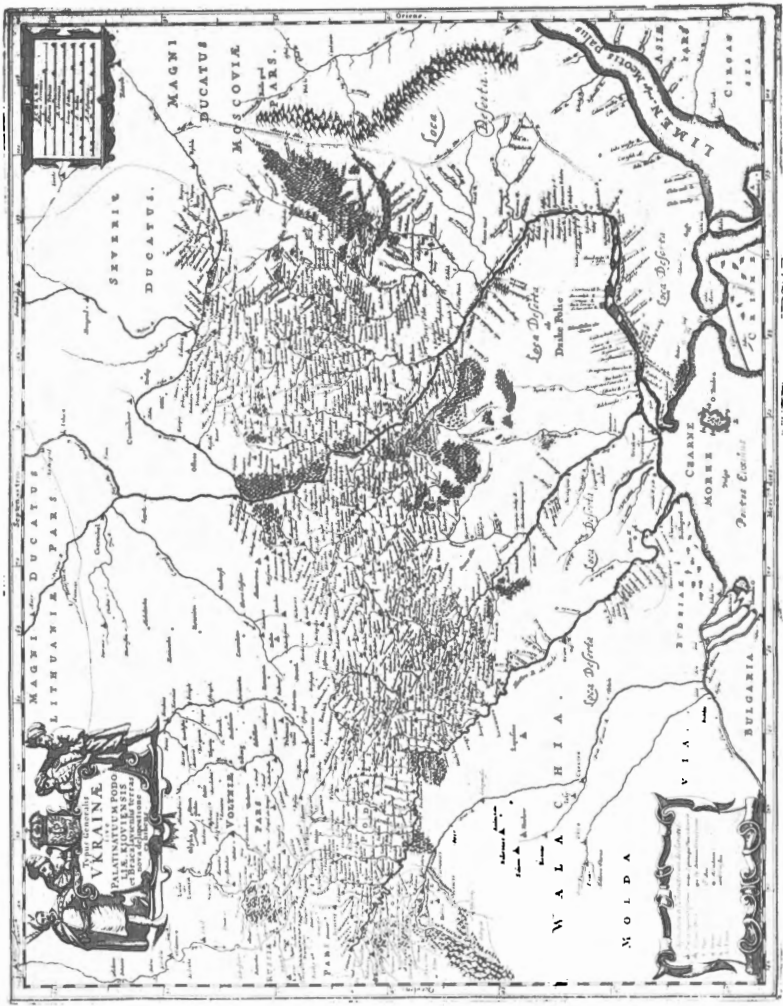(Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris).

A part of a Lithuanian map by Th. Makowski, on which the territory "Flat Land" of the Right Bank of the Dnieper River is called Ukraine. Amsterdam, 1613.

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**Map of Ukraine in the atlas by F. Getkant,
'Topographia practica" (1639)**

50

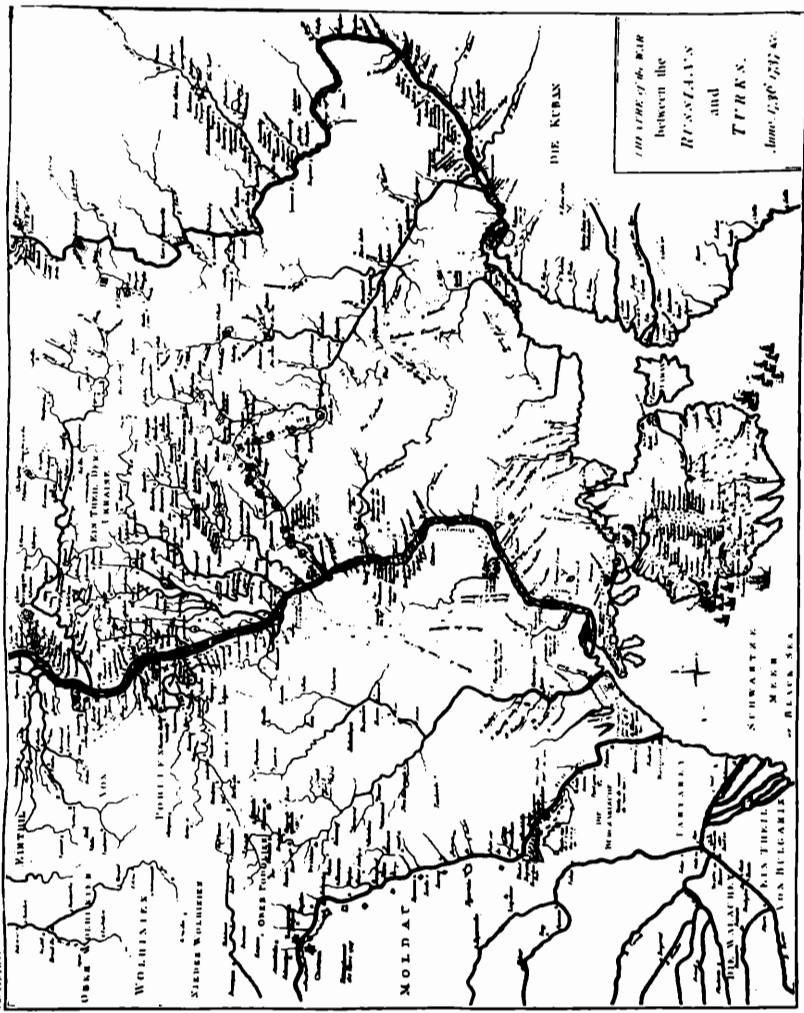Map of Ukraine by Sanson, reproduced in Rome in 1678:
Ukraine o Paese de Cossacchi.

Map of Ukraine by T. K. Lotter, 1745.

The map of Ukraine by Johann Homann (1664 - 1742).
Neur Atlas ueber die ganze Welt, Nuremberg, 1714, p. 166.

Map of Europe in the book: Churchil: A Collection of Voyages,
1744. The Ukrainian territory is marked: Ukrain - Cosacks.

54

Map of Ukraine from the book, Memoirs of Russia,
by C. H. Manstein, London, 1773.

Present day map of countries of the Black Sea basin.