Ukraine between East and West

Ihor Ševčenko

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Ukraine between East and West

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Essays on Cultural History to the Early Eighteenth Century

Ihor Ševčenko

second, revised edition

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These essays are dedicated to the memory of my father, who believed in Ukraine and spent much of his life furthering her cause.

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Cartographer: Inge Wilson.

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Foreword

The Peter Jacyk Centre for Ukrainian Historical Research initiates its monograph series with the publication of Ihor Ševčenko's *Ukraine between East and West: Essays on Cultural History to the Early Eighteenth Century*. The series seeks to fulfill the Centre's mandate to publish important new and translated works in Ukrainian historical studies. The major project of the Centre for the next decade will be the publication of an English translation of the ten volumes of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, the first of which will appear in 1997. The Centre has also established a Ukrainian translation series to make the best works on Ukrainian history that have appeared in the West available to the Ukrainian reading public. In 1995 the collected historical works of Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky, entitled *Istorychni ese*, were published in two volumes. The Centre also supports the publication of sources on Ukrainian history.

The monograph series of the Jacyk Centre aims to foster the publication of new research, textbooks, source materials, and translations of classical historical works. The series seeks to broaden the scope of historical research available in English and to promote the teaching of Ukrainian history by publishing suitable materials. The initiation of the series with the essays of Professor Ihor Ševčenko is an auspicious beginning. Most of the essays derive from lectures delivered by Professor Ševčenko in History 154a, a course that he taught jointly with Professor Omeljan Pritsak at Harvard University in 1970–74. Taught at a time when American universities rarely offered instruction in Ukrainian history, and when even specialists in Slavic studies paid scant attention to Ukraine, the course served as a training ground for graduate students and advanced undergraduates who sought to unravel the complexities of medieval and early modern Ukrainian history. The renowned Turcologist and the eminent Byzantinist ensured that Ukrainian history would be seen in the broadest perspective.

When the many obligations of the two scholars postponed joint publication of their lectures, the Jacyk Centre proposed to Professor Ševčenko that his be issued in a format accessible to the general reader and, especially, to university students in courses of Ukrainian or early East European history.

Since the lectures were originally delivered, some have been revised and published in scholarly journals, and some have appeared in the three volumes of the collected essays of their author. In the present volume, five of the twelve essays appear for the first time. Appended to each essay is a select bibliography emphasizing English-language works.

The Jacyk Centre is pleased to issue *Ukraine between East and West* at a time when Ukrainian history is receiving increasing attention. On this continent, the lectures by Ihor Ševčenko were a pioneering event in that field. As lucid and penetrating examinations of the Ukrainian cultural past, they remain unsurpassed. The scholarly quality and vitality of this first volume sets a desirable precedent for subsequent studies in the Jacyk Centre's monograph series.

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Frank E. Sysyn
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Preface

The present essays cover the period between the introduction of Christianity to Kyiv and the early eighteenth century. One of the tasks I set for them was to single out the significant factors that have contributed, within that time span, to the cultural make-up of people living on Ukrainian territory today. Byzantium provided a natural beginning, for the Byzantine heritage was the most important non-Slavic component of the upper-class culture of early Kyiv. The two claims made by the Byzantine Empire—that it was a universal empire and the only one in the civilized world, and that it possessed the highest culture in the world—were advanced in the ninth and tenth centuries, the centuries of the Christianization of Kyivan Rus'. In its original, its Balkan Slavic, and later its early modern Greek form, the Byzantine heritage remained alive on Ukrainian territories throughout our period (Essays 1–4, 6–7).

Byzantium was not, however, the only center from which determining cultural impulses reached Ukrainian lands in medieval and, above all, early modern times. Other influences came from the West in the early period, mainly through the mediation of Poland, especially during the time when Ukrainian lands were part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Essay 8). This Western impact greatly contributed to making Ukrainians distinct from their northern neighbors, for the Byzantine heritage was something they shared with areas ruled by the Muscovite and, later, the Russian state. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the complicated interplay of Byzantine and Western cultural currents led to an intellectual ferment in Ukrainian lands (Essays 9–10), a ferment that contributed, indirectly, to the individuation of the Ukrainian elites (Essay 11).

Most of the volume deals with the impact of the Byzantine South and of the mainly Polish West; Muscovy and the Turkic world, both that of the steppe and of the Ottomans, have been hardly touched upon in our essays. In the case of Muscovy the omission has been due to the chronological limits of the volume. In terms of cultural exchanges and even of expressions (self-interested or sincere) of religious and linguistic solidarity (recorded in Essays 9–10), Muscovy remained on the periphery of the early modern Ukrainian

elite's attention and thinking down to the middle of the seventeenth century. While the very beginnings of the trek to Moscow by Ukrainian scholars and ecclesiastics, with the subsequent establishment of a Ukrainian lobby there, go back to the 1650s, and while some Kyivan intellectuals reoriented themselves toward the new Muscovite ruler of their city in the seventies of that century (Essays 11–12), it was only after the battle of Poltava (1709) and Peter I's victory over Charles XII of Sweden, with Poland already eliminated as an adversary, that Russia was to play an ever-increasing role in shaping Ukraine's culture and destiny.[1]

This is the picture that emerges from the material presented here, and it should provide an alternative to constructs that either blur that picture or project Russia's presence in Ukraine into a remote past. The growth of these constructs is in itself a valid topic in cultural history, and it would be rewarding to trace their birth, development, and transfer to the West between the sixteenth and the twentieth century.

The essays' silence on the Turkic world (aside from some words in Essay 1) is an accident of their origin. Most of the essays (4–12) grew out of lectures delivered as part of a course in early Ukrainian history given jointly with Professor Omeljan Pritsak at Harvard in the years 1970–74. While I dealt mainly with cultural matters, he covered central historical events, internal developments, and, of course, his special field, the impact exerted by the peoples of the steppe and by the Ottomans upon Ukraine. Professor Pritsak's lectures still remain in manuscript; for now, the reader interested in the Turkic aspects of our subject will have to rely on the panoramic essay Dr. Jaroslav Daškevyč published in 1991 (see the bibliographic note to essay 1).

In addition to describing what happened, six essays attempt to trace the steps by which the inhabitants of Ukrainian lands came to be perceived as distinct by their neighbours; how Ukrainian elites developed a particular consciousness of themselves; and how, in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, Kyivan intellectuals looked back to Kyivan Rus' for their roots.

Three of these essays deal with objective processes. Essay 5 examines the ambivalent attitudes that developed in the Vladimir-Suzdal' principality toward Kyiv and its heritage; there, rulers and bookmen of the territory where the Russian nation was taking shape combined reliance on Kyivan traditions with innovations and claims to independence from Kyiv. Essay 6—the only one that the outsider may find heavy going—surveys the policies of the Constanti-

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1. Even throughout the eighteenth century—as the maps in this volume show—the new Russian Empire dominated (at first indirectly) only Kyiv and the territories east of the Dnieper River, whereas during the same time the larger part of Ukraine remained under Polish suzerainty. As for most of western Ukraine, it was ruled from Moscow for only about fifty years (1939–ca. 1990).

nopolitan patriarchate toward various metropolitan sees that replaced the sole Kyivan metropolitanate, and shows how these policies reflected the disintegration of Kyivan Rus' and the emergence of new political entities, some of which came to rule Ukrainian territories. Essay 8 assesses the cultural results of Poland's eastward expansion. Three other essays (9–11) discuss conscious processes: measures, both organizational and literary, undertaken by the Ukrainian and Belarusian elites in defense of their ancestral faith and the contribution, direct or indirect, of these measures to the growth of a feeling of separate identity among the elite.

Of the twelve essays in this volume, seven (1–4, 7, 10, 11) have been published elsewhere, and five (5–6, 8–9, 12) appear for the first time. True to their origin as lectures, they offer familiar facts and quotations indispensable or useful to students, but this fare, appropriate for the classroom, has also been supplemented by less current illustrations from the sources and by personal interpretations—every teacher's reward for his labors. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from sources are by the author.

Lectures that are being published for the first time have been revamped, enlarged and brought up to date. Texts that have previously appeared in print underwent revisions, cuts, and additions. As a result, the volume offers improved texts both of the new and of the previously printed material.

Since the publishers of this volume have students as well as friends of East European history in mind, it seemed advisable to reduce its scholarly apparatus, of interest primarily to professional scholars. The professional will be able to retrieve much of it from the older printed versions. To make up for the reduction or elimination of footnotes, a bibliographic note has been appended to each essay. The bibliography in each note is selective and usually limited to secondary literature on a given topic. As a rule, bibliographies are intended for the Western, primarily English-speaking, reader. Where necessary, however, some pertinent Slavic and Greek titles have been included. For a general background to the essays, the English-speaking reader may turn to Orest Subtelny's *Ukraine: A History*, 3d ed. (Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 2000).

Even though most repetitions—echoes of university lecturing—have been removed from the essays, some have remained. It should not harm the reader to meet up more than once with Constantinopolitan Patriarch Anthony (Antonios) IV's letter to Prince Vasilij Dmitrievič of Moscow, a comparison of Constantinople to Cairo or Baghdad, or the dispute the Kyivan Lavrentij Zyzanij had with Muscovite clerics in Moscow in 1627.

Louis Robert, this century's leading epigraphist, coined the saying: "Each [place] name should conjure up a [geographic] site." Accordingly, an attempt has been made to place most of the localities mentioned in the text on the maps included in the volume.

Many people helped in editing and proofreading these essays: Mrs. Margaret B. Ševčenko, Ms. Uliana Pasicznyk, Messrs. Dushan Bednarsky and Myroslav Yurkevich, and Dr. Borys Gudziak, among others. I wish to thank all of them for their assistance. I would like to thank Professor Sophia Senyk of the Pontificio Istituto Orientale for her advice on the chronological tables of metropolitans of the Ukrainian churches. My special thanks, however, go to the editor of the series, Dr. Frank E. Sysyn. It was he who retrieved the text of the original lectures, which for a long while had been lost, and it was he who patiently prodded me into doing something useful with them.

When this volume was being conceived at Harvard, Leonid I. Brezhnev (1906–82) was impressing the world with his bushy eyebrows, the speaking of Russian was encouraged at Ukraine's Academy of Sciences, and Western correspondents filed their infrequent dispatches from "Kiev, Russia." Much has changed since then. While we cannot foretell the future of these changes, even the most domestically oriented American now knows that Ukraine is a separate nation and not a state "sort of like Texas," and classical music hosts are heard to apologize for referring to Tchaikovsky's "Little Russian" symphony. It seems that the essays appear at quite an appropriate time, just when many Western readers are discovering an Eastern Europe they did not know existed.

Ihor Ševčenko
Cambridge, Massachusetts/Warren, New Hampshire
August 1994

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The present reprint essentially reproduces the first edition. Its improvements consist in eliminating a number of typographical and factual errors, in introducing some changes to the chronological tables, especially in the makeup of tables 2 and 3, and in bringing the bibliographies at the end of each essay up-to-date. I am indebted to Dr. Oleksij P. Toločko of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine for carrying out most of these tasks.

I hope that the present reprint, even if it deals with early centuries, will help students of the latest events in Ukraine to understand them better by acquiring knowledge of their remote background. Just by comparing the maps appended to the book with the maps of the distribution of votes in the elections of 2004, these students will realize that the areas that voted for the "Orange Revolution" comprised Western Ukraine (part of the West since 1340), the state of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj (ca. 1654), and parts of the semi-

autonomous Ukrainian Hetmanate (dissolved by the year 1764), while areas that predominantly voted for the "Revolution's" opponents coincided with the areas that historically belonged to the Muscovite Tsardom and with the territory of the Crimean Khanate and its vassals. The latter was abolished by Russia in 1783 and later resettled by the rulers of the Russian Empire.

Ihor Ševčenko
Cambridge, Massachusetts
August 2006

Editor's Note on Nomenclature and Transliteration

Personal and place names have been rendered in forms commonly used in English or, when no such forms exist, in forms used in the historical sources. For earlier Rus' rulers and ecclesiastical figures, Slavonic forms have been preferred. Tables of rulers and churchmen at the end of the volume provide alternate forms where appropriate (e.g., modern Ukrainian forms of the names of Rus' rulers).

The International Scholarly Transliteration (IST) system is used in the book, except for the cities of Kyiv (instead of Kyjiv) and Lviv ((L'viv). A table of equivalents in the Library of Congress (LC) system is given below.

	Ukrainian		**Russian**	
	IST	**LC**	**IST**	**LC**
А	a	a	a	a
Б	b	b	b	b
В	v	v	v	v
Г	h	h	g	g
Ґ	g	g	-	-
Д	d	d	d	d
Е	e	e	e	e
Є	je	ie	-	-
Ж	ž	zh	ž	zh
З	z	z	z	z
И	y	y	i	i
І	i	i	-	-
Ї	ji	ï	-	-
Й	j	ĭ	j	ĭ
К	k	k	k	k
Л	l	l	l	l

	Ukrainian		Russian	
	IST	**LC**	**IST**	**LC**
М	m	m	m	m
Н	n	n	n	n
О	o	o	o	o
П	p	p	p	p
Р	r	r	r	r
С	s	s	s	s
Т	t	t	t	t
У	u	u	u	u
Ф	f	f	f	f
Х	x	kh	x	kh
Ц	c	ts	c	ts
Ч	č	ch	č	ch
Ш	š	sh	š	sh
Щ	šč	shch	šč	shch
Ъ	-	-	"	"
Ы	-	-	y	y
Ю	ju	iu	ju	iu
Э	-	-	ė	ė
Я	ja	ia	ja	ia
Ь	'	'	'	'

Slavonic — Old Rus'

	IST	**LC**
И	i	i
Г	g	g
Ы	y	y
Ѣ	ě	ě

ESSAY 1

Ukraine between East and West*

I зрозумій, який ти азіят мізерний.
(And grasp what a miserable Asiatic you are.)

Pantelejmon Kuliš (1882)

Да, скифы — мы! Да, азиаты — мы,
С раскосыми и жадными очами!
(Yes, Scythians—that's us! Yes, Asiatics—that's us!
With slanted and covetous eyes.)

Aleksandr Blok (1918)

*I*n Kyiv it is easy to provide illustrations for my topic. To give one example: a visitor to the Cathedral of St. Sophia soon realizes that the eleventh-century church, with its interior of Byzantine mosaics and Greek inscriptions, is almost totally covered on the exterior by architectural accretions in the style of the Western baroque. To give another example: a recent book by Hryhorij Nikonovyč Lohvyn devoted to etchings in early Ukrainian printed books of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries includes an etching from Počajiv dating from 1768.[1] That etching represents the apostle Luke in the act of painting the portrait of the Virgin Mary. The Virgin Mary is depicted as a purely Byzantine icon, while the evangelist is sitting in a Western, baroque, and dramatic attitude. These two examples suffice to show that in Ukrainian culture—at least, in the artistic one—influences coming from the East and from the West followed one another or coexisted between the eleventh and the eighteenth centuries.

One difficulty arises, however: Byzantium—or, if you will, Constantinople—lies not east, but south, or even southwest, of Kyiv. It follows that in the case of Byzantium we should not speak of the influence exerted upon

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1. H. Lohvyn, *Z hlybyn: Hravjury ukrajins'kyx starodrukiv XVI-XVIII stolit'* (Kyiv, 1990).

Ukraine by the East, but by a part of the Mediterranean civilization. For all that, we know instinctively that East means Byzantium and West means "Europe." How did such a perception arise?

The antithetical notions "East" and "West" came into being a number of centuries before Ukraine entered the confines of civilization. In literary terms, leaving Homer aside, we first encounter these notions in Herodotus, who set out to describe the conflict between the Greeks—that is, the West—and the Persians—that is, the East. These notions entered the historical consciousness of late antiquity owing to the administrative division of the late Roman Empire into eastern and western parts. The frontier between the two passed east of the lands that in the twentieth century became Yugoslavia; it follows that at one time almost all of the former Yugoslavia belonged to the West. The wedge that the invading Slavs drove into the Balkan peninsula in the sixth century contributed to the feeling of separation between East and West. Church administration, which was organized along the lines of the civil administration, made a distinction between Western ecclesiastical units and Eastern ones, called *ecclesiae orientales*. This differentiation implied no "anti-Eastern" bias: on the contrary, among the early Christians of the Mediterranean basin the East enjoyed special reverence as the birthplace of the Savior. All this was understandable from the geographical point of view that obtained in the ruling centers of the time: Constantinople (that is, the city of Byzantium) was in fact situated east of both, say, Ravenna, one of the capitals of the Western empire, and Rome, the seat of the principal Western patriarchate. The division of the churches that occurred in the eleventh century and, even more, the attack perpetrated by Western crusaders against Byzantium in 1204 made matters worse, because from that time on "the East" acquired a negative connotation in the eyes of the ecclesiastical West, and the Latin West came to be intensely disliked by the Byzantines and by peoples that remained within the Byzantine cultural sphere.

The rebellion—some historians say usurpation—of Charlemagne and his coronation in 800 as the person who "ruled the Roman Empire" (not yet as a "Roman emperor") were anti-Byzantine actions that created the foundations for the formation of modern Europe. It is perhaps for this reason that, while c. 369 a Greek Church Father called Constantinople the "presiding city of Europe," starting with the tenth century and ending with the fifteenth, we have texts that can be cited to show that the Byzantines themselves did not consider their capital to be a part of Europe, even though they knew full well—for they both read and edited antique geographers—that the frontier between Europe and Asia passed through the Bosporus and the river Don. Hence, when Volodimer's Kyiv adopted Christianity, it entered a cultural sphere that was considered to be the East in the eyes of the West and that at times did not consider itself to be a part of Europe. This attitude has survived until our own

time. Even today, not only people who live in Sofia, Belgrade, Istanbul, or Bucharest, but also people who live in Moscow and Kyiv travel "to Europe," although they know from their school days that Europe ends at the Ural Mountains and that they themselves are Europeans in the geographical sense of the term. The modern Ukrainian striving "toward Europe," as represented by the writers Xvyl'ovyj and Zerov, can be viewed both as a continuation of and as a reaction against this long-term attitude. The same can be said about a newspaper story published in 1990 in Kyiv: it maintained that the geographical centre of Europe is to be found in Carpathian Ukraine. Of course, this rejection of "the East" reflects the attitude of modern, educated East Europeans, although not all of them, as evidenced by the quotation from Aleksandr Blok that introduces this essay. On the level of East European folklore, on the other hand, the notion of "the East" has preserved its positive connotation: the latter was inherited from late paganism and continued in early Christianity. One must pray with one's face turned toward the East, the abode of the gods—later, of God—whereas the West is the dwelling place of demons—later, of the Devil.

If the notions "East" and "Europe" require an explanation within the framework of our subject, the notion of the West is in no need of such an explanation, because its geographical and cultural contents are congruous. In the brief survey of the West's role in Ukrainian culture presented here, we shall not discuss single early events, such as the relations between Princess Ol'ga and Emperor Otto I in the tenth century, or the peregrinations of the Kyivan Princes Izjaslav and Jaropolk to Rome in the eleventh. We shall not dwell on the great numerical superiority, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, of marriages between members of the Kyivan dynasty and partners from Poland, the Scandinavian lands, Hungary, Germany, and France over marriages with partners from Byzantium. Nor shall we dwell on such facts as the Western military campaigns and the Western coronation (1253) of Prince Daniel (Danylo) I of Halyč, who, incidentally, was also a vassal of the Golden Horde. These omissions are justified by our purpose here: to focus our attention on phenomena of long duration, especially in the area of cultural history.

From the vantage point of a cultural historian, the West's influence on parts of Ukrainian territory began before 1349, acquired considerable intensity after 1569, and continued over the vast expanse of the Ukrainian lands until 1793. When we take into account the impact of Polish elites in the western Ukrainian lands and on the Right Bank of the Dnieper, this influence can be seen to have continued until 1918 or even 1939. This West was, for the most

part, clad in the Polish *kontusz*[2] (the subsequent Habsburg impact was limited in time and area), and its principal cultural message in the decisive turning point between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was carried by the Polish variant of the Counter-Reformation. The Jesuits were introducing Latin and new pedagogical methods, and the Orthodox were adopting them. Even the new interest in Greek was merely a reaction to the inroads made in Ukraine by Latin and by Latin ways. One result of all this was that in the first half of the seventeenth century, for the first time in their history, it became possible for Ukrainian elites to establish direct contact with the sources of antique culture—the elite of Kyivan Rus' knew very little Greek. Still, in practice, high culture was reaching the Ukrainians not through Latin and Greek, but through Polish. The victorious campaign waged by that language resulted in the emergence of a *suržyk*[3] of sorts that was used in writing, and perhaps in speech, by local Orthodox and Uniate elites in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The offensive coming from the West called forth in part adaptation and in part hostility from the threatened Ukrainian elites. We call this reaction the rebirth of the faith of Old Rus'. The rebirth found its expression in polemical literature and in the creation of the Ostrih Academy and Mohyla *collegium*, as well as of other schools stemming from them. Officially, the struggle against the seemingly invincible West was waged in the name of the Greek faith of the elite's forebears, but, in fact, it was waged with the weapons to which the West owed its success—that is, Jesuit instructional methods, Catholic scholarship, and Catholic belles-lettres.

In such fashion the West, more than the Greeks, provided the Ukrainian elites with the stimuli and the means to defend Byzantine cultural values. This defense of the Ukrainians' "own" East with the help of the West's panoply of accomplishments was not a unique phenomenon in the Europe of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Similar mechanisms functioned along other frontier areas between cultures of the Western and the Byzantine variety. They operated on territories that were Greek-speaking but that had been conquered from Byzantium by Venice after 1204. The phenomenon was especially pronounced on the island of Crete. To be sure, on that island no Greco-Venetian *suržyk* emerged. Something similar occurred instead, however:

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2. This word, a borrowing from Hungarian or Turkic, came to denote the Polish nobleman's national dress, an upper garment with slit sleeves.

3. A mixture of wheat and rye; hence, a mixed language, such as the mixture of Ukrainian and Russian still used by part of the population in Ukraine's urban centres. Here the word refers to a language composed of the Polish and Ukrainian-Belarusian vernaculars and an admixture of the Church Slavonic sacred tongue.

the heavy penetration of Venetian elements into the Greek vocabulary. What is more, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Greek subjects of the Venetian Empire, too, were rejecting the union and creating a literature of their own—the so-called Cretan literature—but in many instances they were creating it on the basis of straight translations or borrowings from Venetian, partly Jesuit, works.

The West's offensive in the Ukrainian lands carried a potential danger: the loss of the unity of the Ukrainian nation. Here a comparison with the Croats and the Serbs comes to mind. Among these two nations a linguistic identity (roughly speaking) did not secure a national unity, because the two groups were divided by faith and frontiers from the eleventh century on. By contrast, three factors contributed to the preservation of Ukrainian national unity: first, the long period of time during which the major part of Ukrainian territory remained under the sway of one state, that is, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; second, the relatively short period of time during which this same territory was ruled by several states (1772–1945); third, the absence of complete Catholicization in the western Ukrainian lands.

In spite of the West's penetration into the Ukrainian lands—a penetration that continued for several centuries—Ukrainians became "the East" in Western eyes at a relatively early date, before the partitions of Poland. This came about not only because the majority of Ukrainians professed "the Eastern faith" and were subordinated to an Oriental patriarch until the last quarter of the seventeenth century (after all, the Uniates were subordinated to a Western patriarch). It also came about because the Polish-Lithuanian state itself (which as late as the sixteenth century was perceived in the West as a component of the West) was, from the middle of the seventeenth century until well into the eighteenth, regarded—unjustifiably—as something connected with the East. This new perception actually took root even earlier. A painting by Rubens now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts is a case in point. Following a story in Herodotus, it depicts Tomyris, the sixth-century B.C. queen of the Scythian Massagetae, who lived in the area of the Caspian Sea. In Rubens's picture, which dates from about 1625, members of the queen's entourage appear in the dress of Polish noblemen. The Oriental-style dress not only of the Cossacks, but also of Polish noblemen and of their Ukrainian counterparts had to do with dealings—not exclusively hostile—of the Cossacks and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with the Ottoman Empire and its vassals. Orientalizing dress was not alone in forming the West's perception of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the eighteenth century, the Jews of the Commonwealth (so many of whom lived in the towns of Ukraine) also contributed to it, for their fox-fur hats and long capotes were repugnant to the tastes of enlightened observers, both Western and domestic, in their short coats and powdered white wigs.

Under the impact of events during the last half of our own century, at least one pessimistic Polish critic, Mr. Smecz, has subscribed to the idea of his country's cultural displacement toward the East and put his countrymen—"Europeans, after all"—squarely between Asia and Europe. Regrettably, he has also implied that Asia begins east of the river Buh, that is, at the present Polish-Ukrainian frontier. By thus siding with Pantelejmon Kuliš (note the first epigraph to this essay), Mr. Smecz, like Kuliš, has failed to do justice to Poland's achievements as transmitter of Western values to the Ukrainian lands.[4]

No wonder, then, that it was in the fifteenth century, when Poland was considered unequivocally a part of the West, that the success of Jurij of Drohobyč in Bologna—the only Ukrainian to become rector of a great Western university—was possible. If we adopt this perspective, it will be easier to understand why in the Ukrainian consciousness the inclusion of part of Ukrainian territory in the unambiguous West dates from 1772, when *Galizien* and *Lodomerien* ceased to be part of Orientalized Poland and were annexed to the Habsburg Empire.

An example from 1990 will introduce our next point; it may no longer be operative today, but retains its validity in the larger scheme of things. In the Kyivan hotel called Moskva at the time, the then Soviet airline Aeroflot advertised a flight *Kyiv–Afiny–Kyiv*, using the Russian—originally Byzantine and Modern Greek—form for the name of the city of Pericles and Plato. If a Kyivan of today also flies "v Afiny" instead of flying "v Ateny" or even "do Aten," usage that would follow the Western traditions of the Kyiv Mohyla *collegium*, he does so because his ancestors were subject to a counteroffensive by the Russian Byzantinizing "East." This counteroffensive has been in force since the 1650s, and in the course of time affected an ever-increasing area of Ukrainian territory.

At this point, another difficulty arises. At the outset we noted that the primary influence of the Byzantine "East" came to Ukraine from the South, both from the Byzantine capital itself and through the Byzantinized Balkans. It is now worth pondering that the secondary influence of the Byzantine "East" came from the North, to some extent from the Muscovite tsardom, but, mainly later, also from the Russian Empire. To be sure, in the initial stages of cultural relations between Muscovy and Russia, on the one hand, and Ukraine, on the other, the counteroffensive of the North was preceded by the defense of the North's Byzantine values, perceived as indigenous and original.

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4.   Smecz, "Z ukosa," *Kultura* (Paris), no. 537 (June 1992): 66–74, esp. p. 73. Even more revealing of this new frame of mind is Ms. E. Berberyusz's later statement about "Poland's location between Russia and Europe." In this system, Poland is outside Europe, and Ukraine does not exist at all. Cf. *Kultura* (Paris), no. 571 (April 1995): 84.

This defense went along with a skillful exploitation of both Ukrainian achievements and Ukrainian manpower. In this context, we note the dispute that took place in the residence of the patriarch of Moscow with the unlucky Lavrentij Zyzanij in 1627 (see Essay 9 below); we recall Patriarch Nikon's "purification" of religious texts, initially carried out with the help of ostensibly Greek, but in fact largely Kyivan, models and the edition of the Moscow "Anfologion" of 1660, in which Kyivan texts appear in a different, local, orthography. Finally, we note the careers in Moscow of such hellenizing and latinizing scholars from Ukraine as Jepifanij Slavynec'kyj and Arsenij Korec'kyj-Satanovs'kyj.

This situation lasted until the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Soon afterwards, a turning point occurred that is known to all: neo-Byzantinism, the cultural mainstay of the tsardom of Moscow, lost out, although not without rearguard battles waged by both learned Greek visitors (or immigrants) and learned natives, such as Evfimij of the Čudov monastery in the Kremlin. After a lapse of less than fifty years, the new Russian Empire began to import its culture from the West on a large scale, and it was that empire that soon provided its Ukrainian dominions with Western values. In the 1730s and 1740s, Rastrelli, the Italian, and Johann Gottfried Schädel, the German, built or drafted edifices in Kyiv (the Church of St. Andrew, the High Belltower); these men came to Kyiv not from Italy or Germany, however, but, in one way or another, from St. Petersburg.

The example of Rastrelli reminds us of an important general characteristic of Ukrainian cultural contacts both with the "East" and with the West, namely, the lack of direct access to original sources during long stretches of Ukrainian history. Ukrainians received cultural values from abroad through intermediaries. We have already mentioned that the Rus' of Kyiv barely knew Greek—they received Byzantine literature mainly through Bulgaria. The culture of the Counter-Reformation (which we sometimes imprecisely call the Renaissance and the baroque) came to Ukrainians mainly through Poland. Classicism in architecture they got through the Russian Empire. Even the literary neoclassicists of the twentieth century turned toward French symbolist poets with stimulus from the Russian writers of the "Silver Age." It is true that we can see parallels to this "secondarity" elsewhere, for instance, among the Bulgarians: the baroque and the rococo of the Bulgarian rebirth have some roots in the art of Ottoman Istanbul. These parallels, however, are not very helpful; the fact is that the Ukrainian secondarity carried a certain weakness with it.

We shall let more competent judges deal with the "real" East and its cultural coexistence with Ukraine: with the Cumans, the Black Hats (in the language of the chronicles, *černye klobuki*); with their alliances with the Rus' princes, including the alliance of 1223 before the Kalka battle; with their

marriages with the members of the Kyivan princely families; or with the Turkic graffito in the Church of St. Sophia. Nor will we deal, when we come to later times, with the frontier zone of the steppe, with the Turkic elements in the customs, terminology and institutional structure of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, with the Crimean Khanate and its Ukrainian population—the khanate that at times was Ukraine's ally and, at other times, its enemy, the subduer of Ukrainian lands. Nor, finally, will we deal with the Ottoman Porte, which Ukrainians plundered, whose cultural influence they experienced, against which they waged war as auxiliaries of Poland, and of which they were occasionally vassals.

Here, we shall merely venture one general guess, and make two particular remarks concerning that "real" East. Early Ukraine's cultural contacts with the "real" East are underrepresented or filtered out in our literary sources because of the sometimes subliterary level of the contacts themselves and because of the confessional bias of these sources. On the top floor of Kyiv's badly restored Golden Gate, one could, in 1990, view an exhibit of the weaponry of Old Rus'. As he read such Turkic or Mongolian names of weapons as *kujak*, *kolontar*, *jušman*, *tegagljaj*, *baxterec'*, the visitor would soon realize that the "real" East provided Rus' with military technology. Only one Slavic name, *zercalo*, was to be found, and even this "mirror" may have been a calque from the East. Again, as was the case with Byzantium, the "real" East was, to a large extent, the South. Let us consider for a moment the locations of the Crimean Bahçesaray and of Istanbul.

Generally speaking, we historians have concentrated so much of our attention on the East-West axis, so important for Ukrainian cultural development today, that we have paid relatively little attention to the North-South axis. And yet, as we have stated repeatedly, it is on that axis that Moscow, Byzantium, and its heir, the Ottoman Empire, lie. On its own territory, the latter was a defender of Orthodoxy against the threats coming from the West. Cultural contacts with Orthodox centers that lay within the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire occurred along the North-South axis, and here sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ukraine was not only the receiving territory, but also a place from which influences penetrated southward.

First, we should mention here the representatives of the post-Byzantine Eastern Church: ecumenical and other patriarchs, bishops, and even simple *daskaloi* (teachers), most of whom were Greeks. They either stayed in Ukraine for some time, where they helped the Orthodox cause of the fraternities and of Prince Ostroz'kyj and made money by teaching, or they passed through Ukraine on their way to Moscow. It was in Moscow that power and money were to be found, but, according to the oft-quoted testimony of one of them, the Syrian Paul of Aleppo, it was in Ukraine that one could breathe freely. Second, we must mention the mutual influences that

existed between the Ukrainian-Belarusian territories and the Balkan lands, in the broad sense of that term: the Kyivan metropolitan Peter Mohyla supported printing presses in Moldavia and Wallachia, and in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries we can follow the impact that modern Greeks, Bulgarians, and Moldavians (who were trained, in part, in the West) had on Kyivan hymnographical works. Early printed books, including the works of Simeon Polacki, published mainly in Kyiv, but also in Ostrih and Lviv, found their way to Serbia and Bulgaria: eloquent testimony to this is the considerable number of well-preserved copies of these books kept today in the library of the Bulgarian national and religious shrine, the monastery at Rila, or in the museum of the ancient Serbian community at Szentendre (near Budapest), which boasts a copy of the Ostrih Bible, a Lviv *Liturgikon* of 1691, and an edition of the Kyiv *Pateryk*. On the other hand, the *Hexaemeron* published in the Montenegrin Cetinje in 1493 and the *Rituale* printed in Venice (for the Balkans) in 1519 are to be found in museums of Lviv. Finally, in the eighteenth century, Myxajlo Kozačyns'kyj, graduate and later professor at the Kyiv Mohyla Academy, taught in Serbia and wrote on Serbian subjects.

A cultural historian describes; he does not dispense advice. There is a way, however, to give advice under the guise of description, and I shall yield to this temptation. First, a cultural historian who has crisscrossed the territory of former empires—the Ottoman, the Austro-Hungarian, and the Russian (I am limiting myself to empires that collapsed in 1917–18)—knows that the elites of nations that were component parts of these three entities (the ruling nations clearly excepted) were condemned to cultural provinciality, which often was compensated by exaggerated or even unfounded assertions concerning cultural originality. Second, between the late seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, the Russians decided that it was more advantageous for them to turn to the West, no longer through Ukrainian mediation, but directly, and this decision stood them in very good stead, indeed. The unprecedentedly rapid flourishing of the Muscovite and later Russian culture between the times of Aleksej Mixajlovič and Alexander I, under whom the young Pushkin was writing, can be explained to a great extent by direct contacts with the West. Among their eighteenth-century wandering scholars, the Russians claim Lomonosov. who received instruction at Marburg University, while the Ukrainians have Hryhorovyč-Bars'kyj, who taught in a grade school on the island of Patmos.

In Ukraine, during the period of Soviet domination, ideas about the need for direct contacts with the West were prevalent in the milieu that brought forth Xvyl'ovyj and Zerov: we all recall the proposal to renounce the mediation of the North ("away from Moscow"). We also all know the fate that the proposal met in the 1930s. Today we are living in new circumstances, and the wish can become reality if the task at hand is approached calmly,

without polemics. Now the term "West" must be understood as the wide world at large. In this wide world, modern counterparts of Hryhorovyč-Bars'kyj may not elicit the interest of such highly placed personalities as the ambassador of his Russian Imperial Highness at the Sublime Porte, who questioned Bars'kyj in Istanbul about what he had seen in his travels. Instead, the interested parties will be other compatriots living in the wide world.

The recent changes in independent Ukraine do not dispose of the problems discussed in the present essay. Such changes do tend to turn the attention of local elites and of Ukrainians abroad toward the West and the future—a good thing—but at the risk of foreshortening and blurring the historical perspective. The Byzantine heritage of both Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic Ukrainian populations and more recent long-range developments—the latest of which is the Russian cultural impact upon a large part of Ukrainian lands—can recede into the background in the heady atmosphere of change, but their effects will not disappear overnight. To some, this realization constitutes an additional reason for urging speed in establishing contacts with the wide world on an appropriate intellectual level.

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ESSAY 2

*Byzantium and the Slavs**

To Cyril Mango

I

*T*hroughout more than a thousand years of history, the Byzantines viewed their state as heir to the Roman Empire, which had laid claim to encompassing the whole civilized world. It followed that the Byzantine state, too, was a universal empire; that Byzantine emperors were, by right, world rulers; that the Byzantines were Romans; and that they were the most civilized people in the world. True, they had improved upon their Roman ancestors, in that they were Christians; also, by the seventh century, the Latin component had all but disappeared from their highbrow culture and administration, which from then on were essentially Greek. Like the ancient Romans, the Byzantines felt entitled to pour scorn on those who did not share in the fruits of civilization, that is, on the barbarians. The best thing these barbarians could do was to abandon their bestial existence and to enter—in some subordinate position, of course—the family of civilized peoples headed by the Byzantine emperor. The way to civilization led through Christianity, the only true ideology, on which the empire held the monopoly. For Christianity—to be more precise, Byzantine Christianity—was the essence of civilization.

Throughout a millennium of propaganda, these simple tenets were driven home through court rhetoric—the journalism of the Middle Ages—as well as court ceremonies, imperial pronouncements and documents, and coinage. The Byzantine emperor claimed certain exclusive rights. Until at least the thirteenth century, he did not conclude treaties on equal terms with any foreign rulers, but merely granted them privileges, insignia, or dignities. In corresponding with certain foreign states, he issued "orders," not letters. He claimed the exclusive right to strike gold coinage. Gold coins struck by others

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were at first imitations or counterfeits; only in the thirteenth century did the Western ducat replace the bezant (the "Byzantine" gold coin), for nearly a millennium the dollar of the Mediterranean world. Because the Byzantines were not blind, they had to accommodate themselves to the existence of other states besides their own. To fit them into their system, they elaborated the concept—reconstructed by modern scholarship—of a Hierarchy of Rulers and States that, ideally and taken all together, encompassed the whole world. The emperor headed this hierarchy; he was surrounded by subordinates, who stood in an idealized familial relationship to him: the English ruler was only his friend; the Bulgarian ruler was his son; the Rus' one was his nephew; Charlemagne was grudgingly granted the status of a brother. Alternatively, these rulers could be given titles of varying importance: ruler, ruler with power, king, even emperor. But not until the fifteenth century, if then, was any outsider called "Emperor of the Romans."

By the ninth century, the following cultural truths were held to be self-evident. The world was divided into Byzantines and barbarians. The latter included not only the Slavs, who ranked low on the list of barbaric nations, but also the Latins. As a city, the new Rome—that is, Constantinople—was superior to all others in art, culture, and size: that included the old Rome on the Tiber. God had chosen the Byzantine people to be a new Israel: the Gospels were written in Greek for the Greeks. In his foresight, God had even singled out the ancient Greeks to cultivate the arts and sciences; and in letters and arts, the Byzantines were the Greeks' successors. "All the arts come from us," exclaimed a Byzantine diplomat during a polemical debate held at the Arab court in the 850s. A curious detail: this diplomat was none other than the future apostle to the Slavs, Constantine-Cyril. Cyril's exclamation implied that Latin learning, too, was derived from the Greeks. The Greek language, the language of the Scriptures, of the church fathers, also of Plato and Demosthenes, was rich, broad, and subtle; the other tongues, notably the Slavic, had a barbaric ring to them, and even the Latin language was poor and "narrow."

The Byzantines maintained these claims nearly as long as their state endured. Even toward the very end of the fourteenth century, when the empire encompassed little more than the city of Constantinople, the Byzantine patriarch lectured the recalcitrant prince of Muscovy on the international order. The prince should remember, the patriarch admonished, that he was only a local ruler, while the Byzantine emperor was the emperor of the Romans, that is, of all Christians. The fact that the emperor's dominions were beleaguered by the pagans was beside the point. The emperor enjoyed special prerogatives in the world and in the church universal. It therefore ill behooved the prince to have discontinued mentioning the name of the emperor during the liturgy.

By the end of the fourteenth century, the claim was unrealistic, and, as can be deduced from the Byzantine patriarch's closing complaint, it had been challenged by the Muscovite barbarian. But throughout more than half of Byzantine history, such claims had worked. Why?

The first reason is that for a long time, these claims were objectively true. In terms of the sixth century, Justinian, under whose early rule the first large-scale Slavic invasions in the Balkans occurred, was a world emperor, that is, a ruler holding sway over the civilized world. In the east, his dominions extended beyond the upper Tigris River and skirted the western slopes of the Caucasus. In the north, Byzantium's frontier ran across the Crimea and along the Danube and the Alps. The empire had a foothold in Spain, controlled the coast of North Africa and much of Egypt, and dominated today's Israel, Lebanon, and most of Syria.

Let us skip half a millennium. During the reign of Basil II (d. 1025), under whom the Rus' accepted Christianity, the empire's territory was reduced, but not by much: in the east, it had even expanded, for the frontier now went beyond Lake Van in eastern Turkey and, for a stretch, hugged the Euphrates. Antioch and Latakia were still in Byzantine hands. In the north, the Crimea was still crossed by the Byzantine frontier, and the Danube and Sava rivers marked the boundary: in this sector, too, then, Byzantium possessed as much as it had in Justinian's time. In the west, parts of southern Italy with the city of Bari were under Byzantine sway. In the ninth and tenth centuries, which were decisive for the Byzantinization of the Slavs, the empire's capital at Constantinople was, with the possible exception of Baghdad or Cairo, the most brilliant cultural centre of the world as the Slavs and western Europe knew it. Its patriarchs were Greek scholars and politicians; its prelates read and commented upon Plato, Euclid, and even the morally objectionable, but in terms of language exemplary, Lucian; its emperors supervised grand encyclopedic enterprises; its sophisticated reading public clamored for, and obtained, new editions of old, simple *Lives of Saints*, now refurbished in a more refined and ornate style. The great palace of Constantinople, covering an area of approximately 100,000 square meters, was still largely intact and functioning. The pomp of the court ceremonial and of the services at St. Sophia, then still the largest functioning building in the known world, was calculated to dazzle barbarian visitors, including Slavic princes or their emissaries. Byzantine political concepts influenced Western medieval political thinking down to the twelfth century; the Western symbols of rule—scepter, crown, orb, golden bull—owe a debt to Byzantium. Not only the mosaics of St. Sophia in Kyiv, but also those of Rome, of St. Mark in Venice (thirteenth century) and of Torcello near Venice (twelfth century), of the Norman churches in or near Palermo (twelfth century) are reflections of Byzantine art, and some of them were executed by Byzantine craftsmen.

The renascence of theological speculation in the Western High Middle Ages was stimulated by an imperial gift that arrived from Byzantium at the court of Louis the Pious in 827. The gift was a volume of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite—in Greek, of course. This work, which was translated several times into Latin, the second time by Johannes Scotus Erigena (d. 877), spurred subsequent Western theological speculation. It is difficult to imagine a Western church without an organ—yet this originally antique instrument, too, arrived from Byzantium, in 757 and in 812. On the latter occasion, the Byzantines refused to leave the organ with the Westerners, who attempted to copy it in secret, but only later successfully reproduced it. The silk industry was introduced to the West in the mid-twelfth century as a result of a Norman raid on Central Greece—the Normans abducted Byzantine skilled laborers from Thebes in Boeotia and settled them in their dominions. Even the fork seems to be a rediscovery of Byzantine origin—in the eleventh century, a Greek-born *dogissa* introduced forks to Venice, to the great horror of a contemporary ecclesiastic. No wonder that the Slavs experienced the influence of Byzantium: the West, which could fall back upon refined Latin traditions, experienced it, too, long after Byzantium's political dominion over parts of Italy had ceased. So much for the first reason—Byzantine claims worked because they were objectively valid.

The second reason why the Byzantine claims of superiority worked is that they were accepted as valid by the barbarians, whether Western or Slavic, and continued to be accepted even after they had ceased to be valid. The usurpation of Charlemagne occurred in 800. But he, the ruler of Rome, did not call himself "emperor of the Romans"—he knew that this title, and all that it implied, had been preempted by the Byzantines. It was not until 982 that the titulature *Imperator Romanorum* appeared in the West. And it was only with Frederick I Barbarossa (second half of the twelfth century) that a logical consequence was drawn from this titulature by a Western ruler. Since there could be only one emperor of the Romans, the Byzantine emperor should not be called by this title—he was to be called only what in fact he had been for a long time, the *rex Graecorum*. But did Frederick consider that the very concept of only one emperor was a Byzantine heritage? The Slavs were much slower to be weaned from Byzantium, and they never drew a conclusion similar to that of Frederick. With them, emulation of Byzantium always took the form of imitation of Byzantium. True, Symeon of Bulgaria in the early tenth century, and Stephen Dušan of Serbia in the mid-fourteenth, assumed the title of emperor of the Bulgarians and Greeks, or of the Serbs and Greeks, respectively. But they did not think of proclaiming a Slavic counterpart to the Western doctrine *Rex est Imperator in regno suo* and thus downgrading the Byzantine emperor. Rather, they dreamed of supplanting him by taking Constantinople and seating themselves on his throne. The same fantasy occurs

in one text produced in thirteenth-century Rus', *Slovo o pogibeli russkoj zemli.*

Short of supplanting the Byzantine emperor, many a Balkan ruler aimed at securing for himself the prerogatives of that emperor, or attempted to imitate imperial pomp and usage. Ways of doing this were varied. One instance was by having one's own patriarchate: in the ninth century, the newly converted Boris of Bulgaria wanted to have one; around 900, Symeon of Bulgaria succeeded in having one set up; in the mid-fourteenth century Stephen Dušan of Serbia did the same, not without resistance on the part of Byzantium. Another instance was by striking gold coins: the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Asen II (d. 1241) managed to do so, but he appeared on his coins in the garb of a Byzantine emperor, with Christ on the reverse. Yet another was by having the court hierarchy bear Byzantine aulic titles: Stephen Dušan appointed court officials bearing such names as *sebastokrator* and *logothete.* Still another was by assuming the epithet "second Justinian" on the occasion of the proclamation of new laws, or by looking to Byzantium as a reservoir for prestigious marriages—between the thirteenth century and the fall of Bulgaria in 1393, we count eight Greek women among twenty-one Bulgarian tsarinas. One could also resort to patterning one's own capital after Constantinople: Symeon of Bulgaria's Preslav copied features of the imperial city, as, by the way, did Prince Jaroslav's Kyiv in the 1030s.

In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Muscovy, the attitude toward Byzantium and its patriarchate was less than friendly. But when Muscovite bookmen began to formulate an indigenous state ideology, they drew heavily upon Byzantine sources (in Slavic translation, of course), particularly upon the *Mirror of Princes* written by Deacon Agapetos in Greek for Emperor Justinian in the sixth century. They called Moscow "the reigning city," a formula by which the Byzantines usually referred to Constantinople. In sum, throughout their Middle Ages, the Balkan and, to a considerable extent, the East Slavic ruling elites were beholden to the Byzantine model in the matter of political concepts.

The Byzantine cultural impact did not presuppose the existence of friendly relations between Byzantium and the Slavs. Sometimes it seemed that the more anti-Byzantine the Balkan Slavs were in their political aspirations, the more Byzantinized they became; they fought the enemy with the enemy's own weapons. What the Byzantine cultural impact did presuppose was the acceptance—both by the producers and the receivers of cultural values—of the Byzantine world view and civilization as superior to all others.

II

The ecclesiastical and cultural Byzantinization of most of the Balkans was a pivotal event. It affected both the medieval and the post-medieval history of the Balkans and of Eastern Europe; what is more, its effects are with us

today. Whether the consequences of this event should be considered beneficial or baneful is a matter of judgment. that depends on the historian's own background and on the modern public's political views. It remains that the Christianization of the Balkans not only determined the cultural physiognomy of Serbia and Bulgaria, but also prepared and facilitated the subsequent Byzantinization of the East Slavs, an occurrence that, along with the Tatar invasion, contributed to the estrangement of Rus' from the European West. In light of the preceding remarks, however, the Byzantinization of the South and East Slavs should be viewed simply as an especially successful and enduring case of Byzantium's impact upon its neighbors, whether in Europe or in the Near East.

It was an especially successful case, and that on two counts. First, when we speak of the Balkan Slavs who experienced the strongest influence of Byzantine culture, we mean the Serbs and the Bulgarians. But we forget that these peoples are the rear guard, as it were, of the Slavic populations that had penetrated into the territory of the empire. In the late sixth century, the Slavs attacked the outer defenses of Constantinople; around 600, they besieged Thessalonica. About the same time, they reached Epirus, Attica, and the Peloponnesus; by the middle of the eighth century, the whole of "Greece"— or, at least, of the Peloponnesus—"became Slavicized," to use the expression of a text written under the auspices of a tenth-century Byzantine emperor, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (Porphyrogennetos). Slavic raiders reached Crete and other Greek islands. We hear of some Byzantine military campaigns aiming at the reconquest of lands settled by the Slavs, but judging by the paucity of relevant references in our sources, it is wise to conclude that these campaigns were infrequent. What remained of those Slavs? About 1,200 place-names, many of them still extant; some Slavic pockets in the Peloponnesus, attested as late as the fifteenth century; about 275 Slavic words in the Greek language; perhaps a faint Slavic trace or two in Greek folklore. Nothing more. In matters of cultural impact, the ultimate in success is called complete assimilation. When it comes to mechanisms that facilitated this spectacular assimilation, we must keep in mind the role played by the upper strata of Slavic society, for by the end of the ninth century the Slavs were already socially differentiated. In my opinion, it was this Slavic elite, as much as the Byzantine missionaries, that served as a conduit in the transmission of Byzantine culture to the Slavic populations at large.

Second, Byzantium more than held its own in its competition with Rome for the religious allegiance of the Balkan Slavs. For historical reasons, which had some validity, the Church of Rome laid jurisdictional claims to the territory of ancient Illyricum, that is, roughly to the area on which the Serbs, Croats, and some Bulgarians (Slavic and Turkic) had established themselves. Croatia and Dalmatia were the only Byzantine areas where Western

Christianity was victorious in the ninth century. The Serbs were first Christianized by Rome about 640, but only the second Christianization took permanent root there. It occurred in the 870s and was due to Byzantine missionaries, later aided by Bulgarians. For a while, the newly converted Bulgarian ruler, Boris-Michael, flirted with Pope Nicholas I, but in 870 the Bulgarians entered the Byzantine fold, and have remained there ever since.

True, the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in Moravia and Pannonia, originally staged from Byzantium, ended in failure shortly after 885, when Methodius's pupils were expelled and supplanted by German clergy of Latin rite. But if this was a failure, it was a qualified one: the Moravian and Pannonian areas had never belonged to Byzantium.

Before its collapse, the Cyrillo-Methodian mission did forge the most powerful tool for the indirect Byzantinization of all Orthodox Slavs: it created—or perfected—the Old Church Slavonic literary language. The Byzantinized Slavic liturgy continued in Bohemia—granted, in a limited way—until the very end of the eleventh century, and the expelled pupils of Methodius found an excellent reception in late ninth-century Bulgaria and Macedonia, in centers like Preslav and Ochrida, where they continued and deepened the work of Christianizing and Byzantinizing the Bulgarian and Macedonian Slavs. Occasional attempts on the part of thirteenth-century Serbian and Bulgarian rulers to play Rome against Constantinople had no durable effect. True, both the Serbian ruler Stephen the First-Crowned and the Bulgarian tsar Kalojan obtained their royal crowns from the pope (1217 and 1204, respectively). But their churches, although autonomous, remained in communion with the Byzantine Patriarchate in exile (in 1220 and 1235, respectively). They even remained under its suzerainty, in spite of the fact that at that time the Latin Crusaders resided in conquered Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire was just a smallish principality of Asia Minor fighting for its survival.

The loss of Moravia and Pannonia by the Byzantine mission was amply compensated by a gain in another area that (except for parts of the Crimea) had never been under actual Byzantine government: I mean the territories inhabited, among others, by the East Slavs. There, too, the field was not uncontested, for Rome had sent its missionaries to Kyiv in the mid-tenth century. Byzantium had to struggle with other religious influences there, as well—the Islamic and the Jewish. Yet it emerged victorious: the ruler of Kyiv adopted Christianity for himself and his people in 988/9, and the act was sealed by the prince's marriage with the Byzantine emperor's sister. In retrospect, the Christianization and concomitant Byzantinization of the East Slavs was the greatest success of the Byzantine cultural mission. Churches in Byzantine style still stand in Alaska and in Fort Ross in California; this marks the furthest eastward advance of Byzantine Christianity under the auspices of

a predominantly East Slavic state.

The cultural Byzantinization of the Orthodox Slavs was also an especially enduring case of the Byzantine impact on Europe. Chronologically speaking, this Byzantinization, as opposed to complete assimilation, started in the ninth or tenth century, depending on the area, and lasted long after the fall of the empire in 1453, down to the eighteenth or even nineteenth century. Paradoxically enough, after 1453, new prospects for expansion opened to Byzantine culture, the culture of an empire that was no more.

Before 1453, the history of the relations between Byzantium and the Slavic churches and states was that of intermittently successful attempts to shake off the administrative tutelage of the Byzantines. After 1453, both the Balkan Slavs and the Byzantines were subjects of the Ottoman Empire. In the eyes of the Ottoman conquerors, these peoples, all of them Christian, formed one entity, *Rum milleti*, that is, the "Religious Community (or Nation) of the Romans"—a name coined in good Byzantine tradition. To the Ottomans, the patriarch of Constantinople was now the head (civilian and ecclesiastical) of all the Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire.

Although their circumstances were reduced, the patriarchs were in some areas of activity heirs to the Byzantine emperors, and the Greek church was a depository and continuator of many aspects of Byzantine culture. This culture now had equal, if not better, chances for radiation among the Balkan Slavs than before, as both the Greeks and the Slavs were now united within the same Ottoman territory.

The churches in the Balkans were administered from Constantinople, especially from the late seventeenth century, when Phanariot Greeks had obtained great influence at the Sublime Porte. From that time on, native Greeks, rather than Hellenized Slavs, began to be installed as bishops. The historical Slavic patriarchates of Peć and Ochrida were abolished in the second half of the eighteenth century (1766 and 1767, respectively). Dates marking the official independence of the Bulgarian and Serbian churches from Constantinople coincide roughly with the achievement of political independence by those countries. This rule of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, often exercised unwisely, created much bad blood between Greeks and Bulgarians in the nineteenth century. By that time, the elite of the Balkans was looking to Vienna, Paris, and Westernized St. Petersburg for inspiration. But down to the eighteenth century, Greek—that is, post-Byzantine—culture, largely represented by Greek or Hellenized churchmen, was the prestige culture in the area, from Bucharest in the north to the Macedonian Bitolja (Monastiri) in the south.

Eastern Europe, too, moved away from Byzantium very slowly. The Tatar invasion of the 1240s first cut and then weakened contacts with the West, and brought about a falling back upon those forms of local cultural heritage that

were in existence in the 1240s. This heritage had been mostly Byzantine; now, it was being preserved and elaborated upon, but not substantially enriched. Ukraine and Belarus' were reopened to Western influences somewhat earlier than other areas, as they gradually fell under the domination of Catholic Poland-Lithuania, especially from the fourteenth century on. But even there the union of churches (concluded in Brest in 1596) did not occur until some two hundred fifty years later, and it was only a limited success, even from the Catholic point of view.

In Moscow, jurisdictional dependence on the Patriarchate of Constantinople continued until 1448. When the break came, it was motivated by the accusation that Byzantium was not Byzantine enough, that it had fallen away from the true faith by compromising with the Latins at the Council of Florence (1439), and that true Byzantine Orthodoxy would from now on be preserved in Muscovy. The establishment of an independent patriarchate in Moscow had to wait until 1589. Its confirmation necessitated the assent of other patriarchs, but this was easily obtained from the impecunious Greeks. Western influences penetrating through Ukraine were present in seventeenth-century Muscovy, but it was only Peter I—ascending the throne as tsar and autocrat, Byzantine style, and leaving it in death as august emperor, Western fashion—who put an end to the Byzantine period in the history of the Russian cultural elite, although not in the history of the Russian lower classes.

III

The two main—but not only—channels through which Byzantine influences entered the Orthodox Slavic world were the church hierarchy, secular and monastic (both for a long time largely Greek, even in Eastern Europe), and the respective princely courts. Thus, Byzantium was imitated especially in those aspects of culture in which the church, the state, or the upper layers of the Slavic society were interested: script, literary language, literature (both sacred and secular), ecclesiastical and secular learning, art (both ecclesiastical and courtly), ruler cult, state ideology, law, and gracious living. But the upper layers of medieval Orthodox Slavic society were less refined than their Byzantine counterparts. There was much in Byzantine culture to which they did not respond; on the other hand, there were many elementary things not exactly part of the exalted sphere that they did have to learn. Thus, while the most sophisticated products of Byzantine literature were never translated into medieval Slavic, the Bulgarian words for onions (*kromid*) and cabbage (*lahana*), and the Serbian expression for fried eggs (*tiganisana jaja*), were taken over from Greek. Art is an exception, for there Byzantium gave the Slavs the best it had to offer. But art is not primarily an intellectual pursuit, and it can be appreciated even by newcomers to civilization. Moreover, then as now, money could buy the best.

From the court and the episcopal residence, borrowed elements of Byzantine culture seeped down to the people. Also, pilgrims traveled to Constantinople and brought back with them both wondrous tales of the capital's splendor and objects of devotional art; monks moved to the Serbian, Bulgarian, and Rus' monasteries of Mount Athos and had Greek-Slavic conversation manuals composed for them (we know of one dating from the fifteenth century). In the areas geographically closest to Byzantium, like Bulgaria, direct Byzantine domination and, later, post-Byzantine symbiosis under the Ottomans brought close contacts on a popular level. Thus Byzantine influences were reflected in Slavic popular language and folklore: we know of at least 107 (perhaps as many as 245) proverbs that the Slavs borrowed directly from Greek. Eighty percent of these borrowings were preserved by South Slavs, and the remaining twenty percent by East Slavs.

IV

The extent of the Byzantine cultural impact upon the Orthodox Slavs can best be demonstrated by discussing two cases: that of literary language and that of literature. The Old Church Slavonic language was formed by two generations of Byzantine and Slavic missionaries in the second half of the ninth century and the very beginning of the tenth, originally as a vehicle for spreading the word of God in Slavic. It was a tool for translation from the Greek. We do know of some original Slavic writings by the immediate pupils of SS. Cyril and Methodius, and of some bits attributable to St. Cyril himself, but the bulk of the literary activity of the Slavic apostles and of their direct successors consisted of translations from the Greek: excerpts from both Testaments for use in church services (soon followed by the full translation of the Gospels), liturgical books, edifying sayings of the monks, codes of ecclesiastical and secular law. In late ninth- and early tenth-century Bulgaria, the situation was much the same. The most bulky literary products of John, the exarch of Bulgaria, were interpolated translations of St. Basil's *Hexaemeron* and of John of Damascus's *Fountain of Knowledge*. The *Mirror of Princes* by Deacon Agapetos (sixth century) was most probably translated into Old Bulgarian during this same early period, and thus became the very first translation of a secular work in Slavic literature. This meant that Old Church Slavonic had to struggle with the world of theological, philosophical, and political concepts and other notions, as expressed in Hellenistic, early Byzantine, and middle Byzantine Greek. No wonder that Old Church Slavonic teems with simple, semantic, and phraseological calques, that is, with word formations and expressions closely patterned on Byzantine Greek. To a linguist, the results of that patterning often look un-Slavic, even if the Orthodox Slavs of today no longer react to the Byzantine calques in Old Church Slavonic as un-Slavic—a thousand years of familiarity took care of that. For instance, Slavic

makes little use of composite words: Greek, especially late antique and Byzantine Greek, loves them. Accordingly, Old Church Slavonic abounds in composites like *blagosloviti, bogonosьcь, bogorodica, samodrъžьcь*, to mention those words that survive in several modern Slavic languages, including modern Russian. This slavish adherence to Byzantine templates can be explained in part by the character of the originals selected for translation: the words of these originals were sacred or of high political importance, be they the words of God, of a church father, of a saint's *Life*, or of an imperial charter. They had to be rendered with the greatest exactitude, even at the price of doing violence to the tendencies prevalent in early Slavic.

The calque character of Old Church Slavonic was not exclusively a bad trait. Greek, the model of Old Church Slavonic, was a very highly developed and supple language, and the more sophisticated Byzantine writers intended to emulate Demosthenes and Plato, even if, in fact, they often imitated the much later and more mannered imitators of these authors. In wrestling with the complicated Greek, Old Church Slavonic acquired something of that language's quality and versatility. The impressive stylistic possibilities of modern literary Russian are due to the fact that much—some say roughly one-half—of its vocabulary is made up of Church Slavonic words, a feature that enables a Russian writer to play on two linguistic registers at will. Old Church Slavonic, with admixtures of respective vernaculars, remained for a long time the main literary vehicle for the Orthodox Slavs. It continued to be used through the sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth centuries, depending on geographical area and literary genre. This language was Slavic in sound, but largely Byzantine in word formation and even in content.

Lexical borrowings from Greek in the languages of the Orthodox Slavs are legion. There are about fourteen hundred of them in Bulgarian, about a thousand each in Serbian and Russian, and a somewhat lower number in Ukrainian. Their distribution is most dense in the area of Christian terminology, such as ecclesiastical dignities, ceremonies and activities, buildings, names of liturgical texts and songs, and names of months. The language of law, court, administration, education, and the military also abounds in borrowings from Greek. In a less exalted sphere, Greek provided the Slavs with many piscatorial and nautical terms, as well as terms of commerce, coinage and measurement, agriculture and horticulture, and, finally, terms pertaining to civilized living. Thus, the words for basin (*harkoma*), floor (*patoma, patos*), cushion (*proskefal*), breakfast (*progim*), dessert (*glikizmo*), pan (*tigan*), bench (*skamija*), fork (*pirun*), and drug (*voitima*) are Greek in medieval Serbian or Bulgarian. Even some expressions for family relationships (*anepsej, bratovčed*), some prepositions (*kata*, as in *kata godina*), interjections (*elate*, originally an imperative), and morphological elements (the verbal suffix *-sati*) come from the Greek. Some other linguistic traits common

to the Balkan peoples (Slavic and non-Slavic alike) are attributed by some to the impact of late (that is, partly Byzantine) Greek: here belong such phenomena as the lack of an infinitive, or forming the future with the Slavic equivalents of θέλω ἵνα.

In speaking of early Slavic literature, we think first of all of the creative effort of Slavic writers. Still, literature is not only what one creates, but also what one reads. When we are asked what was read, say, in an important Muscovite cultural centre like the Kirillo-Belozerskij Monastery around the year 1500, we can provide an answer, for we have a catalogue of this monastery's library dating from that time. The reply is revealing. Out of 212 books listed in the catalogue, some 90 have a liturgical character; most of the others are translations from Byzantine homiletic, hagiographic, and ascetic texts. Not only fourth-to-ninth-century Byzantine church fathers (Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Basil, Ephrem the Syrian, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem, Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, John of the Ladder, Theodore of Studios)* appear on the shelves of the library of the Kirillo-Belozerskij Monastery around 1500, but also Byzantine writers of the tenth and eleventh centuries (Symeon the Younger, the Theologian), the eleventh century (Nikon of the Black Mountain), and even the fourteenth century (Gregory Palamas). A few of these translations are explicitly described as coming from the Balkans. Only two texts in the library are by Kyivan authors (Ilarion's *Sermon on Law and Grace* and Cyril of Turaŭ's *Sermons*). Another treats a Rus' subject of interest to Muscovy (the *Life* of Metropolitan Peter [d. 1328], by Metropolitan Cyprian). Only two of the texts, Josephus Flavius's *Jewish War* and the Christian version of the Buddha legend, the story of *Barlaam and Joasaph*, are secular, and even they were considered recommended reading in one's pursuit of sacred learning. Needless to say, whatever their ultimate origin may have been, both of them are translations from the Greek.

V

What has been said about language and literature (and could have been said as convincingly about art and music) should have suggested to us that Byzantium thoroughly dominated the cultural horizon of the Orthodox Slavic elite in the Middle Ages. We should remember that for some of these Slavs, the Middle Ages lasted down to the eighteenth century. Such is the truth, even if it is not the whole truth. For in the matter of the transfer of cultural goods from one society to another, relating what was transferred and through what channels it was transferred amounts to showing only one side of the coin. Showing the other side would consist in telling what was selected for importation, and what happened to the imports once they reached the society receiving them—how they were understood (or misunderstood), and to what purpose they were used. That, however, is subject matter for another essay.

Whether the Byzantine impact on the Slavs was a good or a bad thing is for a Slavist, not a Byzantinist, to decide. True, when Machiavelli was writing his *Prince* and composing his *Discorsi* on Livy, Muscovite bookmen were still piecing together their political doctrines with some sixth-, ninth-, and twelfth-century Byzantine material. It was not Byzantium's fault, however, that the Orthodox Slavs took so long to break its spell.

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Cf. also essay 3 and its bibliographic note.

Religious Missions Seen from Byzantium: The Imperial Pattern and Its Local Variants*

I

*I*f a middle-aged Japanese tourist were to read the present essay, he would have no trouble understanding some of its premises. As he would remember pre-1945 Japan, he would find it natural that the Byzantine emperor should have been called an earthly god of sorts; and as he would have studied Japanese medieval history, the statement, say, that tenth-century Byzantium had a developed lay and ecclesiastical bureaucracy with literary tastes would have a familiar ring to him. But, being a Shintoist, an adherent of a worship that is not for export, our tourist would wonder why there should have been Byzantine religious *missions* at all.

Three answers—two general, one particular—could be of help to him. "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations" are Christ's own words; these words are alive today, for they open the Apostolic Letter of Pope John Paul II issued to celebrate the millennium of the introduction of Christianity in Rus'. In Christ's wake, the fledgling faith was championed by St. Paul, a convert who was an organizer and missionary of genius and who made it what it is today; hence, it is not astonishing that St. Paul's words about the merciful God "Who will have every man to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth" were quoted in connection with missions in late antique and medieval texts written in Syriac, Greek, Latin, and Slavic. From its very beginnings, Christianity has been a missionary religion,[1] a rare breed

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1. Cf. the Apostolic Letter *Euntes in mundum* (25 January 1988), p. 1. The quotations are Matt. 28:19, Mark 16:15 (Christ's words) and 1 Tim. 2:3–4 (St. Paul). On Christianity as a world missionary religion, cf. Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, 2d ed. (1986), esp. pp. 15–119 (to the year 1500): excellent, with a good (but mostly English) bibliography, pp. 479–99.

among the world's faiths, the others being Buddhism, the now extinct Manichaeism, and Islam.

The third answer to our tourist would be more peculiar to Byzantium itself. It would have to do with ideology and with the concept first adumbrated by the Church father Eusebius, Constantine the Great's contemporary and eulogist, soon after the triumph of the new belief. This concept made the Byzantine Empire coextensive with Christianity. Thus, any gain for the empire was a gain for Christianity and any gain for Christianity outside the confines of the civilized world was a gain for the empire. It would follow that any missionary undertaking that involved the Byzantine government would combine religion with politics. We should keep this statement in mind throughout this essay, especially when we come to discuss governmental missions.

Before we take leave of our imaginary Japanese tourist—curious, but not quite well-versed in Christian church history—we owe him a bird's-eye view of the missionary achievements of Christianity on the eve of the baptism of Rus'. By the middle of the tenth century, the church ruled by the patriarchate of Rome could look back with pride upon the past successes of its missions. Much of the heartland of Europe had been won for the faith; St. Augustine of Canterbury returned Britain to the fold, and eighth-century England gave St. Boniface to Germany; Charlemagne had converted the Saxons by sword and by baptism; further east, the Bohemians and Poles were, or were about to become, Christian. For all that, much was still to be done. Scandinavia, Iceland, and Finland were outside the Christian realm; so were the Prussians, amidst whom St. Vojtěch-Adalbert was to suffer a missionary martyr's death about 1000; and so were the Lithuanians, whose time would come only centuries later. By about 950 western missions could claim to have extended Christianity over a respectable if not overwhelmingly large area. The brilliant future of these missions still lay ahead.

The story was different for various churches ruled by eastern patriarchates, whether Orthodox or Monophysite. By the mid-tenth century, only one important achievement, the introduction of Christianity in Rus', lay ahead of one of them, the church of Constantinople; the great triumphs of the eastern missions were in the past—but what a past it had been! In Africa, Berber tribes were converted after the destruction of the Vandal state in Justinian's time. Ethiopia was Christianized in two stages, once in the fourth century by a freelance missionary taking his cues from Alexandria, another time in the sixth by a Syrian team of saints. Under Justin I, an Ethiopian-Byzantine coalition waged a war against the South Arabian king of Jewish faith. After his defeat, Christianity triumphed in his state. South of the Isis Temple in the Egyptian Philae and south of today's Aswan Dam, the three Nubian kingdoms, the southernmost one lying in today's Sudan, joined the

Monophysite or Orthodox form of Christianity about 540, to remain Christian until the late fourteenth century. In the area of the Danube, Byzantium converted the king of the Herules and his entourage in Justinian's early years.

Between the sixth and the early tenth centuries, peoples of the eastern shore of the Black Sea and of the Caucasus, the Abasgians, the Tzanes, and the Lazes, received baptism from the Byzantine Empire through their rulers or owing to the efforts of missionaries. (The conversion of Armenians and Georgians, who joined the Christian community in the fourth century, is a story apart.) Huns residing in the Bosporus on the Crimea and Sabirian Huns living north of the Caucasus were baptized under Justinian, the former through their ruler, the latter through the work of freelance Armenian missionaries; the latter were helped, however, by the imperial government. The Balkans and Central Europe of the ninth and tenth centuries were the stage of Byzantine missionary activity with which Slavists are well familiar. I shall merely list the second conversion of the Serbs, the government-supported mission to the Dalmatian Slavs under Basil I (d. 886), the baptism of the Bulgarians under Emperor Michael III (a. 864), and the two glorious failures—the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in Moravia and attempts to establish Byzantine Christianity first in what was Pannonia and then in what became Hungary.

In the east, and starting with the fifth century, Byzantine Christianity, partly in its Hellenic and Orthodox, but mostly in its Semitic and Monophysite garb, brought about the conversion of Arabic tribes loosely dependent on the empire or on Sassanian Persia. Proselytizing went on in Syria, between the Tigris and the Euphrates, and in the Sassanian Empire proper. The latter activity was carried on at the risk of death, both for the converts and for the converting missionaries. Later on, the vicissitudes of trade and of the movements of peoples caused by Arab and Mongol conquests sent Byzantine converts much further into the East—the thirty thousand Alans (today, Ossetians) said to have formed the guard of Kublai Khan in Beijing in the second half of the thirteenth century were Orthodox descendants of the Caucasian Alans converted about 900, roughly at the time of the Byzantine patriarch Nicholas Mystikos. Later in the century, the conversion of the Alans was to be followed by the final conversion of Rus'. At the time of the latter event, the Byzantine Chancellery and the Patriarchal Palace could draw upon five hundred years of missionary experience.

II

Byzantine missions were most intensely pursued within two spans of time, the sixth and the ninth-tenth centuries. Thus the religious activism of the empire started late. With two exceptions, we cannot name any Germanic peoples that would have adopted Christianity en masse outside imperial boundaries before settling on imperial soil. The empire's sixth-century activism may be a

corollary of the power struggle with Sassanian Iran, with which the empire competed along the vast zone extending from the Caucasus to the Red Sea. The missionary activity of the ninth and tenth centuries fell into a period when the empire was getting the upper hand, both in the Balkans in its relations with the Bulgarians and in Asia Minor in its struggle with the Arabs, and when it had recreated material preconditions for reestablishing elite culture in letters, visual arts, and in the art of conspicuous consumption.[2] Largely speaking, on the eve of the conversion of Rus' Constantinople was, with the possible exceptions of Cairo and Baghdad, the most civilized and glamorous city of the Mediterranean world. The empire used well its prestige with the barbarians, even though in the tenth century few practical options for missionary activity were open to it, perhaps fewer than those open to the contemporary West. There were four such options: missions to the Hungarians, the Khazars, the Pečenegs, and the Rus'. Hungarians were the only Byzantine defeat, having been won over by the West by the year 1000.[3] Negotiations directed both from Kherson and Constantinople for establishing a Byzantine hierarchy in Khazaria went well at the beginning of the century,[4] but by the second half of that century Khazaria was no more; some Pečeneg tribes were converted and settled along the Danube by the mid-eleventh century; there remained the Rus'. And we know what happened to the Rus'.

III

Byzantine missions can be divided into three categories. The first category comprises missions in which the imperial government intervened militarily to back up the cause of the faith: such were the cases of the Caucasian Abasgians and Tzanes and of the Huns of the Crimean Bosporus. The second

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2. On the renewed strength of the empire in the ninth century, see W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival: 780–842* (Stanford, Cal., 1988).

3. This was an honorable defeat. True, Prince Géza and his son Stephen adhered to the Roman church in the 970s, but the first Hungarian chieftains were baptized, and the first bishop for Hungary was ordained, in Constantinople in the middle of the tenth century. Byzantine ecclesiastical influences continued in Hungary until well after the eleventh century. Cf. G. Moravcsik, "The Role of the Byzantine Church," in the same author's *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Amsterdam, 1970), pp. 102–19; and G. Györffy, "La christianisation de la Hongrie," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988/1989): 61–74; cf. esp. bibliography in notes 1 and 29.

4. Nicholas Mystikos, Letters 68 and 106, *Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople, Letters*, ed. R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink (Washington, D.C., 1973), pp. 314–15, 388–91, 554–55, 569. The date of both letters is 919–920; a bishop, requested by the Khazars, was about to be chosen by the bishop of Kherson and ordained in Constantinople.

encompasses those missions in which the government was involved by means of diplomacy, but often appears in our sources as merely reacting to the initiative of foreign chieftains who either applied or re-applied for membership in the Christian community or showed preference for the Byzantine form of Christianity: such were the cases of the Lazes in the sixth century and of the Khazars, the Dalmatians, and the Moravians in the ninth and the tenth. Finally, missions of the third kind were the work of sometimes officially supported but more often freelance activists filled with Christian or partisan zeal: such was the case of the Monophysite missionaries either ferreting out the remains of paganism in Asia Minor or criss-crossing the eastern zone that encompassed both the Byzantine and the Sassanian states. At some time the Monophysite missionary empire covered a territory larger than that which belonged to the Latin and Greek Orthodox Christianities taken together.

Of these categories of missions, the first, involving military or police intervention in case of need, was the least important one. Even attempts to convert Byzantine Jews in the ninth century were done by offering incentives rather than by applying force.[5] Byzantium provides no parallel to the Germanic conversions by the sword, whether those of the Saxons by Charlemagne or the Obotrite Slavs by Henry the Lion, for instance, or of the Prussians by the Teutonic knights. Even the quasi-total assimilation of the Slavs of Greece, a process that was well advanced by the tenth century, was hardly attributable to Byzantine military campaigns—for few of them are attested—or to the dynamism of Byzantine missionaries in Slavic enclaves— for we hear of them only in the tenth century. A suggestion was already made in the previous essay that it was rather the result of something comparable to what had happened to the Germanic invaders settled inside the frontiers of the empire a few centuries earlier: an important impulse toward assimilation— read Christianization—must have come from the very own elite of the Slavs settled in Greece. This elite, of which we can find traces in the ninth century, wished to establish spiritual links with the world in the midst of which it was living and in which it wanted further to advance.

The second category of missions, those in which diplomatic activity was camouflaged as a reaction to requests from outside, constitutes the bulk of Byzantine missions and in all probability includes the ones to the Rus'. The best description of at least two missions of this sort is to be read in the *Lives* of Cyril and Methodius. These *Lives* are Byzantine documents. They glorify

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5. Cf. the main passage in Theophanes Continuatus, 5:95 = 341,8–342,6, Bonn (unless otherwise stated, all Byzantine historians will be quoted hereafter from the Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, published in Bonn). For other passages concerning the conversion of the Jews under Basil I, cf. J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire* (Athens, 1939), nos. 61–72, 76, 78–79.

two Byzantines. They rest in part on Byzantine texts written in Greek. The author of one of them was familiar with the Greek milieu of Rome and was imbued with a Byzantine world-view; finally, both texts reflect Byzantine missionary practices. For all that, I suspect that we owe the preservation of these treasures to the fact that they were written in the barbaric Slavic tongue. Not a single line in Greek contemporary sources, relatively plentiful, refers to the Slavic or to the more numerous non-Slavic activities of the two apostles. When we reflect on this we should not be surprised that roughly contemporary Byzantine sources, less plentiful for the end of the tenth century than they are for the ninth, do not mention the baptism of Volodimer; they devote only a miserable couple of lines to that baptism's circumstances.[6]

Stories of missions of the third category, those carried out by government-supported or freelance activists of the east, are the most fun to read. We owe the bulk of them to the Monophysite John of Ephesus, who wrote in Syriac. They are replete with colorful, if not always edifying, detail. A few illustrations: two rival missions, the Orthodox one supported by Justinian and the Monophysite one supported by his wife Theodora, vied for the ear of the African Nubian ruler; the story tells us how Theodora browbeat the Byzantine frontier governor and how the Monophysites won the race by ruse; we further hear how during the two years of his stay with the African Nobads, Julian, Theodora's Monophysite chief of mission, sat naked but for a loincloth in caves filled with water from the third to the tenth hour of the day on account of the unbearable heat of the place; how the Monophysite bishop Symeon successfully debated the Nestorians, but invited the Sassanian governor, that is, a pagan Magian, to be the debate's umpire—to us a humiliating display of sectarian zeal; how for seven years the same Symeon collected on special linen cloths the beliefs of various Christian peoples in many towns, not out of scholarly interest, but to prove that the Nestorians were a minority religion;

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6.   Cf. Leo Diaconus, Hist., 175,9–10, Bonn (capture of Kherson by the Tauroscythians); Scylitzes, *Hist.*, Βασιλ. καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος, 17 = 336,88–92, ed. Thurn (alliance with Volodimer against Bardas Phokas; Volodimer's marriage to Basil II's sister Anna). The story that introduces Volodimer into the narrative of the ninth-century baptism of the Rhōs is a late compilation ultimately based on Scylitzes, *Hist.*, Βασιλ., 43 = 165,17–166,43, ed. Thurn. For its text, cf. W. Regel, *Analecta byzantino-russica* (St. Petersburg, 1891), xxvii–xxx and 50,21–51,23 and P. Schreiner, "Ein wiederaufgefundener Text der *Narratio de Russorum Conversione* und einige Bemerkungen zur Christianisierung der Russen in byzantinischen Quellen," *Byzantinobulgarica* 5 (1978): 297–303; cf. also a late story of the baptism, ed. C. Papoulidis, "The Baptism of the Russians in the Iviron Codices 1317 and 1319 of the 18th Century," *Balkan Studies* 22 (1981): 80,7–81,36 (based in part directly on Theophanes Continuatus, 5:97). For the latest bibliography, cf. F. B. Poljakov, "Nachlese zum 'Novum Auctarium BHG,'" *Byzantion* 58 (1988): 186 and n. 14.

this protégé of Theodora redeemed himself in our eyes by converting the magnates of a Saracen tribe and having them build a church on that tribe's territory.

Along with such amusing stories and with reports of small-scale successes in converting Bedouins, we read of missionary efforts of staggering proportions: Jacob Barradaeus, the founder of the Jacobite Church, was both supported and hounded by the government. As mostly the latter was the case, he had to be swift in his travels to avoid arrest. Nevertheless, he is said to have ordained one hundred thousand priests, both within and without the frontiers of the empire. In Asia Minor, John of Ephesus acted as agent of the government. He himself claims to have built more than ninety churches and ten monasteries there. He is also credited with having baptized twenty-three thousand souls and with having burned two thousand pagan books in the province of Asia. Using Justinian's funds he converted many thousands of souls from idolatry in Caria alone, had twenty-four churches built there, and converted a central pagan temple, to which fifteen hundred smaller temples were subordinate, into a monastery.

Sometimes mass conversions were brought about not by a wandering missionary, but by a charismatic sedentary figure. Cyril of Scythopolis, a sixth-century Orthodox source, tells us what happened not far from Jerusalem in the twenties of the fifth century. An Arab tribal chief, a former vassal of the Sassanian Persians, moved over to Byzantine territory and met the famous ascetic Euthymios, who healed his paraplegic son. The chief and his family were baptized. Soon the chief returned with many Saracen men, women, and children and asked that they be given the word of salvation. This larger group was duly baptized after some catechesis: in gratitude for this, the tribal chief built for Euthymios a bakery, three cells, a cistern, and a church. Soon the whole tribe settled near Euthymios, who traced for them the outline of a church and made a layout for tents to be located around it, indulging in town planning of sorts; in this way, he contributed to the Bedouins' sedentarization. Euthymios often visited the new settlers until he appointed a priest and deacons for them. More Bedouins joined the original tribe, so that a number of camps came into being around the ascetic. Thus, the source tells us, "the wolves of Arabia" became part of Euthymios's spiritual flock. Finally, upon Euthymios's proposal, the wealthy tribal chieftain was made "Bishop of the Tents" as a most appropriate person to guide souls to salvation. The patriarch of Jerusalem approved the idea.

IV

When we look at Byzantine missions as a whole, we can discern characteristics that they have in common. One such characteristic is shared by almost all. Byzantine governmental missions (and even some freelance ones) were

missions from above to below. The same mechanism worked among the barbarians as well. Christianity may have taken first roots in a barbarian land through trade or through the efforts of Byzantine prisoners of war forcibly settled there—such were the Christian beginnings for the Georgians, for Ulfila's Goths, and for Tsar Krum's or Omurtag's ninth-century Bulgarians[7]—but Christianity's final triumph was due to the decision of the barbaric ruler and of his elite. No matter whether the convert came to Constantinople in person or wrote for missionaries to come to him; no matter whether he was the king of the Huns, the Lazes, the Herules or a Bedouin tribal chief settled near a charismatic ascetic; at the decisive stage it was the head of a state or tribe through whom the grace of the Holy Ghost descended first upon his family and then seeped down to the people. Upon reflection we find that this was a Christian practice of long standing, attested at one end by Athenagoras's apology for the new faith addressed to Emperor Marcus Aurelius in the second century, and at the other by the papal envoys who had hopes of converting Ivan the Terrible in the sixteenth.

In listing further common characteristics of Byzantine missions I shall lump together fact and the devices of imperial diplomacy and propaganda. The barbarian ruler about to be baptized and his entourage were showered with lavish gifts of gold, silver, and silk, as well as baptismal garments. If the ruler came to the capital, a festive reception would be arranged for him in the palace; he would be given a high place of precedence at the imperial table and thus displace and occasionally displease high Byzantine dignitaries.[8] The emperor would act as godfather of the newly baptized ruler—our examples abound. That ruler would sometimes be given a Byzantine lady of high standing in marriage.[9] On the territory newly gained for the faith, mission-

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7.   For prisoners of war and merchants as carriers of the new faith to the pagans, cf., e.g., E. W. Thompson, "Christianity and the Northern Barbarians," in A. Momigliano, ed., *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 57–62; cf. also Zachariah of Mitylene, *Syriac Chronicle*, trans. F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks (London, 1899), p. 329 (Roman captives among the "Huns"). For the times of Krum and Omurtag, cf. Theophanes Continuatus, 5:4 = 216,9–217,20, Bonn. That Byzantine missions were "from above to below" was well seen by I. Engelhardt, *Mission und Politik in Byzanz* (Munich, 1974), pp. 77, 89, 170.

8.   Here belongs the story of Amorkesos (Imru' al-Qais) who visited Constantinople under Leo I in the 470s, ate at the imperial table, participated in the deliberations of the senate, and was seated above the patricians—this in the hope that he would become a Christian. Cf., e.g., C. de Boor, ed., *Excerpta de legationibus*, 2 (Berlin, 1903), pp. 568–69 (from Malchus of Philadelphia).

9.   Some examples: Justinian I (d. 565) was godfather of the Hunnic king Grod and of the king of the Herules Grepes (Agrippas); Herakleios (d. 641), or his brother Theodore, of a

aries would introduce agricultural improvements such as the culture and grafting of fruit trees and planting of vegetables. Before conversion the newly baptized ruler—for which read the newly baptized upper class—would view the land of the Romans as the promised land. Back home, he would feel "one" with the empire as a member of a new family, would wish "to submit to the unbreakable community" of the Byzantines and would, or at least should, keep eternal peace with them. This family feeling would extend not only to the empire itself, the source of Light; in theory, it would also include Christian barbarian neighbors of the convert. "I will help expel your enemies from your land," wrote the Nubian king of the Alodaeans to the king of the Nobads; "for your territory is my territory and your people are my people, now that I am a Christian <just as you are>." In the Byzantine version of things the new convert would ask to be a vassal of the empire and would undergo the obligation of defending the emperor's possessions or of sending troops to him upon the latter's demand. But even the Byzantines had to admit that on one occasion a converted ruler extracted territorial concessions from the empire in exchange for embracing Christianity.[10]

V

While we have a fair idea of the workings of Byzantine missions on the higher governmental and ecclesiastical levels, we are poorly informed about the nuts and bolts of these enterprises. We can infer from one case that teams of missionaries were first sent out to prepare the ground for the arrival of the regular hierarchy in the mission land; that these missionaries felt uncomfortable abroad, complained about living conditions there and were spelled by others. We also know that some of them were rewarded with high positions upon their return from the hardship posts. Thus, Euthymios, missionary to the Alans, became Abbot on Mt. Olympos in Bithynia and an envoy to the Bulgarian tsar Symeon.

These are, however, slim pickings. We are also poorly served when it comes to two essentials: the language in which the Word was preached and the methods by which the new message was passed on to the next generation.

"Hun" (Onogundur?) ruler; Leo IV was godfather of the Bulgarian khan Telerig, about 777; Constantine VII was godfather of the Hungarian chieftain Bulcsu, about 948. Under Justin I, Tzath of Lazica, baptized in Constantinople, married a (grand?) daughter of a patrician; cf. Malalas, *Chron.*, 413,7–9, Bonn and *Chron. Paschale*, 613,14–17, Bonn.

10. The ruler was Boris-Michael of Bulgaria. For a euphemistic description of the territorial adjustment, cf. Theophanes Continuatus, 4:16 = 164,23–165,6, Bonn. Compare with this Volodimer's taking (and keeping) the Byzantine Kherson at the time of the negotiations concerning his conversion.

We read and reread the *Lives* of Cyril and Methodius and the Greek *Life* of their disciple Clement. Beyond that, we are reduced to *obiter dicta*, contained mainly in non-Greek sources. We learn from Syriac texts that the Scriptures had been translated into the language of the Sabirian Huns, probably by an Armenian missionary. We further note that the protégé of Empress Theodora, Bishop Symeon, the Illuminator of the Saracens, had the gift of tongues. Wherever he went he spoke the local language on the third day of his stay there. In search of parallels we consult the ample documentation about St. Willibrord's, St. Willehad's, St. Liudger's and, above all, St. Boniface's mission to eighth-century Germany, and find that the latter and his team preached in the dialects of the Frisians, Hessians, and Thuringians; this was commendable, though it must have been easy for speakers of a Germanic tongue to do so (St. Liudger was a native Frisian). St. Boniface understood the need for preaching in the tongue of the prospective converts so well that he predicted—wrongly, as we now know—that the *rustica gens hominum Sclaforum et Scythia dura* (presumably comprising Ukrainian territories) would never see the light of baptism because the language of the Slavs was unknown to the missionaries.

When we turn to the Greek-writing Byzantines, however, we meet with virtual silence on the subject of missionary languages. Thus, when we are through with quoting and requoting the opening passages of John Chrysostom's *Sermon* in the Gothic Church at Constantinople, we point out, quite correctly, that the Byzantines were aware of translations of the Holy Writ done on their own territory or in neighboring lands and we recall the Slavic apostles' self-serving attack on the trilingual heresy. Many of us still infer from this that Byzantium displayed a benevolent attitude toward national languages. Alas, this benevolence, as opposed to benevolent neglect or to tactical considerations, is hardly attested. Not even in John Chrysostom's *Sermon*, if we read it in the context of John's struggle against the Arians and upper-class pagans, and certainly not in Theophylact Hephaistos of Ochrida— whose portrait has been recently drawn with a great deal of empathy and judgment by Professor Sir Dimitri Obolensky—even though Theophylact's *Life* of Clement rests on some Slavic or at least pro-Slavic sources.[11] In a word, it is difficult to square this postulated benevolence with Byzantine

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11. Cf. the harsh words I reserved for Theophylact in *Slavic Review* 23 (1964): 229, n. 32; for a more sympathetic treatment, cf. D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 34–82, esp. 77–82. It remains for our context that Theophylact deplored the poverty of Latin (cf. *Discussion ... Concerning Latin Errors*, ed. P. Gautier, *Théophylacte d'Achride, Discours...* [Thessalonica, 1980], 257,5–6; 11–15) and scorned the "beastly" Bulgarian clergy of about 900 for their inadequate knowledge of Greek (cf. *Vita Clementis*, 22,66 = ed. Milev [1955], 76).

cultural pride, well attested between the ninth and eleventh centuries, a pride that accorded the Greek tongue the first place among all languages.[12]

In short, Greek historical reports on Byzantine missions are a cause of frustration for seekers of concrete detail. Perhaps all is not lost, however, for along with the historical reports on these missions, we possess a fairly vast category of texts that I would like to call imaginary reports. This class of texts, as yet untapped for our purposes, comprises more than half a dozen items and amounts to well over one thousand pages. I am referring to novels of sorts: they are either novels about the apostles set in the time of the beginnings of Christianity in the first century, when everybody was a pagan and when missionary activity was the hero's only task, or they are hagiographic novels set in a later time, when the hero confronted the Jews or the Muslims. Among the candidates for our study the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles may be of too early a date to be of use, except as sources for literary motifs in hagiographic novels and as texts that established the working of miracles as the missionary's most effective tool. The remaining texts, however, may yield results both for literary and traditional historians of the missions, and even of later missions, for these texts date from the eighth to the tenth centuries. At the least they tell us what people contemporary with the first missions to the Rus' imagined missionary activity to have been like; at the most they might have drawn upon the actual missionary experience of their own time for their anachronisms. Here belongs the disputation of Gregentios, Bishop of the Himyarites, with the Jew Herban, containing some structural parallels to Constantine-Cyril's dispute with the Khazars; here also belongs the long *Life* of Theodore of Edessa, in which we hear of a conversion, and the subsequent martyr's death, of a caliph in the time of Emperor Michael III (d. 867).

The pride of place, however, should be reserved for two *Lives* set in the first century after Christ. These are the interminable eighth-century *Life* of a supposed contemporary of St. Peter, St. Pankratios of Taormina in Sicily—the

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12. The locus classicus is the Letter of Ps.-Photius to Zachary, Catholicus of Armenia. The text as we have it is hardly by Photius (cf. B. Outtier in Laourdas-Westerink, *Photii...* [as in n. 13 below], 3 [1985], p. 11), but it is old enough. For a translation of the relevant passage and information on editions, cf. F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 239–40. Doubts concerning Byzantine benevolence toward foreign liturgical languages seem to be gaining ground. Cf., in addition to my opinion in *Slavic Review* 23 (1964): 228–31, Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (New York and Washington, 1971), pp. 151–53; L. Řeháček, "Sugdové v stsl. Životě Konstantinově," *Slavica Pragensia* 13 (1971): 60–61; and V. Vavřínek, "The Introduction of the Slavonic Liturgy and the Byzantine Missionary Policy," *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.–11. Jahrhundert* (Prague, 1978), pp. 255–66.

full text has been established in an important work by the late Dr. Cynthia Stallman—and the shorter *Life* of the Apostle Andrew, dating soon after 800 and in part dependent on that of Pankratios. The latter, a missionary in his own right, behaved quite reasonably in matters of language. We should not inquire here how Avars could find their way into Sicily or South Italy in the first or even eighth century after Christ—but they did, after having been made captive. When these Avars were about to be baptized, St. Pankratios asked the chief authority of Taormina what language they spoke; thus, he asked a question parallel to the one Constantine-Cyril had asked Emperor Michael III about the Moravians. The Avars, it turned out, spoke neither Greek nor Latin. Consequently, in every sentence devoted to Pankratios's subsequent conversation with them we are reminded that he talked with them through an interpreter. The very moment the Avars were baptized, they began to speak Greek, a miracle to be sure, but one that, if not taken literally, contained a kernel of historical truth.

The *Life* of Pankratios offers other information for which we look in vain in historical missionary reports. It gives a list of liturgical and ritual books and objects that the newly ordained priests and bishops took with them on their missionary journeys or used in combating the idols. It refers to books containing scriptural passages, meaning lectionaries, that were to be read to the newly baptized on great feasts. It mentions the copying and correcting of books needed by the new flock. It describes model books containing representations of the Life of Christ or of Old and New Testament events to be put on the walls of churches that were to be built in the newly Christianized areas; moreover, in an early anticipation of slide lectures, model books were to be used simultaneously with readings from the Gospels. The *Life* of Pankratios also contains a catechetic sermon in which St. Peter relates the story of the Old Testament; endless as it is, it covers only the period from Adam to Abraham. The *Life* of St. Andrew puts the same kind of sermon in the first-called apostle's mouth; mercifully, Andrew's sermon is much shorter. Sermons on the Old Testament strike us as a complicated and boring way to introduce ignorant pagans into the new religion, but this method must have been used in actual practice: we find a similar exposition at the beginning of the historical *Life* of the Slavic apostle Methodius into which it must have been inserted from some text used for missionary purposes. And in a short while we shall find the same practice again, when we discuss the relevant passages of the Primary Chronicle.

A parallel case of providing the new flock with overly complicated didactic material is offered by the stories of the ecumenical councils that we read, among other texts, in Patriarch Photios's letter to the newly baptized tsar

Boris-Michael.[13] The doctrinary intricacies of these stories strike us as ill-suited to the addressee. One way to explain the presence of the reports on the councils in Photios's letter to Boris would be to assume a respectable degree of religious sophistication on the part of the Bulgarian tsar or his entourage. Still, the presence of the reports on the ecumenical councils at the beginning of the *Life* of Methodius indicates that they must have been part of the missionary practice.

Dividing Byzantine mission reports into historical and imaginary has its virtues for the student of the baptism of Rus'. It enables him to set up a third, intermediary category: that of hybrid mission reports. These refer to actual events, but present them in a miraculous setting. Using this classification, we are able to find a niche for the longest Byzantine report on the conversion of the Rus': the ninety-seventh chapter of the *Vita Basilii*, the biography of Emperor Basil I (867–886), a mid-tenth-century text dealing with the "first" conversion that occurred in the 860s. That chapter displays several *topoi* by now familiar to us from historical missionary reports: lavish gifts offered to the barbarians; a link between a peace treaty and baptism; the ruler and his elite examining the new faith; use of the Old Testament in preaching—but it also contains a miracle. This precious text is analyzed for its historical information and misinformation in every treatment of Christian beginnings in Rus'; for our purposes here, it will be enough merely to adduce it in translation and to provide it with scriptural references.[14]

> The emperor also conciliated the indomitable and utterly godless nation of the Rhōs with the lure of generous gifts of gold, silver, and of silk garments: he concluded a treaty of peace with them, persuaded them to partake of the salutary baptism, and made them accept an (arch?)bishop who had received his ordination from Patriarch Ignatios. Having arrived in the country of the said nation, the archbishop gained their acceptance by the following deed. The ruler of that tribe convened an assembly of his subjects and presided over it, together with the

13. The letter—more appropriately, a *liber hortatorius*—dates from 865. The latest edition is by B. Laourdas and L. G. Westerink, *Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 1 (1983), pp. 1–39 (= *Ep.* 1). Of the letter's 1208 lines, 559 are devoted to the councils. For an English translation, cf. Despina Stratoudaki White and Joseph R. Berrigan, Jr., *The Patriarch and the Prince* (Brookline, Mass., 1982). The Old Testament was a source for sermons preached by western missionaries as well. There, however, it played a less prominent role. Cf. Richard E. Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan," *Speculum* 28, no. 4 (1953): 715–20.

14. This translation of Theophanes Continuatus 5:97 is part of my forthcoming new critical edition of *Vita Basilii* (= Theophanes Continuatus, bk. 5). For recent discussions of our chapter as history, cf. L. Müller, *Die Taufe Russlands* (Munich, 1987), pp. 62–64; V. Vodoff, *Naissance de la chrétienté russe* (Paris, 1988), pp. 30–34.

elders of his entourage; the latter clung to their superstitions even more tenaciously than the rest, because they had so long been accustomed to them. In discussing their religion and that of the Christians, they called in the prelate who had recently arrived among them and inquired what his message was and what instruction they were about to receive. The prelate held out the Holy Book of the Divine Gospel and recited to them some of the miracles performed by our Savior and God; he also revealed to them some of the marvels wrought by God in the Old Testament. Forthwith the Rhōs said, "unless we are shown some similar thing, especially something like that which, as you say, <happened to> the three young men in the furnace (cf. Dan. 3:6, 11, 15, 17, 20, 21), we shall not in the least believe you, nor shall we again lend our ears to what you tell us." The prelate put his trust in the truth of Him Who said, "Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name ye shall receive (cf. Matt. 21:22; John 14:13–14; 16:26)," and, "He that believeth in me, the works that I do he shall do also, and greater works than these shall he do (cf. John 14:12)" (provided that whatever is done is done for the salvation of souls, not for the sake of display), and said to them: "Though one ought not to tempt the Lord God (cf. Deut. 6:16; Matt. 4:7, Luke 4:12; I Cor. 10:9), yet if you have resolved from the bottom of your hearts to join God, then you may ask Him whatsoever you wish, and God surely will accede to it because you have faith (cf. Matt. 21:22; John 14:13), even if I myself be lowly and the least of men." They asked that the very book of the Christian faith, that is, the Divine and Holy Gospel, be thrown into a fire built by them; should it be preserved without damage and remain unconsumed, they would join the God of whom he preached. These words having been uttered, and after the priest lifted his eyes and his hands to God and said, "Jesus Christ our God, this time as well glorify Thy holy name (cf. John 12:28) in the presence of all that nation," the Book of the Holy Gospels was thrown into the fiery furnace (cf. Ezek. 22:20; Dan. 3:6, 11, 15, 17, 20; 4 Macc. 16:21). Several hours passed, the furnace was put out, and it was found that the holy volume had remained unscathed, unharmed, and suffered no injury or shrinkage from the fire—even the tassels at the book's clasps suffered no corruption or outward change. When the barbarians beheld this, they were astounded by the greatness of the miracle and, abandoning all doubts, began to be baptized.

VI

Byzantine sources and above all missionary reports, whether historical, hybrid, or imaginary, come in handy when one is rereading the Primary Chronicle.[15] I shall cull my eight illustrations from the pages that cover the reigns of Ol'ga, Svjatoslav, and Volodimer.

1. The Byzantine emperor reproached Ol'ga for not fulfilling her promise

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15. The Primary Chronicle (hereafter *PVL*) will be quoted after the text prepared by D. S. Lixačev, *Povest' vremennyx let*, 1 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950).

to send "warriors to him for help."[16] The emperor was not as feeble-minded as the Chronicle makes him out to be: he simply claimed his due from the newly converted barbarian ruler—we remember that in the system of the Primary Chronicle Ol'ga had just been baptized in Constantinople and the emperor had acted as her godfather. The emperor's reproach was not a literary device, but part and parcel of contemporary diplomacy. Some twenty-five years before Ol'ga's visit to Constantinople, the Byzantine patriarch Nicholas Mystikos, aware of the Bulgarian menace of the 920s, reminded the recently baptized ruler of the Caucasian Abasgians of his duty to support the empire militarily, should he be called upon to do so.

2. The interminable retelling of the Old Testament inserted at the beginning of the speech that the Philosopher held before Volodimer[17] no longer disturbs us,˙for by now we know that both the imaginary and the hybrid mission reports referred to the same pedagogical device.

3. We shall not wonder at the "curtain," that is, a piece of cloth that the Philosopher produced before Volodimer as a visual aid of sorts,[18] for we remember the model books with scenes from the Life of Christ that were distributed to missionaries in the *Life* of Pankratios.

4. Nor will we wonder why the Philosopher's curtain should have contained a picture of the Last Judgment. We read in a tenth-century Byzantine source that the Last Judgment was presented for the same purpose one hundred years earlier in Bulgaria—true, not on a curtain but on a wall of Boris-Michael's hunting lodge; that the effect was immediate; and that it turned Boris-Michael, a barbarian, into a Christian.[19]

5. At the time of the negotiations concerning his conversion, Volodimer took the Byzantine city of Kherson and kept it after his baptism. This conquest will appear less puzzling to us and in less need of scholarly reinterpretation if we keep in mind the same tenth-century Byzantine source's information on territorial gains "somewhat brazenly" demanded, and obtained, at the empire's expense by the Bulgarian tsar Boris-Michael immediately after his conversion in the sixties of the ninth century.[20]

6. When the emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII appealed to the one

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16. *PVL*, 45.

17. *PVL*, 61–71.

18. *PVL*, 74.

19. Cf. Theophanes Continuatus, 4:15 = 163,19–164,17, Bonn. The connection between the passages in *PVL* and Theophanes Continuatus has been made previously. Cf., e.g., I. Dujčev, "Légendes byzantines sur la conversion des Bulgares," *Medioevo byzantino-slavo*, 3 (Rome, 1971), esp. p. 66, n. 2.

20. *PVL*, 75–76. Cf. n. 10 above.

faith that would now unite Volodimer with the Byzantines, they referred to the motif of brotherhood and solidarity used in imperial propaganda for centuries, including the early tenth century, when it was invoked during wars with Symeon of Bulgaria.[21]

7. When the same emperors showed reluctance in letting Volodimer marry their sister, because, as the Chronicle has it, "it ill behooves Christians to give <Christian women> in marriage to pagans," they just echoed one persistent motif of imperial propaganda (well attested in a tenth-century work compiled under the auspices of their grandfather), according to which an imperial princess could not be given in marriage to a barbarian member of the "dishonorable tribe of the north," especially one "infidel and unbaptized."[22]

8. In a much-quoted short passage the Chronicle tells us how Volodimer selected children of prominent people to submit them to "book-learning"—whatever this meant—and how the bereft mothers of those children broke out in lament.[23] There may have been reality behind the mothers' lamentations, but the Chronicle's passage is on the summary side; even so, scholars from the eighteenth century to the twentieth have invested some effort to squeeze the elixir of Cyrillo-Methodian heritage out of it.[24] This story has a Syriac

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21. *PVL*, 76. As parallels, cf. the text republished by R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Peace with Bulgaria (927) Celebrated by Theodore Daphnopates," in *Polychronion: Festschrift F. Dölger* (Heidelberg, 1966), pp. 287–303, esp. p. 289 and p. 293. Cf. also the view of Bulgarians and Byzantines put into the mouth of Boris-Michael by Theophanes Continuatus 4:15 = 164,24, Bonn (ὡς ἤδη ἐν ἀλλ᾽ οὐ δύο ὄντων αὐτῶν). Cf. also Nicholas Mystikos, *Letter* 8, pp. 14–24 (as in n. 4 above), p. 46; *Letter* 9, 19–25, 192–96, pp. 54, 64 (on Christianity's having created a bond between Symeon's Bulgarians and the Byzantines: they are "one body" in faith). Cf. also the texts I adduced in *Slavic Review* 23 (1964): 226, n. 22. For a Western parallel from the ninth century (hope for a bond between the Franks of Louis the Pious and the Danes), cf. Rimbert, *Vita Anskarii*, quoted in Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary" (as in n. 13 above), p. 724, n. 113.

22. *PVL*, 76 and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ch. 13, 106–16, ed. Moravcsik-Jenkins.

23. *PVL*, 81.

24. In 1791, F. V. Karžavin wrote in his *Précis historique sur l'introduction des lettres en Russie* (St. Petersburg): "Car ce ne fut que dans l'intention d'éclairer son peuple qu'il [sc. Volodimer] fonda des Ecoles dans lesquelles il fit entrer de force les enfents [*sic*?] des gens de distinction pour y apprendre à lire et à écrire. On voit par là que l'Eglise Russe a fait usage dès son origine, pour le service Divin, des livres traduits du Grec en Slavon par le Filosof [*sic*] Kirile autrement l'Evêque Konstantine [*sic*]." Reprinted by S. Dolgova, "Neizvestnoe russkoe soobščenie XVIII v. o Kirille i Mefodii...," *Kirilo-Metodievski Studii* 5 (1988): 191. For a modern statement, cf. D. Obolensky, "The Cyrillo-Methodian Heritage in Russia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 19 (1965), esp. pp. 58–59.

parallel that I prefer for the fullness of its detail and for the light it casts on the meaning of the Primary Chronicle's term *učenie knižnoe,* or "book-learning." Symeon the Mountaineer, a freelance missionary active in a semi-pagan region along the Euphrates, tonsured eighteen boys and twelve girls—not a bad male to female ratio for any American college; for this, Symeon had to withstand the lamentations, rage, and curses of the children's mothers. He provided the boys and girls thus selected with writing tablets and taught them for some five years, until they were about to reach puberty and had to be separated. In the meantime, they had learned the Psalter and the Scriptures, which was their *učenie knižnoe.*[25]

VII

The primary purpose of the scholar investigating the introduction of Christianity among the Rus' is not to learn, for instance, that Leo I, a fifth-century Byzantine emperor, had the Arab chieftain Amorkesos seated high up at the imperial table so as to entice him to become a Christian; to measure how deeply felt were the new bonds of solidarity between two recent royal converts in sixth-century Nubia; to be informed of the methods that Symeon the Mountaineer used to teach semi-pagan children on the west bank of the Euphrates; or, finally, to learn how the children's mothers reacted to Symeon's deed.

Still, it is good to put things into their context. In this essay, a suggestion has been made, however indirectly, that the baptism of Rus' was a local variant—granted, a complicated one—of a general pattern that could be traced across half a millennium. Attention to the pattern may help us better to understand both the variant itself and the local sources reporting on it; thus, Amorkesos's advantageous seating at Leo I's banquet should make us recall Ol'ga's high position at the imperial table during her visit to Constantinople five hundred years later.

In the present essay the Byzantine pattern occupied center stage. In the one that follows, the opposite will happen: we shall devote our attention to the peculiar characteristics of the Rus' variant.

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25. On Symeon the Mountaineer as teacher of children who hitherto had "no time to leave the goats and learn anything," cf. John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints,* 1, ed. E. W. Brooks, *Patrologia Orientalis* 17 (1923): 241–46. For Western eighth- and ninth-century parallels, especially to having children of the (newly converted?) nobles instructed in the faith, cf. Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary" (as in n. 13 above), p. 713, esp. n. 50.

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Cf. also the bibliographic note to essay 2.

Essay 4

The Christianization of Kyivan Rus'*

I

Volodimer's Rus' adopted Christianity twenty-odd years after it had been adopted by Mieszko I's Poland. Scholars must still agree on the first exact date and place of Volodimer's baptism and tell us with certitude when, where, and by whom the first permanent ecclesiastical hierarchy was introduced among the East Slavs. But we need not wait for the results of their detailed research, for this essay's task is general: to trace the progress of Christianity among the East Slavs, to view the final act of this progress against the general background of the tenth century, and to assess the immediate consequences of Volodimer's conversion.

From antiquity through the late Middle Ages, the Mediterranean world had a bridgehead in Eastern Europe—the Crimean peninsula. Christianity may have spread among Jewish communities there as early as apostolic times. By the early Middle Ages, Byzantine Crimea served as a place of exile for recalcitrant popes, like the mid-seventh-century Martin I, and as a haven for eighth-century monks fleeing iconoclastic persecution in the Eastern Empire. By the eighth and ninth centuries, the peninsula was covered by a network of Byzantine bishoprics.

Thus, it is plausible that Christianity radiated from the Crimea to the north even before the ninth century. In 860 or 861, the Crimea served as a springboard for the Khazar mission of St. Cyril, the later apostle to the Slavs. It may have performed a similar role at an earlier date. But before the ninth century it must have been difficult for Christian influences coming from the south to reach the East Slavs who lived in the Kyiv region, for these Slavs were separated from Byzantine Crimea by various nomadic peoples who, in the course of their westward movement, spelled each other in the Ukrainian steppe. Closer contacts with Byzantine possessions and with Byzantium's capital itself became possible only with the emergence of a force that could control, or at least safely enjoy, the Dnieper waterway linking the hinterland

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zones with the Black Sea. Such a force was in existence by the middle of the ninth century. Reference is made here to the Scandinavian Rus', who formed the upper crust in the Varangian-Slavic principalities that they helped to create in Eastern Europe. A Varangian expedition, possibly originating in Kyiv, attacked Constantinople in 860. Almost immediately, Byzantium struck back with spiritual weapons: in 866, Patriarch Photios proudly announced to his eastern colleagues the progress of Christianity among the fierce Rus' and the dispatch of a bishop on a mission to them. This mission to the barbarians of the north was only one of many that Byzantium was simultaneously and successfully undertaking among the Balkan and central European Slavs: Bulgarians, Serbs, Moravians, and Pannonians. In Eastern Europe this first attempt failed, probably because a competing Scandinavian group swept away the pro-Christian rulers in Kyiv, but from then on, especially from the second quarter of the tenth century, we have convincing evidence that Christianity began to take root in Kyiv. Some of the Rus' who ratified the Rus'-Byzantine treaties of the mid-tenth century were Christians. A Christian church dedicated to St. Elias existed in Kyiv by that time. Since thunder and lightning were among that prophet's Christian attributes, scholars thought that he had been chosen as a competitor to the local pagan god of thunder, Perun. There exists, however, an alternative and, to my mind, better explanation for the church's dedication. The Byzantine emperor Basil I, who attained sole power by 867, but who had been co-emperor for some time, was expressly connected with the first Christianization of the Rus' by his biographer. Basil was deeply devoted to the prophet Elias, who in a vision had foretold his imperial future. As a token of gratitude, Basil later had a church built in the imperial palace and named it after the prophet. It is likely that the church in Kyiv was dedicated to St. Elias to honor Basil I's preferred saint and thus acknowledge that emperor's patronage over the first Christianization of the Rus'. If so, that church would go back to the ninth century.[1]

By 957 Ol'ga, the Kyivan princess who was regent of the realm, had been baptized, probably in Constantinople, which, in any case, she visited, likely as early as 946. The first martyrs of Kyiv to be recorded antedated the Christianization of the land: they were two Varangians killed by a pagan mob whose martyrdom the Rus' Primary Chronicle recorded under the year 983.

However highly placed the Kyivan converts to Christianity may have been at that time, we must still speak of individual conversions, not of the baptism of the realm. For Rus' as a whole to be baptized, the notion of the Rus' land

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1.   On the first Christianization of the Rus', cf. Essay 3 above; on Basil I's devotion to the prophet Elias and the church dedicated to the prophet Elias in the imperial palace, in the capital, and elsewhere, cf. *Vita Basilii* in Theophanes Continuatus, 5:8 = 222,9–19; 5:82 = 308,20–309,1; 5:83 = 325,2–3; 11–16; 5:87 = 329,19–330,4; 5:91 = 337,10–14, Bonn.

had to crystallize in the minds of the Kyivan princes. In that respect Svjatoslav, Ol'ga's son, was somewhat of a reactionary. His Slavic name—he was the first Rus' prince to bear such a name—pointed to later developments, but his pagan predilections and his Viking restlessness were the remnants of a waning age. Svjatoslav the Viking fought on the Volga and at the approaches to Constantinople, cared little for Kyiv, and dreamed of establishing his capital on the Danube, altogether outside the East Slavic territory. But hard realities stopped the southward drive of the Rus'. The defeat they suffered at the hands of the Byzantines at Silistra in 971 was the Lech Field battle of Rus' history.[2] Thereafter the period of settling down for good around Kyiv began, and it started with Volodimer the Organizer. More than any prince before him, he must have felt the need for a force that would endow his state with inward coherence and outward respectability. In tenth-century terms, this meant the adoption of an articulate religion. A local solution could be tried and apparently was: in his pagan period, Volodimer set up a group of statues of pagan gods on a hill near Kyiv, which may have been his attempt to establish a pagan pantheon for his realm. But Finnish and Slavic wooden idols could not compete with the higher religious beliefs held in centers neighboring on Kyiv. Through war, diplomacy, and commerce, Kyivan leaders of the late tenth century were well aware not only of the impressive religion of Byzantium and of the somewhat more sober version of that religion practised in the newly reestablished Western Empire, but also of Islam, adopted in 922 by the Volga Bulgars, and of Judaism, widespread among the elite of the recently defeated Khazars. As for the religious situation in other Slavic countries, Volodimer could obtain information on it within his family circle, from his Christian wives—two Czechs and one Bulgarian.

A decision had to be made and made at the top, for, as we saw in the previous essay, in their final stages, almost all conversions to a "higher" religion were conversions from above to below. Which of the many religions to choose? The Primary Chronicle contains a colorful description of the "testing of faiths." According to this account, first Bulgar (i.e., Islamic), Latin, and Greek missionaries arrived in Kyiv, and then Rus' emissaries were sent out to collect information on the relative merits of these three religions. Most probably we are dealing with a literary commonplace here. But the story does reflect a historical truth, namely, the existence of simultaneous cultural influences converging on Kyiv, and Kyiv's awareness of these influences.

The envoys reported their findings (so the story goes) and the decision fell in favor of Byzantium. If we adopt the point of view of tenth-century Kyiv,

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2. In 955, Emperor Otto I won a battle against the Magyars on the Lech Field (near Augsburg). That victory put an end to the Magyar westward drive.

we will agree that it was obvious and wise. It was obvious because Kyiv's previous contacts with Byzantium had been frequent and prolonged. It was wise because, as we saw in Essay 2, in the last quarter of the tenth century Byzantium was the most brilliant cultural centre of the world as Kyiv knew it. And Byzantium was at the height of its political might. Western contemporaries, like Liutprand of Cremona and Thiethmar of Merseburg, might scorn Greek effeminacy and haughtiness. Sour grapes, all this. Byzantium had recently emerged victorious from its struggle with the Arabs in the Mediterranean and in Syria, and it had made considerable advances in the Balkans. As for its culture, the sophistication of its intellectuals and their familiarity with the canon of antique literature—these were traits that the pagan Rus' may not as yet have been able to appreciate. But they certainly could appreciate the splendor of Constantinople's art and the pomp of its church services. The Primary Chronicle even intimates that this pomp tipped the scales in favor of the Greek religion.

Thus, we need only be aware of things as they stood in the tenth century in order to agree with Volodimer that the Byzantine form of Christianity provided the most appealing choice—that much seems clear. Clarity disappears, however, when we turn to the details of the Christianization. Not that our sources—Slavic, Byzantine, Arabic, and Armenian—are mute. The problem arises when we try to piece their contradictory information together. It has been done dozens of times. For the present, all such tries must remain enlightened guesses, including Professor Andrzej Poppe's recent theory that Volodimer attacked Kherson as an ally rather than an enemy of Basil II. The attempt that follows is one more guess, every detail of which can be contradicted or confirmed by solutions proposed by scholars in the past. I shall give an account of Volodimer's conversion as it might have been—but, alas, was not—recorded by a Byzantine chronicler, and I shall adopt some of the Byzantine chronicler's vagueness.

September 987: The Byzantine emperor's throne is threatened by a rebellion. The emperor, whose name is Basil II, sends an embassy to the ruler of the barbarian Rus', asking for military assistance. In exchange, the northern barbarian asks for the hand of the emperor's sister. This is a highly embarrassing request, for it runs against the concept of the world-embracing Byzantine hierarchy of rulers and states and the official objections to marriages with northern barbarians, as those objections were recorded in a work sponsored by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (Porphyrogennetos), Basil II's grandfather, some forty years earlier. The emperor, however, is in distress. The princess is promised, but the baptism of the barbarian is demanded as the condition for accepting him and his realm into the family of civilized peoples. Volodimer—this is the barbarian's name—is baptized in his capital, Kyiv, in 987 or 988. Troops 6,000 strong (in fact, Volodimer's own

boisterous Varangian mercenaries, whom he wants to get rid of) go to Byzantium and help to suppress the rebellion by winning a victory in April 989. The situation of the empire having improved, there is no need to send the imperial princess to sure cultural starvation in the north. The embittered barbarian attacks the Byzantine city of Kherson in the Crimea and takes it between April and June of 989. Now the princess has to be sent north after all. The marriage is celebrated in Kherson in 989. Volodimer, the Christ-loving prince, his bride Anna, her ecclesiastical entourage, and some Kherson ecclesiastics and citizens proceed to Kyiv, where all the people are baptized. The head of the new church arrives no later than 997. By that time, he has the rank of metropolitan; he is a Greek prelate and comes from Byzantium.

II

Under the Byzantine stimulus the young Kyivan civilization developed with remarkable rapidity. Within one or two generations after the conversion, it produced important works of art and literature. The Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv, with its mosaics and frescoes of sacred and secular content, is a major monument of Byzantine architecture. Metropolitan Ilarion's *Sermon on Law and Grace*, delivered around 1050, is as sophisticated as a refined Byzantine sermon of the period. Thus, in the short run, Volodimer's decision paid very good dividends, and the immediate results reaped by Kyiv from its ties with Byzantium seem greater than those derived by the Poles from their association with the West. Under these circumstances, we should not be astonished to find in Poland some traces of the westward radiation of Byzantine culture, with Kyiv acting as an intermediary. A Swabian duchess, Mathilda, praised Prince Mieszko II, the son of Bolesław the Brave, for his knowledge of, or at least his praying in, Greek. He may have learned this language from someone in the entourage of his wife, a granddaughter of Theophanu, the Byzantine spouse of Emperor Otto II, but it is legitimate to speculate that his Greek came from someone who arrived in Poland via Kyiv. I can think of a likely candidate for the position of the prince's tutor—Anastasius the Khersonian, the Greek who helped Volodimer take Kherson in 989 (one of the Christianization years) and made a brilliant administrative career in Kyiv, but who switched sides in 1018, when Kyiv was taken by the Poles, and emigrated to Poland with the retreating Polish forces of Bolesław the Brave.

Still, we know that Kyiv did not become an intermediary transmitting the achievements of Byzantine culture to the West. Before we deplore this, we must recall some peculiarities of the Kyivan version of Byzantine culture. In one important aspect, this version was twice removed from its original. Most of the literature read in eleventh-century Kyiv was received from Bulgaria,

where Christianity had thrived for over a century, or—to a much lesser degree—from Bohemia, heir to the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. Holy Scriptures, liturgical and Byzantine writings predominated among these imported works, but they were Old Church Slavonic translations from the Greek. Direct knowledge of Greek is attested in Kyiv soon after the conversion—both through the Primary Chronicle and perhaps through a few translations of Byzantine texts made on Kyivan soil (although this is now disputed on good grounds)—but the extent of this knowledge should not be exaggerated. Moreover, the list of translated Byzantine texts was very selective. Naturally enough, most of them were of ecclesiastical character. The secular ones either were collateral reading to the study of sacred texts or represented the low- to middle-brow level in Byzantine literature. There were some advantages to this situation. The availability of a written Slavic literary idiom combined with the relative geographical remoteness of Kyiv from Constantinople contributed to the impressive growth of the vernacular literature, especially in historiography. This was a genre in which comparable Polish achievements were not forthcoming for centuries. But there was also a disadvantage, owing to the tenuousness of direct knowledge of the Greek language and literature and to the adoption of a selective procedure in translating, wherever it may have been done, most likely in Bulgaria—namely, the virtual lack of acquaintance with the works of antiquity. Kyivan bookmen derived their knowledge of antique literature from the translations of Byzantine equivalents to Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*. In this one important respect, the "barbaric" West was better off with its intolerant predilection for Latin. Thiethmar and, later, the Polish historian Wincenty Kadłubek quote Virgil and Horace. The Rus' Primary Chronicle does not quote Homer.

Under the year 988, the traditional date of Volodimer's conversion, the Primary Chronicle introduces a "philosopher" who expounds the tenets of the new faith to the prince and admonishes him in the following terms: "Do not accept the teachings of the Latins, whose instruction is vicious." This is an anachronism for the tenth century and therefore a later propagandistic interpolation. Throughout the second half of the tenth century and a great part of the eleventh, the upper crust of Kyiv did not find Latin teachings vicious at all. Princess Ol'ga may have been baptized in Constantinople, but in 959— certainly before the final establishment of the Byzantine hierarchy in Rus'— her ambassadors negotiated with Otto I for the sending of a missionary bishop and priests to her realm. As such a request fitted perfectly into Otto's grandiose plans for Eastern missionary expansion, two bishops were ordained and one of them, Adalbert, was dispatched to the Rus' in 961. Adalbert's mission came to naught under mysterious and tragic circumstances. There is no doubt, however, that it took place. Our evidence about that is unimpeachable, since it stems from the unhappy head of the mission himself. We omit

from this discussion the information we have on several papal embassies sent out to Volodimer, as our evidence on this point is somewhat controversial. This omission does not matter much, for there are many other—and sure— indications that a peaceful intercourse existed between the West and Kyiv for quite some time after the baptism of the Rus'. The evidence comes from German missionaries who were greatly assisted and judiciously advised by Volodimer when they passed through Kyiv on their way to the Pečenegs in 1006. It also comes from the presence in East Slavic manuscripts of *Lives* of Czech and Western saints and of Western prayers. This fact, of which Francis Dvornik has so rightly reminded us in his writings, points to the traffic in literary texts between Bohemian centres of the Slavonic liturgy, active until the very end of the eleventh century, and Kyiv. Volodimer's marrying into the Byzantine imperial family should not make us oblivious to the fact, mentioned in Essay 1, that Polish, French, German, and other Western marriages of the Kyivan princely house far outnumbered those contracted with the Byzantines. Finally, some see the most dramatic illustration of Kyiv's Western contacts in the odyssey of the exiled grand prince of Kyiv, Izjaslav, which occurred some twenty years *after* the schism of 1054. In order to further his cause, Izjaslav appeared at the court of Henry IV of Germany; having failed there, he sent his son to the curia of Pope Gregory VII. In exchange for papal intercession, he promised "due fealty" to the pope and commended his land to St. Peter. Izjaslav's Polish wife left prayers *pro papa nostro* in her psalter, which contains a number of Kyivan miniatures and can be inspected today in the Italian city of Cividale in Friuli, near the Slovenian border.

We must keep things in their proper perspective, however. Adalbert's mission ended in failure. The embittered hierarch called the Rus' "frauds." Bohemian texts on East Slavic soil are but a small fraction of texts of Byzantine provenance. Grand Prince Izjaslav's peregrinations and promises were but so many moves of a desperate émigré. When he recovered his Kyivan throne, he promptly forgot all about vassalage to St. Peter, and he was supported by the archimandrites of the Kyivan Caves Monastery. The atmosphere of this monastery must have been pro-Byzantine in the 1070s, for, the Primary Chronicle informs us, when the devil was sighted at that time by one of the monastery's sainted monks, he appeared—I am sorry to report—in the guise of a Pole.

Kyiv remained in the Byzantine fold not only because its Greek metropolitans saw to it, but, primarily, because it had been closely tied to Byzantium from the very time of Volodimer's conversion. This was apparent to contemporaries, both Eastern and Western. Thiethmar of Merseburg stressed the proximity of Kyiv to Greece, and Adam of Bremen even took Kyiv for one of Byzantium's foremost cities. But the most significant text comes from Kyiv itself. It is a *Life* of St. Volodimer, possibly going back to the eleventh

century. In his final address, the author of the *Life* prays not to Volodimer alone, in the name of Rus' alone, but to both rulers famous for establishing the conversion of their subjects, Constantine the Great *and* Volodimer, on behalf of the Rus' *and* the Greek peoples:

> O you two holy emperors, Constantine and Volodimer, help those of your kin against their enemies, and rescue the Greek and Rus' peoples from all tribulation, and pray to God on my behalf so that I may be saved by your prayers, for you enjoy special favors with the Savior.[3]

This passage may be interpreted as an expression of emulation of Byzantium. Volodimer has even been given an imperial title in another passage (not quoted here), Kyiv has been promoted to the position of the second Jerusalem, a title usually reserved for Constantinople, and Volodimer hailed as a second Moses, an epithet usually reserved for Byzantine emperors. But I prefer to see, in the ·passage quoted, an expression of the concept of unity, of membership in and sharing of the only, and therefore the highest, civilization, now embracing Byzantium and Rus' alike. What Svjatoslav could not achieve by force of arms alone, Volodimer achieved by Christianizing his realm.

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3. Cf., e.g., E. Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi* 1 (Moscow, 1901), 1: 225–38, esp. pp. 235 and 237; and *Pamjat' i poxvala knjazju russkomu Vladimiru Jakova mnixa i Žitie knjazja Vladimira* (= reprinted from the editions of V. I. Sreznevskij [St. Petersburg, 1897] and A. A. Zimin [Moscow, 1963] in Berkeley Slavic Specialties, 1988), esp. pp. 11, 12, 21, 22.

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ESSAY 5

Rival and Epigone of Kyiv:
The Vladimir-Suzdal' Principality[*]

his essay focuses on a single century in the history of the Vladimir-Suzdal' principality in northeastern Rus', that between roughly the 1130s and the 1230s. It is advisable to examine this principality within the framework of early Ukrainian history for at least three reasons, two of them objective and the third historiographic. The first objective reason is that within the time span we have just indicated, an ambivalent attitude toward Kyiv developed among the rulers of that principality and was exemplified in their actions. Kyivan traditions were still of importance and were still invoked by Vladimir-Suzdal''s bookmen and Kyiv was still a coveted prize for all princes of Rus'. But it was no longer the only or the most desirable prize, nor was it considered by the rulers of Vladimir-Suzdal' as preferable to their own seats of power in the northeast. One can interpret some of the chroniclers' passages to mean that the troops of Suzdalians who took Kyiv in 1169 behaved there as if in a foreign city, or, at least, in a city where one does not intend to stay for long.

The second objective reason to look at this principality in the framework of early Ukrainian history is that Moscow was founded or fortified toward the middle of the twelfth century, and that it first appears in our sources as part of the territory of the Vladimir-Suzdal' principality. Moreover, it is in part on this territory that the Russian nation was born and began to take shape. This brings us to the point of differentiating Russians and Ukrainians.

The third, historiographical, reason is that since the sixteenth century there has existed a historical conception of a continuity, at first of legitimacy and then of culture and national substance (when historians began to attach importance to such notions) between Kyiv, Vladimir, and Moscow, each taking over legitimate rule from the other in an uninterrupted sequence. It is clear that within such a conception, Ukrainians had no independent role to play.

Let us begin with the geographical setting. Vladimir lies on the Kljaz'ma

river about 450 miles northeast of Kyiv as the crow flies, and even today is separated from it by the Brjansk forests. In the past, these forests, together with the Meščera and the Moscow forests, were a much more formidable barrier separating the steppe and the forest-steppe zone from the North. Thus they provided protection from the steppe nomads and greatly reduced the chief source of the harassment that Kyiv endured for three centuries.

The three most important centers of the Vladimir-Suzdal' principality were Rostov, mentioned as early as under the year 862 in the Primary Chronicle, the original seat of a bishopric for the region; Suzdal', which gave the principality one of its two names (the date of its foundation is unknown, but it is mentioned under 1024); and Vladimir, the fortress founded by Volodimer Monomax in 1108 and named after that prince. Two other towns must be mentioned. The name of the first, already stated, was Moscow, a fortified place situated on the river of the same name; its first occurrence in our sources dates to 1147. The second is Bogoljubovo, near Vladimir, which was the residence of Prince Andrej, who thereby got his nickname of Bogoljubskij.

The internal history of the principality may be structured around rivalry among the three cities. Rostov lost its importance at an early stage, but remained a seat of boyar opposition to the princes of Vladimir-Suzdal'. Suzdal' was prominent in the first part of the twelfth century, but Vladimir gained the upper hand in the second part of that century. It kept its position until the Tatar invasion and retained superiority, as the coronation place of princes and as a temporary seat of the metropolitan, well into the period of the Tatar yoke. These internal problems will not concern us here. Instead, we shall look at the principality's neighbors, in order better to understand the geographical factors that facilitated its rise to power. Rostov, Suzdal', and Vladimir were situated in the basin of the rivers Volga, Šeksna, Oka, and Kljaz'ma (on which Vladimir lies). In that area these rivers flow in a roughly west-southerly direction and provide waterways for West-East trade. To the west of the Vladimir-Suzdal' principality lay Novgorod with its possessions, and to the east lived the Bulgars of the Kama and Volga rivers. This geographical setting makes understandable the direction of the principality's expansion, without predetermining it, as well as the character of some of its wars, the nature of its trade, and the cultural influences to which it was exposed.

The principality waged wars with the Novgorodians and with the Bulgars on the Kama and the Volga. We hear of German cloth coming to Suzdal' from the West and of Bulgar wax coming to it from the East. Looking at the architecture of Vladimir-Suzdal', we can detect both Romanesque and Caucasian elements in the mural decorations of its churches. The expansion (if we call it that) of Vladimir-Suzdal' toward the South and the principality's cultural relations with Kyiv were thus only one aspect of life there.

This one aspect forms the central part of the present essay. Before dwelling

on it, however, we must deal with two more preliminaries. The first has to do with three princes of the area. They are Jurij Dolgorukij, who took up residence in Suzdal' at a date difficult to determine but prior to the death of his father, Volodimer Monomax, in 1125. Jurij established himself as a grand prince of Kyiv in 1155 and died there in 1157 (he lies buried in the Church of the Savior at Berestovo). He was followed by his son, Andrej Bogoljubskij, who moved the capital of the principality to Vladimir. As we already know, that prince built a special residence for himself at Bogoljubovo, about six miles from Vladimir, where he was assassinated in 1174. It is with Andrej Bogoljubskij that historians associate a number of ideological changes foreshadowing claims that would be raised by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Muscovite intellectuals on behalf of their rulers. Andrej Bogoljubskij was followed (in 1176) by Vsevolod, called the "Great Nest," who died in 1212. Vsevolod was Andrej's half-brother. Andrej was the son of Jurij and a Cuman princess—we may surmise that in childhood he knew a Turkic language— while Vsevolod was the son of the same Jurij and a mother who was Greek, possibly even a Byzantine princess. Under Vsevolod, the principality's capital remained in Vladimir, the princely power acquired some new ideological trappings, and the prince fostered impressive architectural enterprises, such as the Cathedral of St. Demetrius.

The second preliminary has to do with the population of the principality. Faced with the dearth of information on the Vladimir-Suzdal' territory prior to its flourishing in the twelfth century, earlier historians assumed that this blooming was the result of an extensive colonization from the south, a migration coming not only from the Kyivan lands, but also from Galicia (i.e., western Ukraine). Their argumentation rested in part on data contained in the work of the eighteenth-century Russian historian Tatiščev, who presumably had access to sources now lost and who spoke of such a colonizing movement under Jurij Dolgorukij and Andrej Bogoljubskij. It turned out that these lost sources were but conjectures by Tatiščev himself and therefore had no value for the topic of demography. Information on colonizing activity in the Vladimir-Suzdal' area in the twelfth century is scarce. We know of only three cities founded by Jurij Dolgorukij (Ksnjatin, Jur'ev-Pol'skij, Dmitrov) in addition to a fourth—Moscow.

It must be granted, however, that a number of place-names attested in the Suzdal' territory are identical to those of the Čemihiv and Kyiv lands and even of Galicia (e.g., Galič, Perejaslav, Zvenigorod, Starodub, Belgorod, and Peremyšl'). This would point to some population movement, just as a place-name like New Amsterdam points to Dutch colonization in North America in the seventeenth century. Some nineteenth-century Russian historians attributed great importance to this identity of nomenclature, because it helped them to link Kyiv with the North, in terms not only of ideal "continuity," but also of

identity of population. In simplified form, their theory stated that people moved from the Kyiv area to the North, and this hypothesis took care of Ukrainian claims to the Kyivan past as well. Today, historians subscribe neither to the picture of the uninhabited forest colonized by the Suzdal' princes with people from Kyivan Rus' nor to the theory of mass migration from the South. They do not believe in a sudden flourishing of cities in the twelfth century *ex nihilo*; they point to the priority of the Varangian Volga route over that of the Dnieper; they know that in about the tenth century the territory of the Vladimir-Suzdal' principality was occupied by the Finno-Ugrian tribe of the Merja, and that Finnic place-names survive there to the present day. We need mention only one, the locality of Kidekša, famous for its Church of SS. Boris and Gleb, only three miles from Suzdal'. Historians also know that the same territory was colonized by Novgorodian Slavs coming from the north-west and by the Krivičians (i.e., the Slavs who lived on the territory of present-day Belarus'), coming from the southwest. Thus, Slavic colonization was not predominantly from Kyiv, nor was the population of the Suzdal' territory originally or exclusively Slavic. Sources mention people coming from all lands, including Bulgaria on the Volga.

For convenience's sake, some historians date the end of the unity of Kyivan Rus' to the death of Mstislav, Volodimer Monomax's son, in 1132[1] or a few years later.[2] It is worth mentioning in this context that twelfth-century Novgorod and Vladimir-Suzdal' chronicles do not apply the name of "Rus'" to their territories: they reserve it for the lands of the middle Dnieper basin, with Kyiv as the center. The Suzdal' princes began to be referred to as Rus' princes only from the 1270s on, that is, after the period covered by the present essay. Judging by the movements of the princes, however—the kind of information that the chronicles offer most readily—by the end of the eleventh century the land of Suzdal' was still considered part of the Kyivan whole. Monomax's father, Vsevolod, ruled in the north; Volodimer Monomax himself went to Rostov, and the struggle for this territory that took place in Monomax's time was an extension of struggles over Kyiv between Volodimer Monomax himself and Oleg Svjatoslavič of Černihiv. Jurij Vladimirovič Dolgorukij started out simply as a son of the Kyivan grand prince Monomax. As a child, he was sent to Rostov as prince, initially under the guardianship of a Varangian. He was to be prince of Rostov for forty years, but would reside more often in Suzdal', a center on the rise. For it is under Dolgorukij that the ascendancy of the Vladimir-Suzdal' principality began.

Jurij's conception was simple. He wanted to keep his patrimony of Rostov-

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1.   B. Rybakov. *Early Centuries of Russian History* (Moscow, 1965), p. 177.

2.   G. V. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, 1948), p. 98.

Suzdal'—a routine operation—and to establish his preeminence over as many other Rus' lands as possible. This, too, was not new. Jurij wanted this preeminence to be sanctioned by his control of Kyiv and the South, to the displeasure of the Kyivans, either through the intermediary of his older sons, especially Andrej, or through himself. As for his younger sons, he kept them in the North. He occupied Kyiv for a time in 1149, and established himself there from 1155 to his death in 1157. As we already know, he is buried in the Church of the Savior at Berestovo.

The struggle for Kyiv was important to Jurij, but it was not the only goal of his policy. One of his other important goals, which would remain constant during the reigns of the two princes who followed him, was that of securing the trade routes connecting Novgorod and the Volga. As a young man he fought the Bulgars on the Volga in 1120, and his sons, Andrej and Vsevolod the "Great Nest," fought them there, too: the first in 1164 and 1172, the latter in 1184, 1186, and 1205. As for Novgorod, both Jurij and Andrej Bogoljub-skij succeeded intermittently in installing their "own" princes there, usually their sons, and this practice was continued by Vsevolod as well. Vsevolod's own son, Konstantin, was installed as prince of Novgorod in 1206; moreover, Vsevolod had his candidate ordained as archbishop of Novgorod and had the Novgorodian boyars hostile to Konstantin killed. Thus, he foreshadowed policies that would be followed by Muscovy's Grand Prince Ivan III two and a half centuries later.

To repeat: during Jurij's time the Kyivan throne remained important enough to be a permanent target for occupancy, but the more durable base for his power was in Suzdal', and Jurij pursued other commercial and political goals as well. Again, geography helps us to understand this: Kyiv is, as we have noted, about 450 air miles from Vladimir, while both Novgorod and the Bulgarian capital, Greater Bulgar on the Volga, were only 300 air miles distant from that city.

Jurij's actions might be called business as usual, if with modifications. Departure from this occurred with Andrej Bogoljubskij. When Jurij established himself in the Kyivan principality, he gave Andrej a princely residence, called Vyšhorod, about ten miles north of Kyiv. Under the same year, 1155, the Hypatian Chronicle tells us that Andrej "went away from his father <namely> from Vyšhorod, to Suzdal' without his father's permission and from Vyšhorod he took the icon of the Theotokos, which had been brought from Constantinople...aboard...ship <and> set it up in his church of the Holy Theotokos in Vladimir."[3] Thus, the patrimonial possessions in the north

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3. Cf. *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (*PSRL*), 2 (1843), p. 78; cf. also *Litopys rus'kyj: Za ipats'kym spyskom*, trans. Leonid Maxnovec' (Kyiv, 1989), pp. 266–67.

seemed to Andrej more valuable than the residence of the Kyivan princes near the 'mother of Rus' cities.' We shall not ask what this northward flight meant about relations between father and son, or inquire into Andrej's possible involvement in the mysterious circumstances surrounding his father's death in Kyiv in 1157. For our purpose, it is important to know that at the news of Jurij's death, there was an uprising in Kyiv—or, at least, a looting of the princely palaces. In the words of the Hypatian Chronicle,[4] "they were killing the Suzdalians in the towns and in the villages and looting their possessions." This seems to indicate two things: first, that Jurij brought his people and his entourage from the North and ruled through them; second, that this class of princely favorites was resented and considered alien by the local population. This feeling of estrangement between the Suzdalian North and the Kyivan South, and the concomitant decrease of Kyiv's importance in the eyes of that North, can be read into the more fateful of Andrej Bogoljubskij's actions concerning that city. In 1169, Andrej intervened in the struggle for Kyiv between the Smolensk princes and Mstislav II. His troops took Kyiv and sacked it without mercy. Here is what the Hypatian Chronicle tells us:

> Kyiv was taken on the eighth of March, during the second week of Great Lent, on a Wednesday. They plundered the city for three days, all of it, both the lower and upper town (*Podolje i Horu*) and the monasteries and the churches of St. Sophia and of the Virgin of the Tithes. Nobody was spared, and from nowhere <did assistance come> as the churches were burning, some Christians were being killed, while others were being put in chains. Women were led into captivity and separated by force from their husbands. Infants cried as they looked at their mothers. And they took an enormous booty and they stripped churches both of icons and books, and of vestments; and they took away all the bells. These were the Smolensk, Suzdal', and Černihiv people and Oleg's retinue. And all things sacred were captured. And the pagans [i.e., the Cuman allies of Andrej] set fire to the Holy Theotokos Monastery of the Caves, but through the intercession of the prayers of the Holy Theotokos God protected it from calamity. And all the people of Kyiv moaned and wailed out and were given to inconsolable sorrow and shed tears without cessation. All this happened on account of our sins.[5]

When an army sacks a city so thoroughly, the one who commands it has no intention of establishing himself there. Indeed, Andrej Bogoljubskij did not establish himself in Kyiv in 1169. What is more, the Suzdalians were led not by him, but by his son, Mstislav, and the man who was put on the Kyivan

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4. *PSRL*, ibid., p. 81; cf. also *Litopys rus'kyj*, trans. Maxnovec', p. 270.

5. Cf. *PSRL*, ibid., p. 100; cf. also *Litopys rus'kyj*, trans. Maxnovec', p. 295, and J. Pelenski in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 11 (1987): 305.

throne was Andrej Bogoljubskij's brother, Gleb. Andrej himself remained in Vladimir.

While it is true that one should not exaggerate the extent of the sack of Kyiv—chronicles continued to be written there after 1169 and speeches glorifying the Kyivan prince and making ideological claims of his primacy were delivered as late as 1198—it is also true that one of the last Kyivan churches to be built during the princely era, that of St. Cyril, erected soon after 1146, is also the last to compare in dimensions and in quality of its frescoes to Suzdalian monuments of the late twelfth century. After the construction of this church, there is little to report from Kyiv in terms of architecture.

Action, then, was in the North, and by action is meant opulence, power, and ideological innovation. The most telling example for illustrating all these is Vladimir-Suzdalian ecclesiastical and lay architecture and decoration. Architecture is a good indicator of economic wealth, social differentiation, rulers' aspirations, and the influences to which a society is exposed. It usually presupposes the existence of towns and of a class of tradesmen, it indicates the level of economic means at the disposal of the central power and, often, it reflects the various cultures that left lasting marks of their influence on its walls. Our first example will be the Cathedral of St. Demetrius, built by Vsevolod in Vladimir at the end of the twelfth century (1193–97). The church is of vast proportions; in addition, fragments of sculptures on its outside walls display both Romanesque and Caucasian motifs. A second example is the Church of the Nativity in Suzdal', which at present contains no visible elements that would antedate the 1230s. It displays Romanesque features in the frescoes on the upper registers of the southern apse and in a fragment of the doors that depicts the feast of the *Pokrov'*, the Protection by the Theotokos. If one wonders at the presence of Romanesque motifs in Vladimir-Suzdal', the explanation is that these motifs are not isolated, but are present throughout South Slavic and East Slavic Europe in the twelfth century. The structures that come to mind are the church at Studenica in Serbia, St. Cyril's church in Kyiv, and the St. Panteleemon church in Halyč. As for the channels by which these motifs were received, we recall that the people of Suzdal' maintained trade contacts with Novgorod, German cloth being one of the objects of this trade. The chronicles state that German craftsmen were called upon to take part in the construction of the Cathedral of St. Demetrius in Vladimir. Finally, we may explain the Romanesque elements in Suzdal''s architecture by family links between its princes and the princes of Halyč, who were open to Western influences. The presence of purely Byzantine frescoes in that cathedral may be traced to its founder, Prince Vsevolod himself, who was half-Greek. We know for certain that for twelve years (between 1162 and 1174), Vsevolod lived with his mother and brothers in exile in Constantinople; he was therefore familiar with the art of Byzantium. More puzzling is the

presence of Caucasian motifs on the façade of St. Demetrius, as well as on the exterior of other churches of the period in this area. Again, the explanation seems to lie in contacts at the princely level. Vsevolod was married to an Ossetian princess, and the Ossetian principality was located in the Caucasus, where it bordered on Georgia. Andrej Bogoljubskij's son was married, for a time, to the famous Georgian queen Tamar, who ruled around 1200. Stylistic influences must have traveled along with these princely matrimonial comings and goings.

The churches of Vladimir-Suzdal' are impressive in quality and, above all, in the vastness of their dimensions. This is the greatest single surprise to be encountered by a traveler to the territory formerly occupied by the Suzdal' principality. These churches not only bear witness to the great power that it once commanded, but also help us to understand the genesis of Russian architecture. It is on this Vladimir-Suzdal' architecture, copied extensively in northeastern Rus', that Russian art bases one of its claims to independence.

Art was not the only expression of the vigor and innovation that was typical of Vladimir-Suzdal' during the twelfth century. Propagandistic literature and political maneuvers attempted to endow Vladimir with the role of an important political and ecclesiastical center, and to elevate it at least to the level of Kyiv. The majority of these attempts coincided with the reign of Andrej Bogoljubskij. The tale of Andrej's campaign against the Bulgars in 1164 relates how on the same day that Andrej set out against the foe, the Byzantine emperor Manuel I moved against the infidels (both rulers were victorious, of course). The story of the Byzantine emperor's campaign is spurious, but by comparing Andrej to the supreme ruler of Christianity, the Vladimir writers enhanced the status of their prince.

It was not by accident that the Feast of the Protection by the Theotokos (*Pokrov*'; in Ukrainian, *Pokrova*) was elevated to the status of an important church holiday during Andrej Bogoljubskij's reign. This feast commemorates a miracle witnessed by Andrej's patron saint, Andrew the Fool in Christ, in the church of the Blachernai in Constantinople. Although it was considered a minor celebration in the Byzantine church calendar, Bogoljubskij propagated this holy day as one of special importance throughout the Suzdal' land. He gave the Theotokos special status as protectress of Suzdal', and at his princely residence at Bogoljubovo, alongside the river Nerl', he built a beautiful church dedicated to the Feast of the Protection.

In the *Life* of Leontij, first bishop of Rostov, we read the standard story about the discovery of the relics of a local saint. The point, again, was that the discovery occurred shortly before 1169, under Andrej Bogoljubskij; thus, the Vladimir-Suzdal' land had obtained an important saint of its own—a missionary, rather than a martyr, for Leontij died peacefully as a successful Christianizer of his land.

The first known instance of the use of Byzantium's imperial political ideology (for political rather than moralizing purposes) in Eastern Europe can be traced to the time of Andrej Bogoljubskij. In the moving description of Bogoljubskij's murder in 1174, preserved in both the Laurentian and Hypatian chronicles, the princely victim—like a Byzantine emperor—is compared to King Solomon of the Old Testament. There is more; in the same description, we read the following sentence: "Although the Emperor is in body like any other man, yet in power he is like unto God." It does not matter that the author of the story of Andrej's murder may have been a Kyivan by the name of Cosmas (*Kuz'mišče Kyjanin*): to our knowledge such a theory was never applied in the Kyivan principality to a Kyivan prince, although at least a part of the Old Bulgarian version of Agapetos's *Mirror of Princes*, the Byzantine text from which the sentence is culled, was known in Kyiv in the eleventh century.

To end the enumeration of ideological innovations reflected in this literature, we shall note the special chronicle compilations (*izvody*), centered on and made in and for Vladimir, that historians assign to the years 1177, 1193, and 1212.

One striking claim to ideological independence was made by Andrej Bogoljubskij in the field of ecclesiastical organization. Under the guise of rejecting, on canonical grounds, the installation of Bishop Leo, who had been sent to his principality by the metropolitan of Kyiv, Andrej tried to set up a prelate of his own by the name of Theodore, and to obtain for him the metropolitanate of Vladimir. Thus, he was defying the claims of Kyiv to be the only metropolitan see in the whole of Rus', and he was making his capital an equal of Kyiv in the ecclesiastical sphere. We know the affair mostly from the translation of the reply given by Patriarch Lukas Chrysoberges of Constantinople to Andrej's petition, which had been received in Constantinople some time before 1168. Like all administrations, the church administration in Constantinople was unwilling to rock the boat and preferred to deal with one subordinate rather than with many, so it rejected Andrej's request. The patriarch reasserted the right of the metropolitan of Kyiv to be the only metropolitan in the land of Rus' (the metropolitan of Kyiv at that time was a Greek, Constantine III), and ordered Andrej to reinstall Bishop Leo. Andrej did so, abandoning his protégé Theodore, who was sent to Kyiv to be judged, condemned, cruelly mutilated, and then killed by the metropolitan of Kyiv. Thus, the first attempt to split the metropolitanate of Rus' ended in failure, but as we shall see in our next essay, it was a harbinger of things to come. In the recent past, some modern scholars saw in the ideological writings of Andrej's time, and, above all, in his bid for a metropolitanate of his own, a gesture of defiance against Constantinople and even a claim of equality with it. In our perspective, however, these writings and actions can

better be explained as competition with Kyiv—a closer rival—rather than with Constantinople.

The fact is that both in terms of receiving the know-how (i.e., in objective terms) and in terms of traditions to which the Vladimir bookmen themselves referred, Kyiv loomed large on Vladimir's horizon. We can now turn our attention away from the innovative aspects of Vladimir's culture in order to concentrate on traditional elements in it and consider the extent to which the Vladimir-Suzdal' principality was a cultural dependent and epigone of Kyiv.

Stone architecture was introduced to Suzdal' from Kyiv at the time of Prince Volodimer Monomax. The first Suzdal' cathedral was built in the Kyivan (originally Byzantine) technique of layers of brick interspersed with layers of stone. It is only later that white stone was used as a building material in Vladimir-Suzdal', the same white stone that became distinctive of northeastern architecture. This stone was imported from Bulgaria on the Kama River. During Monomax's time, Suzdalian architecture was influenced by Kyivan models, notably by the late eleventh-century Cathedral of the Dormition of the Kyivan Caves Monastery (destroyed in 1941). This influence would be easier to explain if it were known for certain that Leontij and Isaija, the first bishops of Rostov, were monks of that monastery.[6] However, the *Life* of Leontij composed under Andrej Bogoljubskij stresses Leontij's Greek antecedents, hence our doubt about his origin.

In the names of buildings, correspondences between Vladimir and Kyiv are noteworthy. The Golden Gate of Kyiv had its counterpart in Vladimir; the *zlatoverxyj* (i.e., "Golden-Domed") church of St. Michael in Kyiv (built ca. 1100) had its counterpart in the *zlatoverxij* Cathedral of the Dormition in Vladimir (built around 1160). If my interpretation of a passage from the Hypatian Chronicle is correct, Andrej Bogoljubskij wanted consciously to copy the Golden Gate of Kyiv and to erect a church dedicated to the Theotokos at his princely residence at Bogoljubovo, similar to the one erected by Jaroslav at his palace in Kyiv. The correspondences extend to the names of rivers around Vladimir that reflect Kyivan geography, among them the Lybed', Počajna, and Irpen'. And a harkening back to the Kyivan tradition can be detected in the local chronicles. One of them, the Perejaslav-Suzdal' Chronicle, dating from the beginning of the thirteenth century, says that Vsevolod of Suzdal', on his deathbed, exhorted the princes not to quarrel, and promised that the prayers of the Theotokos, of their grandfather Dolgorukij, and their great-grandfather Volodimer Monomax of Kyiv would be with them. The description of Andrej Bogoljubskij's murder makes reference to a sword

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6. *The Paterik of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, trans. M. Heppell, with a preface by D. Obolensky (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), p. 118.

that was removed from his bedchamber by a faithless Ossetian servant of the prince; the sword had belonged to Prince Boris, the son of Volodimer the Great of Kyiv.[7] The chronicle writers of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Vladimir did use "Southern" sources, mainly Kyiv's grand princely chronicle. One version of the *Life* of Leontij of Rostov, written just before 1169, imitated in places an eleventh-century sermon by Metropolitan Ilarion of Kyiv.

These literary connections are to be related to the movement of writers and clerics from the South to the North. Simeon, one of the co-authors of the Kyivan Caves Monastery's *Paterikon*, was the abbot of a monastery in Vladimir and bishop of Vladimir in 1214. But because he had been a monk of Kyiv, he began work on the *Paterikon* out of nostalgia. Serapion was bishop of Vladimir from 1274 on, and is known as Serapion of Vladimir in scholarly literature, but the majority of his sermons date from the time when he was archimandrite of the Kyivan Caves Monastery. And we recall that the author of the story about the murder of Bogoljubskij was a man from Kyiv.

Close contact between Suzdal' and Kyiv ended when the Golden Horde conquered Eastern Europe. In this, too, the Tatar invasion caused a break in East European history and accelerated the differentiation of its various parts.

In sum, from the point of view of some princes, the territory of Kyivan Rus' was a single whole, even between 1150 and 1220. These rulers moved from Northern to Southern seats of power and many of them had a crack at the Kyivan throne. Thus, Mstislav Rostislavič Xrabryj was for a time prince of Novgorod (by the way, he helped Andrej Bogoljubskij to take Kyiv in 1169), but he also put his own candidate on the Kyivan throne. Prince Roman Mstislavič, son of the prince who fought *against* Bogoljubskij in 1169, was prince not only of Novgorod, but also of Halyč, and he controlled Kyiv, as did his son Daniel (Danylo) of Halyč for a short time before Kyiv's fall to the Tatars. To quote one final example, Mstislav Udaloj was prince of Novgorod and of Halyč, but placed his own candidates on the Kyivan throne at the beginning of the thirteenth century. This struggle for Kyiv, however, was a fight from memory. At the same time, new centers of power were being created on the territory of the former Kyivan Rus', and Vladimir-Suzdal' was one of them. It was to have an important future, for Vladimir-Suzdal', along with Novgorod and Murom-Rjazan', comprised the territory on which the Russian nation took shape.

Another such important center was the Halyč-Volhynian principality with its cities of Halyč, Xolm and Lviv and its own chronicle compilation (the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle). For a short time it, too, qualified as a rival

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7.   Cf. *PSRL*, 2 (1843), p. 113; cf. also *Litopys rus'kyj*, trans. Maxnovec', p. 314.

and epigone of Kyiv and could therefore have been the subject of a parallel essay here, but this principality's rise was ephemeral, and by the first half of the fourteenth century it succumbed to its neighbors, Hungary, Poland and Lithuania. Moreover, no new nation came into being on its territory—in spite of some differences, both the present-day inhabitants of the former Halyč-Volhynian principality and the inhabitants of the Kyiv land are Ukrainians.

Shifts in centers of power are a fruitful subject of historical research. In Eastern Europe, too, power moved from one center to another. This movement was accompanied by old dynastic and new ideological claims and by the transfer of cultural attitudes and even objects that symbolized these shifts. The fate of one such object, the icon of the Theotokos of Vladimir, exemplified this movement. An early twelfth-century Byzantine icon, it adorned the palace of the Kyivan princes at Vyšhorod, ten miles north of Kyiv. In 1155, we recall, the icon was taken to Vladimir by Andrej Bogoljubskij, whose bookmen composed a tale of miracles attributed to it. In 1395, the icon was transported to the Cathedral of the Dormition in the Moscow Kremlin, and in Moscow at the Tret'jakov Gallery it remains to this day.

We should distinguish, however, between shifts of princely thrones of power from one territory to another, on the one hand, and cultural and linguistic continuity, on the other. Despite shifts in political power, cultural and linguistic continuity existed, without being forcefully proclaimed, on the territory of present-day Ukraine, including Kyiv, between the twelfth and the early seventeenth century, at which time old Kyivan cultural traditions and claims came again to the fore (see Essays 8, 9 and 11). A similar link connects ancient Vladimir-Suzdal' with present-day Russia.

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ESSAY 6

The Policy of the Byzantine Patriarchate in Eastern Europe in the Fourteenth Century*

I

*I*f the relations between Byzantium and its neighbors are studied in terms of *Realpolitik*, one constant feature they reveal is the shrinking of Byzantium's territory. Under the onslaught of Semitic, Slavic and Turanian barbarians, this shrinking continued throughout the empire's thousand-year history, even though it was intermittently arrested or reversed by counter-offensives. If, on the other hand, these relations are considered in terms of political theory, another constant is revealed in the form of the political program, Oriental and Hellenistic in its origins, that Byzantium inherited as a successor to the eastern part of the Roman Empire. According to this program's Christian version, the state was universal, and the emperor, at its head, was God's representative on earth. This universal state was not limitless: its boundaries coincided with the frontiers of the civilized world and enclosed a territory in which a particular set of religious and cultural ideals was taken for granted. In his capacity as universal ruler, the Byzantine emperor, imitating Christ, stood at the top of a hierarchy of states that included all the world's Christians. These states were ruled by local Christian princes (*merikoi toparchai, authentai topōn, toparchai*), of whom, for instance, the prince of Moscow was one. They were considered to be the emperor's spiritual sons or nephews, or simply subjects and allies. The notion that the Byzantine emperor and his church ruled over the entire Orthodox Christian world was proclaimed independently of political reality, and the ideal system itself remained intact almost to the very end of the empire.

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* Previously unpublished. This essay, drafted long before the appearance of the article by F. Tinnefeld and of the important monographs by the late Father John Meyendorff and by Sir Dimitri Obolensky (see the bibliographic note below), retains its validity for the purposes of the present book. References to Father Meyendorff's work have been recorded by the editors at appropriate points in this essay.

Toward the end of the fourteenth century it found expression in the letter of the patriarch of Constantinople, Anthony (Antonios) IV (1389–90; 1391–97) to the prince of Moscow, Vasilij Dmitrievič (1389–1425).[1] This document, written in 1393, is one of the most eloquent proofs of Byzantine universal claims, even though no political relationship between Byzantium and Muscovy can be said to have existed at that time.

These grandiose claims could not avoid clashing with the bitter political reality that Byzantium was facing in the fourteenth century. What is especially interesting, along with the tenacity with which such claims were upheld in Byzantium, is their acceptance by those Balkan nations that were victorious on the battlefield against the Byzantines, not to mention those northern and faraway members of the Byzantine Christian commonwealth who could easily have afforded to ignore the declining authority of Constantinople altogether. As we saw in Essay 2, Balkan rulers coveted the imperial title of *basileus*. Stephen Dušan of Serbia (1331–55), the most powerful of all fourteenth-century Balkan rulers, dreamed of becoming emperor of the Serbs, Albanians and "Romans." In fourteenth-century Lithuania, Algirdas (Olgierd, 1345–77) styled himself *basileus Litbōn*, though the Greeks never granted him that title. As late as 1561, Ivan IV ("the Terrible") of Moscow still considered it worth his while to obtain a special charter from the patriarch of Constantinople, Joasaph II, that legitimized his assuming the imperial title. In whatever area of Byzantium's cultural influence political upheavals were taking place, the new local political ideologies were poured, as it were, into a preexisting Byzantine mould, although in the process that mould did undergo a certain amount of reshaping. The slowness with which Byzantium's cultural satellites liberated themselves from its spell has been an intriguing problem for the cultural historian. Byzantine influence endured not so much by conquest of arms as by conquest of mind.

In the late Byzantine period the claims of the emperor, by then politically impotent, to a Byzantine protectorate over all Orthodox Christians were taken over in ever-increasing degree by the Church of Constantinople, whose spiritual rights remained unchallenged until the 1440s. Instead of the emperor protecting the church, the church now bolstered up the emperor. The shift occurred precisely in the fourteenth century, and it was apparent in Byzantine ecclesiastical policy toward northeastern Europe.

In the fourteenth century, when the two allies, the imperial court and the patriarchate, played their Christian trump card, most of the Crimea was in the possession of the Golden Horde. We can deduce from the writings of the

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1.   F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani, 1315–1402* (Vienna, 1860–62), 2: 188–92.

contemporary historian, Nicephorus Gregoras, that the sources of Byzantine information about the region and areas further north—and, indeed, about most world events—came mostly from Genoa, including its Crimean colonies. Yet the Byzantine emperor and patriarch continued to believe in the old ways; thus they granted chrysobulls and charters to the top officials of Novgorod the Great, whom they called *more slavico* "most noble" *mposanik* and *tiseaski* (i.e., *posadnik* and *tysjac'skyi*), terms that in other documents were hellenized into *prokathēmene kai chiliarche*, "president and chiliarch." It was the emperor who made changes in the church administration to the advantage of the archbishop of Suzdal'. When the metropolitan, who was dependent on Moscow, opposed this change, the Suzdalians invoked the imperial decrees. Finally, when Simeon the Proud (1341–53), grand prince of Moscow in the mid-fourteenth century, wished to liquidate the metropolitan see of Halyč and thus further Muscovite interests, he considered it opportune to flatter Emperor John VI Cantacuzenus (Kantakouzenos) in a letter asserting that "the Byzantine Empire is the source of all piety and the teacher of lawgiving and sanctification."[2]

And yet, Simeon and his successors must have been well informed about the empire's plight in the 1340s and 1350s. In the first two decades of the fourteenth century, Ottoman invaders robbed Byzantium of its remaining territories in Asia Minor, except for a few cities; by the 1330s most of them, too, were no longer in Byzantine hands. The first permanent settlement of the Ottomans on the European continent, in Tzympē near Kallipolis (Gallipoli, on the Hellespont), was established in 1354. Byzantine chroniclers and an ex-emperor turned memoirist were not the only ones to note the significance of this event: so did West European chroniclers and Western politicians who dreamed of a crusade and understood that this Turkish settlement implied great danger in the future. In the late 1340s, the Serbian king Stephen Dušan occupied all of Macedonia. By 1351 Byzantine territory was limited to Thrace and Constantinople itself. The civil wars of the Andronici (1320–28) and, especially, of John V Palaeologus (Palaiologos) (1341–91) and John VI Cantacuzenus (1347–54), dealt a serious blow to the finances and the central administration of the state. We have data on the shortage of manpower that bear eloquent testimony to this decline.

For all that, it was during the fourteenth century that Byzantine universalist tendencies were reasserted, but their main bearer, as we have already stated, was not the emperor, but the patriarch of Constantinople. The extraordinary

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2. Miklosich and Müller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani,* 1: 263 = *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel,* ed. H. Hunger et al., 2 (1995), p. 478 (= no. 168, 6–8).

letters of Patriarch Athanasios I (second patriarchate, 1303–9), the first prelate to proclaim Halyč a metropolitanate, bear witness to the patriarch's attempts to interfere in affairs of state, to his intercessions with the emperor to alleviate the plight of Constantinople's population, and to his advocacy of measures to avert the Turkish danger.[3] Athanasios's letters to the population of the east (i.e., Asia Minor), threatened by the Turks, summoned imperial subjects to report to him, the patriarch, any abuses by imperial high officials. His didactic encyclicals addressed to "all Christians," and therefore perhaps read in some episcopal chanceries of Eastern Europe, were permeated with a universalist spirit. Somewhat later, but still in the fourteenth century, some uncommonly lively organizational activity was carried out in the Church of Constantinople. We know about it from the *Life* of Patriarch Isidore Bouchēras (1347–50), the same man who abolished the metropolitanate of Halyč. Philotheos, his biographer, tells us that in a short span of time, Isidore managed to recruit thirty-two shepherds "of all nations" for metropolitan sees whose jurisdiction extended over many bishoprics. "In such a manner," Philotheos tells us, "the news about that great patriarch reached the confines of the universe, along with the news that he was universal not only by word but also by deed." Athanasios I had counselled the emperor on domestic policies, but Isidore now signaled his intentions of ruling the Orthodox church universal. His successor, Philotheos (1353–54, 1364–76), tried his own hand at the game of international politics, a game that he played along with, not to say against, his emperor, John V.

Between 1369 and 1371, John V was in the West. He had gone to Italy to agree to a union with the pope in exchange for Western help in the form of a crusade against the Turks. The spiritual leader of the crusade was to be the pope; the military command was to remain in the hands of John V. At the same time, Philotheos attempted to form a coalition of Orthodox states— Serbia, Bulgaria, and Byzantium—to fight the Turks. In this coalition, of course, the spiritual leadership of the Christian forces was to be held by the ecumenical patriarch, Philotheos himself, and not by the pope.

It is in these circumstances that we first meet the clearly formulated theory of the primacy of the patriarch of Constantinople, his superiority over the three other ancient Orthodox patriarchs, and his right—even duty—to be the protector of all Christians everywhere. The patriarch of Constantinople also claimed to be the representative of Christ on earth (*topon echei tou Christou*), until then the prerogative of the emperor.

All the unambiguous texts in which these claims are forcefully expounded

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3.   For texts by Athanasios I, cf. *The Correspondence of Athanasius I*, ed. A. M. Talbot, Dumbarton Oaks Texts, 3 (Washington, 1975).

date from the fourteenth century. The two most eloquent occur in Patriarch Philotheos's correspondence with the prince of Moscow, Dmitrij Donskoj (1359–89) and other princes. In one of them a passage reads: "Since the Lord has set up our mediocrity as the caretaker and protector of Christians all over the world, and of their souls, all of them depend on us, who unto all of them are a father and a teacher."[4]

Strange as it may seem, these universalist claims were to some extent accepted, even as the Byzantine state's decline seemed to be giving the Balkan centers the chance to realize their goal of ecclesiastical autocephaly. The Bulgarian church, autocephalous after 1235, fell under Constantinople's sway—not without Turkish help, it must be admitted—in 1393. The Serbs, who had set up a patriarchate of their own under Stephen Dušan and who submitted the·conquered Byzantine territories to its jurisdiction, settled their differences with Constantinople in 1371 and 1375, and returned the usurped bishoprics to Byzantium. The Serbian prelate may have kept the title of patriarch, but the Turkish danger that was threatening Serbs and Byzantines alike pushed jurisdictional bickering into the background. The largest prizes won by Byzantine missionary activities were the churches of Moldavia and Wallachia: with one exception, all their metropolitans were Greeks sent from Constantinople, and that situation continued until the late fifteenth century.

The Byzantine emperor was able to exploit these opportunities for influence—and, incidentally, for replenishing his treasury—by using avenues that had previously been at the disposal of the church alone. The understanding between Emperor John V and Patriarch Neilos concerning certain prerogatives enjoyed by the emperor in church administration stipulated that the emperor had the right to transfer bishoprics from one metropolitanate to another. This agreement reflected the emperor's effort to retain universal influence and political importance even at this late hour. He had always been closely connected with the church, but by this time it was the church alone that assured him a particular place in ecclesiastical affairs. In 1393, for example, Patriarch Anthony IV, whom we have already met, explained to Prince Vasilij Dmitrievič that the holy emperor occupied an important position in the church (*ho basileus ho hagios polyn topon echei eis tēn ekklēsian*).

II

Such was the situation of the empire and of the mother church at the time when both had to take a stand in the complicated struggle that was going on in the vast territories of a daughter church—that of Rus' and Lithuania, called *ekklēsia Rōssias* in the Acts of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. It was the

4. Miklosich and Müller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, 1: 521. Cf. ibid., p. 516.

church of an important and populous nation—the expression *polyanthrōpon ethnos* occurs at least eight times in patriarchal documents referring to the territories of Rus' and Lithuania—so it stands to reason that the important changes in the church organization of Eastern Europe made in the fourteenth century were determined more by political changes that were occurring in the European northeast than by events in Constantinople. The struggle for control over the metropolitanate of Kyiv was simultaneously a struggle among several political centers where—depending on one's point of view—one of two things was at stake: either rule over the whole of Rus' or independence from the new, rising political center of Moscow, whose great future was then only dimly perceived. By that time, the city of Kyiv was a place from which the action had moved elsewhere.

Algirdas's Lithuania struggled with Moscow over the metropolitanate of Kyiv and all Rus'. At the same time, the Rus' of Halyč and, later, the Polish kings who took over that territory in 1349 were struggling for their own metropolitanate, which would be immune from both Lithuanian and Muscovite influence. This partitioning of the original Kyivan metropolitanate into a Lithuanian Rus', a Muscovite Rus', and a Halyč Rus' one was only the ecclesiastical side of a large struggle for *omnis Russia*, to quote from the celebrated phrase of the Prussian chronicler Hermann de Wartberge concerning Algirdas's state policy (*omnis Russia ad Letvinos simpliciter deberet pertinere*). In addition to Moscow and Lithuania, both Lithuania's ally Tver', which dreamed of securing the Grand Duchy for itself, and Lithuania's other neighbor, the great merchant republic of Novgorod, participated in the tug-of-war.

The general framework for the complicated and sometimes confusing ecclesiastical developments in the North was as follows. In 1300 Metropolitan Maximos of Kyiv, a Greek by origin, made the practice of his predecessors official by moving from Kyiv, devastated in 1299, to Vladimir on the Kljaz'ma River, the capital of the Tatar-sponsored Grand Duchy of Vladimir-Suzdal'. In the struggle for the title of grand prince, Maximos leaned toward Mixail Jaroslavič of Tver'. In 1303–4, during the second patriarchate of Athanasios I of Constantinople (1303–9), Jurij L'vovič, the grand prince of Halyč, managed to have his archbishopric raised to the rank of a metropolitanate, possibly as a result of Maximos's departure from Kyiv. In about 1300, a metropolitanate of Lithuania was also established. But both of these new ecclesiastical units were short-lived: they were abolished around 1330 through the intervention of another Greek, Theognostos, "Metropolitan of all Rus'." Although Theognostos visited Halyč and Volhynia from time to time, he mainly resided in the North, sometimes in Vladimir on the Kljaz'ma, more often in Moscow, and he relied entirely on Simeon the Proud of Moscow, who had in the meantime become grand prince. In the 1340s it seemed that

the metropolitanate of Halyč had been resuscitated, but Simeon's influence once again liquidated the Halyč metropolitanate and the unity of the metropolitanate "of Kyiv and all Rus'" was proclaimed once again. With Simeon's concurrence, Theognostos chose as his successor Alexios, who was close to the Muscovite throne. In 1354 and 1355, the metropolitan see was contested both in Kyiv and in Constantinople by Moscow's candidate Alexios, Grand Duke Algirdas's candidate Roman, and Theodoretos, whose supporters were unknown (unless we assume that Ljubart Gediminovič [d. 1384] or even the tolerant Tatars were his backers). In any case, Theodoretos was consecrated, not by the Byzantine patriarch at Constantinople, but by the Bulgarian patriarch at Tŭrnovo. This obscure man had one advantage over the other contenders—he resided in Kyiv, where he enjoyed the loyal support of the local population. In Constantinople itself, victory had gone to Alexios, the Muscovite candidate. As for Roman, he finally had to be satisfied with the title of Metropolitan of Lithuania and Little Rus'. By this very fact, the metropolitanate of Lithuania and Little Rus' had been revived. But, as the Patriarchal Acts tell us, Roman "strove for something greater,"[5] that is, he raised claims to Kyiv. He resided and celebrated there and even succeeded in wringing the bishopric of Brjansk away from Alexios. Roman's death in 1362 brought an end to the "confusion" in the metropolitanate of all Rus'— "confusion" being the term customarily used in the chronicles to describe a civil war or to cover events of the sort just outlined. Victory remained with the Moscow-backed Metropolitan Alexios.

The Lithuanian metropolitanate was abolished before the year 1363. Soon afterwards Algirdas attempted to install his own metropolitan in Kyiv, by then definitely in Lithuanian hands. A metropolitan of Kyiv would, on the strength of his title, become a metropolitan of all Rus', and this would push Alexios into the subordinate position hitherto so uncomfortably occupied by the metropolitan of Lithuania and "Little Rus'." In 1364, Patriarch Philotheos intended to confirm the abolition of Algirdas's Lithuanian metropolitanate and to reduce it to the rank of a bishopric "of Kyiv," subject to Alexios; however, the charter of abolition, although entered into the Holy Codex (i.e., the files of the patriarchate), was never implemented.

In 1371, Philotheos reestablished the metropolitanate of Halyč. He did so at the request of the Polish king, Casimir (Kazimierz) the Great (1333–70), who complained that the Orthodox Christians in his realm were being neglected by the "all Rus'" metropolitan—he even went so far as to complain

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5.   Miklosich and Müller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, 1: 426. For the affair, cf. ibid., 425–30; 434–36.

that "today the whole land is ruined, without law."[6] True enough, Metropolitan Alexios, guardian of the young Dmitrij Donskoj and therefore regent of the Principality of Muscovy, was more active in political than in ecclesiastical affairs—at least, that was the complaint aired in one of the letters of Patriarch Philotheos, who also regretted that Alexios was not visiting the "populous" territories of Lithuania and "Little Rus'." In the same year, 1371, Algirdas was saying the same thing and making lively representations in Constantinople to secure the appointment of "another" metropolitan of "Kyiv, Smolensk, Tver', Little Rus', Novosil', and Nižnij Novgorod."[7] Some years later, some of Algirdas's demands were met, and in 1375, while Alexios was still alive, a Bulgarian of Byzantine culture (*philorrōmaios*) named Cyprian was appointed metropolitan of Kyiv, Lithuania, and Little Rus'. Cyprian, a former envoy (*apokrisiarios*) of the Byzantine patriarch, was allegedly appointed with the stipulation that he was to become metropolitan of Kyiv and all Rus' after Alexios's death, which occurred in 1378.

The years following Alexios's death are the most turbulent and involved in the history of the fourteenth-century East European church. At first, the prince of Moscow, Dmitrij Donskoj, meted out rather harsh punishment to Cyprian, Algirdas's friend, when Cyprian appeared in Moscow in his capacity as metropolitan of all Rus'. Moscow put forward a candidate of its own, Mitjaj, who departed for Constantinople to be consecrated but died unexpectedly on the shores of the Bosporus. What followed was the ordination of a false candidate, Pimen, who bribed the patriarchate with Muscovite money. Consequently, we witness in Constantinople, in Kyiv, and in the North a long series of moves and countermoves, treasons, and imprisonments involving as many as four different aspirants to the metropolitan see. In the end, the Moscow of Dmitrij Donskoj and, especially, of his successor, Vasilij Dmitrievič, and the Lithuania of Vytautas (Witold, d. 1430; Algirdas had died in 1377) agreed upon the person of Cyprian. This was contrary to previous tradition. Cyprian, as metropolitan of Kyiv and all Rus', served two hostile rulers until the beginning of the fifteenth century and visited both Lithuania and Kyiv, although he gravitated toward Moscow. On the surface, the

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6.   J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 287; E. Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1900), p. 208; original Greek texts in Miklosich and Müller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, 1: 577–80.

7.   Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 288–89; Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 210; Metropolitan Makarij (Bulgakov), *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, vol. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1886), p. 56; original Greek text in Miklosich and Müller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, 1: 580–81. Algirdas's claim to the distant Nižnij Novgorod was based on the fact that Prince Boris, his relative by marriage, had been expelled by Moscow from that city.

situation resembled that at the beginning of the fourteenth century, before the time of Metropolitan Theognostos. Sometime around 1393, Władysław Jagiełło, grand duke of Lithuania (1377–92) and king of Poland (1386–1434), attempted to have the metropolitanate of Halyč reestablished; after some objections, the patriarchate agreed. There was no way to overcome the opposition of Cyprian himself, however. In 1407, Jagiełło was reduced to acknowledging Cyprian as *metropolitanus kijoviensis et haliciensis totiusque Russiae*.

III

To what extent were the policies of the Byzantine emperor and patriarch in Eastern Europe conditioned by the existence of various political centers in Rus'? To what extent was the difference between the Lithuanian, Belarusian, Ukrainian, and Muscovite territories realized and recognized in fourteenth-century Constantinople? We can start by asking ourselves what the expression *Rōsia*, encountered in Byzantine sources of the time, meant. Generally speaking, in terms of ecclesiastical geography, the Byzantines still clung to the norms of the tenth and twelfth centuries: they imagined Rus' to be a large and populous country extending from the "Western Ocean" to the Don River in the east and to the Hyperborean Scythians in the north, with Kyiv as its capital. Sources of the fourteenth century were aware both of Kyiv's decay and of the fragmentation of Rus' into warring principalities (*rēgata*), but despite these hostilities, the principalities were considered parts of a whole. Reversing our concepts of causality, the Patriarchal Acts often observed that the division of the originally unified metropolitanate was the *cause* of the civil wars (*emphyliōn polemōn*) among the Rus'. The division of Rus' as understood by the patriarchate of Constantinople was reflected in the terms 'Little,' 'Great,' and 'all Rus'.'

The introduction of these terms is ascribed—rightly or wrongly—to the Byzantines of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and they do in fact occur side by side in the Patriarchal Acts. One of their early uses appears in the chrysobull of Emperor John VI Cantacuzenus, dated 1347,[8] and its conciliar confirmation of the same year, which deal with the abolition of the metropolitanate of Halyč. There the name *mikra Rōsia* is identified with Volhynia, but includes Halyč, Volodymyr in Volhynia, Xolm, Peremyšl', Luc'k, and Turaŭ. Kyiv still seems to lie outside "Little Rus'." Several years later, however, in 1354, the patriarch referred to Kyiv as a city in *mikra Rōsia*. It is rewarding

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8. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 280–82; original Greek texts in Miklosich and Müller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, 1: 265–71 = *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, 2 (1995), pp. 480–98 (= nos. 169 and 170).

to follow the way the patriarchs used these various terms in their charters, because the usage of the patriarchal chancery reflected the attitude of the Great Church toward the struggle that was going on in northeastern Europe. Starting with Simeon the Proud, the Muscovite princes are titled *rēges pasēs Rōsias*, princes of all Rus'; after 1389, they become *rēges Moskobiou kai pasēs Rōsias*. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the metropolitans of Rus' (in the name's traditional meaning) were called *mētropolitēs* (metropolitan) *Kyebou kai exarchos* (exarch) *pasēs Rōsias*. Later their title was shortened slightly to *mētropolitēs Kyebou kai pasēs Rōsias*, the appellation usually given to the candidate supported, or at least tolerated, by Moscow.

One curious problem arises in connection with this practice of subdividing Rus'. In the 1350s, the Byzantine historian Nicephorus Gregoras (1291/95–1360) wrote a learned excursus on Rus' in which he asserted that the people of the *Rōs* was divided into three or four principalities, four *Rōsiai*, as it were—three Christian and one pagan—and the latter, Gregoras added proudly, did not knuckle under to the Tatars. Of the three Christian *Rōsiai*, we can identify two with certainty—Moscow and Tver'. We are less clear about the third one—it may have been *mikra Rōsia* with Kyiv as its center. There is no shadow of a doubt, however, about the fourth Rus', the pagan one: it was Algirdas's Lithuania. Gregoras was a great friend of Lithuania. The assumption that Lithuania's partisans in Constantinople included it in the Rus' community is confirmed by the hesitancy with which this question is treated in the Patriarchal Acts. In fact, the attitude of the patriarchate toward the question of whether Lithuania did or did not belong to the Rus' community may be considered a touchstone in our evaluation of Byzantine policy toward the Rus' lands in the fourteenth century.

The *Notitia episcopatuum*, which announced the formation of the Lithuanian metropolitanate in about 1300, puts Lithuania inside the Rus' community: it tells us that *ta Litbada enoria onta tēs megalēs Rōsias* was raised to the status of a metropolitanate.[9] Usually *enoria* is read as enória and translated as "neighboring," and the passage is understood as follows: Lithuania, being a neighbor of Great Rus', became a metropolitanate. But *enorios* never has so explicit a meaning. The word means "one that is within the boundaries," and *enoría* (the correct reading), a territory within the boundaries of a bishop's administration (i.e., "diocese"). The Patriarchal Acts that are favorable to Muscovite policy exclude Lithuania from the Rus' community, which they ideally identify with Moscow itself. On the other hand, those charters—fewer

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9.   Cf. J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1981), no. 17:83=p. 399. *Notitia* no. 18:150 stated that the people of Lithuania were bordering on ῾Ρωσία, ibid., p. 409.

in number—that lean toward Lithuania refer to it as a part of Rus'. When, in 1354, the patriarch ordained Alexios, a man close to the Muscovite throne, to be metropolitan of all Rus', he motivated his decision *inter alia* by the fact that Rus' had to contend with fire-worshipping pagans in Lithuania, and referred to them as *plēsiochōrountas*, i.e., "living nearby, neighboring"—the term is rare (in an analogous context, Gregoras used the locution *plēsiochōros ousa*).[10] In a hostile letter of 1361 to Metropolitan Roman of Lithuania and Little Rus'—Algirdas's man—the patriarch reminded that prelate of his desire to mediate between "you" and the "Christian tribe of all Rus'."[11]

The distinction was not always so clear, however. In 1371, when the same Philotheos had to yield to the stern demands of the *"basileus"* Algirdas, he upbraided Alexios by reminding him that whenever a disagreement arose between the princes of Rus' (in simple words, between Algirdas and Dmitrij Donskoj), it was Alexios's duty to reconcile them, rather than to side with one of them—i.e., Dmitrij Donskoj. In other words, Algirdas had become a prince of Rus'. In the same year, Philotheos turned to Alexios concerning Grand Prince of Tver' Mixail Aleksandrovič, Lithuania's ally, who had been lured to Moscow by Dmitrij Donskoj and Metropolitan Alexios and was then treated ignominiously. The patriarch accused Alexios of having neglected the faithful of Rus', for he never visited Kyiv, but stayed put in Moscow instead.[12] Here Philotheos clearly had in mind not only the Grand Duchy of Tver' or Kyiv alone, but the whole Lithuanian-Rus' state. In the charter, in which Philotheos dealt with Alexios rather sternly, he declared that he had appealed to the grand *rēx* Algirdas and asked him to love Alexios as much as the other Rus' princes (*alloi rēges tēs Rōsias*) loved him. This time Byzantium again counted the "worshipper of fire," Algirdas, among the princes of Rus' and called him "great *rēx* of Lithuania."

The Patriarchal Acts favoring Lithuania or at best not hostile to it treat metropolitan titles, too, in a peculiar manner. In a decision dated 1387, the then pro-Lithuanian Metropolitan Cyprian is ambiguously referred to as metropolitan of Rus', not as metropolitan of Lithuania and Little Rus' (*mētropolitēs mikras Rōsias kai Litbōn*), although the title "Metropolitan of Kyiv and all Rus'" was granted to him two years later in a decision critical

10. Miklosich and Müller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, 1: 336. Cf. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, 3: 514, ed. L. Schopen (= Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae [Bonn, 1855]).

11. Miklosich and Müller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, 1: 435.

12. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 290–91; original Greek text in Miklosich and Müller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, 1: 320–22. Cf. ibid., 2: 117–19.

of Alexios, behind which Cyprian's hand can be detected.[13] There, Dmitrij Donskoj, contrary to all previous practice, was called merely grand *rēx* of Muscovy (*megas rēx tou Moskobiou*), and not, as in the pro-Muscovite Acts of 1370 and 1380, grand *rēx* of all Rus', while Algirdas was put on an equal footing with him as the "grand *rēx* of the fire-worshippers." In 1400, however, when Constantinople faced the threat of Turkish siege and the empire was in dire need of money, Grand Prince Vasilij Dmitrievič reappeared in a patriarchal letter as grand prince of all Rus'. In the document of 1389 we read that Mitjaj, the Muscovite candidate to the metropolitan throne, had been sent to Constantinople to be ordained as "Metropolitan of great Rus'" (*megalēs Rōsias*) and not, as had been the case before, of "Kyiv and all Rus'" (*Kyebou kai pasēs Rōsias*).

In its attempt to slip between the Lithuanian Scylla and the Muscovite Charybdis, the patriarchate of Constantinople did follow certain guidelines in its policy toward the "populous Rus' nation." On the whole the patriarchate found the Muscovite Charybdis preferable. It followed the principle that the metropolitanate included all the Rus' territories; it insisted on its own rights of confirming and, wherever possible, nominating the candidate to the metropolitan see from among its own Greeks; finally, it clung to the claim of supremacy over the Rus' Christians.

This insistence on preserving the unity of the metropolitanate was within the tradition of East Slavic–Byzantine relations. Where Prince Simeon the Proud of Muscovy so brilliantly succeeded—namely, in obtaining a metropolitan of his own while raising all-Rus' pretensions to boot—his more famous predecessor, Andrej Bogoljubskij, failed, even though his claims were more moderate. As we remember from Essay 5, Patriarch Lukas Chrysoberges refused Andrej's request (ca. 1168) to set up his own metropolitanate in Vladimir on the Kljaz'ma, because "in it [i.e., Rus'] there has been a single episcopal see from time immemorial." The Patriarchal Acts of the fourteenth century are replete with praise for the ancestors' wisdom in establishing a single metropolitanate in Rus'. That institution could then serve to unite the quarrelling Rus' princes. It was a good thing for the Rus' land in other ways as well, because division had only brought calamity. Reluctance to divide the metropolitanate also served in the Patriarchal Act of 1389 to explain Philotheos's previous decision to appoint Cyprian to be metropolitan of Kyiv, of Rus' (we do not know which Rus'), and of Lithuania (*Kyebou, Rōsias, kai Litbōn*) during Alexios's lifetime: upon the latter's death he would succeed as metropolitan of all Rus' (*mētropolitēs pasēs Rōsias*). This charter was

13. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 307–10; original Greek texts in Miklosich and Müller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, 2: 98–99; 116–29.

favorable to Cyprian, but another document, in which the principle that the metropolitanate should remain intact was used to bolster up the opposite decision, was not. There, Cyprian was confirmed as metropolitan of "Little Rus' and Lithuania" (*Mikras Rōsias kai Litbōn*). Kyiv was not mentioned, but the "Little" before "Rus'" was plain enough. In addition, after Cyprian's death, the Muscovite usurper Pimen was to take over jurisdiction of Cyprian's eparchies. "From then on," said the patriarch, "and for all time to come, following an immemorial custom, there would be appointed [one] hierarch for all Rus' whenever one from great Rus' [i.e., from Moscow] was requested."

Several assertions of the Patriarchal Act of 1389 did not correspond to the truth. First of all, the custom of confirming the Muscovite candidate as metropolitan was not "immemorial"; it was very young indeed: there had only been one precedent—namely, that of Alexios himself (metropolitan 1354–78). Second, Philotheos's statement formally confirmed the patriarch's abdication of his right to select the metropolitan of Rus' from among the clerics of the Byzantine church, usually from those of St. Sophia in Constantinople. But the patriarch had resolutely defended that same right of election precisely in the confirmation of Metropolitan Alexios in 1354. On that occasion, Philotheos had referred to the appointment of a native of Rus' as something quite exceptional and previously unknown. After Alexios's death, the metropolitan would be elected from among candidates "who were born and raised here (i.e., in Constantinople)." Again, at the very end of the fourteenth century, when the patriarch was negotiating with the Polish king Władysław Jagiełło concerning one of the repeated reestablishments of the metropolitanate of Halyč, he said that he would be glad to nominate a candidate for the see from among the clerics of Constantinople, should the king himself have no suitable person in mind.

Even Philotheos's statement concerning the exceptional character of Alexios's election from among local priests was not true. We know perfectly well that before Alexios and after him, metropolitans were appointed "from among those who came from there" (i.e., from Rus'), to use the terminology of the Patriarchal Acts. What the patriarchate retained until as late as 1415 was the right to *confirm* candidates for the metropolitanate no matter what their place of origin.

In that year, the grand duke of Lithuania, Vytautas, staged his revolution by establishing a metropolitanate of his own. The Byzantines were only too familiar with the dangers inherent in the formation of national ecclesiastical hierarchies: it was precisely this step that had been taken by the Serbs, and this was even mentioned by the bishops of Little Rus' in a letter of 1415 as a precedent for their own independent election of a metropolitan. When the grand prince of Moscow, Vasilij Dmitrievič, showed separatist tendencies by displaying a lack of respect for the patriarch and neglecting to mention the

emperor's name in the diptychs ("We have a church, but no emperor"), Byzantium resorted to the most potent weapon still at its command in 1393— the claim that the Byzantine emperor had authority over the entire Christian world. In the letter to which we referred at the beginning of the present essay, Patriarch Anthony wrote to the Muscovite prince that it was incongruous to imagine the church without the emperor, and that it was the church of Constantinople that ordained him "emperor and autocrat of the Romans, in other words," the patriarch surprisingly concluded, "emperor of all Christians."

On occasion other princes might usurp the title of emperor, but that was an act against nature; in truth, there was only one emperor, and he was in Constantinople. When Vasilij objected that Byzantium was decaying and surrounded by the Turks, Anthony parried with the remark that Vasilij and his land also suffered from pagan attacks, that his people were also being taken prisoner, and that the Muscovites were also the vassals of the infidel Tatars. This was an adroit riposte, for less than a decade had passed since Khan Toxtamyš's successful attack on Muscovite territory. These reminders were needed to discourage the temptation to which the prince might otherwise succumb: to interrupt contact between Muscovy and impoverished Constantinople. Vasilij could have attempted this, first, by having his own name mentioned instead of that of the emperor in the Divine Liturgy, and second, by having himself proclaimed tsar (i.e., emperor). The time was not yet ripe for such acts, however.

IV

While Byzantium hoped to retain the unity of the metropolitanate in Rus', torn asunder by the struggle between at least two political centers, in practice it was reduced to backing either one or the other of the contestants, and it usually chose Moscow. The proposition that for the most part it satisfied requests coming from Muscovy can be corroborated by many examples. When the patriarch was asked to decide between two metropolitan hopefuls, Alexios and Roman, he left Roman, the Lithuanian candidate, at the mercy of Alexios and the prince of Moscow (it was this same prince who was hiding behind the expression "the most noble of the great princes [*megalous rēgas*]" in the Patriarchal Act of 1361). In another charter, Patriarch Philotheos declared that he loved Dmitrij Donskoj more than he did all other Christians on account of the great piety "of the holy <Rus'> nation." He permitted Metropolitan Alexios to turn to the patriarch of Constantinople in both ecclesiastical and political difficulties, and to make use of his authority in internal Rus' politics: anyone excommunicated by Alexios was excommunicated by the patriarch as

well.[14] Some patriarchal charters excommunicated those Rus' princes who in 1370 either did not side with Dmitrij Donskoj, prince of Moscow, in his war against the "worshipper of fire" (i.e., the Lithuanian Algirdas), or, worse yet, declared themselves on Algirdas's side.[15]

Pressure from Moscow was enough to change the patriarch's mind even on questions where truth was clearly on the side of Alexios's adversaries. At first, the patriarch sympathized with the complaint of the grand prince of Tver', Mixail Aleksandrovič, who had been hoodwinked and humiliated in Moscow by Alexios and Dmitrij Donskoj. He summoned both the metropolitan of all Rus' and Mixail to a trial in Constantinople, and dispatched charters reporting this to the North. Then an envoy of Alexios appeared in Constantinople, and soon afterward the patriarch changed his mind. He told Mixail that it ·was unheard of for a prince—who was, after all, a layman—to take part in a legal altercation with a metropolitan, and reminded him of his oath of loyalty to Dmitrij Donskoj (although the patriarch knew full well that Mixail's "kissing of the cross" had been performed on pain of death).

During this period Moscow was politically on the defensive. It had to ward off three campaigns by Algirdas, who, to quote from the Patriarchal Acts, "strove for dominion over great Rus'." Yet, at the same time, it was ideologically on the offensive, for it skillfully played its all-Rus' card. It tenaciously maintained a grip on the metropolitanate, and succeeded in using the patriarch of Constantinople to realize its ecclesiastical and political goals: to prevent a Lithuanian candidate from becoming metropolitan of all·Rus' and, thereby, to isolate the Lithuanian foe.

The pro-Muscovite policy of the Byzantine patriarchate rested on premises that were quite reasonable from the point of view of Byzantine interests. Algirdas was a pagan. This was bad enough, but worse still, should he convert, he might become a Catholic (his son and nephew soon did). The patriarch of Constantinople feared that would happen, and Algirdas himself threatened that he would take the Lithuanian-Rus' church over to the Latins if his demands were not met. The Polish king, Casimir the Great, in a letter written in broken Greek (behind which I suspect a Slavic original), demanded the reinstatement of the metropolitanate of Halyč. Behind the Polish king stood the much less tolerant pope of Rome. About 1347, Novgorod the Great eschewed a theological debate with King Magnus of Sweden by referring this Catholic ruler to Constantinople. Even there, however, sects arose toward the

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14. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 283–84; original Greek text in Miklosich and Müller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, 1: 516–18; cf. also 520–22.

15. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 285–86; original Greek text in Miklosich and Müller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, 1: 523–25.

end of the fourteenth century that contemplated splitting from Orthodoxy and joining the Catholic church.

Throughout most of the fourteenth century, the patriarchate of Constantinople, both at home and in Rus', followed a pragmatic, flexible defense against plans to achieve the Union of Churches. In Rus', Moscow was the only reliable center; it even used Orthodox propaganda as an offensive weapon in the ideological struggle.

When Patriarch Philotheos declared that he loved the Muscovite prince above all other Christians, he had in mind not only the piety of the Muscovite people, but also the generosity of their ruler. The not-quite-canonical use of financial influence and its favorable results for Moscow are well documented. For example, in the turbulent 1370s, Moscow sent an embassy to Constantinople to deal with the question of the metropolitanate; the delegation spent 2,000 silver rubles while it was there. To give some indication of the size of this sum, the ransom for the entire city of Kyiv from Khan Temir-Kutluk's siege in 1399 was only 3,000 rubles. Still, we should not place too much stress on the financial element in the pro-Muscovite policy of the Byzantine patriarchs, for Lithuanian money, too, was hardly unfamiliar to patriarchal coffers.

In the 1370s, Lithuanian influence was on the rise, reaching its peak in the recognition of Cyprian and in his ultimate victory. The Muscovites who called Cyprian "a Lithuanian" in 1378 had good reason to do so. Why Cyprian should have been recognized by both Moscow and Lithuania is puzzling until we juxtapose the change in Dmitrij Donskoj's attitude towards the "Lithuanian" Cyprian with a recently discovered treaty, dated 1384. In it, Uljana of Tver', Algirdas's widow, agreed with Dmitrij Donskoj that her stepson, the Lithuanian grand duke Jagiełło, should convert to Orthodoxy and recognize the Muscovite prince's sovereignty.

In its relations with Rus', Byzantium could contemplate a Lithuanian solution along with the Muscovite one. A pro-Lithuanian policy would be more dynamic because it harbored the opportunity of returning to the great missionary tradition of the ninth and tenth centuries and absorbing another pagan nation into the Byzantine sphere of influence.

In the 1350s, groupings with pro-Lithuanian inclinations did exist in Byzantium, though they were motivated not by love for Lithuania or by their determined views on Byzantium's historical mission, but by the need to find allies in their struggle against Constantinopolitan adversaries who were leaning toward Moscow. On at least one occasion, the Muscovite and Lithuanian candidates for the metropolitanate relied upon the support of two warring factions, the Palamites and the anti-Palamites, who opposed each other in the theological, political, and social struggle that went on in Constantinople at that time.

The chief spokesman for the anti-Palamite circles was the humanist historian Nicephorus Gregoras. He devoted one of the final parts of his *History* almost entirely to polemics against the Palamites, or, more precisely, against Philotheos and his protector, Emperor John VI Cantacuzenus. There, for no apparent reason, we find a long excursus on Rus'.[16] The excursus has two heroes: Roman and his protector Algirdas. In this version, Algirdas wanted nothing more than to see Roman ordained metropolitan of all Rus' and adopt Orthodoxy for his people and for himself. The excursus has its villains as well: one of them is Alexios, who appears in Constantinople with many purses full of gold; another is Philotheos, bribed by Alexios; and the last is Patriarch Kallistos, who at first was willing to right Roman's wrong but then could not withstand the lure of Alexios's rubles. Discouraged by all this, so Gregoras tells us, Algirdas declared he would rather worship the life-giving sun than adore the demon of avarice that held sway over the patriarchs of Constantinople. He felt released from the promise to bring his whole populous nation into the Orthodox fold. Gregoras hinted that this was how Patriarch Philotheos lost his chance to win the Lithuanian flock for Orthodoxy.

Gregoras's excursus is full of incongruities, but it also contains some valuable information. The pagan "ethnarch" Algirdas, depicted as a kind of eighteenth-century noble savage, recited passages from the New Testament with ease. Gregoras claimed not to know how long the metropolitan of Rus' had been residing in Vladimir, although he could easily have found out, but then included valuable details about Roman and Tver'. Thus he knew that Roman was a learned monk and a priest, that he was about fifty-five years of age when he arrived in Constantinople, and that he was related to the wife of the Prince of Tver', Algirdas's relative by marriage. This places us in the sphere of Lithuanian influence, since Uljana of Tver', the second wife of Algirdas, was the sister of Prince Mixail of Tver'. For a long time historians attached no great importance to this piece of Byzantine information. When the so-called *Rogožskij Chronicler*, a work with traces of pro-Tver' leanings, was published in 1922, however, it turned out that it was the only Russian source to speak of Roman the monk, the son of a boyar of Tver'.[17] Gregoras's incidental information is to be trusted: he was not in the least concerned with Roman's victory over Alexios; his aim was to expose the villainy of

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16. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, bk. 36, ch. 20–54 (= vol. 3, pp. 511–28), ed. L. Schopen (= Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae [Bonn, 1855]).

17. Rogožskij Letopisec, *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, 15 (Petrograd, 1922; reprinted, Moscow and Leningrad, 1965), 1: 61. In his letter to the patriarch, Algirdas called Mixail of Tver' his "brother-in-law," and was said in one Act to have used persuasion at the patriarchate on behalf of Roman. Cf. Miklosich and Müller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, 1: 580 and 2: 12–13.

Philotheos and Kallistos (the former had written a treatise against Gregoras, and the latter had him jailed in one of the capital's monasteries). Gregoras's remarkably precise information on Roman suggests that the anti-Palamites were in touch with the Lithuanian embassy headed by Roman, who visited Constantinople at least twice in the 1350s.

Do Slavic sources for the 1350s mirror the existence of pro-Lithuanian and pro-Muscovite factions in Constantinople? It seems that they do. All the Rus' chronicles that refer to events connected with Alexios's election are favorably disposed to Emperor John VI Cantacuzenus and Patriarch Philotheos—all, that is, except the *Rogožskij Chronicler*, who registered Tverian traditions. He was the only chronicler to mention, under 1352–1354, "a confusion (that is, civil war) in Constantinople (*byst' v Carěgorodě zamjatnja*)," and the only one to refer to John V Palaeologus rather than John Cantacuzenus as the emperor (the latter was merely called *tysjac'skyi* of John V's father). Although cool to Philotheos, the *Chronicler* referred to Patriarch Kallistos in warm terms—note Gregoras's remark that Kallistos was at first favorably inclined toward Roman. Next in the *Chronicler* came the text mentioned above concerning the monk Roman, son of a boyar of Tver'. It would appear, then, that we can connect the struggle that went on for all Rus' in the 1340s and 1350s with the internal struggle going on for all Byzantium at the same time. A parallel connection could be established between the vicissitudes of the See of Halyč and those of the same Byzantine civil war.[18]

V

In dwelling on the policy of the Byzantine church toward the centers that vied for control of the metropolitanate of Kyiv, we have lost sight of Kyiv itself. This lapse reflects that of the Greek sources—not only of the Patriarchal Acts, but of the *Notitiae episcopatuum* as well. If we had nothing but the Patriarchal Acts at our disposal (there are seven that deal with Rus' affairs between 1354 and 1364), we would not even be able to establish the precise date when Kyiv fell into Lithuanian hands. This vagueness is indicative of the lack of interest in the actual fate of that city that the acts convey. On the other hand, these same acts pay ample attention to the *symbolic* importance of Kyiv in the titulature of the metropolitans of Rus'. Sometimes the role of the Kyivan see was stressed and sometimes it was slighted, depending on the current needs of Moscow.

The Patriarchal Act of 1354, which dealt with the transfer of the metropoli-

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18. In the forties, the metropolitanate of Halyč was reestablished by the anti-Palamite Patriarch John XIV Kalekas, and abolished again by the Palamite emperor John VI Cantacuzenus.

tanate from Kyiv to Vladimir on the Kljaz'ma, is a major testimonial to Greek subtlety. It calls Vladimir the capital of the metropolitanate of Rus', and says that it must remain the capital in perpetuity. Kyiv, however, is to remain the *first* capital. From the canonical point of view, this is the familiar *unio ecclesiarum*, and there is nothing unusual about it. But in the same year, 1354, the Kyivan see was occupied by the 'usurper' Theodoretos, who had been ordained in Tŭrnovo, so the patriarch had to assert his (and his protégé Alexios's) rights to the see.

There must have been still another reason for stressing Kyiv's ideal importance, for the patriarch declared that this arrangement would remain even after Theodoretos had been expelled from Kyiv. If the metropolitanate had been moved to Vladimir, and Kyiv abandoned, the patriarch would have found it difficult to protest the establishment or reestablishment of a metropolitanate in some other city (e.g., Halyč). On the other hand, the transfer of the metropolitanate to Vladimir had to be proclaimed officially. Contemporaries must have known that Lithuania was about to seize Kyiv. If the practice of the previous fifty years had merely continued, the Lithuanian church could have claimed its rights and invoked tradition to demand that its own Kyivan metropolitan be recognized as metropolitan of all Rus'. The Muscovite candidate would then have been relegated to a subordinate position.

The insistence on Kyiv's superior position in the Patriarchal Act of 1354 can be contrasted with the scorn for it expressed in the anti-Lithuanian Act of 1380. There, Patriarch Neilos reviewed the events of previous years and explained that, disregarding Algirdas's presumably insincere invitation, Alexios did not visit Kyiv, because he did not wish to leave a populous land (i.e., northern Rus') for the sake of a "small Kyivan remnant (*leipsanon*)" (in addition to "remnant," *leipsanon* also has the meaning of "corpse"; the choice of words may have been intentional). Further in the text of the same act, however, we see that Kyiv could not be disregarded totally: we read here that the candidate of Moscow should be called metropolitan of Kyiv and all Rus'.[19] Although there was already a metropolitan of Kyiv (i.e., Cyprian), it was supposedly impossible to be metropolitan of great Rus' without at the same time being metropolitan of Kyiv (i.e., of the first metropolitan see of all Rus').

The use of subtle arguments, the reorganization of reality when dealing with conflicting interests and with brute force that challenged the ideal claims of the empire, were Byzantine tactics hallowed by tradition. The technical

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19. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, p. 306; original Greek texts in Miklosich and Müller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*. 1: 351–53; 2: 12–18, esp. 13, 17–18.

term for such methods was *oikonomia*, perhaps best translated as "compromise." The term does occur in the Patriarchal Acts in reference to Rus', but the principle is applied much more often than it is mentioned. To illustrate the technique, we can point out the invocation of "immemorial customs" no more than fifty years old, or the use of *oikonomia* in the treatment of the history of the metropolitanates of Halyč and Lithuania, when the Patriarchal Acts report the opposite of what really happened. Our purpose, however, is not so much to report what occurred "in reality" as to indicate how the Byzantines tried to adapt that reality to suit their ends in Eastern Europe.

VI

Byzantine-Rus' relations in the fourteenth century are an exchange between two cultures, one of which symbolized the past and the other, the future. Byzantium was left with only the vestiges of her former prestige. Muscovite Rus' attempted to exploit this prestige for its own expansionist purposes. For a Byzantinist, the fourteenth century has a special fascination, for it was during these hundred years before Byzantium's fall that developments took place, alongside the survival of traditional ideology, that foreshadowed the future role of the Byzantine patriarchate in post-Byzantine times.

The patriarchate had to formulate a policy at a time when the political and cultural differentiation of the Rus' territories was increasing. In the fifteenth century, these processes resulted in a long-enduring division of the sees of Kyiv and Muscovy. From the seventeenth century to the late twentieth, this process was reversed by the Russian church's absorption, piece by piece, of Kyiv's Orthodox and, later, Uniate territories. A new reversal seems to be under way in the 1990s.

The pro-Muscovite attitude that the Byzantine patriarchate displayed during the fourteenth century went beyond receptiveness to bribes: with hindsight, we can claim today that it showed political far-sightedness. It foreshadowed the events of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: the creation of the Moscow patriarchate in 1589 and the subordination of the Kyivan Orthodox metropolitanate to Moscow in 1686. The patriarchate's skillful anti-Uniate policy of the fourteenth century may have suffered setbacks in the fifteenth century, but it was reinstated at the time of the Union of Brest, and has lasted—*pace* Vatican II and the encounter between Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras, and the most recent meeting between John Paul II and Bartholomaios I in the Vatican (1995)—until the present day. In the fourteenth century, Byzantium's own old ideal ambitions to rule over the whole Christian world were not forgotten. They were proclaimed and on occasion heeded. Our old acquaintance Patriarch Anthony IV sized up this coexistence of bitter reality and past missionary achievement correctly when he wrote: "Just because we lost our places and territories on account of common sins, we must not be despised by

Christians; true, we are despised with respect to secular power; and yet, Christianity is proclaimed everywhere (*all' ho christianismos kēryttetai pantachou*)."[20]

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20. Miklosich and Müller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, 2: 189.

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ESSAY 7

*Byzantium and the East Slavs after 1453**

To Kenneth M. Setton

I

$\mathcal{S}$ometime between 1466 and 1472, a merchant from Tver' by the name of Afanasij Nikitin traveled from his native city, which is northwest of Moscow, to a place in India southeast of Hyderabad. There he must have come across a large statue of the Buddha. In any case, in a large temple complex he saw an idol that he called "But," about which he had this to say: "*Butъ* is carved out of stone, is very big, and raises his right hand up and extends it as does Justinian, the emperor of Constantinople (*aky Ust'janъ carъ Carjagradsky*)."

Nikitin was referring to Justinian's famous equestrian statue in Constantinople. As far as we know, Nikitin had never been to that city; anyhow, by the time of his writing the statue had, in all likelihood, been torn down by Sultan Mehmet II. It is mentioned but thrice in Russian literature. On the other hand, we know that in about 1400, the painter Theophanes the Greek drew a picture of St. Sophia, together with the Augusteion square where the mounted Justinian had stood, for the benefit of the Muscovites; that the Muscovites copied his picture on many icons; and that their copies included a representation of Justinian's equestrian statue. Afanasij must have been recalling one such icon in his travelogue.

For the art historian, then, Nikitin's reference is a minor problem with a ready solution. It is not so for the intellectual historian. For him, it is of importance to be able to tell those interested in Byzantium's survival in Eastern Europe that when a half-educated Russian merchant of post-Byzantine times had to provide a frame of reference for a new experience in a faraway land, the first thing he thought of was a statue of a Byzantine emperor that he had never seen.

This essay will not be about the causes of events, the meaning of Patriarch

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Nikon's reform, or Muscovite library catalogs. It will be about states of mind and about people, some like Afanasij Nikitin, some more sophisticated than he, who had to accommodate their frames of reference to the fact that Byzantium was no more.

II

Stories written in Eastern Europe about the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 fall into two categories: short chronicle entries and longer reports. The short entries made in local chronicles seem to have been roughly contemporary with the event itself, yet, oddly enough, none of them bewailed the fate of the Orthodox Greek Christians. In fact, in speaking about the city's fall, most did not expressly mention the Greeks at all. One short chronicle entry was peculiar and a sign of things to come: it contained a remark to the effect that although he took the city, the sultan did not discontinue the "Russian" faith there—this must have meant the Orthodox faith, since the two were apparently equated. On the other hand, all the longer reports sympathize with the Greeks, but, except for the dirge of John Eugenikos translated into Slavonic by 1468, they are not contemporary with the event; at least, they appear in chronological compilations no earlier than the sixteenth century. Accordingly, the *Chronograph of 1512*, which closed with a dirge of Slavonic origin on the conquest of the city, showed empathy with the Greeks. However, the author's point of view was that of Orthodoxy in general, rather than of Byzantium alone. The Greek Empire was mentioned along with the Serbian, Bosnian, and Albanian "empires," and towards the dirge's end, a passage destined for fame in the history of Muscovite political ideology proclaimed that while these empires had fallen, "Our Russian land is growing, getting ever younger and more exalted; may Christ allow it to become rejuvenated and expand its boundaries until the end of time."

The reason for this state of affairs is that the fall of Constantinople, for us such a landmark in history, was not the most decisive event in the shaping of Muscovite intellectual attitudes toward late Byzantium and the post-Byzantine world. That decisive event was the Council of Florence. To the Muscovites, what happened at Florence was the betrayal of the Orthodox faith by the Greek emperor, the Greek patriarch, and the silver-loving Greeks. The Council of Florence, too, gave rise to a number of Muscovite works. In them, the Greek apostasy was contrasted, more and more stridently as time went on, with the unswerving Orthodoxy of the Muscovite prince.

While the Council of Florence rankled, times were not propitious for distributing general treatises about the end of Byzantium, since such texts could only arouse sympathy for the hapless, if shifty, Greeks. When such treatises were disseminated, they were written to serve the purposes of the Muscovites, not those of the Greeks.

Muscovite bookmen knew two contradictory things to be true simultaneous-
ly. They knew, and wrote, that the Greek Empire had failed in its faith at
Florence before it failed politically on the walls of the imperial city. They also
knew, however, that their own Orthodox faith, and more, had come from the
Greek Empire. Knowing that two contradictory things are true at the same
time makes one uncomfortable. With Muscovite bookmen, this led to
ambiguous attitudes toward Byzantium and, later, toward the Greeks.

Occasional ambiguity toward Byzantium had been with the East Slav elite
since the Christianization of their territory, and the *Primary Chronicle* is a
good witness to this. After the city's fall, however, this ambiguity was to
become more frequent and ever more painful. The Greeks had proved—and
were to prove again, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—unreliable in
their faith. Their empire was prostrate and defiled by the Turks. Yet, for the
century beginning in 1500, Muscovite bookmen could point to no new frame
of historical reference and to no system of cultural values other than that
which their predecessors had taken over from Byzantium.

The Russian writer Epiphanius the Wise provided the following coordinates
for the time when a special alphabet was created for the newly Christianized
Permians: "The alphabet for the Permians was created in the year 6883 [that
is, 1375]—120 years before the end of the world was expected at the end of
the seventh millennium, when John was emperor of the Greeks, Philotheos
was patriarch, Mamaj was ruler of the Horde, and Dmitrij Ivanovič was prince
of Rus' [as we see, Dmitrij Donskoj comes in last place], when there was no
metropolitan in Rus', and when we were waiting for someone to come from
Constantinople."

Epiphanius was writing at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Yet after
its fall, too, Byzantium continued to provide a chronological framework for
much of Russian historical writing or compilations. For instance, once the
Chronograph of 1512, which is divided into chapters, came to the fourth
century, each chapter opened with the notation "rule of emperor such and
such" or "Greek Empire," in which Byzantine history was given and
whereupon other events followed.

What was true in general organization held true for correlations between
particular events. When one chronicle came to the entry under the year 1480,
during which the famous confrontation on the Ugra River between Ivan III
and the Tatar khan Ahmet took place, it exhorted the Muscovites to act with
vigor against the Hagarenes (meaning Tatars in this case), so as to avoid the
fate of other lands, like Trebizond and Morea, which had been conquered by
the Turk. When, toward 1550, one writer—either the tsar's adviser Sil'vestr
or his metropolitan Makarij—addressed Ivan IV "The Terrible," predicting
the tsar's conquest of the empire of Kazan', he quoted four events in world
history: of the four, only one was Russian, namely, this very confrontation

between Ahmet and Ivan III. The writer placed it alongside one biblical and two Byzantine victories won by the people of God against the infidel. The biblical one was the slaughter of the warriors in Sennacherib's army under the walls of Jerusalem by the hand of the angel of the Lord. The Byzantine ones were the two long Arab sieges of Constantinople, one under Constantine IV (674–78) and the other under Leo III (717). By this device, the author was demonstrating to Ivan IV that the standoff on the Ugra had been a historical event of worldwide significance and that the fall of Kazan' would be another.

Parallels between rulers were even easier to establish than those between events. Constantine, Theodosius, and Justinian the Great were the most popular models held out to the Ivans, Aleksejs, and Fedors. Bad rulers had their Byzantine counterparts, too. Here Phokas won easily, followed by Constantine Copronymus (Kopronymos). Not surprisingly, Ivan the Terrible was most often placed in such company. Byzantine prelates, too, were introduced for purposes of comparison. When Ivan condemned his former adviser, Sil'vestr. *in absentia*, this was likened to the condemnation of John Chrysostom. A century later, Patriarch Nikon consoled himself by reciting examples of Byzantine prelates who had been banished and later returned to their sees: John Chrysostom, again, and Athanasius the Great.

Whether the task was to instruct a tsar in the art of governing, to execute a heretic at the stake, to condone the more than four marriages of Ivan IV, or to trap a patriarch who improvidently abdicated when he should not have, an appropriate passage from a Byzantine legal, historical, or hagiographical text was cited, to the practical exclusion of any other. A tsar would be read a quotation from the sixth novel of Justinian about priesthood and empire, and the quotation would be reinforced by exempla of love between men of spirit and men of action culled from the Old Testament and from Byzantine history: Constantine the Great loved Pope Sylvester; Theodosius I, Gregory of Nazianzus; and Arcadius loved John Chrysostom. A synod of Russian bishops would prove the illegal character of Ivan IV's fourth marriage by referring to the tetragamy of emperor Leo VI and to Patriarch Nicholas I. When, around 1500, it came time to deal with heretical Judaizers, it was pointed out that the empress Theodora and her son Michael had condemned many heretics— among them Iannij, the derogatory nickname of the iconoclast patriarch John the Grammarian—to life imprisonment. Since, however, the Judaizers had to be punished with death, St. Theodosia was enrolled into the holy ranks. Did she not kill the official attempting to destroy the icon of Christ at the Brazen Gate in Constantinople by pulling the ladder out from under him? It was Joseph of Volokolamsk who quoted St. Theodosia, for he liked examples of resolute action in defense of a righteous cause.

Whenever a historical miracle was needed, a Byzantine model was there,

even if its meaning was to be stood on its head. Nestor-Iskinder, the purported author of the longest Slavic report on the fall of the city, described how, on the eve of the conquest, a light left the Church of St. Sophia through the windows of the dome, turned into a ball of fire, and ascended to heaven—a sure sign that there was no hope left for the empire, now forsaken by God. Avraamij Palicyn, monk of the Sergius Trinity Lavra, described the siege of his monastery by the godless Poles toward the beginning of the seventeenth century. He observed much the same thing, but in *his* version the light *de*scended from heaven, turned into a ball of fire and *entered* his church through a high window above.

III

All Muscovite political ideology developed after Byzantium's fall—roughly, in the first half of the sixteenth century—but Byzantium, dead and alive, remained its central point of reference. Muscovite bookmen aimed at securing for Moscow a meaningful place in the sequence of world history and a central place in the world of true faith. Since the end of the world should have occurred in 1492 (i.e., the year 7000 after the Creation) but did not, the metropolitan of Moscow published Paschal Tables for subsequent years. In the preface to them, he established a historical sequence from Constantine the Great through Volodimer of Kyiv to Ivan III. He called Ivan the new Constantine, which was routine, and Moscow the new Constantinople, which was said for the first time in recorded Russian history. Philotheos of Pskov's familiar theory of Moscow as the Third Rome rested on the twin pillars of the failure of the Greek faith at the Council of Florence and the failure of Greek arms at the Second Rome. The *Story of the Princes of Vladimir*, composed by Spiridon-Sava, a prelate who had been to Constantinople, had Prince Volodimer Monomax obtain both the regalia and the imperial title from the Byzantine emperor Constantine of the same family name. The regalia were said to have been transmitted to Kyiv by a metropolitan, two bishops, and three Byzantine officials. Neither the metropolitan nor the bishops are known from any episcopal list; the title *Praefectus Augustalis* of Egypt was mistaken for a proper name, but the point was made.

The *Story of the Princes of Vladimir* also traced the lineage of the Kyivan, and therefore Muscovite, princes back to Caesar Augustus of ancient First Rome. Here we seem to lose the trail leading us to Constantinople—in fact, scholars have not yet established by what means Augustus appeared in the Kremlin. Yet even at this point, I submit, we can get to Byzantium, if *via* a Serbian detour. Serbian princely genealogy linked the Serbian princes with the brother-in-law of Constantine the Great, Emperor Licinius, who was said to have been a Serb himself. In turn, Constantine, the same chronicles say, was not only of Rascian (i.e., Serbian) blood, but also a relative of Caesar

Augustus. We know that the Muscovite princes of the early sixteenth century were related by marriage to the semi-independent Serbian princes of the fifteenth. Princely genealogies may have wandered north with brides from Serbia. We are also sure that the author of the *Story of the Princes of Vladimir* knew Serbian literature, since he inserted a long passage from a Serbian work into his text.

Centers, political or ecclesiastical, that vied with Moscow or were bent on asserting their independence from it relied on the same (i.e., Byzantine) frame of reference. Thomas the Monk, the eulogist of Prince Boris Aleksandrovič of Tver', a city that was Moscow's rival for a time, treated his hero like a Byzantine emperor, comparing him to Augustus, Justinian, Leo the Wise, and Constantine. The story of the Novgorodian white cowl, a headgear that for some time distinguished the archbishop of Novgorod from all other prelates of Russia, attributed the cowl's origin to Pope Sylvester and quoted the Slavic version of the Donation of Constantine. The cowl covered the distance between St. Peter's and Novgorod by stopping in Constantinople. And when it floated by sea from Rome to the Byzantine imperial city, it duplicated a famous voyage that the icon of Maria Romana had made in the opposite direction at the beginning of the Iconoclastic period. From Constantinople the cowl was sent on to Novgorod, presumably by the patriarch Philotheos.

Dependence on Byzantium did not necessarily mean respect for the Byzantine Empire. In elaborating the ideology of their state, Muscovite bookmen also rested their case on the ever unblemished Orthodoxy of their princes and on the hereditary principle that governed their succession. Byzantium could not boast the former—witness Constantine Copronymus— and in principle did not adhere to the latter. Muscovite autocratic power could be justified without the help of elaborate literary constructs, simply by referring to God, antiquity, and local tradition, and this method was openly applied by both Ivan III and Ivan IV. By the seventeenth century, Muscovites could deride the Greeks and their past, since there had been Greek emperors who taught evil in the church, armed themselves against the holy icons, and became worse than pagans. How could it have been otherwise if some of these emperors were like Leo the Armenian, who not only was of no imperial lineage but did not even belong to the Greek nation?

Yet the Muscovite defiance of the Greeks had a reverse effect, of a kind that in individual behaviour psychologists call "delayed obedience." In 1561, a local Constantinopolitan synod was asked to confirm Ivan IV's Moscow imperial coronation of 1547. In 1590, another synod, which dubbed itself ecumenical, confirmed the creation of the Muscovite patriarchate. Thus, the Greeks' approval was sought on each of two occasions when Muscovites made steps toward ideal supremacy within the Orthodox world. Finally, in 1666, when Patriarch Nikon had to be crushed, those who sat in judgment

over him, and stripped him of his insignia, were the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria. In 1592, a unique device appeared in a letter that Moscow's newly created patriarch, Job (Iov), addressed to Constantinople. The letter referred to Greek ecclesiastics coming from "the Greek Empire" to a council "of the whole Greek Empire" still to be held at Constantinople, and to conciliar decisions made, and prayers said, both in "the Russian and in the Greek Empire." In one instance, Job even referred to "all the cities and places of the Greek Empire." For once, after 1453, a make-believe world was created in which Byzantium was alive again, not just within the body of the Eastern church, but side by side with the empire of Muscovy. The prize—obtaining patriarchal rank—was so considerable that it was worthwhile for the Muscovite chancery to indulge in the reverie for the benefit of Greek prelates.

IV

In 1464, the first recorded Greek refugee arrived in Moscow seeking alms and ransom for his family, and was warmly recommended to his fellow Christians by Metropolitan Theodosios. He was followed by a long procession of other refugees: members of Sophia Palaeologina's entourage; merchants, abbots and monks from Mt. Athos, Patmos, St. Sabas, Mt. Sinai, and even the Island of Milos; patriarchs, bishops, and, finally, ecclesiastics doubling as intellectuals. It is the last group that interests us most. Orthodox Eastern Europe sought the guidance, or at least the services, of Greek teachers, scribes and scholars for some two centuries after Byzantium's fall. These Greeks were a variegated group. From among them I shall single out a positive hero, a man in the middle, and a resourceful villain. As usual, the extremes, though less representative, will be allotted time at the expense of the man in the middle, although he probably stood for the majority of the Greek *daskaloi* who earned their honest bread in Eastern Europe.

Maksim the Greek, our positive hero, came to Moscow in 1518 to translate from the Greek and to correct existing Slavonic translations of liturgical texts. He is a unique phenomenon in the history of Muscovite culture, but not because he had spent time in Italy and brought with him stories of Girolamo Savonarola, Lodovico Sforza il Moro, and the neo-pagan circles of the Renaissance: in his later years at least, he was hostile to Western humanistic currents—we may infer this from his just published Greek poem that he sent abroad from Moscow.[1] Moreover, in the sixteenth century and later, other Greeks coming to Moscow knew the West as well as he. Maksim the Greek is so important because through him, for the first and only time between

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1. Cf. P. Buškovič, "Maksim Grek—poèt-giperboreec," *Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoj Literatury* 47 (1993): 215–40.

Volodimer the Great in the tenth century and Ivan the Terrible in the sixteenth, Eastern Europe was exposed to prolonged contact with a representative of the refined strata of Byzantine culture (we cannot be certain of the level of secular culture among the few Greek metropolitans of Kyiv). It is a pity that this happened only after Byzantium's fall. If the Muscovites could follow Maksim's Slavic, which he never thoroughly mastered—he mixed, *more Serbico*, his genitives and locatives—they learned, or could have learned, something about Greek secular literature. In one treatise he offered the plot of Aeschylus's *Oresteia*; he quoted the beginning of Hesiod's *Works and Days*, and verse 74 of Book 15 of the *Odyssey*: "Treat a man well while he is with you, but let him go when he wishes," a plea *pro domo*, since Maksim had been accused of heresy and interned. He knew his mythology and told the Muscovites that Zeus gave birth to Pallas from his head. To my knowledge, Maksim was the only author in East Slavic literatures before the seventeenth century to use the words "Hellene" and "Hellenic" in a positive sense.

Since he was a good Byzantine, however, Maksim sprinkled his prose with Byzantine proverbs, at times barely recognizable in their Slavic garb. I also suspect that he did not adduce the line from the *Odyssey* directly, but remembered it from the early Byzantine rhetorician Aphthonios, who quoted it in his collection of oratorical set pieces. It is probably through Aphthonios that Maksim introduced his Russian readers to the genre of *ethopoiia*. Moreover, he inserted in his writings an entry from the Lexicon of Suda, a saying by Pseudo-Menander from Stobaeus, and a story about the virtuous and chaste Belisarius. He could also transcend both classicism and Byzantinism and show an open mind. To the Muscovites he spoke of the existence of a large land called Cuba—politically one of his more prophetic statements. His own Greeks he told to free their souls from the illusory and vain hope that the imperial power in Constantinople would be reestablished as it had been before, or that the Greeks would arise from the slumber of carelessness and indifference in which they had passed many years.

In terms of the imponderables that bring about one's downfall, Maksim's trouble was being too much of a scholar. He talked too much, and he quoted his authorities as a scholar would, even though some, like Origen or Eusebius, were tainted with heresy. Being a true erudite, he disdained discussing Basil the Great and John Chrysostom at length, because, he said, they were too well known—a wrong approach with the Muscovites, who had always displayed a talent for dwelling at length on the obvious. Maksim showed a scholar's vanity—and a foreigner's impertinence—when he made fun of the old, and therefore venerable, Slavic translators who had not been able to tell the noun *ekklisia* 'church' from the verb *ekklise* 'to exclude.' Finally, Maksim displayed the scholar's *hubris*. Proud of his achievements as a corrector of the

Psalter, he compared himself with the later translators of the Old Testament into Greek—Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Had he known his milieu better, he would have realized that some fifty years before, an archbishop of Novgorod had considered these very translators heretical perverters of the Holy Writ. Such a man was treading on thin ice. Maksim, banished from Moscow, was never allowed to leave Muscovy and never saw his beloved Athonite monastery of Vatopedi again. It gives one some food for thought about sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Muscovy to realize that this highly cultured Byzantine was long revered in Russia for his statements on the sign of the cross, whereas his classical references were never picked up.

About Arsenios, archbishop of Elasson, our middle-of-the-road traveller, I shall say only that he was a leading *daskal* in the school organized by the Dormition Confraternity of Lviv in the 1580s. He left his teacher's position there in 1588 to follow Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople to Moscow, and wrote a description of his trip in fifteen-syllable verse glued together with assonance rhymes. He presented the establishment of the patriarchate in Moscow as a series of triumphs for the patriarch of Constantinople, and wrote from the perspective of a hanger-on with an empty stomach and outstretched palm. The most detailed description in Arsenios's poem was of the vessels and table utensils displayed at the banquet held after the Moscow metropolitan Job had been ordained patriarch. In Moscow, Arsenios did well; he resided in the Kremlin, distinguished himself as a copyist of manuscripts, and wrote on contemporary Muscovite history.

Our resourceful villain is the metropolitan of Gaza, Paisios Ligarides. From 1662 on, he was Tsar Aleksej Mixajlovič's main foreign expert on the means for bringing about Patriarch Nikon's downfall. Nearly every scholar grants that he was a man of learning and intellectual agility—Byzantine philologists remember him for bringing Photios's sermon on the Rus' attack of 860 to Moscow and can well commend him for his use of Photios's *Bibliotheca*. Everyone—modern scholars and Paisios's contemporaries alike—condemns his lack of scruples. Rather than dwell on the well-known career of this notorious international adventurer, we shall introduce a new find and use it to suggest that in at least one aspect of the Nikon affair, the unprincipled Paisios showed some consistency—he remained faithful to the Greek point of view.

The find is a manuscript of Sinai, copied in Moscow before June 1669, with answers to the sixty-one questions that Tsar Aleksej Mixajlovič had secretly posed to him in the presence of the Boyars' Council, in all likelihood sometime soon after 26 November 1662. In the last century, Vladimir Solov'ev observed that the Greeks who had come to Moscow to judge Nikon condemned him for his un-Byzantine ways—that is, for resisting the tsar—but exculpated him on items where he behaved like a Byzantine—that is, for

following Greek customs. The Sinai manuscript bears out Solov'ev's observation. To all the tsar's questions obliquely attacking Nikon, Paisios gave answers satisfactory to the tsar. To all those touching on ritual and presenting a choice between the traditional Muscovite and the Greek interpretation, he gave answers that favoured the latter. Could the emperor convoke a local synod? By all means. If a prelate speaks offensively against the emperor, what punishment is fitting for him? If out of stupidity, then compassion. If otherwise, then his tongue should be cut out. If a bishop abdicates, does he retain power over his see? He does not. On the other hand, should the passage of the Creed read, "To whose Kingdom there *is* no end," rather than "*shall be* no end"? No—this is redolent of Origen's heresy. Should Alleluia be sung two or three times? Three. How do you make the sign of the cross? With three fingers. And, finally, in what letters were the words that Emperor Constantine saw in heaven written—Latin or Greek? In Greek letters, according to the view of Emperor Leo the Wise, was the reply.

V

Everybody agreed that Byzantium fell on account of its sins. What these sins were depended on the point of view and interests of the observer. To the Muscovites, whether of the fifteenth century or of the seventeenth, the most grievous sins of Byzantium—and therefore of its heirs, the Greeks—were two: the most serious explicit sin was against the faith, and the most serious implicit sin was to have lost.

Five years after the city's fall, the metropolitan Jonah (Iona) held up the example of the empire to the Lithuanian bishops in order to deter them from yielding to the pope. When Constantinople remained faithful to Orthodoxy, it was invincible. The imperial city had not suffered from the Bulgarians or from the Persians, who kept it seven years as if in a net, because then—we must assume that Jonah had in mind the long Arab siege of the 670s rather than the shorter Persian siege of 626—it had kept its piety. By the mid-seventeenth century, there was sufficient proof that the Greeks had lost their piety and that the Muscovites were the sole depositaries of it. At the Moscow Council of 1666, the Old Believer Avvakum turned to the Greek patriarchs and to many Greek prelates sitting in judgment over him, with—as he put it—their foxy Muscovite followers listening in, and said to them: "Your Orthodoxy has become variegated on account of the Turkish Mohammed's violence. There is nothing astonishing in this. You have become weak. From now on come to us to be taught. By God's grace, there is autocracy here"— that is, freedom from foreign domination. Avvakum's words were repeated throughout Muscovy both by the Old Believers and by the Orthodox conservatives, for the Greeks were vulnerable to the argument of lost authority and power.

At first the Muscovite case appeared to have one weakness. No matter how tarnished the Greek faith may have subsequently become, the fact remained that the Rus' had received baptism from Greece. It was certainly a point made by the Greek side during the disputation that they held with the conservative Muscovite monk and collector—some modern Greek scholars say purloiner— of Greek manuscripts, Arsenij Suxanov, in Moldavia in 1650. The Greeks kept asking Suxanov: "From whom did you get your faith? You were baptized by us, the Greeks." Two avenues of escape from this impasse were possible. First, one could say, "We got it from God, and not from the Greeks." Second, one could refer to a Slavic elaboration on an eighth-century Byzantine legend and maintain that the Rus' had originally accepted baptism from the apostle Andrew, not from the Greeks. Suxanov used both these avenues, but then took the offensive by asking the Greeks from where they had received *their* baptism. When they said they had received it from Christ and his brother James, Suxanov, an early revisionist of Byzantine history, exploded this part of the myth of Hellenism. Christianity was no Greek monopoly—certainly not in Christ's time in Palestine. Greeks, Suxanov knew, were living in Greece and Macedonia while Christ and St. James lived in Jerusalem. In Christ's time, Jews and Arabs, not Greeks, lived there. The truth was that the Greeks received their baptism from St. Andrew, precisely as the Rus' did; hence they were in no respect better than the Rus'. As for the Greeks' claim to be "the source" for everyone, they should consider a few facts. The first Gospel, by Matthew, was written in Jerusalem for the Jews who had believed in Christ, and not for the Greeks. Ten years later, Mark wrote his Gospel in Rome for the Romans, and not for the Greeks. Hence, even the Romans were ahead of the Greeks in receiving the glad tidings. The claim that the Greeks were the source for "all of us" was just overbearing talk; even if they had once been the source, it had dried up. The Turkish sultan had lived among the Greeks, yet they were unable to give him (spiritual) water and lead him to the true faith. God's word about the Greeks had come true. They had been first and now were last; the Rus' had been the last and were now first. The Greeks had been left behind (*zakosneli este*). The conclusion that all this yielded was that the norm of what was Orthodox and what was not lay with the Muscovites of Suxanov's time, and not with the Greeks.

VI

If the Muscovites could not easily abandon the Byzantine frame of reference, it stood to reason that the Greeks, in dealing with Muscovy, adhered to it. In 1593, the patriarch of Alexandria, Meletios Pigas, belatedly confirmed the establishment of the patriarchate of Moscow. In his letter to the tsar he justified his consent by quoting and paraphrasing, without naming his source, parts of canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon. In its time, that council had

raised the rank of the see of Constantinople, because, like Moscow in the 1580s, it was "a city adorned with a senate and an empire."

All this amounted to flattering the barbarian. The Greeks, however, also turned to Byzantium when they were countering Muscovite prejudices or just clinging to their own. When Byzantium gave out, they used their own heads, or cheated a little. The Patriarchal Act of 1561, which confirmed the imperial title of Ivan the Terrible, asserted that its issuance was necessary because Ivan's coronation by Metropolitan Makarij of Moscow alone was not sufficient. That right belonged exclusively to the patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople. At an earlier time, Maksim the Greek took issue with those prelates who did not accept ordination from the patriarch of Constantinople because he lived in the dominion of the Turk. Pagan domination did not impugn one's faith. Before the year 300, the Christian church was also subjugated, yet it had maintained its purity. Maksim did not begrudge Moscow Constantinople's old title of "New Jerusalem," but he saw no reason to assert, as one of his Muscovite correspondents had done, that the Old Jerusalem had lost its sanctity. Although the Greeks lost the empire, they retained the Logos. They did lose everything that was passing and worldly; Orthodoxy, however, μὴ γένοιτο, may it not pass, they not only did not lose, but taught to others. In this context, the monks of Athos—for it was they who thought up these arguments for the Slavs shortly before 1650—quoted the Gospels: "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord."

While still living in Wallachia, Paisios Ligarides dedicated a large—and still unpublished—volume of Prophecies (Χρησμολόγιον) to Tsar Aleksej Mixajlovič. That was in 1656, one year before Patriarch Nikon thought of inviting this gifted and potentially useful man to Moscow, and six years before Paisios actually went there and enrolled in the service not of Nikon, but of the tsar. Paisios believed in planning. He must also have believed that rulers to whom books are dedicated seldom read them, since his manuscript contains peculiar material on East European history. He had no difficulty countering the Muscovite boast of having been baptized by St. Andrew. Anyone could read in Constantine Porphyrogenitus that the first woman from Rus' to receive baptism was Princess Ol'ga, and in Theophanes Continuatus that the Rus' were Christianized under Basil I. In his further forays into the history of Old Rus', Ligarides came up with more astounding trophies. Rjurik, Sineus, and Truvor, the traditional founders of the Rjurikide dynasty, were Byzantines ('Ρωμαῖοι τὸ γένος). Consequently, Ligarides said, "the Muscovites had been handed down not only the faith, but also the empire from us, the Byzantines ('Ρωμαῖοι)." On the other hand, Volodimer Monomax, the Muscovite ideologists' link with Byzantium, was not connected with the empire after all. He was called Monomax simply "because he was

monarch in all of *Rōssia*." Ligarides did, however, stress Moscow's real link with a Byzantine ruling house: he played up the marriage of Ivan III and Sophia Palaeologina all he could. Their son's many and unexpected victories, "so they say," were due to this most astute and loving mother's wisdom and advice. And Tsar Aleksej himself was reminded on the very first folio of the "Prophecies" that his lineage went back to Sophia.

Toward the year 1700, following some thirty years of a complicated tug-of-war, Greek would yield to Latin as the basic instrument of education in Moscow. About that time, the patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheos, in making a last stand for Byzantine culture, delivered himself of a panoply of prejudices current since Photios. "To the person who told you that children should not be taught in Greek but in Latin," he wrote to a Russian, "answer: First, the Old Testament was translated by the Holy Ghost into Greek and not into another language." After making ten equally cogent points, Dositheos concluded: "In matters politic, secular, rhetorical, logical, poetical, philosophical, arithmetical, geometrical, and astronomical, the Hellenes are the teachers of the Latins."

When arguments born of pride are spoken by the weak, they are seldom the better part of wisdom. In order to secure a passage from Smolensk or the frontier town of Putivl' to Moscow, with its promise of rubles and sable, and in order to avoid possible imprisonment, or at least prolonged religious reorientation, in a monastery in the North, it was wiser to admit, even if you were a Greek, that the Greeks had not retained half of the faith—wiser, too, to flatter Muscovite rulers, even before 1547, as worthy of being called emperors not only of *Rōssia*, but of the whole earth, and to bestow imperial or biblical titles on them. Sometimes Byzantine epithets suffered depreciation, as when two Greek metropolitans and one patriarch called the Ukrainian hetman Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj a new Moses and a new Constantine, and when Paul the Syrian of Aleppo compared him to the Emperor Basil I.

But beyond currying favor with the Muscovite, there also lay a genuine hope—that of liberation from the Turkish yoke. Maksim the Greek had already exhorted Vasilij III to follow in the steps of Constantine and Theodosius and rule "over us," that is, the Greeks. Hope of liberation continued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As late as 1698, Dositheos, the patriarch of Jerusalem, passed on the rumor that Peter I had assured the king of England that in the year 1700 he would be celebrating liturgy in the Church of St. Sophia. There was much wishful thinking and much prophetic mumbo-jumbo in these calls for Muscovite help. Thanks to his volume of Prophecies, Ligarides was something of a specialist on the topic; he knew the prophecies of Andrew the Fool—such as the one that the "yellow" (i.e., blond) people were destined to beat the Turk—as well as the prophecy reported by Gennadios Scholarios, and even the one contained in the

Turco-Graecia of Martin Crusius. Other people circulated prophecies, purportedly coming from the Turks themselves, predicting that a northern ruler would subjugate the Turkish land. Even the anti-Greek Arsenij Suxanov was swayed by the Greek passion—to which, by the way, the West, too, had succumbed in the sixteenth century—and translated into Russian Gennadios Scholarios's decipherment of prophetic letters said to have been inscribed on the sarcophagus of Emperor Constantine.

To give strength to the prophecies, Greek and other Balkan visitors circulated stories about tens of thousands of Serbs, Bulgarians, Albanians, and Greeks ready to rise if the tsar would only cross the Danube. The tsar, however, was very cautious. Toward the middle of the sixteenth century, Ivan Peresvetov reported the Greeks' hopes that Ivan IV would liberate them from the Turk, but sixteenth-century Muscovy firmly refused to be dragged into an anti-Turkish action. The *Povest' o dvux posol'stvax* is, to my knowledge, the first semi-official Muscovite tract prophesying Constantinople's liberation by the tsar; it dates—so its editor says—from the early seventeenth century.

Before the liberation of Orthodox Christians could in practice be envisaged by Muscovy, the infidel had to be sized up. Here the Greeks were useful indeed. Along with Christian relics, they brought information on the Turk. Alms given by the Muscovite government to the Eastern patriarchs were also payments for providing intelligence about Turkish affairs. Between 1630 and 1660, ten Greek metropolitans were in Muscovite service. Some Greek diplomats were double agents, and some were denounced as Janissary spies. Others were impostors appearing with forged recommendations from the Eastern patriarchs; these forgeries were obtained in Moldavia, for, according to one Russian informant, in the second half of the seventeenth century, Moldavia was a great center for forging patriarchal charters.

On the whole, however, the Greeks served the Muscovite cause well, sometimes laying down their lives for it. In 1657, the Turks were said to have hanged the patriarch of Constantinople, Parthenios III, for his relations with the Muscovite government. Greek patriarchs and metropolitans were instrumental and successful in mediating the submission of Hetman Xmel'nyc'kyj to Moscow in 1654. One of them received 600 rubles for his services in the matter, but others, like Dositheos of Jerusalem, served not for money, but out of conviction. Because they hoped that the Russian tsar would liberate them, the Greeks could believe that he was the defender and protector of Orthodoxy throughout the world and should be obeyed by all Orthodox without exception.

VII

There was one area of Eastern Europe where Greek prelates could count on the respect of local bookmen and where nobody checked their credentials: the

Ukrainian and Belarus' lands under Polish-Lithuanian domination. In these lands, the community of faith between Greeks and natives was reinforced by the similarity in their fates. As the Turks lorded it over the Greeks, so the Catholic apostates, the Poles, persecuted the Eastern church.

As spokesmen for hostile but independent powers, the Jesuit Peter (Piotr) Skarga in the sixteenth century and our acquaintance Arsenij Suxanov in the seventeenth scorned the Greeks in almost identical terms, Skarga saying that learning had died among the Greeks and had turned toward "us Catholics," Suxanov asserting that all that was best among the Greeks had gone over to "us Muscovites." But the subjugated Orthodox of Lviv, Kyiv, and Vilnius needed the Greeks to help them establish schools in response to the Catholic challenge and, even more, to help them reestablish the Orthodox hierarchy in their lands. Schools under either princely or burgher patronage were created from the 1580s on, more than half a century before the first such attempts were undertaken in Moscow, and Greeks participated in their inception everywhere. Cyril Lukaris (Kyrillos Loukaris), later patriarch of Constantinople, and our acquaintance Arsenios of Elasson, before his more profitable journey north, were teachers in these schools. Latin joined Greek and soon overshadowed it. However, Latin was studied because one needed it to succeed in a Catholic state, while—as one early seventeenth-century Kyivan writer put it—"it was not necessary to drive Kyivans to learn Greek."

Between 1616, when its first books appeared, and 1700, the press of the Kyivan Caves Monastery published primarily Slavonic translations of liturgical and Byzantine texts. Several of them were new or revised translations from the Greek, and the Kyivans, unlike the Muscovites of the same period, showed no mistrust of Greek originals printed in the West. In 1624, they printed John Chrysostom's "Sermons on the Acts." The translation was by one Gavriil Dorofejevič, "the *daskal* of the most philosophical and artful Helleno-Greek tongue in Lviv, from the Helleno-Greek archetype printed in Eton (*v Etoni izobraženom*)." To my knowledge, this was the first mention of Eton in Eastern Europe.

In their polemics with the Catholics after the Union of 1596, the Orthodox of Ukraine had to face the perennial argument about the fall of the Byzantine Empire. Meeting this argument with much empathy, the Orthodox described the spiritual purity of the Greeks, now unhampered by the cares of the worldly empire. One or two prophecies about the rebirth of Byzantium were quoted out of habit, but they had nothing of the vigor and impatience of those the Greeks addressed to the seventeenth-century Muscovite rulers. We shall return to this topic in Essay 10.

Such meekness disappeared, however, when the Orthodox of Poland and Lithuania had to counter the claims of the superiority of Latin learning. One of the polemicists went beyond Dositheos of Jerusalem's contention that Latin

wisdom was Greek, and beyond the dusting-off of Plato and the church fathers. Around the year 1400, he said, the sciences had been brought to the West by people like Manuel Chrysoloras, Theodore of Gaza, George of Trebizond, Manuel Moschopulos—here the chronology was a bit wobbly— and Demetrios Chalkokondylas. Thus, "now," when the Rus' were going back to "German lands" for the sake of learning, they were taking back what was their own and had been lent to the Westerners by the Greeks for a short time. I know of no parallel to this argument in an early modern Slavic text. The Orthodox polemicists of Poland-Lithuania were remarkably up to date on what went on in the Greek lands in their own time, the result of close contacts with various Greek hierarchs. One treatise, written in 1621, quoted in the same breath John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus, and the letter of Cyril Lukaris, dated 1614, to show that the true church of Christ was the church of persecution. To show that holiness had not left the Eastern church, the same treatise compiled a list of about 130 saints who had shone in various Orthodox lands. The list opened with the saints of Greece, excluding Athos, treated under a special rubric. The first name on the list was Seraphim, a martyr and a national hero of the Greeks beheaded by the Turks in 1612. He was said to have been abbot of the St. Luke Monastery in Hellas (Hosios Lukas?), a piece of information possibly useful to modern Greek historians.

The cultural level of these anti-Uniate polemics was higher than anything the Muscovites could offer in the first half of the seventeenth century. The point is brought home if we juxtapose the bibliography of 155 items—not many of which were appended just for show—in Zaxarij Kopystens'kyj's *Palinodija* (1621) with the few books quoted during the disputation held in Moscow in 1627 with Lavrentij Zyzanij, the Ukrainian author of a catechism. Among other Greek texts, the *Palinodija* referred to Nicephorus Gregoras, John Zonaras, and Demetrios Chalkokondylas, while the Muscovites merely referred to Nikephoros, patriarch of Constantinople, and to the book of Aesop, "the Frankish wise man." However, these erudite polemics lacked the Muscovite bookmen's clarity and seriousness of purpose. When the Muscovites quoted the *Story of the Princes of Vladimir*, they knew that their goal was to enhance the glory of Moscow. But when the Ukrainian Kopystens'kyj quoted the same story in a preface to the "Sermons" of John Chrysostom, he did so just to beef up the genealogy of the book's patron, Prince Četvertyns'kyj.

VIII

If the Muscovites mistrusted their learned Greek visitors, it was because so many of them had indulged in suspicious activities in the West before coming to their land. Maksim the Greek had worked in Venice with Aldus Manutius; Paisios Ligarides studied at the *Collegium Athanasianum* in Rome; Patriarch

Nikon's helper, Arsenios the Greek, had studied in Venice and Padua, as had the Brothers Leichudes, the ill-fated directors of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy in Moscow. The Greek books these men brought with them and from which the Muscovites were supposed to learn the correct faith had been printed in Venice, Paris, or, as we now know, Eton. In the Greeks' own writings, quotations from John Chrysostom stood side by side with those from St. Augustine—a suspect author—or, worse yet, with those from Martin Crusius or Aleksander Gwagnin.

Yet, at the very time when Muscovite conservatives decried Greek books printed in the West, the cultural impact of the West upon Moscow had been felt for half a century. In 1617, the *Chronograph of 1512*—the text quoted at the beginning of this essay—underwent a face-lift. In the new recension, many chapters still began with the old entry entitled "The Greek Empire," but the final dirge on the Conquest of Constantinople was omitted, and a shorter version of Nestor-Iskinder's story was substituted for it. The body of the Chronograph was substantially enlarged by translations from Polish chroniclers, and among other pieces of new information was a description "of the islands of wild men that Germans called the New World, or the Fourth Part of the Universe."

Even Muscovite conservatives had to relent: they found themselves invoking Latin sources in defense of super-Orthodox causes. In 1650, Arsenij Suxanov was telling the Greeks of Russia's venerable traditions. The city of Novgorod had been established just after the Great Flood and was so powerful, he said, that the Latin chroniclers had written about it: "Who can oppose God and the Great Novgorod?" The Latin chroniclers, I suspect, were in reality the Ukrainian polemicist Kopystens'kyj. He, in turn, quoted a phrase, "*Quis potest contra Deum et magnum Novogrodum,*" that he attributed to a certain "Krancius," who turns out to have been Albert Kranz, a German historian writing in Latin. In Moscow itself, Ligarides refuted the petition of the Old Believer *Pop* Nikita in Latin, and the refutation was then translated into Russian. Incidentally, the situation was no different in Ukraine. There anti-Catholic polemicists prided themselves on their knowledge of Greek, put Greek sentences into their works, and quoted from Byzantine chroniclers. However, the long passages from Gregoras that one polemicist used to impress his readers were quoted not from the original, but from the Latin translation of 1562 by Hieronymus Wolf of Augsburg.

In 1722, Feofan Prokopovyč was obliged to help his protector, Peter I, who had had his first son condemned to death and had just lost another. To do so, Prokopovyč wrote a treatise proving that an emperor could establish an heir other than his son, and quoted a number of examples from Byzantine history: thus, he cited Leo I as having favored his son-in-law, Zeno; however, his source was not a Byzantine chronicler, but Cassiodore. He also mentioned

Phokas the Tyrant, but his reference was to the German Calvisius, whose *Opus Chronologicum* was published in 1605, rather than to a Greek source.

The story of those who relied on the Byzantine or Muscovite frame of reference could be carried into Peter I's time and beyond it; however, the recounting would be repetitious and outside the mainstream of Russia's cultural history. Peter's name conjures up the image of Amsterdam and St. Petersburg, not of Constantinople and Moscow. In Russian political schemes of the eighteenth century, Byzantium was no longer used as a frame of reference, but purely as an item of propaganda; this was evident in Peter's appeal to the Montenegrins and in Catherine II's grand project, dating from the 1780s, to establish a Greek empire with her grandson, appropriately christened Constantine, ruling in Constantinople. The most interesting nugget this latter project offers the intellectual historian is the quip attributed to the Habsburg emperor Joseph II to the effect that he would not suffer the Russians in Constantinople, since the vicinity of the turban would be less dangerous to Vienna than that of the Russian *šapka*, shades—conscious, perhaps—of the saying unfairly attributed to Lukas Notaras on the eve of the fall of Constantinople, to the effect that he would see the Turkish turban, rather than the papal tiara, rule over the city.

Lukas Notaras brings us back to 1453, our point of departure. The years between the middle of the fifteenth and the end of the seventeenth century were the years of Eastern Europe's de-Byzantinization, and the story they tell the intellectual historian about Muscovite Russia can be summed up thus: after the Council of Florence and the fall of Constantinople, Russian·bookmen attempted to build a cultural and ideological framework of their own by reusing the very elements that Byzantium had given them—often indirectly— during the preceding four centuries. This building of new castles out of old blocks did not give the bookmen enough self-confidence in the face of Muscovy's formerly glorious but by then debased Greek mentors. Hence the instances of bidding defiance to the Greeks by the Muscovites throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the meantime, the neo-Byzantine castles continued to be built (sometimes with professional skill, like the ones erected in Moscow by the Ukrainian Jepifanij Slavynec'kyj and by his pupil Evfimij of the Kremlin's Čudov monastery) not only from old blocks and from their native imitations, but also from Western components. This contradictory situation did not endure. When a new system, based on blueprints obtained directly from the West, emerged about 1700, the Russian elite, without ever becoming oblivious to the Byzantine heritage, relegated it to the sidelines.

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See also the bibliographic notes to essays 9 and 10.

ESSAY 8

*Poland in Ukrainian History**

*C*lashes between the Poles and the Rus' who inhabited the territories that correspond to present-day eastern Poland and western Ukraine go back almost as far as local recorded history. Under the year 981, the *Primary Chronicle* reports the retaking of the area called the Červen' towns from the Poles by Volodimer the Great. In 1018, Bolesław 1 "the Brave," later to become king of Poland, was involved in the struggle for the succession to Volodimer's realm; he held Kyiv for a time (1018), and was eventually expelled. During a period of fragmentation in both Rus' and Poland, the principalities of Halyč and Volhynia were connected with that of Mazovia and involved in Polish internecine struggles. During these struggles, one of the Galician-Volhynian princes, Roman Mstislavič, fell in the battle of Zawichost in 1205.

These early events were, however, merely isolated episodes. Polish expansion did not really get under way until the 1340s; it then lasted until the middle of the seventeenth century, and was not reversed until the 1680s. Considerable parts of Ukrainian territory, including most of the lands west of the Dnieper, remained within the Polish state until the second partition of Poland in 1793, and some, such as Volhynia, until the third partition of 1795.

Poland was not alone in its expansion. The Polish *Drang nach Osten* that began in the middle of the fourteenth century was paralleled—and in Belarus', preceded—by a *Drang* toward the southeast on the part of the Lithuanian principality, which had been established toward the middle of the thirteenth century. That principality was an ethnically mixed formation, comprised of both Lithuanian and Rus' elements. For example, Navahrudak (Russian, Novogrudok; Polish, Nowogródek), the seat of the first important Lithuanian prince, Mindaugas, is located in Belarus'. Had Poland and Lithuania remained separate after the fourteenth century, today we would probably be studying the struggle between them for power over Rus'. As it happened, however, the Polish-Lithuanian union of the 1380s defused the contest shortly after it began.

We will best understand the details of what happened to the Ukrainian territories if we bear in mind the following tripartite division and consider, first. those territories, foremost among them the Rus' of Halyč, that were the objective of Polish expansion only and were fully incorporated into the Polish kingdom by the fifteenth century; second, those territories, such as Volhynia and Podillja, over which Poland and Lithuania continued to struggle in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; finally, those territories, corresponding approximately to eastern Ukraine on both the right and left banks of the Dnieper, that belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania throughout the duration of the initial Polish-Lithuanian union. When these two states were fused further by the Union of Lublin in 1569, the Poles gained an administrative advantage, for Pidljaššja (Podlachia, Podlasie), Volhynia, and the Kyiv and Braclav palatinates came under the jurisdiction of the Polish crown. As a result, practically the whole of Ukraine came under Polish administration.

When the local dynasty died out in Halyč in 1323, Bolesław Trojdenowicz, a prince of Mazovia who was related to the princes of Halyč, ascended the throne there. He assumed the name Jurij and converted to Orthodoxy to placate the local grandees, who, nonetheless, disliked him. On his initiative, Catholic Poles and Germans, in addition to Armenians and Jews, were brought into the towns, and they enjoyed his support. In 1340, Bolesław was poisoned, and the king of Poland, Casimir (Kazimierz) III, seized the opportunity to attack the principality as its heir apparent. At first, he could not enforce his claims, however, and a local boyar, Dmytro Ded'ko, ruled for a time instead. In 1349, Casimir occupied Lviv and the city of Brest. He opened these cities to Polish and German merchants and gave landlords in neighboring Polish areas landed property and privileges in the territory of Halyč. This act marked the beginning of Polish expansion eastward.

Meanwhile, in other parts of Rus', the Lithuanians, having secured Polack (Poloc'k), the region of Polissja, and Brest, continued their expansion under Gediminas and Algirdas into the lands of Sivers'k (c. 1355), Kyiv (c. 1360), and Volhynia and Podillja (1362), all at the expense of Tatar sovereignty. There were some setbacks, but by 1394 Kyiv was again in Lithuanian hands, as was eastern Podillja. Lithuanian expansion southward did not cease until 1399, when it halted for good after the grand duke of Lithuania, Vytautas (Witold), was defeated by the Tatars on the Vorskla River, a left-bank tributary of the Dnieper.

In 1385, the Union of Kreva (Krewo) was concluded between Algirdas's son Jagiełło (Jogaila), ruler of Lithuania, and Poland. Jagiełło promised to adopt the Catholic faith (it seems that until then he had been. or intended to become, Orthodox) and to marry the prospective queen of Poland, Jadwiga; Lithuania was to be joined (the Latin term used was *applicare*) to Poland. In

1386, Jagiełło became Catholic and moved to Cracow. Privileges connected with the union were extended only to the Catholic boyars of the Lithuanian principality, pointing to discrimination against the Orthodox in the whole of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; consequently, the Orthodox boyars of Rus' were also discriminated against. The drift toward Lithuania's incorporation into Poland implied in the Union of Kreva was opposed by Vytautas. In 1401, he brought about a solution according to which he would be the grand duke of Lithuania and a vassal of Jagiełło, and Jagiełło would be the king of Poland. The plan gave the Grand Duchy administrative autonomy; in Rus', it meant the continuation of practices and laws prevailing there earlier. Vytautas did, however, centralize administration in Rus' by removing local princes from their principalities.

The relations between Poland and Lithuania needed further readjustment after the battle of Grunwald (1410), where Lithuanian and Rus' forces were of considerable assistance to the Poles in defeating the German knights. The readjustment was negotiated in Horodlo (in western Ukraine) in 1413. According to the terms of the new union, Poland and Lithuania were to be equals: there was always to be a grand duke of Lithuania and a king of Poland, but neither could be enthroned without the agreement of the other. The way had been opened for further Polish influence in Lithuania's Rus' lands. Close to fifty Lithuanian boyar families were adopted by Polish noble families, but because these newly adopted families were Catholic, members of the Orthodox upper class of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy remained at a disadvantage.

Vytautas strove for complete independence and for the royal title. He died in 1430, while still negotiating a crown for himself and for Lithuania. His plan to establish a Lithuanian-Rus' kingdom was carried on by his cousin and successor, Svidrigailo (Świdrygiełło, Švitrigaila). It was during the four or five years of Svidrigailo's turbulent administration that the split between the Orthodox and Catholic elements in the duchy became exacerbated, and that the Rus' lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania showed tendencies toward becoming a politically separate entity.

Svidrigailo was supported by the Orthodox and opposed by the Catholics. During his reign, the Poles attacked western Volhynia and western Podillja. His rival, Sigismund (Žygimantas) Kejstutovič, gave Podillja to Poland (1432). When Svidrigailo was defeated by Sigismund in Lithuania proper, he tried to separate Lithuanian Rus', including Ukrainian territory, from the Grand Duchy, but the attempt failed. Still, Sigismund had to make concessions to Svidrigailo's supporters to consolidate his position. In 1434 the Orthodox boyars of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania received the same immunities and property rights as those granted to the Catholic Lithuanian nobles; only high offices were reserved strictly for Catholics. When Casimir

Jagiellończyk became both grand duke of Lithuania and king of Poland in 1447, he continued the policy of preserving the integrity of Lithuanian upper-class society. In that year he issued a privilege to Lithuanian boyars guaranteeing that offices would be occupied only by Lithuanians—that is, by people living in the duchy—and that Lithuania would retain the boundaries it had in Vytautas's time. Within the terms of this privilege, Podillja could not be considered as having been legally incorporated into Poland.

After 1446, the Polish king and the grand duke of Lithuania were usually the same person, although members of the Jagiellonian dynasty considered the Grand Duchy a hereditary possession of the family and resisted too close a union with Poland. They opposed, for instance, the common election of the same ruler for both states. As time went on, however, the interests of the two states came to coincide. They both had to ward off danger emanating from the Crimean Tatar Khanate (which, as a result of the disintegration of the Golden Horde, had become a vassal of the Ottoman Empire) and its incursions into territory belonging to Poland (i.e., Podillja) and to the Grand Duchy (i.e., parts of Podillja and the other Rus' lands). Moscow posed a danger only to the Grand Duchy, which suffered serious territorial losses for fifteen years beginning in 1500—it lost Smolensk in 1514 for almost a hundred years and Polack in 1563, the latter only for about fifteen years. Nonetheless, when the duchy requested Polish help, Poland granted it, showing itself to be farsighted on at least that one occasion.

Western culture penetrated into Lithuania via Poland, which resulted in a Polonization of its upper classes. In the 1560s, Lithuania accepted the Polish form of administration. Although discrimination against the Orthodox was practically abolished in 1563, Orthodox metropolitans and bishops were still not given seats in the king's council. Polonization led the way to the Union of Lublin in 1569. The union was not easy to conclude, because Lithuanian magnates, rightly fearing a loss of their independence, opposed it; but the lesser gentry favored it, and they prevailed. The union stipulated that henceforth there would be one republic, one diet, one monetary system, and one king; administrations and armies, however, were to remain separate. The palatinates of Pidljaššja, Volhynia, Braclav, and Kyiv—i.e., most of Ukraine—became part of the kingdom of Poland; their elite, however, obtained guarantees that Ruthenian would remain the official language and that the rights of the Orthodox church would be respected.

The Union of Lublin marked a turning point in the formation of Ukrainian national consciousness, for it accelerated the cultural Polonization of the Orthodox Ukrainians and paved the way for the Catholic offensive that culminated in the religious Union of Brest in 1596. The Union of Lublin also facilitated the acquisition of large tracts of land, on territories that went to the Polish crown, by affluent Polish nobles, and it speeded up the Polonization of

the Ukrainian nobility in Ukraine. This, in turn, brought about conflicts with the Cossacks, conflicts which, twenty years after the Lublin union, had already become intense.

Polish eastward expansion continued into the first half of the seventeenth century. Between 1603 and 1618, Poland took advantage of Muscovy's Time of Troubles. The two-year occupation of Moscow by Polish troops ended ingloriously, but Poland had its day of glory in 1610, when Tsar Vasilij Šujskij was taken prisoner by Hetman Żółkiewski at Klušino (Kłuszyn). By the terms of the Deulino Peace of 1618, Poland acquired Smolensk, retaken from Muscovy in 1611, and the Černihiv-Sivers'k land, a Lithuanian conquest of the fourteenth century. Poland's eastern frontier would never again look as good as it did that year.

The collapse of Poland's eastern dominions began after 1654, when Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj submitted to Tsar Aleksej Mixajlovič in Perejaslav. Smolensk was taken by Moscow in 1654, and Vilnius was sacked that same year. Both Polish arms and Polish diplomacy failed to recoup these losses. The accord concluded between Poland and the Ukrainian Cossacks at Hadjač in 1658 was an attempt to create an alternative for the Ukrainian upper class, which had become uneasy about the consequences of vassalage to Moscow. It suggested a tripartite commonwealth, with a "Ruthenian Duchy" as its third part. The duchy was to comprise the Kyiv, Braclav, and Černihiv palatinates, and religious union was to be abolished on its territory. Orthodox representatives from the three palatinates were to have seats in the senate; one or two academies of higher learning were to be established in Ukraine, and the number of Cossacks recognized by the state was to be raised to 60,000. Nothing came of the accord. Muscovy's political offensive and military successes continued in spite of temporary setbacks. The armistice of Andrusovo in 1667 registered Poland's loss to Muscovy not only of the Left Bank (the new frontier ran along the Dnieper for a long stretch), but also of Kyiv (a temporary cession, "for two years," which was made permanent in 1686).

In the Ukrainian territories, the new frontier thus established between Russia and Poland remained intact until Poland's second partition in 1793. That meant that most of the Right Bank (except Kyiv itself, its environs on the Right Bank, and the lands of the Zaporozhian Cossacks) was exposed to ever growing Polish cultural influences and remained within the Polish social system of nobility and serfdom, which further Polonized that territory's elite. In 1772, by the first partition, Poland had already lost to the Habsburg Empire the part of Galicia that it had conquered in 1349 and added to the Polish crown in 1434. In terms of sovereignty, the more than four centuries of Polish political dominion in that area came to an end, but the Polish presence in that land was so strong, both culturally and socially, that the Polish minority

maintained its dominant position in "Galicia and Lodomeria," the area's official Austrian name (especially after the administrative reform of 1868) until after the First World War. This six-centuries-long impact must be juxtaposed with two and one-quarter centuries of direct Polish rule in parts of the Right Bank and only one century in Kyiv and the Left Bank. These contrastive stretches of time should be kept in mind when we turn to assessing cultural differences within Ukraine proper. Still, even in the part of Ukraine that Poland did not obtain in 1921, but that belonged to it at various times between 1569 and 1792 (i.e., the Right-Bank area, including Kyiv), the Polish presence was far from negligible, especially before the Polish uprisings of 1830/31 and 1863. It was maintained through Polish landowners, Polish technicians, and the Polish cultural life and fairs that thrived in Kyiv and other Ukrainian cities. Before the second Polish uprising of 1863, large Polish landholdings in Right-Bank Ukraine constituted five-sixths of such land-holdings; and even in 1914, Poles held almost fifty percent of large landed property there, although the tsarist regime attempted to weaken the Polish hold on land in Right-Bank Ukraine, especially after 1863. The attitude of the Polish landowners of Ukraine toward the Russian conquerors, who by then administered what in the eyes of those landowners were parts of historic Poland, was ambivalent. Moreover, some Polish landowners and members of the Polonized nobiliary intelligentsia (called *chłopomani*, or "peasant aficionados") did show interest and affection toward their "rural folk" and its customs. Still, an objective community of interests between Polish landowners and Russian officials did develop, especially when it came to handling social unrest among the largely Ukrainian peasantry. Thus, modern scholars speak of an alliance between the tsarist troops and the Polish landowners, or of a virtual Russian-Polish condominium, in Right-Bank Ukraine even after 1831.

Poland lost most of its Ukrainian possessions by the second partition of 1793. In a sense, Ukraine became one of the heirs of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. When Poland reappeared as the autonomous entity called the Duchy of Warsaw, between 1807 and 1812, and as the Kingdom of Poland created by the Congress of Vienna, between 1815 and 1831, it possessed almost no Ukrainian territories. It regained some of them—Volhynia and Galicia of old—during the period between the two world wars, and lost almost all of them again in 1939–45. Postwar Poland turned out to be ethnically homogeneous and thus bears some similarity to the Poland of the Piasts; until 1989 it also displayed some traits in common with the Congress Kingdom of Poland.

From the Polish point of view, the time span between 1618 and 1945 was the melancholy one of a constant westward retreat of the Commonwealth's, and then Poland's, eastern frontier. The Polish past of Smolensk, Vicebsk, Polack, Kyiv, Žytomyr, and Kam'janec'-Podil's'kyj (where Henryk Sienkie-

wicz's Pan Wołodyjowski met his end) is barely remembered. Lviv, before 1939 a city where Poles and Polish-speaking Jews constituted a majority, is Ukrainian-speaking today. Today, the Russian newcomers are the unprecedented minority there, outnumbering the Poles.

II

What effect did this Polish rule have on the culture of Ukraine? First, for many members of the local elites, it meant exchanging local Orthodox and Church Slavonic traditions for new Latin cultural values. The Ukrainian upper classes could no longer fall back comfortably on Orthodox tradition and learning. This lowered prestige of what was old and familiar encouraged the assimilation of the upper classes. Linguistic and cultural assimilation and the acceptance of Roman Catholicism went hand in hand. Ukrainians at the beginning of the seventeenth century were perfectly aware that this was happening. In 1605 or 1606, one Ukrainian writer, in a tract called *Peresto-roha*, meaning "Warning," remarked:

> Reading Polish chronicles, you will find sufficient information on how Poles have settled in the Rus' dominions, how they became friends with them [i.e., the Ruthenians], how they gave their daughters in marriage to Ruthenians, and how they implanted their refined norms and their learning through their daughters, so that the Ruthenians, in fraternizing with them, began to imitate their language and their learning. Not having any learning of their own, they began to send their children to receive Roman instruction, and these children learned not only the instruction, but the [Latin] faith as well. And so, step by step, by their learning they enticed all the Rus' lords into the Roman faith so that the descendants of the Rus' princes were rebaptized from the Orthodox faith into the Roman one, and changed their family names and their Christian names as if they had never been descendants of their pious forebears. As a result, Greek Orthodoxy lost its fervor and was scorned and neglected, because people obtaining superior stations in life, despising their own Orthodoxy, stopped seeking ecclesiastical offices, and installed mediocrities in these offices just to satisfy the needs of those who were of low birth.[1]

In 1610, Meletij Smotryc'kyj published a "Lament" (Θρηνος *To iest Lament iedyney ś. Powszechney Apostolskiey wschodniey Cerkwie, z obiaśnieniem Dogmat Wiary. Pierwey z Graeckiego na Słowieński, a teraz z Słowieńskiego na Polski przełożony. przez Theophila Orthologa....*) for the Orthodox church of Rus'. In it, the mother church turned to her children and, using a mixed metaphor, compared them to the precious stones of her garment. The garment

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1.   M. Voznjak, *Pys'mennyc'ka dijal'nist' Ivana Borec'koho na Volyni i u L'vovi* (Lviv, 1954), p. 26. Cf. also idem, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Lviv, 1921), p. 171.

had been lost: "Where are the other precious stones and equally priceless stones of my crown—the honorable houses of the Rus' princes, the priceless sapphires and diamonds, the Princes Słucki, Zasławski, Zbaraski, Wiśniowiecki, Sanguszko, Czartoryski...?"[2] Ten more princely names are mentioned, and then the author continues: "Where, in addition to these, are my other priceless jewels, that is, the highborn, glorious, magnanimous, strong, and ancient houses of the Rus' nation (*narodu Rosieyskiego*), which is famous throughout the whole world for its reputation, its power and valor, the Chodkiewiczes... Sapiehas....Chaleckis...Pociejs...?"[3] The complete list includes thirty-one family names, including many that also appear in the history of the Polish nobility.

Assimilation was largely limited to the upper layers of Rus' society, although those just below, having close contacts with Polish culture, profited from these contacts as well. Late sixteenth-century Polish culture had absorbed what was best in Renaissance Europe. Reformation currents were still flowing strongly and having beneficial effects, not only in Poland, but also in the Lithuanian and Ukrainian territories. Poland's Latin poets—e.g., Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski—and its social thinkers—e.g., Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski and Jan Łaski—enjoyed international reputations in Western Europe. Some Polish vernacular poets, such as the two Kochanowskis (Jan and Piotr), were educated in Italian universities and produced works equal to the best elsewhere in Europe. For Ukrainians, Poland became the window to the West. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the registers of the universities of Cracow, Padua, Bologna, and Prague included many names of students whose nation of origin was stated as *Roxolani*. Professors and Doctors of Philosophy of "Ruthenian" nationality appeared both in Poland and in Italy. Examples are Paul the Ruthenian from Krosno (active in Cracow); Georgius Ruthenus (Jurij of Drohobyč), professor of astronomy in Bologna between 1458 and 1482; and Hryhorij Kumyc'kyj from Lviv, who received a doctorate in Padua in 1641. Others active on the Polish scene—for instance, the native of Peremyšl' (Przemyśl) Stanisław Orzechowski, the great publicist of the sixteenth century, son of a Polish nobleman, but grandson of an Orthodox priest, friend of the idea of Union but not of papal imperialism, which, in his words, wished to limit the Church Universal "to a corner of

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2.   [M. Smotryc'kyj], *Collected Works of Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, with an introduction by D. A. Frick, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), p. 31 (= p. 15 of the facsimile).

3.   *Collected Works of Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, pp. 31–32 (= pp. 15–16 of the facsimile). Ukrainian translation by M. Hruševs'kyj, e.g., in V. V. Jaremenko, ed., *Ukrajins'ka poezija XVII stolittja (perša polovyna)* (Kyiv, 1988), pp. 121–30, esp. pp. 129–30.

Latium"—openly proclaimed their Ruthenian roots. (Orzechowski declared: *Ruthenorum me esse et libenter profiteor* and *Roxolania patria est mihi*; in 1531, he registered at Leipzig University as "Orzechoffski Russus").

It stands to reason that those members of the Ukrainian elite who worked within the system while maintaining their Orthodox faith and Ruthenian language underwent the strong influence of Polish culture as well. When we read Ukrainian verses declaimed by pupils at Peter Mohyla's school in Kyiv in 1632 to celebrate the latter's patronage, or submitted to Mohyla by the printers of the Caves Monastery in 1633, we can recite much of the text aloud in Polish phonetical form, without introducing any changes in vocabulary. The style of the verses is baroque and Western; and their words, aside from those needed for rhymes, are either transposable into Polish forms or are borrowed from Polish. In art and architecture, the Ukrainian baroque is a local reflection of the Polish baroque, understandable only in terms of the Counter-Reformation and the Jesuit religious offensive, begun in the 1570s, on Poland's eastern territories.

Some parts of Ukrainian society reacted violently to this Polish encroachment. On the social and political levels, the reaction took the form of the Cossack wars, with their hatred—attested both in local epic songs and in contemporary travelers' accounts—for the Polish overlords and their Jewish and Armenian protégés. On the cultural level, it took the form of religious polemics and an Orthodox educational campaign. Some polemicists, like Ivan Vyšens'kyj (d. soon after 1621), used the relatively non-Polonized vernacular (by no means free of Polonisms) and remained within the confines of the Church Slavonic tradition. The religious confraternities stressed the learning of Greek in their schools and established close relations with the patriarchate of Constantinople. It must be said, however, that this was only one aspect of the process.

The majority of those who were reacting to Polish and Catholic expansion used the weapons that that very expansion had put at their disposal. The passage from *Perestoroha* quoted above begins with the words, "reading *Polish* chronicles [you will find] sufficient information." Smotryc'kyj's "Lament" carries the purely Greek title *Thrēnos* and inveighs against those who have moved over to the Polish camp, but it is written in impeccable literary Polish. This emulation of Polish culture was nowhere more apparent than at the Kyiv Mohyla *collegium* (known after 1701 as the Kyiv Academy), the center of Ukrainian Orthodox learning. The Academy's Westernizing impact lasted until the mid-eighteenth century, by which time Kyiv had already been Russian for about eighty years and both Hetman Ivan Mazepa, a man of Western, that is, Polish, culture, and Tsar Peter I were long dead.

As late as the 1740s, the Kyiv school was called "Polish-Slavonic-Latin," and every one of its foremost graduates and professors—later servants of

Moscow or of the Russian Empire—was either a writer of Polish verse or a collector of Polish books. Simeon Polacki translated the Akathistos Hymn to the Theotokos—Byzantine poetry in Church Slavonic garb—into Polish verse in 1648, the year of the Xmel'nyc'kyj uprising. At a later date he upbraided his Uniate brother for religious apostasy—in Polish. Stefan Javors'kyj, metropolitan of Rjazan' and *locum tenens* of the patriarchal throne in Moscow, had Polish books in his library, quoted from Ovid's exile poetry in the original, and wrote elegant Polish verse. Lazar Baranovyč's Polish verses were bad, not because he did not know Polish, but because he was a poor poet. Nonetheless, in them he appealed to Poles and Ukrainians to stop fighting against each other and to unite in a common struggle against the Turks.

Most of us associate Feofan Prokopovyč with the praise he lavished upon Peter I in Moscow. We must remember, however, that this former Uniate, a graduate of the *Collegium Athanasianum* in Rome and professor of the Kyiv Mohyla Academy, wrote sermons in Polish. He published verses on Peter's victory at the battle of Poltava in Church Slavonic, Latin, and Polish, but the Polish version is clearly the original one. It may be surprising to the uninitiated that these verses vilifying Mazepa were read to Peter in Kyiv and in Polish. All the teachers of the Kyiv school circa 1700 imitated the Kochanowskis and the "Polish Horace" (i.e., Sarbiewski) in their courses on poetics. Both Dmytro Savyč Tuptalo (Dmitrij Rostovskij), author of the *Čet'i-Minei* (Saints' Lives), the first volume of which was published in Kyiv in 1689, and Pylyp Orlyk, successor to Mazepa and Ukraine's first political émigré, not only owned Polish and Latin books, but wrote their respective diaries in Polish and Latin. The story was similar in early nineteenth-century Western Ukraine. When Markijan Šaškevyč, the leading member of the "Ruthenian Triad" and pioneer writer of poetry in the Ukrainian vernacular in Galicia, sent love verses and a letter to his bride, he did it in Polish.

III

Such was the impact of Polish domination on the cultural elite of Ukraine until well into the eighteenth century. What, in turn, were the effects of Poland's eastward expansion on that country itself? Some Polish historians have deplored that expansion as a diversion of energies from what should have been the creation of a modern centralized state, a development that Poland never fully underwent before the partitions. This faulty development brought about the disintegration of the Polish state toward the end of the eighteenth century, and retarded the formation of a modern Polish nation. Moreover, the expanding Poland was unable to solve the Ukrainian problem or to prevent the eruption of the Great Cossack War. There is no doubt that the Cossack wars hastened the fall of Poland, but, parenthetically, Poland's

weakness held no benefit for Ukraine. The Ukrainian national poet Taras Ševčenko had a point when he wrote in his *Epistles*, "Right you are, Poland fell, but crushed you [i.e., the Ukrainians] as well."[4]

In social and political terms, the eastern expansion contributed to the formation of a class of Polish and Polonized magnates (called *królewięta*, "kinglets") who owned enormous latifundia and even kept private armies. Jeremiasz Wiśniowiecki (Jarema Vyšnevec'kyj), a former Orthodox and a relative of Peter Mohyla, but a great enemy of Xmel'nyc'kyj, claimed estates centered around Lubny with a population reaching 288,000. Other "Ukrainian" magnates who played a role in Polish history were the Zbaraskis, the Czartoryskis, the Zasławskis and the Potockis. The power of this class was such that one of its members managed to obtain the Polish throne: Michał Korybut, son of Jeremiasz Wiśniowiecki, became king of Poland in 1669. Michał's famous successor was Jan III Sobieski; his family was not quite of magnate caliber, but was connected with that class. It, too, was settled in Ukraine: the future hero of Vienna was born in the old Rus' castle of Oles'ko, northeast of Lviv, and later held vast properties in Ukraine.

Because magnates were against the creation of a centralized executive, they not only undermined the internal democracy of the Polish gentry, but also prevented changes that would have turned Poland into one of the modern states of the eighteenth century. Other noble landowners with properties in Ukraine felt threatened by the upstart Cossack upper crust, which aspired to equality with them; thus they rendered a solution to the "Ukrainian problem," which contributed to the Commonwealth's decline, all but impossible. In that sense, both groups, many of whose members were of Ukrainian stock or resided in Ukraine, contributed their share to Poland's fall.

In cultural terms, Ukraine's landscape, people, history, and language left reflections in the Polish language itself and in its literature. Until the 1930s, a distinct type of Polish accent, called the "Polish of the borderlands," was spoken by descendants of landowners who had lived among the Ukrainians for centuries—they felt about Ukraine as the Anglo-Irish aristocracy must have felt about Ireland and its people.

In Polish belles-lettres, Ukraine and Ukrainians have been present from the sixteenth century on. In that span of time, this presence was especially pronounced during two periods: the late Renaissance and baroque, and Romanticism. In terms of space, almost all the baroque writers were active in Western, and the Romantic ones in Right-Bank Ukraine (a distribution that

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4.   Cf. *Poslanije*, e.g., in Taras Ševčenko, *Povna zbirka tvoriv*, I (Kyiv, 1949), p. 296. Cf. also *Velykyj l'ox*, ibid., p. 271: "In that very Ukraine, the same that strangled the Pole in common with you [i.e., Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj], the bastards of Catherine [i.e., Catherine II] have alighted like locusts."

reflects the timetable of Polish eastward expansion). The first period of the appearance of Ukrainian motifs in Polish literature is of special interest for our essays. Five important poets flourished during this period: Sebastian Klonowic, Szymon Szymonowic, the brothers Zimorowic, Szymon and Bartłomiej, and the "first Polish baroque poet," Mikołaj Sęp-Szarzyński. All of them were Poles,[5] and consequently Roman Catholics or sympathizers of the Arians. They themselves, or their parents, migrated from Poland to Western Ukraine or to areas bordering upon it. Four out of five were of burgher status: either burghers of Lviv (Bartłomiej Zimorowic even became a mayor of that city) or, in Klonowic's case, of nearby Lublin. Their ethnic and religious "otherness" found hardly any reflection in their writings. With the lone exception of Sęp-Szarzyński, the poets painted their *tableaux* with the ample use of *couleur locale*. They felt that they were describing their own country and people: their Ruthenian (*Ruski, Rosiejski*) lands; the "Ruthenian people" or *Russigenae*: *Leontopolis sacra*, or Lviv, their Ruthenian capital; or even Kyiv's ruins and its wonder-working Caves, sung by Klonowic in some of the 1800 Latin lines of his *Roxolania*. Their idylls, often free translations from Theocritus with borrowings from Virgil, were acted out by shepherds or mowers with Ukrainian names (a Miłko would stand for the Theocritean Milon). These bandura-playing shepherds sprinkled their Polish with Ukrainian words like *solovij* for "nightingale," quoted as being a word "in our tongue." Szymon Zimorowic's *Roxolanki, that is, Ruthenian Maidens* of 1629 is a collection of love songs in which local color, local wedding customs, and lexical Ukrainianisms provide the frame for an erudite and graceful classicizing exercise by a young native of Lviv writing in the Polish capital of Cracow.

Religious controversies of the time found no reflection in the poetry of the five authors, nor do we encounter there any expression of superiority, let alone antipathy, toward the local population, except, in Klonowic's isolated case, toward the Jews. On the contrary, one or two idylls by Szymonowic show an unusual sensitivity to that population's social plight. His *Harvesters* sympathetically depicts the hardships suffered by young women with Ukrainian names, forced to do hard field work under the eye of a pitiless and harassing foreman.

Only one of our poets, Bartłomiej Zimorowic, lived to witness the 1648 siege of Lviv by Hetman Xmel'nyc'kyj's Cossacks and their Tatar allies. He recorded both in the idylls *Cossack Times* and *Ruthenian Ruckus*. True, Zimorowic abhorred the Cossacks, for the Xmel'nyc'kyj uprising presented a mortal threat to the poet's world, and the siege caused damage to his suburban

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5.   True, an Armenian origin is claimed for the Zimorowic brothers.

property to boot. But again, social rather than religious, let alone national, considerations determined the tone of both idylls: their speakers bear Ukrainian names (even if they enjoy comfortable social status); they tell the tale of atrocities committed by the Cossacks against the inhabitants of Lviv and its surroundings, although the Cossacks' victims invoked community of both religion and language with their oppressors. Thus we hear how the Cossacks, more cruel than the infidel Tatars, desecrated Lviv's Cathedral of St. George.[6]

In contradistinction to the five outstanding authors just discussed, Jan Dąbrowski, the sixth poet who dealt with Ukraine in the seventeenth century, is practically unknown. All that can be reliably reported about him is his Polish name and his use of Polish words in his Latin text, traits that mark him as a Pole, and the fact that at least one occasional piece of writing can safely be attributed to him. Since, however, he is of considerable interest to our inquiry, his poetry will be given a somewhat detailed treatment here.

Soon after 1618, Dąbrowski published some nine hundred Latin verses, mostly hexameters, entitled *Muses of the Dnieper*. The poem introduced the Catholic bishop-designate of Kyiv to the history of the ancient city, the see of which the prelate was about to occupy, and of the land over which Kyiv had held sway in the past.[7]

Dąbrowski was impressed by ancient Russes who inspired fear in "purple-clad tyrants," that is, the Byzantine emperors. He also admired the Cossacks of his own time, whom he praised for their feats of valor against the Tatars

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6. Almost two centuries after Zimorowic, Markijan Šaškevyč, another scion of the same land, wrote Ukrainian verses on Xmel'nyc'kyj's siege of Lviv. The verses imitated the language and style of seventeenth-century historical songs (dumy), and their perspective was different: their author was sympathetic to the besieger; there were no Tatars or pillage in his lines, even if ransom was mentioned.

7. Jan Dąbrowski, *Camoenae Borysthenides: Seu, Felicis ad Episcopalem sedem Chioviensem ingressus, Ill(ust)r(iss)imi et Re(vere)ndissimi Domini Boguslai Radoszowski Boxa, à Siemikowice, Gratulatio* (no place of printing, 1618[?]). Cf. also K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, part 3, vol. 4 (= 15) (Cracow, 1897), pp. 3–4. For access to the original I am indebted to Professor Jerzy Axer (Warsaw). I also used the (often erroneous) Ukrainian translation by Volodymyr Lytvynov in V. V. Jaremenko, ed., *Ukrajins'ka poezija XVII stolittja (perša polovyna)* (Kyiv, 1988), pp. 94–199, where it was "published for the first time" (p. 343). I leave aside the question of whether all the three pieces attributed by Estreicher to Jan Dąbrowski are in fact by the same author. Chronology is against it.

On the Catholic bishop of Kyiv and Luc'k Bogusław Boksa-Radoszewski, cf. *Polski słownik biograficzny* 29 (1986), pp. 747–48 (by B. Kumor). According to Dąbrowski, Radoszewski was of Hungarian ancestry, but was connected with Rus' through his mother. As bishop, he brought the Jesuits to Kyiv in 1620.

in general and the Turks at the mouth of the Dnieper in particular, and exhorted the classical Muses to celebrate the Cossacks' exploits.

Dąbrowski was, of course, aware of religious controversies dividing the land of Rus' in his day and was favorable to the Western Church and the Union. Thus, he commended Januš Ostroz'kyj (Janusz Ostrogski) for having abandoned "the rites of the Greeks." Still, he called Kyiv's cathedral of St. Sophia "a venerable temple" and advised the bishop-elect to bring peace to his flock. Using the voice of an old man who personified the Dnieper River, our poet informed the bishop that the Kyivans had been observing their ancient Byzantine ways. The tone of *Muses of the Dnieper*, in which ancient Russes were presented as equals of ancient Romans and of the mighty Turks of Dąbrowski's day, was a far cry from Piotr Skarga's scorn for the unlettered Ruthenians; the poem's verses displayed an empathy for the Ukrainian land and people that we encounter in the slightly later works of the two Simons, Szymonowic and Zimorowic.

We do not know whether Dąbrowski lived in Ukraine at any time, or how representative his views were. Still, his case, taken together with those of Szymonowic and Zimorowic, allows us to speculate that in the early seventeenth century some members of the Polish elite had begun to consider Ukraine as their own land, and—as we shall presently see—Ukraine's history as their own history.

The remarkable thing about Dąbrowski's *Muses* is the way the poem envisaged the history of the land to which the bishop-elect of Kyiv was journeying. In his verses, the author tells the history of the *land* centered around Kyiv and once ruled from it. Thus, the past Dąbrowski had in mind was the local past, and the Old Man Dnieper River (whom Dąbrowski called *Borysthenius heros*) outlined the early history of Rus', beginning with Kyiv's legendary rulers "Kius," "Ascoldus," and "Dirus"; much of the Dnieper's early narrative did repeat the material of the *Primary Chronicle*, but in fact Dąbrowski relied on Polish historians, as is evident from the notes that he himself appended to his poem. There, he quoted such people as Długosz, Kromer, and Maciej of Miechów, but his main guide was Maciej Stryjkowski.

From such sources, and out of his own head, Dąbrowski constructed a sequence of events that anticipated (and improved upon) much of Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj's historical conception. In the beginning, the Kyiv "monarchs" ruled over the "Sarmatians," kept the northern tribe of the *Moschi* (that is, the Muscovites) in submission, and attacked the Byzantine Empire. Dąbrowski compared Princess Ol'ga of the tenth century to Jeanne d'Arc. The realm of the Russes extended from the Wisłok River in the West to the icy waters of the Volga (*Rha gelidus*) in the East. The Kyivans were vanquished by the Tatars, who imposed their rule upon the land; the westward drive of the Tatars was halted by the Poles. The beginnings of the Cossacks were to be

dated to the same time. The princes of Rus' returned to Kyiv, the foremost among them being Daniel (Danylo) of Halyč, who was crowned "King of all the Russes" by a papal legate. Thereupon—for us suddenly and unexpectedly—the Ostroz'kyjs, "Daniel's true descendants," and the Zasławskis, "descendants of the heroic Russes," such as Ihor Rjurykovyč (cf. the dative 'Ihoro'), made their appearance. (These were the very Zasławskis of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries whose apostasy from the Rus' faith, we remember, was bitterly mourned in Meletij Smotryc'kyj's *Thrēnos*, which appeared eight years before Dąbrowski's verses [see also Essay 9]).

After this excursus, meant to bolster the historical claims of the local magnates of his day, our poet returned to Daniel of Halyč and his son Leo (Lev). Their clan ruled Kyiv for about forty years, until the Lithuanians conquered the city. In the poem, the conquest was attributed to Gediminas, but Dąbrowski mentioned other Lithuanian rulers, Algirdas, Vytautas and Svidrigailo, as well as Symeon, the last prince of Kyiv and Słuck. In the end the Principality of Kyiv was taken over by the Polish king Casimir Jagiellończyk, who—we learn this from Dąbrowski's note—transformed it into a palatinate. The historical part of the verses closes with praise for the supporters of the King, the Zamoyskis (also said to be scions of Rus') and the Grand Hetman of the Crown Stanisław Żółkiewski.

Dąbrowski's history was that of a single territory, not that of a single dynasty that had moved away from Kyiv at a given time and whose power migrated from one area to another, a construct that had been fully elaborated by Muscovite bookmen before Dąbrowski's time (see Essay 5). In his system there was no place for Vladimir on the Kljaz'ma, Suzdal', or Moscow, in other words, for the migration of an "ideal" Rus' from one center to another. The *Moschi* were neighbors (*vicini*) of the Russes, but they were cruel aliens with somber countenances. Dąbrowski was writing about 1618, the year of the Polish campaign against Moscow and of the Treaty of Deulino, events that marked the high point of the Commonwealth's ascendancy over Muscovy; and he recorded ten instances of campaigns waged against the *Moschi* by his heroes, including Konstantyn Ostroz'kyj the Elder.

As we shall see in Essays 9 and 11, the idea that there was continuity between one Kyiv, that of Volodimer the Christianizer, and the other, that of the early seventeenth century, was also current in that city among the mainstream Orthodox intellectuals of the time. The presence of such a local historical consciousness shared by both educated Ukrainians and Poles writing about Ukraine might have favored a peaceful solution to the Commonwealth's "Ukrainian problem." Things went wrong within that perspective—not without Polish participation—and half a century after Dąbrowski's time, his—and his Ukrainian colleagues'—concept of local historical continuity yielded to the construct elaborated earlier by the Muscovite bookmen. This blueprint was

adopted by Kyivan writers who enrolled in the service of the tsar, the new ruler of their city. An eloquent witness to this change is the work titled *Sinopsis* (see Essay 12).

In the Romantic period, an entire "Ukrainian school" of Polish literature came into being; its outstanding representatives were Antoni Malczewski (author of the poem *Maria*), Seweryn Goszczyński, Józef Bohdan Zaleski, and Michał Czajkowski (Sadık Paşa). All of them were born in Ukraine and three of them had to emigrate after the uprising of 1831, taking with them a nostalgia for Ukrainian songs, the Cossacks, and, above all, the landscape of Ukraine, to all of which they gave literary expression. And in his Byronic poem *Beniowski* Juliusz Słowacki, Poland's great Romantic poet, compared the Polish language with the song of the Ukrainian steppe, and expressed pity for those who did not feel God's presence in the blue fields of Ukraine. Slightly earlier (1804), the classicist writer Stanisław Trembecki began a description of a garden in Zofiówka—a manor near Uman' named after Zofia Potocka, a Polish noblewoman—by calling Ukraine, in biblical style, "the land flowing with milk and honey." About two centuries before, Bartłomiej Zimorowic had applied the very same phrase to the Ruthenian lands.

Nineteenth-century Poles, and, indeed, twentieth-century readers brought up on the *Trilogy* of Henryk Sienkiewicz saw Ukraine as part of the Polish literary landscape. A parallel that comes to mind lies with English writers like Rudyard Kipling and Edward M. Forster and the India of the British *raj*.

IV

Some Ukrainian historians conclude that this Polish domination meant little for Ukraine. It is difficult to agree with such a conclusion, especially when it comes to the shaping of national and cultural consciousness. First, Polish domination gave the Ukrainian elite a chance to participate in the currents of Western civilization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, currents that might otherwise have been inaccessible to it. The Ukrainian and Belarus' lands are the only Orthodox Slavic territories that widely experienced the Renaissance, in the conventional sense of the word, and, above all, its aftermath—the baroque and the Counter-Reformation. They are also the only Orthodox lands where intense contacts with Protestants took place, although little of that rubbed off from the upper classes onto peasants and rank-and-file Cossacks. For a period ranging between one century and four, depending on region, Ukrainians participated in the life of a non-centralized state in which individual freedom and the privileges of the upper class of society were respected. At first, the Cossack elite of the Hetmanate patterned itself on this Polish model. To be sure, the basis of modern literary Ukrainian is the popular dialect of an area east of the Dnieper, but the literary language of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was heavily Polonized and even today a

part of standard Ukrainian vocabulary and idioms exhibit Polish influence. Finally, the Union of Brest produced a religious split within the Ukrainian nation. That division was reinforced by the consequences of the first partition of Poland, but it stemmed from the intensification of Polish expansion into Ukraine after the Union of Lublin.

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Cf. also the bibliographic notes to the present essay.

ESSAY 9

*The Rebirth of the Rus' Faith**

*T*he revival of the Orthodox faith at the beginning of the seventeenth century represented a reaction to the Catholic offensive in Eastern Europe, which was, in turn, an ideological counterpart to Poland's territorial expansion eastward. Contacts, political and religious, between the Ukrainian territories and the Latin West and its ecclesiastical hierarchy preceded this Polish *Drang nach Osten*—indeed, they even preceded the final Christianization of Rus'. In Essay 4, we adduced two early examples of such contacts: Princess Ol'ga's embassy, dated to 959, to the German emperor Otto I with the request for a missionary bishop for her realm, and the peregrinations of the Kyivan grand prince Izjaslav to the courts of the German emperor Henry IV and Pope Gregory VII in the seventies of the eleventh century. As the seventies drew to a close, however, Kyiv remained in the Byzantine fold.

The term "fold" is not quite appropriate, for it suggests that by that time the Byzantine church was separate from the Western one. We should not attribute too much importance to the magic year of 1054, the "official" date of the schism between the two churches. In the 1070s, the inhabitants of Rus' were only dimly aware of a further religious estrangement between West and East.

The schism became common knowledge by the middle of the thirteenth century. We can date the prefiguration of future attempts at concluding a religious union to that very time; and they occurred on western Ukrainian territory. Between 1246 and 1257, a number of steps constituted this first Uniate effort: to begin with, the contacts of Plano Carpini, the Dominican papal envoy to the Tatars, with the princes of Halyč-Volhynia; second, the bestowal of a crown by papal representatives on Prince Daniel (Danylo) in the western Ukrainian border town of Drohočyn (Drohiczyn in today's eastern Poland); third, the placing of Daniel's domains under the protection of St. Peter (Daniel was later reprimanded by the pope for disobeying the Roman church and forgetting about papal benefactions, especially the crown he had received). This ephemeral papal attempt at union came to a sad end, as would

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many later ones, because the contracting parties pursued divergent aims. Daniel wanted help against the Tatars, whereas the pope wanted to extend his spiritual influence over the infidels (a notion that sometimes included the Orthodox). The pope could not have delivered effective military assistance in any case. Because the papacy could not mount a crusade against the Tatars, it flirted with the idea of converting them instead. That the idea of a religious union with Halyč-Volhynia was conceived at all was due to the western geographical location of that principality and to its close relations, whether hostile or peaceful, with Hungary and Poland.

Polish political expansion into the Ukrainian territories, begun in the 1340s, created the precondition for the expansion of the Catholic faith. On those territories incorporated into the Polish crown, or "seized by the crown," especially Halyč-Rus', this expansion was initiated by the creation of a parallel Catholic hierarchy. Even with the crown's support, however, this hierarchy had difficulty asserting its authority; several bishoprics were established in 1375, but only two of them, Peremyšl' (Przemyśl) and Halyč, functioned effectively. Halyč was originally the seat of the Catholic metropolitan, as it had been of the Orthodox; the Catholic metropolitanate was moved to Lviv in 1412. The Franciscans also established outposts in western Rus' in the middle of the fourteenth century.

To modern eyes, the existence of parallel Orthodox and Catholic hierarchies may appear as an encroachment by the Catholics. In the fourteenth century, however, it was taken as a sign of exceptional tolerance on the part of the Polish government. The papal curia strove to supplant the Orthodox sees altogether, but the Polish kings, beginning with Casimir (Kazimierz) III the Great (1333–70), did not follow that course. From the very start of Polish domination, two alternative avenues were open for religious policy on Ukrainian territories: outright Catholicization, called *reductio*, or a policy of tolerance, which consisted in either leaving the schismatics alone or pursuing a Uniate policy. The use of both of these alternatives was evident in Polish and papal policies towards the Rus' lands during the fifteenth century.

As a general proposition, a policy of tolerance had advantages for the Catholic side; by the fifteenth century, however, union had more appeal to the Roman curia than to the Polish hierarchy. The curia acted in global terms; it aimed at union with the Byzantine church in Constantinople, and it counted on the adherence of dependent or autonomous spiritual daughters of Constantinople once union with the mother church had been achieved. This master stroke was attempted at the Council of Florence (1439–45). In the long run it did not succeed, despite the Council's decision that brought not only the Church of Constantinople and its daughter churches, but representatives of various Eastern churches other than the Orthodox into union with Rome. In actuality, this decision was only a paper victory for the curia. The emperor and the patriarch adhered to the Union of Florence, but the majority of the

Byzantine Greeks ignored it. In any case, the fall of Constantinople in 1453 brought an end to dealings with Byzantium.

In Moscow, the union produced a violent reaction. The Uniate metropolitan, the cultivated Greek Isidore (Isidoros), was expelled when he returned from Florence and, in 1448, an autocephalous Muscovite church was established. Its metropolitan, chosen locally, was no longer to be confirmed by the patriarch of Constantinople, whose faith had been stained by papist errors. The Union of Florence inspired a flurry of Muscovite pamphlets repudiating the apostasy of the shifty Greek patriarch and the Byzantine emperor at Florence and contrasting it with the unswerving Orthodoxy of the Muscovite prince.

Compared to this outburst, the reaction to the union in the Ukrainian and Belarus' lands of Poland-Lithuania was remarkably mild. Nonetheless, the Union of Florence is of importance to our subject, and that for two reasons. First, it led to the administrative division, in 1458, of the metropolitanate of Kyiv between the metropolitanate of Moscow and all Rus' and the metropolitanate of Kyiv, Halyč, and all Rus'. The latter metropolitanate, established by the pope, and comprising territories under Polish and Lithuanian rule, was to be Uniate; in other words, there was to be no more Orthodox ecclesiastical administration in Ukraine. Second, when the Union of Brest was achieved a century and a half later (1596), it was proclaimed to be a continuation of the Union of Florence in the lands of Poland-Lithuania inhabited by Orthodox Ukrainians and Belarusians. In fact, as we shall see in the next essay, not a single major work in the extensive polemical literature dealing with the Union of Brest failed to mention Florence, whether to defend it vigorously or just as vigorously to attack it.

The first Uniate metropolitan in Ukraine was Gregory, a pro-Uniate Greek ordained by the Uniate patriarch of Constantinople, who by then resided in Rome (at that time the pope was the famous Pius II, Enea Silvio Piccolomini). Reasons for the relatively few repercussions of the Union of Florence and its sluggish implementation in Ukrainian lands are easily found. First of all, no one particularly wanted it—neither the Ruthenians, nor the Catholic prelates, nor the Polish government, nor, on occasion, even the papacy itself. From the early 1430s to the 1450s, government circles in Poland showed a great deal of ambivalence toward the union, both because of problems within the Catholic church as a whole and Poland's initial hostility to Pope Eugene IV (the victor in the most recent papal election and the chief proponent of the Union of Florence), and because the Catholic hierarchy favored outright Catholicization. Union would mean retaining the Ruthenian hierarchy. The Catholic prelates had no intention of resigning themselves to equality with the despised *vladicae* (bishops) of the Eastern rite so long as these Orthodox *vladicae* clung to their errors. In the words of the Jesuit Antonio Possevino, papal envoy to Tsar Ivan IV of Moscow, these bishops snickered at the short-

lived Florentine union, which they did not help to formulate and to which they would never willingly adhere.

As the first metropolitan of Kyiv, Halyč, and all Rus', Gregory established relations with the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople and, sometime before 1476, just to be on the safe side, had himself confirmed by that patriarch as well. We know of two occasions, dating to 1476 and 1500, when the metropolitan of Kyiv made obeisance, or Uniate gestures, toward Rome. But by 1501, Pope Alexander VI considered the Union of Florence to be defunct in Poland-Lithuania. The Orthodox were left alone. The papacy's struggle with the Reformation accounts for its only intermittent interest in the fate of the Ruthenians throughout the greater part of the sixteenth century. But this lack of zeal was also the result of papal illusions that the help of faraway Moscow could be enlisted in the anti-Turkish league, and that once it was a member of that league, Moscow would somehow be converted to Catholicism. Moscow was a bigger prize than the Ruthenians, and the papacy bid for it relentlessly from the 1470s until the eve of the Union of Brest. This papal grand design was to Moscow's advantage and, at times, to the detriment of Catholic Poland.

The means proposed to obtain Moscow's adherence were no more realistic than the design itself: to offer a royal crown (unwanted, especially after 1547); to appoint a patriarch (Moscow had already bought that distinction from the Greeks); and even to encourage Moscow's claims to Constantinople (which Moscow itself was not raising at that time).

In 1563 and 1568, the Polish king, Sigismund Augustus (Zygmunt II August), eager to conclude the political union between Poland and Lithuania, gave the Orthodox nobles of the Lithuanian principality the same rights as those enjoyed by Catholics. But, almost simultaneously, the lull in the Catholic offensive came to an end. The Council of Trent disbanded in 1563; the Catholic church emerged strengthened and ready not only to raise the banner of the Counter-Reformation, but also to resume its expansion into schismatic lands. A year after the council, in 1564, the Jesuits were invited to Poland. In 1577, the famous Jesuit Peter (Piotr) Skarga published in Vilnius his treatise called *On the Unity of God's Church* (*O jedności Kościoła Bożego pod iednym pasterzem y o greckim od tey iedności odstąpieniu z przestrogą y upominaniem do narodów ruskich przy Grekach stoiących*), a brilliant work that he shrewdly dedicated to the Orthodox prince Konstantyn Ostroz'kyj. In the dedication he asked the prince to help bring about the union of the churches.

Skarga's treatise of 1577 was only one sign of the renewed vigor in the Catholic church, and of activity aiming at achieving the union. Other initiatives could be discerned in the very year of the treatise's publication. It was in 1577 that the *Acta Graeca* of the Council of Florence appeared in

Rome and that the *Collegio Greco*, destined to make pro-Catholics out of pupils coming from various Eastern lands, was founded in that same city. The papacy took the Ruthenians, not just the Muscovites, into consideration in formulating its plans for Eastern Europe. Around 1580 Antonio Possevino, disappointed by his failure to convert Ivan IV to Catholicism, advised the curia to concentrate on that part of Rus' that politically was already under Catholic sway. He submitted a plan of union that included the following points: the Orthodox hierarchy of Rus' should be put under papal obedience; the unity of faith should be reconstituted; and the Eastern-rite liturgy should be tolerated, although only temporarily. To realize these three goals, one had, first. to win over the influential Rus' magnates to the idea of the union; second, to establish papal seminaries; and third, to publish Catholic books in the Rus' language.

Sigismund (Zygmunt) III Vasa (b. 1566), the king who occupied the throne of Poland-Lithuania from 1587 to 1632, was an ardent Catholic, and the state threw its support behind Skarga and Possevino's proposals. A Jesuit Academy had already been founded in Vilnius (in 1578), and Catholic bishops who had been installed in Ruthenian lands worked for the union and advised their Ruthenian colleagues. Some members of the Orthodox hierarchy decided to put an end to their status as second-class prelates in the Commonwealth by acceding to the union in exchange for equality with their Catholic counterparts, that equality to be symbolized by their admission to the senate of the Commonwealth.

The result of all this was the Union of Brest, concluded in 1596, the most significant and long-lasting gain the Post-Reformation Catholic church was to achieve. That union was not the result of a popular movement, but of an action taken by some Orthodox bishops primed by their Catholic colleagues. The earliest manoeuvres toward it occurred in 1590; by December 1594, a meeting had taken place in Torčyn, near Luc'k, at which two of the most energetic proponents of the union, Kyrylo Terlec'kyj (Cyryl Terlecki), bishop of Luc'k, and Ipatij Potij (Hipacy Pociej), bishop of Volodymyr in Volhynia, presented a document detailing future conditions. It was later signed by four other prelates: the metropolitan of Kyiv, Myxajlo Rohoza (Rahoza), and the bishops of Polack (Poloc'k), Xolm (Chełm), and Pinsk.

In 1595, Potij and Terlec'kyj went to Rome with instructions to conclude the union, and Pope Clement VIII proclaimed it in the Vatican in December of the same year. The Ruthenians were permitted their Eastern liturgy, rites, and married priests; the metropolitan of Kyiv retained the right to confirm his own bishops. The pope suggested to the Polish king that he should grant equal rights to both Uniate and Catholic bishops. All these points were to be proclaimed once more at a special Ruthenian synod—the Synod of Brest—that met in October 1596. Not only Ukrainian and Belarus' prelates, but the

Catholic bishops of Lviv, Luc'k, and Xolm were present, as was the Jesuit Peter Skarga himself. The king was represented by two high officials of the Crown, Krzysztof Radziwiłł and Jan Sapieha.

The government's interference on behalf of the Uniates was at hand, even if it was relatively mild. Konstantyn Ostroz'kyj (Ostrogski), the palatine of Kyiv, objected to this restricted type of union and was able to challenge the government's policy, but the initiative of the pro-Uniate bishops was protected by the state. Anti-Uniate propaganda was banished from Vilnius and cities like it, and permission to hold a synod was granted only when a Uniate victory was reasonably assured, submission to Rome was subscribed to, and the Uniate delegation had returned home from Rome to Rus'. At the Synod of Brest, Polish soldiers intervened on two occasions on behalf of the Uniates, but they refrained on a third occasion, when impartiality would have called for a similar intervention on behalf of the Orthodox.

From the Catholic point of view, the Union of Brest was a success. Yet, even at the outset, that success was not unmitigated. Among the leading personalities involved at the Synod, two bishops, those of Lviv and Peremyšl, and the powerful palatine of Kyiv, Konstantyn Ostroz'kyj, refused to join. The union also carried the seeds of future trouble: it provided further stimulus to the Orthodox reaction and contributed to the consolidation of religious and national feelings on Ukrainian territory under the banner of Orthodoxy. The union was immediately rejected by some members of the Ukrainian nobility, by the lower classes, by the religious confraternities, and by the Cossacks. Worse yet, it did not even have the wholehearted support of the Polish government. The inability of the bishops favoring the union to have it accepted by their flocks weakened the new hierarchy's position and made it dependent on Catholic and governmental support. As the union lost ground in the early seventeenth century, dissatisfaction with the Uniate solution for converting the schismatics increased. The century-long struggle with the Orthodox that brought it eventual triumph on the Dnieper's Right Bank so enervated the Uniate faction that by 1700, the Uniate church was a far cry from the institution the Uniate forces at the Synod of Brest had intended it to be. The Uniates remained second-class citizens almost to the end of Poland's independence in 1795. In spite of the promises made in 1596, Uniate bishops were not given rights equal to those of their Catholic counterparts, and the Synod of Warsaw (1643) even denied them the right to wear the same dress as Catholic prelates. The Four-Year Diet (1788–92) finally gave the Ruthenian metropolitan a seat in the senate—behind the Roman Catholic bishops—but this privilege was granted in 1790, only five years before Poland's final collapse.

As long as Poland existed, the union did not bring the Ukrainian and Belarus' elite the social equality they sought, nor did the Uniate church of that

period become the standard-bearer for the ancestral traditions of the people at large. Its prelates, selected from the socially privileged and Polonized Basilian Order, had no contact with the lower clergy, drawn from the culturally Ukrainian or Belarusian population. The Uniate church eventually became a champion of Ukrainian national aspirations, but only long after Poland had lost parts of western Ukraine to Austria in 1772. Since in Austria any move toward Orthodoxy was unthinkable, opposition to Polish domination (especially after 1868), whether Russophile or Ukrainophile, found institutional shelter in the Uniate church. Ironically, it was the Uniate church that eventually became the true "Rus' faith" in western Ukraine. Some modern western Ukrainian historians idealize the union's beginnings somewhat; we must remember, however, that around 1600 some of the staunchest anti-Uniates came 'from western Ukraine. As for the vigorous involvement of the Uniate clergy in Ukrainian causes—at first in education and culture—it had to wait until the end of the eighteenth century.

In 1596, Orthodox leaders assembled in Brest at a Protestant meeting house. In 1599, the Orthodox and Protestants entered into a confederation, in Vilnius, to defend their mutual interests. But there was a reverse side to this coexistence of Protestants and Orthodox on Ukrainian and Belarusian lands: the Protestant movement in all its varieties may have been an ally to the Orthodox, but it posed a threat to them as well. By the end of the sixteenth century, 109 reformed communities had sprung up in Ukraine. To be sure, Protestantism had spread mostly among the Ukrainian nobility, but radical Protestants like Symon (Szymon) Budnyj were also preaching in the Rus' language to the "simple people" of those regions. The perceived Protestant threat to Orthodoxy pushed the Orthodox away from the new cultural currents, because Protestants were their bearers. It was also responsible, in part, both for the conservative Church Slavonic streak in the rebirth of the Rus' faith that would follow, and for one justification invoked by the Uniates to defend their submission to Rome: as Terlec'kyj and Potij explained in the document they presented in Torčyn, their initiative had been inspired by "heresies" that were making inroads among the Ruthenians. These "heresies" were, of course, Protestant doctrines.

Thus, in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the Orthodox of Ukraine were fighting on two fronts and losing their elite both to the Catholics and to the Protestants. Both losses were permanent: after the decline in Protestant fortunes, the ex-Orthodox were more apt to move on to Catholicism than to return to their ancestral faith.

The primary challenge, however, came from the Catholics, and the reaction to it had begun even before Brest. Skarga's forceful book of 1577, and the implementation of Possevino's recommendations of the 1580s, had posed a challenge to the Orthodox. In the words of the Ukrainian historian Myxajlo

Hruševs'kyj, it inspired them to respond in kind to militant Catholicism. On the level of *histoire événementielle*, the revival of the Rus' faith can be dated from that time.

At first sight, the revival was nothing short of a miracle. By all accounts, the Orthodox church in Rus' was at its nadir. In 1585, Ruthenian Orthodox nobles wrote to Metropolitan Onysifor Divočka (who was to be deposed for his shortcomings several years later):

> Ever since Your Grace ascended the throne. much evil has come about in our Religion, such as violations of things holy, locking up of the Holy Sacrament, sealing up of the holy churches, prohibition of ringing the bells.... In addition, great devastation has befallen the churches; they have been made into Jesuit temples (*kostely*).... Abbots live in venerable monasteries with their wives and children instead of abbots and brethren living there.... What is more, Your Grace ordains bishops alone, without witness and without us, your brethren.... Unworthy persons obtain the lofty status of bishops and...live shamelessly in episcopal residences with their wives and produce children. We have pity on your soul and your conscience, for you will have to account for all this in the face of God.[1]

In 1586, the Jesuit Benedykt Herbest depicted the hopeless situation in which the "stupid and miserable Rus'" found themselves:

> God took everything away from the Greeks and, at the same time, from the Rus' as well. They do not have the memory to learn the Lord's prayer and the Creed; they do not have understanding sufficient to see salutary matters; they do not have sufficient good will to live in a proper manner. They kill the souls of infants when it comes to sacraments. They do not have episcopal anointment. They do not know the meaning of an orderly absolution. They fall into idolatry when it comes to the body of Christ. They fall into obvious adultery when it comes to the sacrament of marriage.... God have mercy on them and take their blind leaders away from them.[2]

A priest from Lviv was rumored to have introduced a sermon with the words, "O Christians, listen to the sermon by St. Rej," and then to have proceeded to read from the *Postilla*, a collection of sermons by Mikołaj Rej, a famous Polish Calvinist writer of the sixteenth century. The story dates from the 1640s and was related by a Uniate clergyman. Nonetheless, it serves to

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1.   *Akty, otnosjaščiesja k istorii Zapadnoj Rossii, sobrannye i izdannye Arxeografičeskoju komissieju,* vol. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1848), no. 146: 289–91.

2.   Cf. *Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka,* vol. 7 (1882), p. 597. Cf. also *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii,* pt. 1, vol. 7 (Kyiv, 1887), p. 237; and M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury,* vol. 5, *Kul'turni i literaturni tečiji na Ukrajini v XV-XVI vv. i perše vidrodžennje (1580–1610)* (Reprint, New York, 1960), pp. 256–57.

illustrate the perceived level of ignorance among the Orthodox clergy of an earlier time.

In spite of this sad state of affairs, a rebirth was possible because two important sets of people supported it. One was the group of scholars protected by Konstantyn Ostroz'kyj, the Ukrainian magnate who had long been the palatine of Kyiv but whose headquarters were in Ostrih in Volhynia. He was fabulously rich, for he owned thirty-five small towns and a thousand villages in Volhynia and Podillja; he was potentially powerful, for he boasted that he could muster fifteen to twenty thousand soldiers to march in defense of Orthodoxy. Ostroz'kyj was considered a protagonist of the Orthodox, but his grand seigneur contacts with Catholics and Protestants alike made him an ambivalent religious leader.

The group that was assembled in Ostrih in the 1580s was a variegated one: some Catholics, some anti-Trinitarians (these Unitarians believed that Prince Ostroz'kyj was secretly an adherent of their religion, or at least their *fautor aut patronus*); Greeks of various provenance from both Byzantium and Rome; and a few refugees from Muscovy, including the famous printer Ivan Fedorov, who had fled Ivan IV's realm—hounded by the envy of "many lay and ecclesiastic leaders and teachers" who accused him of heresy—and afterwards was active in Belarus', in Lviv and in Volhynia. He adjusted to his new milieu, and was called *Ioan Fedorovyč drukar Moskvytyn* in the inscription on his tombstone in Lviv, written in the Ukrainian vernacular.

The Ostrih group could claim two achievements. The first was in publishing. They may have lacked Greek type on occasion, but nonetheless they published some texts of the church fathers, both reprints and new translations, and the first Church Slavonic printed text of the entire Bible (in the year 1581). Ivan Fedorov participated in that enterprise both as printer and as scholar.

The second achievement was the so-called Ostrih Academy, probably the earliest Orthodox Slavic establishment of its kind. We know little about it, except for the following: that it was in existence by 1581; that three languages—Church Slavonic, Latin, and Greek—were taught there; that Greek teachers were active there (e.g., the future patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lukaris [Kyrillos Loukaris], in the 1590s); that instruction in Greek there was passably good; that the outstanding publicist Herasym Smotryc'kyj may have been its rector; and, finally, that important literary and public figures were among its alumni, including Herasym's son, Meletij Smotryc'kyj, and, probably, the famous hetman Petro Sahajdačnyj.

The Ostrih circle was, however, almost a historical accident. It was an isolated case rather than one of many illustrating the defense by the Ukrainian nobility, high or low, of their ancestral faith. We know that some nobles were part of the Ostrih milieu (e.g., Smotryc'kyj and Philalet), but we cannot point

to another comparable Orthodox court with similar activities going on. The sons of Konstantyn Ostroz'kyj became Catholic, and the Ostrih Academy was replaced by a Jesuit school shortly after 1620.

The second group that took up the cause of the ancestral faith were the confraternities (*bratstva*) in Ukrainian and Belarus' towns. In contradistinction to the Ostrih center, the confraternities did not represent isolated instances of cultural activity; they involved a whole social stratum of the burgher elite, which assumed the tasks and burdens of cultural patronage. That such groups could come into being was the result of prosperity in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Poland, especially along the trade routes leading to the southwest, southeast, and east, and particularly in Lviv. That these groups' horizons did not become any wider was due to the secondary place townsfolk held in the nobiliary Polish Commonwealth, although the burghers were still strong enough to ensure the reestablishment of the Orthodox bishopric in Lviv in 1539.

The origin of the confraternities is obscure. In the Byzantine world, some parallels are as old as the seventh, tenth, and twelfth centuries. Confraternities also existed in the medieval West. In sixteenth-century Eastern Europe they emerge as organizations of burghers, either of the same profession or of various crafts structured in a fashion reminiscent of guilds in Byzantium and Western Europe. Their membership, usually assumed for life, encompassed the wealthier townsmen and was limited to the Orthodox. The purpose of a confraternity was originally to hold activities of a convivial nature and to take part as a group in funerals, church holidays and processions. From these tasks it was only a step to the economic support of a town church, charitable works, the establishment and maintenance of schools, and the foundation of printing presses. By the 1580s, the Ukrainian and Belarusian confraternities had gone on to undertake all these ventures.

One characteristic of several confraternities was their direct dependence on the patriarch of Constantinople or of Jerusalem. On their own initiative, they were declared stauropegial (i.e., "crucifixal": the patriarch or his representative planted a cross on their property to signify his direct protection over them). This reliance on post-Byzantine Greeks enabled the confraternities to reach over the head of the local church hierarchy, but put them in direct conflict with that local hierarchy, particularly, again, in Lviv. The hierarchy's displeasure with the confraternities' initiatives in church affairs made the prospect of union all the more attractive to it. For the Orthodox burghers stauropegial status held important advantages, because the local hierarchy was in a state of decay.

The paramount importance of the confraternities lay in the field of education. The Lviv Confraternity School was founded in 1585 with the blessing of two patriarchs, Joakeim of Antioch and Jeremiah II of

Constantinople; the Polish king confirmed its existence in 1592. The Vilnius Confraternity School dates from 1584; it was blessed by Jeremiah II in 1588 and recognized by the king in 1589. That of Luc'k was granted royal privileges in 1619 and patriarchal blessing in 1620. Finally, the Kyiv Confraternity School was founded in the second decade of the seventeenth century.

The teaching programs of the schools represented progress over those of their predecessors, but were still conservative. The royal privileges called the Lviv school Graeco-Slavonic, and that of Luc'k Graeco-Latino-Slavonic. While the attention given to Greek was genuine, it was motivated not by a desire to return to antiquity, but by a need to find the sources of ancestral tradition and to oppose Greek to Latin, the language preempted by the Catholic adversary. Limited as this approach was, it did bring results. A Greek-Slavonic grammar was produced in Lviv in 1591; the school's graduates were able to translate from Greek, to correct church books with the help of Greek originals, to use Greek writings in their own works, and to add spice to their original compositions by sprinkling them with Greek quotations. These results were possible owing to the presence of a few Greek *daskaloi* in these schools, such as Arsenios, bishop of Elasson, whom we remember from Essay 7 and who had a successful teaching career in Lviv (and a somewhat less successful one in Moscow), and, of course, Cyril Lukaris.

A teaching appointment at a confraternity school was a prestigious matter. Some of the best-known figures of the period were teachers and leaders of these schools. Among them were Lavrentij Zyzanij, the author of the famous Church Slavonic-Ukrainian dictionary of 1596, who taught at Lviv; Iov Borec'kyj, the first metropolitan of Kyiv to be confirmed after the reestablishment of the Orthodox hierarchy following the union; and Meletij Smotryc'kyj. The latter two led the Confraternity School of Kyiv. We shall adduce more relevant names in Essay 11.

For all their importance, the confraternity schools could not withstand Catholic competition. Their reliance on Church Slavonic and Greek cut them off from the mainstream of European culture of their time and handicapped their students in preparing for careers in the Polish state, where Latin and Polish were indispensable tools. The schools tried to resolve the problem by combining an unswerving adherence to the Orthodox substance of instruction with Polono-Latin instructional forms, after the Jesuit model. The model was adopted, but not without opposition from both the confraternities themselves and the Cossacks. Peter Mohyla and his Kyivan *collegium*, founded in 1632, used this solution as well, thereby assuring the century-long success of Mohyla's enterprise.

The Greek prelates and clerics active in Ukraine before and after the Union of Brest did more than strengthen the Orthodox faith by linking it to its

Byzantine sources: they gave it back its hierarchical organization, disrupted by the union. With the death of the last bishop loyal to Orthodoxy, some twenty years after the union, canonically there was no longer any Orthodox hierarchy. The formerly Orthodox hierarchs were now Uniate. On paper, the Orthodox no longer existed: only Uniates were recognized in Poland-Lithuania. From the very beginning, however, some of the Orthodox, including Konstantyn Ostroz'kyj and the archimandrite of the Kyivan Caves Monastery, refused to recognize the union. Endless altercations over the adjudication of church property to the Orthodox or the Uniate side ensued. The Polish state favored the Uniates, but had to deal with the opposition, take into account the demands of wars with Turkey and Muscovy, and reckon with the Zaporozhian Cossacks, a new element that declared itself on the side of Orthodoxy in the 1610s. The situation was unstable and equivocal. The Zaporozhians neither permanently rejected nor fully recognized the Polish king's authority, and were too menacing to make a showdown desirable. By 1618, the Polish Diet granted freedom of religious worship to the Orthodox, although officially they no longer existed and in fact had no hierarchy of their own.

The Orthodox hierarchy was reestablished in 1620 by Theophanes, patriarch of Jerusalem. On his way back from Moscow, he stopped in Kyiv, where he needed a Cossack escort because he was suspect to the Poles. He established contact with the Kyiv confraternity, called together a gathering of the clergy and the faithful, and, toward the end of the year, secretly consecrated Iov Borec'kyj, the former rector of the confraternity school, as metropolitan of Kyiv. The reestablishment of the hierarchy can be linked to political events— the Polish defeat at the hands of the Turks near Cecora—and to strings pulled by Moscow. Its final confirmation by the Polish state had to wait until 1632. But the act of 1620 still provided the Orthodox side—both Hetman Sahajdač- nyj's Cossacks and the anti-Uniate polemicists—with a rallying point. It also represented a concrete achievement—the establishment of a metropolitanate— that had to be defended, propagandized, and preserved.

The religious factor in the Cossack movement first emerged clearly during this period. Between 1580 and 1600, the Cossacks seem not to have taken a position in religious matters. One contemporary, Stanisław Sarnicki, stressed the importance of Muslim elements among them. It is not clear how decisively they supported the reestablishment of the hierarchy in 1620, although as early as 1610 their hetman promised to defend "our Eastern church and Greek faith unto death," and by 1632, they unmistakably appear as defenders of Orthodox cultural interests. Early in that year, the Cossack hetman Ivan Petražyc'kyj issued documents assuring Cossack protection for the school founded by Peter Mohyla, and he instructed local Cossack commanding officers to support the fusion between the confraternity's and

Mohyla's school.

The revival of the Rus' faith had a contradictory effect upon the formation of a national consciousness on Ukrainian territory. On the one hand, it strengthened one component of national identity among the Orthodox in Ukraine. A feeling of solidarity developed among several strata of the population. A few nobles, the more prosperous townsfolk, some prelates, ordinary priests, and the Cossacks collectively became more intensely aware of their "otherness" vis-à-vis the Poles.

Precisely at the time of this revival, the motif of continuity between the Kyiv of the 1600s and the Kyiv of the glorious days of old made its appearance in literature and epigraphy. In his *Virši* on the death of Hetman Petro Sahajdačnyj (1622), Kasijan Sakovyč appeared as a loyal subject of the Polish crown, speaking of the Zaporozhian host who faithfully defended and served the "fatherland [i.e., Poland-Lithuania] and the kings" and exhorting that host to "keep faithful to his Lordship the King." Significantly, however, he also spoke of the Cossack ancestors of Japhet's seed who attacked Constantinople by sea in the time of Oleg (*Olekga*), "the monarch of Rus'," and were baptized together with the "Rus' monarch 'Vladymer.'" The Cossacks of his own day, Sakovyč added, were ready to die for Volodimer's faith.[3]

In 1621, Metropolitan Iov Borec'kyj, in his *Protestation* concerning the reestablishment of the Orthodox metropolitanate, saw the Cossacks as the "remnants of the Rus' of Old," and had this to say about them:

This is the tribe of the glorious Rus' nation of Japhet's seed, who warred against the Greek Empire by the Black Sea and by land. To this stock belongs the host who stormed Constantinople at the time of Oleg, the monarch of Rus', by plying the sea in their *monoxyla* and dragging them overland, after having attached wheels to them. It was they who waged war against Greece, Macedonia, and Illyricum during the time of Volodimer the Great, the holy monarch of Rus'. It was their ancestors who received baptism together with Volodimer, accepted the Christian faith from the Church of Constantinople, and have been born, and baptized, and have been living in this faith until the present day."[4]

The similarities between Borec'kyj's statement, written in Polish, and

3. Xv. Titov, *Materijaly dlja istoriji knyžnoji spravy na Vkrajini v XVI-XVII vv.* (Kyiv, 1924), pp. 37–51, esp. pp. 38–39. Translation into modern Ukrainian in V. V. Jaremenko, ed., *Ukrajins'ka poezija XVII stolittja (perša polovyna)* (Kyiv, 1988), pp. 160–83. Cf. also M. Voznjak, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Lviv, 1921), p. 278.

4. V. I. Lamanskij, ed., *Stat'i po slavjanovedeniju*, vol. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1910), esp. pp. 149–50; Cf. also M. Voznjak, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Lviv, 1921), p. 259.

Sakovyč's Ukrainian verses are so striking that the two texts must have emanated from the same source.

Traditionally, we connect the historical perspective present in Borec'kyj's and Sakovyč's texts with the rebirth of the Rus' faith. A similar conception, however, seems to have had currency in contemporary Catholic circles as well. We recall (Essay 8) how about 1618 Jan Dąbrowski traced the history of Kyiv in his day back to the ancient Russes' campaign against Byzantium. It is thus worth noting that within a span of four years (between 1618 and 1622), the same concept of local history emerged in the writings of a Catholic Pole, of a staunch Orthodox and of an Orthodox later to become first a Uniate, then a Catholic. The construct was proclaimed, depending on the audience intended, in Latin, Polish, or Ruthenian, three of the four languages of Ukraine.

In its Orthodox version, the concept of continuity in Kyivan history survived well into the forties of the century. We can view Syl'vestr Kosov's Polish *Paterikon* of 1635 (Πατερικòν *abo żywoty SS. oycow pieczarskich. Obszyrnie Słowieńskim ięzykiem przez Swiętego Nestora Zakonnika y Látopiscá Ruskiego przedtym nápisány. Teraz záś z Graeckich, Laciński, Słowiánskich, y Polskich Pisárzow obiásniony, y krocey podány...*), its later Ukrainian translation, and its historicizing reworking by Peter Mohyla's successor, Josyf Tryzna, as composite works of Orthodox polemics, incorporating both old Rus' and Polish sources. When we consider, however, that the core of all these versions consisted of the fifteenth-century recension of the Kyivan *Paterikon*, a work that went back to the thirteenth and earlier centuries; when we further consider that Kosov glorified the old Kyivan traditions, we are entitled to see in the seventeenth-century versions of the *Paterikon* works that attempted—as the so-called second Kasijan version of the *Paterikon* had attempted for the renascent Kyiv of 1462—to link the Kyiv of early centuries to the Kyiv of Kosov and his followers.[5] The same view of the past was implied in the inscription over the part of the Church of the Savior at Berestovo that was restored by Mohyla in 1643. The inscription proclaimed: "This church was erected by the great prince and autocrat of all Rus', Saint Volodimer; after many years and destruction by the godless Tatars, it was restored by the humble metropolitan of Kyiv, Halyč, and all Rus', Peter Mohyla."[6] We shall meet with more examples of that sort in Essay 11.

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5. For the text of Kosov's *Paterikon*, cf. Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, 4 (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp. 3–116.

6. For a partial photo of the Berestovo inscription, cf. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 8 (June 1984): 44, fig. 4. Also in I. Ševčenko, *Byzantium and the Slavs in Letters and Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., and Naples, 1991), p. 687, fig. 4.

There was, however, the other side of the coin. The rebirth of the Rus' faith created a potential drawback for the formation of a separate national consciousness on Ukrainian territory. While reasserting the "otherness" of the Ukrainian Orthodox from the Poles, it tended to stress their similarity to the Muscovites and their community of interests with them. In 1620, the same year that the Orthodox hierarchy was reestablished, a Cossack delegation appeared in Moscow, offering the Cossacks' submission to the tsar. For the time being, it was a minor affair: the tsar received them not in person, but through underlings, and the Cossacks themselves had to admit that the Polish king was not really endangering their faith at that particular moment. In 1622, the contributors to Sakovyč's *Virši* on Sahajdačnyj did not conceal that hetman's participation in Poland's campaigns against Muscovy, but they tactfully did not mention Muscovy by name: they just referred to it as "Northern Lands." In 1624 and 1625, the Kyiv confraternity turned to Tsar Mixail Fedorovič with a request for alms. Mindful of whom they were addressing, they managed to write their petition in pure Old Church Slavonic rather than in their usual idiom, the mixed vernacular of the time. This, too, was a minor point. Still, these were the beginnings of a path that led to the vassalage treaty of Perejaslav in 1654. For the time being, however, Moscow was cautious. It was recuperating from the Time of Troubles, and, what is more, it did not quite trust the Orthodoxy of the people coming from Ukraine. When Lavrentij Zyzanij came to Moscow in 1627, the Muscovites thought he was speaking in "Lithuanian" and Polish and communicated with him through interpreters. The patriarchal text editors (*spravščiki*) suspected his catechism and his Orthodoxy because he quoted St. Augustine and St. Jerome, and they said to him: "You, Lavrentij, declare that you are a man of the Greek faith, and you know how to speak Greek and you read Greek books. Why, then, are you not following the canons of the Greek faith?" If by 1627 the Ukrainians were still not quite aware of their own distinctiveness, the Muscovites were there to remind them of it.

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Cf. also the bibliographic note to essay 10.

ESSAY 10

Religious Polemical Literature in the Ukrainian and Belarus' Lands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*

$\mathcal{T}$he Reformation and the Counter-Reformation were sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Western events that produced a ferment in the intellectual life of parts of Eastern Europe, including the Ruthenian lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. There, the ferment found its most articulate expression in contemporary religious polemics that raged among Protestants, Catholics, Uniates, and Orthodox. Protestant polemics, restricted mostly to the elite, can be described as skirmishes by generals without armies. In contrast, the debates over the Union of Brest (1596) involved a good part of society and even seeped down to the Cossacks. The various positions represented in the debates can be correlated with social and national differences in the area, and herein lies their interest and importance.

The history of the controversies falls into two periods. One, extending from the 1580s to about 1630, was centered in Vilnius and western Ukraine; the other, extending from 1630 to the end of the century, was centered in Kyiv. The writings of the first period are livelier and closer to events of the time than those of the second period, at which time they tend to be dogmatic and abstract. Most examples to be adduced here come from the first period.

This was the period during which Catholic or Uniate authors generally led the attack; the Orthodox merely reacted, sometimes enlisting Protestant arguments—and, once, even a Protestant writer—in their cause. The Jesuit polemicist Peter (Piotr) Skarga's *On the Unity of God's Church* (*O iedności Kościoła Bożego pod iednym pasterzem y o greckim od tey iedności odstąpieniu z przestrogą y upominaniem do narodów ruskich przy Grekach stoiących...*, Vilnius, 1577), which delivered the first thunderous salvo in the battle, went unanswered for exactly twenty years. The answer did finally come, in a work entitled *Apokrisis* (*ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ, abo odpowiedź na xiążki*

o Synodzie Brzeskim imieniem ludzi starożytney religiey Greckiey, przez Christophora Philaletha w porywczą dana), but it was written by the king's secretary, Marcin Broniewski, a Protestant Pole masquerading as an Orthodox Ruthenian. A Uniate pamphlet by Lev Krevza, entitled *The Defense of the Unity of the Church (Obrona iednosci cerkiewney, abo dowody, ktorymi się pokazuie iż Grecka Cerkiew z Łacinską ma być ziednoczona, podane do druku za roskazaniem...Oyca Jozefa Wielamina Rutskiego, Archiepiskopa y Metropolity Kiiowskiego, Halickiego y wszystkiey Rusi)*,[1] appeared in 1617. It was answered by the enormous *Palinodija (Palinodia, sireč̆ь kniha oborony svjatoj apostolьskoj vsxodnĕj Cerьkvi kafoličeskoj i svjatyx patriarxovь i o Hrekoxь i o Rossoxь xristianexь v lasce božoj)* of Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj about 1621.

In 1586, the Jesuit Benedykt Herbest published a pamphlet entitled *Wiary kościoła rzymskiego wywody y greckiego niewolstwa historya...* in defense of papal primacy and on behalf of the calendar reform introduced by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582. It was answered a year later by Herasym Smotryc'kyj, rector of the Ostrih Academy and father of Meletij Smotryc'kyj. Herasym refused to accept the new calendar, saying that it moved the date of Easter so far back that the latter would be celebrated in a blizzard. The Ruthenians were not alone in their rejection—various Protestant countries did not accept the Gregorian calendar until the eighteenth century, and Russia did so only in 1918. The Ruthenians, living in a state in which the Gregorian calendar had been adopted, and under attack by the Counter-Reformation church that had propagated it, continued to emphasize their distinctiveness by maintaining a stubborn attachment to the Julian calendar, an attachment that has persisted among Uniates into the twentieth century.

When it was the Catholics' turn to reply to the Orthodox, their reaction was quick. Meletij Smotryc'kyj's *Thrēnos (Θρηνος, to iest Lament iedyney ś. powszechney apostolskiey wschodniey cerkwie z obiaśnieniem dogmat wiary— pierwey z Graeckiego na Słowieński, a teraz z Słowieńskiego na Polski przełożony. Przez Theophila Orthologa....)*,[2] which made a splash in 1610,

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1. On the works of Krevza and Kopystens'kyj, see O. Pritsak and B. Strumiński, introduction to *Lev Krevza's "Obrona iednosci cerkiewney..." and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's "Palinodija,"* Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 3 (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp. xi-lviii.

2. On Smotryc'kyj, see D. A. Frick, "Meletij Smotryc'kyj and the Ruthenian Question in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 8 (1984): 351–75; his "Meletij Smotryc'kyj and the Ruthenian Language Question," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 9 (1985): 25–52; his introduction to *The Collected Works of Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp. xi-xxxviii; his introduction to *The "Jevanhelije učytelnoje" of Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp. ix-xvi; and his

was countered by the formidable Skarga in the same year by a book with a rhyming title (*Na threny i lament Theophila Orthologa do Rusi greckiego nabożeństwa przestroga*, Cracow, 1610). These dates would seem to indicate that the Orthodox side, once awakened by the Catholics, started somewhat sluggishly, but, as time went on, its actions gathered momentum and were able occasionally to put the Catholics on the defensive.

We can distinguish traditionalists—at times, even reactionaries—among the Orthodox polemicists. A member of the Ostrih circle, Vasyl' of Suraž (near Ostrih)—author of the work without title, called after its first chapter *On the One Faith* (*O edinoj istinnoj pravoslavnoj věrě i o svjatoj sobornoj apostol-skoj cerkvi, otkudu načalo prinjala i kako povsjudu rasprostresja*, published in Ostrih in 1588)—and Ivan Vyšens'kyj represented this traditional wing. The Protestant Marcin Broniewski, author of *Apokrisis*, represented the extreme end of the "progressive" wing. The anonymous author of *Perestoroha* (*Perestoroha zělo potrebnaja na potomnyje časy pravoslavnym xristianom svjatoje kafoličeskoje vostočnoje cerkve synom*) of 1605 or 1606 should be placed somewhere in between.

The differences between these three factions are to be sought not in their (uniformly negative) attitudes toward Catholic dogma, but in the literary form employed in their works and in their views on modern ways of education and learning. The traditionalists wrote in a less Polonized form of Church Slavonic, or in a Church Slavonic mixed with Ukrainian vernacular, and used Byzantine or para-Byzantine—in both cases, outmoded—polemical texts in Slavonic translation. They distrusted Latin and extolled the virtues of Church Slavonic. People in between, like the author of *Perestoroha*, wrote in a heavily Polonized vernacular and extolled the values of education, including worldly learning. Finally, the "progressives" wrote in brilliant Polish, betrayed Latin modes of thought in their prose, quoted Latin phrases, and dealt with questions of authenticity on the basis of whether the original of the incriminated text was written in Greek or in Latin.

Although on all sides the polemics were conducted with only a superficial show of learning, they were written with genuine gusto, uninhibited by anything like modern libel laws. The showing-off took the form of using Greek, mostly for the titles of the tracts: Smotryc'kyj's (if he in fact was the author) response of 1609 to a script accusing the Orthodox of heresy and ignorance was called *Antigraphē* ('Αντιγραφή, *albo odpowiedź na script uszczypliwy, przeciwko ludziom starożytney religji graeckiey od apostatow cerkwie wschodniey wydany, ktoremu tituł «Heresiae, ignoranciae y politika popów y mieszczan bractwa wileńskiego» tak też y na książkę rychło potym*

Meletij Smotryc'kyj (Cambridge, Mass., 2001).

ku obiaśnieniu tegoż skriptu wydaną, nazwiskiem «Harmonią»....., Vilnius, 1608), which the author translated as "reply." This called forth Potij's rejoinder, *Antirrisis (ANTIPPHΣIΣ, abo Apologia przeciwko Krzysztofowi Philaletowi który niedawno wydał ksiąszki imieniem starożytnej Rusi religij Greckiey przeciw ksiąszkom o synodzie Brzeskim napisanym w roku Pańskim 1597)*, the Greek word having the sense of "refutation" but also meaning "reply." Broniewski's refutation of Skarga's work was called *Apokrisis*, which again means "reply." In literature of this kind, the title *Apologia* is common: it was used for the tract written by Meletij Smotryc'kyj upon becoming a Uniate (*Apologia peregrinatiey do kraiów wschodnych....*, Lviv, 1628). A refutation of his work was called *Antapologia (Antapologia abo Apologiej, którą... O. M. Smotrycki...napisał, zniesienie*, 1632), an invented, if correctly formed, Greek term, which meant, according to its creator, "abolition of the Apology." Setting Orthodox errors straight was the purpose of a work by Kasijan Sakovyč called *Epanorthōsis* (i.e., "correction") (*'Επανόρθωσις albo Perspectiwa y obiaśnienie błędów, herezyey y zabobonów w grekoruskiey cerkwi disunickiey*, Cracow, 1642). It called for a response, and got one from no less a person than Peter Mohyla, who, writing under the pseudonym of Eusebius Pimin, and getting some editorial help, entitled his work *Lithos, or Stone Hurled from the Sling of Truth of the Holy Orthodox Rus' Church (Λίθος, abo kamien z procy prawdy cerkwie świętey prawosławney ruskiey Ná skruszenie Fałecznoćiemney Perspektiwy albo raczey Pászkwilu od Kassiana Sakowiczá...wypuszczony....*, Kyiv, 1644). That "Stone" was in turn crushed by Sakovyč's *Adze, or Hammer for the Crushing of the Schismatic Stone Hurled from the Kyivan Monastery of the Caves by a Certain Eusebius Pimin (Oskard albo młot na skruszenie kamienia schyzmatyckiego, rzuconego z Ławry Kijowskiej Pieczarskiej od niejakiegoś Euzebja Pimina*, Cracow, 1646). Pimin, which means "shepherd" in Greek, referred to Mohyla himself.

"Pimin" shows that the vogue for Greek extended to the names—or, rather, pseudonyms—that these authors chose for themselves. The king's secretary, Marcin Broniewski, a Protestant, hides under the mask of Christopher Philalet (i.e., "lover of truth"). Meletij Smotryc'kyj appears as Theophil Ortholog, meaning "man of true utterance," which adversaries turned into Mateolog, meaning "man of vain utterance." Indeed, puns of all sorts, not just Greek ones, abound in this literature. A Catholic would be called a *katolyk*, the word *lykos* meaning "wolf" in Greek. A metropolitan would be called a *metropilate*, invoking the name of Pontius Pilate. The author Philalet was derided as *Philoplet*—the verb *pleść* means "to spin a yarn" in Polish, so the name Philoplet meant "lover of nonsense."

Authors affecting a more popular style used the device of rhymed prose, such as the one employed at the end of a colourful vignette in Herasym Smotryc'kyj's *Key to the Heavenly Kingdom (Ključ carstva nebesnoho,*

probably Ostrih, 1587), concerning celibate Catholic priests and their patrons:

In the same way they took away from their clerics their legally wedded wives, preordained and offered by the Scriptures and by the holy apostles as well, wives who were confirmed by them in deed and writ. In their stead they substituted adulteresses, and even when [the church authorities] did not substitute them, the [present-day] clerics themselves think up the evil, given the fact that many of them openly keep [these women] with themselves [i.e., in their households] and they require a special stipend to be given to these women by their lords. "If your Grace has provided for the chaplain, there is a need for a laundress to boot"— while you, poor Ruthenian *pope*, must live in wretched poverty with your lawfully wedded wife (*potreba ešče i na pračku, a ty bidnyj pope ruskij musyš i z zakonnoju nendzu klepaty neboračku*).[3]

Other rhymes and puns that Smotryc'kyj employed for sarcastic or humorous purposes include: *onoho Formosa, za kotoroho stalsja kostel rymskyj jak lyce bez nosa* ("that <Pope> Formosus [the name means 'beautiful'] in whose time the Roman Church became like a face without a nose [i.e., ugly]"); and *jakova toho černyla duxovnaja syla* ("what is the spiritual power of this ink [i.e., writing]").

Sometimes the style transcends the level of rhymes and puns and rises to that of a tragic dirge. That occurs in the following passage from *Perestoroha*, in which a parallel is drawn between the time of Christ—tried by the archpriests and by pagan Rome, represented by Pontius Pilate—and the author's own time:

For this very reason, at this end of Time, Satan, seeing that his power is coming to an end, is devastating the church through her elders, through the highest, most powerful, and wisest superiors, through the internal enemy—namely, through the archpriest of the Roman church, in the first place, and through the present pagan Turkish emperor, in the second.

The pope, who leads everyone away to his obedience—excommunicates, tortures, kills, sends armies, destroys states and churches, takes away all kinds of liberties, menaces, exclaims, blares, wages perpetual warfare, leading the powerful and the humble into temptation, asserts that the Catholic church must be situated at his court in Rome, sends his innovations [novels?] all over the world, sends the preachers of his new Order, the Jesuits, all over the world, and changes times and years—he confused and curtailed the counting from the creation of the world and concealed the anti-Christ. As if they were still waiting for the Messiah together with the Jews, they have rejected the blood of Christ, and are using unleavened bread together with the Jews according to the order of Aaron, and they reject the sacrifice of Christ, their priest-king according to the order of Melchizedek.

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3. Cf. *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii*, pt. 1, vol. 7 (Kyiv, 1887), pp. 242, 243, 261. Cf. also M. Voznjak, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Lviv, 1921), p. 123.

On the other hand, the pagan emperor has extended his dominion over the church, this having been brought about by the pope, and, just as the pope does, is dragging everyone under his sway, and is devastating churches and turning them into his mosques. The Son of Man has been given to the archpriests and pagans to be mocked, and while they are crucifying him, they deride him and say: "If you are the Son of Man, descend from the cross, and we will believe in you. You have saved other people; save yourself and those who are with you now."

Such is God's providence instituted from the very beginning of the world concerning our human kind: He always opposes the just people to the unjust.[4]

Of course, whatever place the Orthodox author may have held on the spectrum just outlined—whether he was a traditionalist, a middle-of-the-roader, or a "progressive"—his main topics were shared both by his fellow polemicists and by his Catholic adversaries. Topics on doctrine and canon law had to do with papal primacy, with the procession of the Holy Ghost, with the use of unleavened bread for communion, with purgatory, and with the celibacy of priests. Depending on the polemicist's point of view, the just cause would be defended by having recourse to Scripture and history, or else by equating Rome with Babylon and the pope with the anti-Christ. The procession of the Holy Ghost would be through the Father and the Son (i.e., *filioque*) or the Father alone. Holy communion would be taken by the adversary in the Jewish (i.e., Roman Catholic) or in the schismatic (i.e., Orthodox) manner. Purgatory would or would not exist, and saints and sinners would either enjoy bliss or suffer punishment from the very moment of death (according to Roman Catholicism), or most of them would have to wait until the second coming of Christ (according to Orthodoxy). According to one side, the intellectual and spiritual development of the benighted Ruthenian priest was hampered by wife and children; according to the other, the Roman Catholic priest was mired in concubinage. Every one of these issues went back to Patriarch Photios (ninth century), Patriarch Michael Keroullarios (eleventh century), or Metropolitan Mark of Ephesus (fifteenth century), and, in every case, stemmed from Byzantium.

Another set of arguments used in these polemics was somewhat more exciting: it can be called historical, and it centered on four events. The first concerned the baptism of Rus'. The question was whether Rus' had been baptized in an Orthodox font or in a Roman Catholic one (either because the conversion took place before the schism of 1054, or because Christianity came to the Slavs from Rome via the Slavic apostles Cyril and Methodius). The Orthodox carried the day by maintaining that Rus' had received its faith from Constantinople and should remain under its jurisdiction. The second set of

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4.   Cf. M. Voznjak, *Pys'mennyc'ka dijal'nist' Ivana Borec'koho na Volyni i u L'vovi* (Lviv, 1954), p. 48.

arguments revolved around the historical question: who was responsible for the schism? It ended in a draw. The third had to do with the ecumenicity, legality, and aftermath of the Council of Florence. It ended in a draw as well, or represented a small victory for the Orthodox. Indeed, it was equally possible to call the council *listrikijs'kyj* (i.e., "the robber synod")—borrowing the term applied to the Council of 449—or ecumenical (although, as we saw in the preceding essay, the repercussions of this council in the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands were faint indeed). Finally, there remained the history, denigration, and defense of the recent Council of Brest. Here passions ran highest, and the verdict—at least, that regarding the council's effectiveness—could only be given by posterity.

Posterity—that is, we ourselves—may be most interested in still another category of topics that we might call local topics, or vignettes reflecting the state of mind and society as perceived by the polemicists. Here belongs the following statement by Peter Skarga:

> There are only two languages, Greek and Latin, through which the Holy Faith has been spread and grafted onto the whole world Outside those two no one can obtain perfection in any kind of learning, especially spiritual learning concerning the Holy Faith. This is not only because other languages are subject to constant change...but also because sciences are based only on these two languages, and cannot be translated into any other. The world has not known, and never will know, any academy or *collegium* where theology, philosophy, or other liberal arts could be taught and understood in any other language.[5]

This last assertion only amuses North American college students of today, but the Orthodox readers of Skarga's time must have been greatly offended by it. It was even more reactionary than the trilingual heresy, as defined by the Slavic apostles Cyril and Methodius, against which they struggled in Venice in 867. At least the trilingualists admitted that there were *three* languages in which the word of God could be preached (Hebrew, in addition to Greek and Latin), while Skarga admitted only two. He reiterated his assertion in other terms as well. No one, he claimed, can acquire learning on the basis of the Church Slavonic language, because in order to understand Church Slavonic, the Orthodox must rely on Polish. No Ruthenian knows Greek, Greeks are ignorant of Slavonic and Ruthenian, and in Moscow laymen read more than priests do. All science is in the hands of Catholics. Against such accusations, Syl'vestr Kosov, a former teacher at the Mohyla *collegium*, archimandrite of the Caves Monastery in Kyiv, and recently

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5. Cf. *Pamjatniki polemičeskoj literatury*, vol. 2, ed. P. Giltebrandt (= Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka, vol. 7 [St. Petersburg, 1882]). p. 485; cf. also Vo/njak, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 41.

ordained bishop of the Belarusian sees of Mahilëŭ (Mogilev) and Ms'cislaŭ (Mstislavl'), was prompted to write a defense of the Orthodox schools in 1635 under the title *Exegesis, to iest danie sprawy o szkołach kiowskich y winickich, w których uczą zakonnicy Religiey graeckiey, przez wielebnego oyca Sylwestra Kossowa, electa episkopa Mścisławskiego, Mogilowskiego, Orszańskiego, przed rokiem teraźnieyszym w tychże szkołach przez trzy lata professora, napisane...1635.*[6]

Other vignettes, whether by Uniates or by the Orthodox, referred to the wretched social position of the Orthodox clergy, forced to perform statute labour and to plough landlords' fields (Ipatij Potij, *Antirrisis*). If a Catholic landlord saw a horse, a cow, or a bee swarm that belonged to an Orthodox cleric and wanted it, he simply took it away. "O just God, look down from above and avenge," exclaimed Kopystens'kyj in his *Palinodija* of 1621. Some twenty-five years later, God would avenge, indeed, through Xmel'nyc'kyj's arm.

One argument found in the polemics was of a triple nature: it was historical, timely, and even of local application. It had to do with the fall of the Byzantine Empire, which had occurred some one hundred fifty years before these polemical tracts were written. The fall suggested that something was wrong with Orthodoxy, the official faith of the Empire, which had been adopted by whole nations outside that empire's boundaries. The tract *Perestoroha* has papists, heretics, and Jews say: "We do not believe you, because you do not have a Christian empire of your own in Constantinople." The following was the answer to the Jews: "Why were you not baptized during the long years [i.e., the eleven or twelve Christian centuries that preceded the fall of Constantinople to the Turks] during which you could have upheld the Christian empire in that city?" In their polemics with the Catholics, the Orthodox of Ukraine met the perennial argument based on the fall of Byzantium by defending the empire and extolling the spiritual purity of the post-Byzantine Greeks, unencumbered by the cares of a worldly empire and free to seek the kingdom of God under the eye of the tolerant Turk. The Greeks no longer ruled, but this was an advantage when it came to the salvation of their souls. They had no choice but to be humble; they could no longer raise the sword, and even the pagans in whose midst they lived marveled at their piety.

In Ukraine, however, deep respect for the Greeks and for Greek lore was limited to the Orthodox erudites. A less learned western Ukrainian writer of

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6.   On Syl'vestr Kosov and his works, see: P. Lewin, Introduction to *Seventeenth-Century Writings of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 4 (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp. xi-xxiv.

about 1600, Ivan Vyšens'kyj, scorned Plato and Aristotle and associated them with the great heretic Origen. He preferred John Chrysostom, or, better yet, the liturgical books: the *Hōrologion* and the *Oktoēchos*. He also thought that Slavic—by which he meant both Church Slavonic and the semi-vernacular language in which he himself wrote—was more honorable before God than Greek and Latin. Vyšens'kyj benefited from this loyalty to native tradition at the expense of Byzantine models: he is doubtless the most vigorous and exciting author of early seventeenth-century Ukrainian literature. Here we can draw a parallel with *Protopop* Avvakum of Muscovy. Avvakum also rejected what he called "Hellenic swiftness," stating that he was "not learned in dialectics," and wrote in practically vernacular Russian: he is also the most vigorous and best author of seventeenth-century Muscovite literature. There is one difference between the respective social milieux of the two writers, however, which helps to measure the distance that separated them from Byzantium and Greece in the mid-seventeenth century: when in need, Avvakum exchanged a book by Ephrem the Syrian for a horse and a *Nomocanon* (a collection of Canon Law) for the services of a helmsman, and did not know Greek; Vyšens'kyj, who spent much of his life as a solitary monk on Mt. Athos, must have known that language fairly well. He could make Greek puns and raise his Church Slavonic to the level of a calque of the Greek at will. Thus he called the hated Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus (Palaiologos) *Mateolog*, and in another passage, *Suetoslov*. Both mean "Mr. Vain Word," but one uses Greek, and the other, Slavonic components.

How many people read, or at least acquired, this polemical literature, and how passionately were they involved in it? We can give some kind of an answer by extrapolating from the number of printed copies that survive, from manuscripts of works never published, and from data on single editions and their stock in printing houses. To conclude that a work not in print at the time of the polemics had no influence may be a mistake: Kopystens'kyj's *Palinodija* did not appear in print until 1876, and yet traces of it can be found in many works printed in the seventeenth century. Much of the printed literature must have been ephemeral, however, for some of the works are lost altogether or known only from citations of their titles in the polemics of their adversaries. This is the case with the initial reply to Skarga's work by the Protestant Motovylo, and with the *Orthodox Catechism* by Stefan Zyzanij (1595), known only from a Catholic refutation. All other lost works, as far as I know, were written by the Uniate side: *The True Account of the Synod of Brest* (*Spravedlivoe opisan'e postupku i spravy synodu Berestejskoho*, Vilnius, 1597); *The Second Epistle by Potij to Prince Konstantyn Ostroz'kyj* (dated 3 July 1598); *Heresies* (*Herezje, ignorancje, i polityka popów i mieszczan bractwa wileńskiego*, 1608), which provoked Meletij Smotryc'kyj's already mentioned *Antigraphē* of 1608; *Discussion Between a Man from Brest and a*

Member of a Confraternity (Rozmova berestjanina s bratčikom, Vilnius, 1603); and *Nalyvajko Resurrected (Zmartwychwstały Nalewajko*, 1608).

Some of the tracts—usually the ones written in defense of the Catholic cause or of the Union of Brest—were republished in modern times from a single, often defective, remaining copy. Some examples are the first edition of Skarga's work of 1577, the Ukrainian text of Potij's *Antirrisis*, and the Belarusian-Ukrainian text of Skarga's *Description and Defense of the Council of Brest (Opisan'e i oborona ssboru Ruskoho Berestejskoho v roku 1596)*, dated 1597. The Polish copy of the same work, published in 1596, was unknown in the Russian Empire in 1903, but may have existed in the Polish city of Toruń. Modern editors used the editions of 1610 and 1783. Finally, here belongs, on the Orthodox side, Herasym Smotryc'kyj's *Ključ carstva nebesnoho*, presumably dating from 1587, preserved in one defective copy in Kyiv. Some works are known in only a few copies, either because the editions became depleted (e.g., Broniewski's *Apokrisis*, which was a rarity by 1630), or because adversaries bought up an edition and burned it (according to Skarga, this was the fate of his own book in 1577). The Orthodox also burned copies of Smotryc'kyj's *Apologia* of 1628. Finally, an Orthodox work might be confiscated by the crown, as happened with Smotryc'kyj's *Thrēnos*, written when the author was still Orthodox. On the other hand, a curious detail about *Thrēnos*'s fate suggests the wide dissemination of polemical literature: when the magistrates arrived to destroy Smotryc'kyj's work, they found only 36 copies of the *Thrēnos* left at the printer's. Incidentally, in Moscow, literature imported from Ukraine seems to have appeared in large editions and to have enjoyed great popularity. Pseudo-Nathanael's *Book on Faith (Knižica o věrě)*, published in Ukraine in 1644, was reprinted in Moscow in 1658 in 1200 copies; 850 copies of the Moscow edition were purchased within two months of its appearance.

Judging by these figures, the anti-Uniate movement was stronger and more popular than the Uniate one.[7] The number of lost, rare, or partially destroyed Uniate writings is larger, even though most of them were printed in Poland-Lithuania, which protected the union and occasionally confiscated anti-Uniate works.

Such a crude quantitative analysis of the readership of polemical literature might also be useful if applied to its authors: this on account of the information it could yield on the social, educational, and geographical background of

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7. On the history of the book trade in Ukraine, Belarus, and Muscovy during this period, see I. Isaievych, "The Book Trade in Eastern Europe in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. J. Brewer and R. Porter (London, 1993), pp. 381–92.

the authors themselves and of their patrons. In addition, places of publication and the languages used in the tracts should be tabulated.[8] Here, by applying the rule of thumb, we come up with some surprising finds. Thus the number of anti-Uniate authors of noble descent turns out to be larger than one might have anticipated. Of seven commoners, five were connected with the church. In fact, the large majority of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors were ecclesiastics. We have to wait until the eighteenth century for the emergence of a group of lay writers coming from the ranks of the higher Cossack bureaucracy, such as the compilers of the Cossack "Chronicles." Another surprise concerns the geographical background of the anti-Uniate—or, at least, Orthodox—polemicists of the first period. All eight of them were from western Ukraine, and of those, all but two were from Galicia. This finding should provide food for thought to a modern observer of Ukraine who is accustomed to identifying the west of the country with the Uniate church.

By comparison, the results of tabulating places of publication are less surprising, unless one is struck by the realization that much of the polemical literature of the earlier period was published outside Ukraine. Most of the texts, both Orthodox and Uniate, that were published between 1595 and 1617 came from Vilnius; Ostrih was second in importance, but disappeared as a source of printing by 1600. Kyiv began to figure in 1619 and Lviv in 1629, but in the latter case the polemical work was Uniate.

The known patrons of polemical literature stand out by their rarity. Among the high nobility, the Orthodox Prince Konstantyn Ostroz'kyj is easily in first place, for at least five polemical books were dedicated to him. He is followed by his Catholic son Janusz and by the Orthodox Myxajlo Vyšnevec'kyj (Michał Wiśniowecki), father of Jarema. Among the princes of the church, only Metropolitan Myxajlo Rohoza (Rahoza) of Kyiv comes to mind for the early period: the Lviv confraternity dedicated its Greek-Slavonic *Prosphōnēma* to him in 1591.

About the language of the polemics there are no surprises to report. While the Orthodox wrote in the Polonized vernacular more often than the Uniates did, the works of the first period (whether Orthodox, Uniate, or Catholic)

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8. Lists of polemical writings are found in M. Voznjak, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 2, *Viky XVI-XVIII*, pt.1 (Lviv, 1921), pp. 356–76 (some inexactitudes); A. Martel, *La langue polonaise dans les pays ruthènes: Ukraine et Russie Blanche, 1569–1667*, Travaux et mémoires de l'Université de Lille, Nouvelle série: Droit et lettres, vol. 20 (Lille, 1938), pp. 132–41; and A. Brückner, "Spory o Unię w dawnej literaturze," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 10, no. 3 (1896): 578–644. Biographical data on authors of the polemical writings, lists of their works, and related bibliography are provided by L. Maxnovec', *Ukrajins'ki pys'mennyky: Bio-bibliohrafičnyj slovnyk*, vol. 1, *Davnja ukrajins'ka literatura XI-XVIII st. st.* (Kyiv, 1960).

were more often than not written in Polish.

Still—to close with a point already raised at the end of the previous essay—what about Muscovy? Peter Skarga, in his work of 1577, claimed to know what "was pulling [the Rus' nation] away from unity with the [Catholic] church," and what "was the greatest stumbling block in the way of unity." The reasons were "the glances you Ruthenians were casting toward the Muscovite churches" and "the successes the Muscovite prince was experiencing in his rule in our times, and toward people with whom you share the same language and religion."[9] In spite of his last statement, Skarga could not quite have believed that the people of Rus' spoke the same language as the Muscovites, because in another place in the same work he clearly distinguished between Rus' and Muscovy. Still, he must have had reasons for singling out Moscow as the chief stumbling block to union. Was this assessment correct? As yet no answer has been given; future research might look for it among the writings of Orthodox polemicists and of other authors active, say, between 1577 and 1704,[10] both by collecting direct indications of their feelings toward the Muscovite ruler and by analyzing symptomatic phrases, such as the use of the terms *Rus'*, *ruski*, *do narodov ruskix*, *rusak*, *rus'kyj*, *rosskij*, *Rossija*, *rosiejski*, *rossiyski*, *roxolański*, *Russus*, *ρωσσαïκή*, *Rossiaca*, and *rossijs'kyj*. One should also determine the social status and cultural equipment of individual polemicists.

Take, for example, the Kyivan Metropolitan Iov Borec'kyj. In his Polish *Protestacja* of 1621, Borec'kyj echoed Skarga when he stated that "we," that is, the Orthodox of Ukraine and the Cossacks, shared "faith, liturgy, origin, language and customs" with Moscow; no disloyalty to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was implied, however. Borec'kyj wished only to show to the Polish side how absurd it was to accuse both the Orthodox hierarch and the Cossacks of conniving with the Turk.[11]

Take, as another example, the Belarusian Afanasij Filippovič, for some time monk of the Kupjatyči Monastery and later *hegumen* in Brest. Some ten years before the Cossack wars, he travelled to Moscow to collect alms for a miraculous icon of the Theotokos and to petition Tsar Mixail Fedorovič. He

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9. *Pamjatniki polemičeskoj literatury*, vol. 2, ed. P. Giltebrandt (= Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka, vol. 7 [St. Petersburg, 1882]), p. 496.

10. The years 1577 and 1704 refer to the respective dates of publication of Piotr Skarga's *O iedności Kościoła Bożego* and Fedor Polikarpov's *Leksikon trejazyčnyj*. On the latter, see Essay 12.

11. Platon N. Žukovič, "Protestacija mitropolita Iova Boreckago i drugix zapadno-russkix ierarxov, sostavlennaja 28 aprelja 1621 goda," in V. I. Lamanskij, ed., *Stat'i po slav-janovedeniju*, vyp. 3 (1910), pp. 135–53, esp. p. 143.

was not overtly pro-Cossack; his *Diary* of 1646 contains not a single good word about them. Yet he was accused by Polish vigilantes of sending gunpowder and letters to the Cossacks in 1648; although he denied the accusation, and no proof could be found to substantiate it, he was executed. When Filippovič, who had a neurotic streak, was accused of being against the union, he admitted it readily, even stridently. He wanted peace within the Commonwealth, and knew that it could be realized only if the union were abolished. He considered that to be the only way to put an end to the Cossack wars.

Filippovič also wrote a loyal "supplication" to the Polish King Władysław IV, in which he thundered against the union and respectfully pointed out all the alleged evidence to show that the pope had severed himself from the other four patriarchs. But he also wrote something more unusual: he complimented the king on sending a pretender to the Muscovite throne back to Moscow for investigation; he praised him for loving the holy concord (i.e., for not pushing too strongly for the union), for loving the Eastern people (i.e., the Orthodox), and—for loving Moscow. In one important respect, however, Filippovič's writing fully reflected the cultural climate of the time. His own verses, in which he exhorted the Uniates to return to the Eastern Church (*vsxodnei cerkvi*), were replete with Polonisms. The same applies to his epitaph, written in the first person (and surely coming from the Orthodox milieu), where Filippovič thundered against the "accursed union" and was called "monk" in the Polish manner (*zakonnikom*).[12] If we collect more data of this kind, we may be able to proceed beyond guesses.

The polemicists of the period we have investigated did not seek truth—they possessed it already, regardless of which side they were on. The arguments they used were not meant to convince adversaries, but to strengthen the beliefs and resolve of their own supporters. The importance of the polemics does not lie in their intellectual content, but in the stimulus they provided for an intellectual movement in Ukraine. During their early period, the polemical debates between Catholics, Uniates, Protestants, and Orthodox created a climate that made the success of the Kyiv Mohyla *collegium* possible. We shall deal with this institution in our next essay.

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12. For the texts, cf. now V. I. Krekoten' and M. M. Sulyma, *Ukrajins'ka poezija: Seredyna XVII st.* (Kyiv, 1992), p. 38 (Filippovič's epitaph) and 202–3 (his verses).

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Cf. also the bibliographic note to essay 9 and the notes to the present essay.

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The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla*

*T*o be in Kyiv during the almost twenty years that Metropolitan Peter Mohyla (in Romanian, Movilă) enjoyed ascendancy in that city (1627–46) must have been a heady experience for many a soul. The Orthodox at large were witnessing the rebirth of their Greek religion and of their Rus' nation. Select groups among them—teachers and students of Mohyla's school of higher learning, or *collegium*, well-established parents who were sending their sons there, printers and editors at the press in the Caves Monastery, of which Mohyla was archimandrite—could feel that they were playing an important part in that rebirth. Some helped by teaching, supporting, or learning the new "sciences," others by enlisting modern technology in the service of a sacred cause. In several quarters, spirits were uplifted and minds were expanding.

The present essay is devoted to these two lively and optimistic decades in Kyiv's intellectual life. It will deal with the early years of Mohyla and of his educational enterprise; with the intellectual horizons of the metropolitan and of the students in his newly created *collegium* in Kyiv; and with the attitude the *collegium* and its founder displayed toward the Polish Commonwealth and the Cossacks. Only occasionally shall we touch upon the subsequent history and influence of Mohyla's *collegium*, which was elevated to the rank of an academy at the end of the seventeenth century. I shall, however, close with some remarks on the contribution of Mohyla's school to the growth of Ukrainian historical and national consciousness.

I

The Kyivan Theophany *bratstvo*, a religious confraternity of laymen and clergy, was founded in 1615. It obtained the rank of a *stauropēgion*—that is,

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a foundation under the direct protection of the patriarch of Constantinople—through a charter issued in 1620 by Theophanes, the patriarch of Jerusalem, who acted as Constantinople's plenipotentiary. The same charter sanctioned the confraternity's school, which it called a school of Helleno-Slavonic and—significantly—Latin scripture. The year 1620, which saw the "illegal" reestablishment of an Orthodox hierarchy in Ukraine and Belarus' by the same Theophanes, was thus also a milestone in educational development in Kyiv. The corresponding secular privilege for the confraternity was issued by the Polish king, Sigismund (Zygmunt) III, in 1629.

The directorship of the confraternity school was an important post; it was held by people drawn from the ranks of the Orthodox intellectual elite. Iov Borec'kyj, the first metropolitan of Kyiv in the restored hierarchy of 1620, was director between 1615 and 1619 and a supporter of the school until his death in 1631. Other prominent intellectuals—both laymen and ecclesiastics—among the officers of the school were Vasyl' Borec'kyj (the jurist), Meletij Smotryc'kyj, Kasijan Sakovyč, and Zaxarij Kopystens'kyj, archimandrite of the Kyivan Caves Monastery. Such was the state of Orthodox education in Kyiv when Peter Mohyla (born in the 1590s) appeared on the scene, intent on strengthening and broadening the new concepts that were already making their way in that education.

Mohyla (in Romanian, Movilă means "hill" or "mountain") came from a family of Moldavian hospodars. Moldavia originally depended ecclesiastically on Halyč, and when the Poles, as successors to the Halyč principality, extended their protectorate over Moldavia (by then inhabited by speakers of a Romanian dialect), they insisted on maintaining Moldavia's ecclesiastical dependence on Halyč. Despite the establishment (in 1401) of a separate Moldavian metropolitan see, with its seat in Suceava (Sučava), Moldavia remained in touch with western Rus', partly because its vassalage to Poland was renewed (1402) and partly because in Moldavia, the main language of administration and of the church was Slavonic—a vehicle that continued to be used (if to a lesser extent as time progressed) into the eighteenth century in official acts and in contacts with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Polish, too, was introduced in Moldavia. The treaties of 1519 and 1527 between King Sigismund I and Hospodar Stephen (Ştefan) were written in Polish, as was some of the correspondence of the Lviv burghers and the Lviv confraternity with the hospodars. Ruthenian played a part in this correspondence as well: for instance, Symeon Mohyla (Simion Movilă), Peter's father, wrote to the Lviv confraternity in that language. Religious polemical literature of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, written in Ruthenian and Polish, also reached Moldavia, largely through the Lviv confraternity. In turn, many hospodars were benefactors of the confraternity, as they were of other Orthodox establishments outside their frontiers, for instance, the monasteries

of Mount Athos and the Monastery of St. Catherine near Mt. Sinai.

In 1593, the Mohyla family was granted the rights of indigenous nobility in the Commonwealth. In 1595, Jeremiah Mohyla (Ieremia Movilă) became a vassal hospodar of Poland, as did his brother Symeon. Symeon's son, Peter, spent his early childhood in Moldavia, where he learned the rudiments of reading and writing in Slavonic. When Symeon Mohyla's fortunes declined in Moldavia, he moved his family to Poland. Although little is known about Peter Mohyla's childhood education in Poland, it is likely that he received elementary training in grammar at the Lviv confraternity school. After completing his initial studies, he may have studied at one of the Jesuit academies, either in Vilnius or Zamość.[1] The poorly documented speculation among scholars to the effect that Peter Mohyla received a university education at the Sorbonne in Paris or elsewhere in France seems to be based on a misunderstanding.[2] In any case, by the year 1617 he held an appointment at the court of Crown Hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski; in 1621 he took part in the battle of Xotyn (Chocim) against the Turks alongside the victorious Lithuanian hetman, Jan Karol Chodkiewicz. He then moved to Ukraine, bought landed property near Kyiv, and entered monastic orders at the city's Caves Monastery in 1625.

In spite of their Western background and friendly stance toward Poland, the Mohyla family, including Peter, were ardent supporters of Orthodoxy. Sometime after 1628, when Mohyla finally became archimandrite of the Caves Monastery, he set about establishing a school there. He intended to create an institution that would keep Eastern Orthodoxy unsullied and would teach it properly, and yet avoid the shortcomings of the confraternity schools. Instruction at his school was to attain the level of Western—which, in practical terms, meant Polish—education, and thus would make it unnecessary to send Orthodox youth to the West in search of learning. In short, his school at the Caves Monastery was to be not so much Helleno-Slavonic as Latino-Polish in character. That made his enterprise suspect to Orthodox zealots.

In 1631, to avoid Orthodox attacks, Mohyla secured the blessing of the patriarch of Constantinople for the foundation of what a contemporary witness described as a school of Latin and Polish sciences. When instruction began

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1. S. Golubev, *Kievskij mitropolit Petr Mogila i jego spodvižniki*, pt. 1, vol. 1 (Kyiv, 1883), p. 19; F. A. Ternovskij, "Kievskij mitropolit Petr Mogila—biografičeskij očerk," *Kievskaja starina*, 1882, no. 2 (April): 2.

2. J. Michalcescu, ed., Θησαυρός τῆς 'Ορθοδοξίας. *Die Bekenntnisse und die wichtigsten Glaubenszeugnisse der gr.-orientalischen Kirche im Originaltext....* (Leipzig, 1904), p. 22; C. Erbiceanu, "Petru Movilă," *Biserică Ortodoxă Română* 33 (1909): 539. Cf. O. Bilodid, "Zahadka Petra Mohyly," *Kyjivs'ka starovyna*, 1993, no 3 [300] (May–June): 56–69, esp. 62–63.

in the fall of the same year for more than one hundred pupils in the new school, located near the Caves Monastery, Kyiv's Orthodox zealots spread rumors about what was being taught there and the school's teachers were accused of pro-Uniate leanings. This upset the lower classes, and when the accusations and rumors reached the Cossacks, both Mohyla himself and his teachers were apparently threatened with death for introducing Latin and Polish in the school. As one of the school's teachers (and a future metropolitan of Kyiv), Syl'vestr Kosov, said in his *Exegesis* of 1635, Mohyla's opponents intended to stuff the sturgeons of the Dnieper with the teachers of the school—a tidbit of information precious both to the intellectual historian and to the historical ichthyologist. Mohyla, negotiating skillfully, reached a compromise by agreeing to a fusion of the Caves Monastery's school with that of the Kyiv confraternity, situated in Kyiv's Podil district; the school was to function at the latter's location. The fusion, implemented during the school recess of 1632, is attested in several documents, two of which involve the Cossacks. In an important statement dated 12 March 1632 at Kaniv, the Cossack hetman, Ivan Petražyc'kyj, and the Zaporozhian Cossacks extended their protection over the school founded by Mohyla. In a letter of 17 March 1632, the hetman bade the Cossack *ataman* to support the union of the confraternity's school with that of Mohyla.[3]

The Latin character of the new school, offensive to the Orthodox zealots, was also repugnant to the Jesuits and to certain high officials of the crown— Vice-Chancellor Tomasz Zamoyski among them—who were unwilling to yield the monopoly in higher learning to the benighted Ruthenians. The Jesuits in particular, fearing competition for their own schools in Ukraine (their first educational establishment, in Kyiv's Podil, dated from about 1620), exerted pressure on the government. Consequently, in 1634 King Władysław IV ordered Mohyla to abolish the Latin schools and Latin printing presses under his jurisdiction and to use the rights granted him "with moderation."

Nevertheless, a year later (1635), the king confirmed Mohyla's school in Kyiv, although not as an academy. It was to have no jurisdiction of its own, and no subjects higher than dialectic and logic—that is, no theology—were to be taught there. The king yielded on the point of Latin, however, and allowed liberal arts (*humaniora*) to be taught *in scholis Kijoviensibus...Graece*

3. For documents concerning the fusion, cf. *Pamjatniki izdannye Vremennoju komissieju dlja razbora drevnix aktov*, vol. 2 (Kyiv, 1846), nos. 8–10: 101–43. Petražyc'kyj's statement of 12 March 1632 was later confirmed by Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj and his son Jurij; cf. ibid., p. 143. For Petražyc'kyj's letter of 17 March 1632, cf., e.g., *Pamjatniki izdannye Kievskoju komissieju dlja razbora drevnix aktov*, vol. 2, 2d ed. (Kyiv, 1897), pp. 421–22, reprinted in A. Žukovs'kyj, *Petro Mohyla j pytannja jednosty cerkov* (see the bibliographic note to the present essay), p. 216.

et Latine. Note the modest term *scholis*: apparently, an academy that would prepare an elite for service in Rus' was considered more disadvantageous to the policies of the Catholic state than a reestablished Orthodox hierarchy. The latter, it was continuously hoped, could be persuaded to join the union, especially if a Uniate patriarchate of Kyiv were created and the patriarchal throne offered to Mohyla—a bait he refused to take, either in 1636 or in later years. Mohyla's dream of an academy was not to be fulfilled in his lifetime, and his school remained the *Collegium Kijoviense Mohileanum* until the end of the century. Nonetheless, it was the most important of the schools in Ukraine under Mohyla's supervision, which included that of Kremjanec' (Krzemieniec) in Volhynia and that of Vinnycja in the Braclav palatinate (the Vinnycja school was transferred to Hošča around 1640). In attempting to have his school named an academy, Mohyla sought to give it status equal to that of Jesuit schools like the Vilnius (Wilno) Academy. No wonder that Mohyla's *collegium* borrowed much from the Jesuit system—the enemy was to be fought with the enemy's weapons.

The *collegium*'s chief administrators were a rector and a prefect. The rector was also the *hegumen* of the confraternity monastery of the Theophany, a position implying control over landed property; consequently, he was the *collegium*'s top budgetary officer. The rector also taught philosophy and, in a later period, theology. The prefect was the inspector and administrator in charge of supplies and meals for the students; as an academic he taught rhetoric. The regular teachers were assisted by the more gifted pupils, called *auditores*, who both explained subjects to their fellow pupils before classes and supervised learning in the dormitory (*bursa*). In doing so, they were not only following Jesuit practice, but also continuing a medieval tradition; thus they were functioning somewhat as tutors in English colleges do today. Judging by later evidence dating from the 1730s, the student body of the Academy was recruited from all strata of the population: the son of a *sotnyk* (called *centurio* in the relevant documents) or of a priest would study next to the son of a smith or to sons of "a simple man."

Initially, the curriculum, patterned on the Jesuit model, took five years to complete. Its five classes were called *infima, grammatica, syntaxima*, class of poetics, and class of rhetoric. The first three consisted primarily of instruction in languages—Greek, Latin, Slavonic, and Polish—as well as in catechism, liturgical chant, and arithmetic. The poetics class taught what today we would call literary theory, literary genres, and mythology, important because every contemporary speech, poem, or other text had to be heavily seasoned with mythological allusions. Most of its textbooks on poetics date from a later

period, but two of them are early, from 1637 and 1646, respectively.[4] Some of the textbooks were composed by famous personalities, for instance, Simeon Polacki and Feofan Prokopovyč. All manuals of poetics were written in Latin and Polish with examples drawn both from such classical writers as Martial and from the Polish-Latin poet Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski. Later textbooks drew liberally on Polish Renaissance and baroque poetry (Jan Kochanowski, Samuel Twardowski) for their examples.

In the class of rhetoric, students were taught the rules of composing speeches of congratulations or thanks, greetings, farewells, and funeral orations. The earliest textbook (based on lectures given in 1635/36) used examples culled both from Erasmus of Rotterdam and Stanisław Orzechowski. The most important such textbook, by Prokopovyč (1706), showed some anti-Polish cultural bias, but was written, like the overwhelming majority of Kyiv manuals of rhetoric, in Latin. Staging plays on biblical subjects was among the students' extracurricular endeavors; at first, such plays were both composed and performed by pupils. This activity, again patterned on Jesuit practice, would continue and culminate in the "tragedokomedija" *Vladimerъ*, composed by Prokopovyč and performed by Kyiv students as a welcome to Hetman Mazepa in July 1702.

The class of dialectic trained students in scholastic disputations, an antiquated procedure consisting of questions and answers and subdivisions of the topic. Philosophy, which was taught in Latin and according to Aristotle (or his commentators), was subdivided into logic, physics, metaphysics, and ethics—again, hardly an innovative procedure, but one that followed the practice in most schools of the time. The course lasted three years. Its first textbook, composed by Josyf Kononovyč-Horbac'kyj for the courses conducted in 1639/40 (and still unpublished), was modestly called *Subsidium logicae*, perhaps reflecting the concern whether philosophy was a permissible subject, but the third, written by Innokentij Gizel' for his courses in 1646/47 (it, too, is still unpublished), was called, explicitly, *Opus totius philosophiae*. Its final section dealt with God and the angels, perhaps to compensate for the

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4. On the textbook of 1637 by A. Starnovec'kyj and M. Kotozvars'kyj (known only in a copy of 1910, rediscovered in 1968), cf. V. I. Krekoten', "Kyjivs'ka poetyka 1637 roku," in *Literaturna spadščyna Kyjivs'koji Rusi i ukrajins'ka literatura XVI-XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1981), pp. 118–54; Ukrainian translation of the text, pp. 125–54. Cf. also *Radjans'ke literaturoznav-stvo*, 1970, no. 10: 77; and I. Ivan'o, *Očerk razvitija èstetičeskoj mysli Ukrainy* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 77 and 83. On other textbooks, cf. R. Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu Akademii Kijowsko-Mohylańskiej a literatura polska* (= Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 142, Prace historyczno-literackie, 11) (Cracow, 1966), pp. 22–107 (still the best); and D. S. Nalyvajko, "Kyjivs'ki poetyky XVII–počatku XVIII st. v konteksti jevropejs'koho literaturnoho procesu," in *Literaturna spadščyna*, pp. 155–95.

absence of a course in theology. To learn this latter sublime subject, gifted pupils were sent to Catholic academies in Vilnius and Zamość or even abroad.

II

Mohyla was consecrated metropolitan of Kyiv with the approval of the Polish crown in 1633. In introducing reforms into the liturgical practices of his church, he championed the return *ad fontes*. The sources he had foremost in mind were Greek, even if some of them were located in the West—in Venice or even in England's Eton. He intended to have the *Lives of the Saints* translated into Slavic, and to have the result printed. For this purpose, he is said to have obtained from Mount Athos the Greek text of the Saints' *Lives* revamped in tenth-century Constantinople under the auspices of the high Byzantine official, Symeon called the Metaphrast. Death prevented Mohyla from carrying out this design. Its realization had to wait more than forty years until Dmytro Savyč Tuptalo's (Dmitrij Rostovskij's) *Čet'i Minei*, which began to appear in Kyiv in 1689. Mohyla best expressed his postulate in the prefaces he wrote to the *Služebnyk* (*Book of Services*, or *Leiturgiarion*) of 1639 and to the *Trebnyk* (*Sacramentary*, or *Euchologion*) of 1646. The latter was the last work issued by the Kyivan Caves Monastery press in his lifetime.

In the preface to the *Trebnyk* of 1646, the metropolitan fended off attacks from detractors of his publications and stressed the basic agreement between the Rus' and Greek sacramentaries.[5] He also stated as one of his aims the elimination of errors contained in sacramentaries that had been printed in Vilnius, Lviv, and Ostrih at a time when there was no Orthodox hierarchy (i.e., before 1620) and when publishers were able to issue books merely for obtaining "ill-gotten gains." Such faulty books perpetuated old customs and old prejudices; for instance, they contained a prayer for the midwife who swaddled the infant Jesus. According to Mohyla, there was no authority in the New Testament for such a prayer: in passages devoted to the Nativity, the Evangelists implied that the Virgin Mary swaddled her son herself. What place did a midwife have here? This was correct as far as it went, but Mohyla disregarded early Christian apocryphal tradition.

Mohyla further declared that his *Trebnyk* provided a standard text based on the Greek sacramentary, and that this text was to supersede all others. In a

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5.   For the text of the preface, see Xv. Titov's *Materijaly dlja istoriji knyžnoji spravy na Vkrajini v XVI-XVII vv.: Vsezbirka peredmov do ukrajins'kyx starodrukiv,* Ukrajins'ka akademija nauk, Zbirnyk istoryčno-fililohičnoho viddilu, 17 (Kyiv, 1924), pp. 367–73. Some material from Titov's text is reproduced in Žukovs'kyj's *Petro Mohyla j pytannja jednosty cerkov* (see the bibliographic note below). Žukovs'kyj's book contains a good bibliography on Mohyla and on seventeenth-century Ukrainian church history.

play on words, he appealed to his readers to stop using the "useless" usage books (*ponexaj zažyvaty nepotrebnyc' z Trebnykov predrečennyx*), and he castigated those who continued to refer to such sacramentaries. In doing so he gave anticipatory evidence of the same attitude, purifying and renovating spirit, and professed reliance on Greek standards that Patriarch Nikon was to show in Muscovy some years later. No wonder: we know now that the Greek models invoked by Nikon in the initial stage of his reforms in fact largely consisted of Kyivan printed texts, including those published in Mohyla's time.

For all such justified praise of the Greek as the appropriate source for improving Slavonic texts, the importance of Greek and Slavonic soon diminished in Kyivan printing and education, and Mohyla's school became more and more latinized and polonized. There were valid reasons for the shift. By the middle of the seventeenth century, Greek was no longer a language of modern thought—which Church Slavonic had never been. The latter was taught because it was the language of Orthodox ecclesiastical texts. The right of the Orthodox to use Latin and Polish in their teaching continued to be challenged, however, not only by Orthodox zealots and by Catholics led by the Jesuits, but also by the Uniates. Mohyla had to reassert this right. In his *Lithos*, or *Stone* (1644), he admitted that the Rus' needed a knowledge of Greek and Church Slavonic for religious purposes. But for political activity, he claimed, they needed not only Polish, but also Latin, because the people of the lands under the Polish crown used Latin as if it were their mother tongue. In both chambers of parliament, in the courts, in dealings with the crown, in all political matters, Ruthenians, as crown citizens, should know both these languages if they were to function properly in the state. It would be neither right nor decorous for a Ruthenian to speak Greek or Slavonic before a member of the senate or diet (*Sejm*), for he would need an interpreter to accompany him wherever he went, and would be taken for a stranger or a simpleton. Even in explaining matters of faith, one should be able to give a reply in the language in which one is asked the question, that is, either in Latin proper or in Polish with ample Latin admixtures.[6]

Consequently, by 1649 Greek was taught at the Mohyla school only "in part" (*otčasti*). Such was the testimony of the notorious Paisios Ligarides (metropolitan of Gaza and for some time protégé of the patriarch of Jerusalem, also named Paisios), who was to play a nefarious role in the downfall of Nikon, the patriarch of Moscow, and who taught in the *collegium* for a time at a later date. Ligarides may have had a point. The preface to the *Eucharistērion*, the gratulatory tract presented to Mohyla in 1632 by the school's pupils, contains an error in Greek, and the Greek fresco inscriptions

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6. *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii*, pt. 1, vol. 9 (Kyiv, 1893), pp. 375–77.

of ca. 1643 in the Church of the Savior at Berestovo barely make sense.[7] Even Mohyla's own writing of 1631 exhibits some imperfections in Greek, and only charity allows us to call them typographical errors. As for the Slavonic and Ruthenian languages, they must have been taught from local textbooks and dictionaries produced toward the end of the sixteenth century— such as Lavrentij Zyzanij's *Grammatika* and *Leksis* (both printed in Vilnius in 1596)—or issued in the period of the Kyiv confraternity school: among such works were Meletij Smotryc'kyj's grammar of 1619 and Pamvo Berynda's *Leksikon slaveno-rosskij*, the latter published by the Caves Monastery in 1627.

Polish, more than Latin, was becoming the literary vehicle of the *collegium*, even at the printing house of the Caves Monastery. In 1645, Mohyla supplemented the Ruthenian edition of his abbreviated catechism with a Polish one, and the Polish edition was published first. What is more, two books sponsored by Mohyla and dealing with the virtues of, and miracles performed by, the monks of the Caves Monastery throughout its history (the *Paterikon* of 1635 by Syl'vestr Kosov, and the *Teratourgēma* of 1638 by Afanasij Kal'nofojs'kyj) were written in Polish. The preface to the latter includes allusions to Sallust's *Iugurtha* and to Apuleius, as well as some Latin words and quotations from Catullus, Seneca, and from the *Odes* of Horace.[8] Thus, the future linguistic coloring of the *collegium* and, later, academy—which was to remain Latin and Polish until the middle of the eighteenth century, even under Russian domination—developed within a few years of its founding.

III

Mohyla's educational enterprise reflected the interplay of cultural forces in seventeenth-century Ukraine. The ancestral faith survived in borrowed forms, and admiration for the church poetry of a John of Damascus coexisted with predilection for the trappings of classical mythology. Mohyla's college was also what it was, however, because the man who created it was a man of many worlds. His experience and his contacts, as well as his plans, encompassed not only Warsaw, Cracow, and possibly other Polish or Western centers of learning, but also Jassy (Iaşi), Constantinople, and even, if to a

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7. For the fresco inscriptions at Berestovo, see I. Ševčenko, *Byzantium and the Slavs in Letters and Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., and Naples, 1991), pp. 662 (n. 13) and 685 (fig. 2).

8. Cf. *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii*, pt. 1, vol. 8 (Kyiv, 1914), p. 477; and Titov, *Materijaly*, p. 523. Cf. also the facsimile of the preface in *Seventeenth-Century Writings on the Kievan Caves Monastery* (= Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 4) (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp. 122–31.

much lesser degree, Moscow. He could choose the level and language of discourse according to his addressee, and he combined a Jesuit's sophistication with an Orthodox believer's simple faith in miracles performed by his religion.

It is of some importance to study language use by the seventeenth-century Rus' elite. It appears that most members of that elite understood all four languages involved—Slavonic, Ruthenian, Polish, and Latin. Thus, no one language or style was the speaker's or writer's sole available vehicle for conveying a particular message. A choice was involved, and that choice indicated that person's cultural commitment or cultural position at a given moment. For example, to his brother Moses, hospodar of Moldavia, Mohyla wrote in almost pure Slavonic. The foreign quotations of his missive were all Greek, and all other quotations were scriptural. It is astonishing how well Mohyla mastered the Slavonic idiom, which he probably learned from teachers connected with the Lviv confraternity. The real concerns of the man and the time put a limit on his linguistic and conceptual mimicry, however. The missive's Slavonic, good as it was, contained words (such as *politiceskae* and *ceremonii*) that were outside the Church Slavonic canon. In describing the duties of an ideal ruler to his brother, Mohyla was practising a genre used in the Byzantine world since at least the sixth century. In listing these duties, Mohyla proclaimed that his brother, being a ruler, was to be a benefactor of schools (*blahodětelju...učilišč byti*)—a statement that is hardly to be found in any mirror of princes addressed to a Byzantine emperor.[9]

Another set of Mohyla's Slavonic writings deals with miracles performed in his own time in the Orthodox church, not exclusively in Ukraine—for, after all, he was not a Ruthenian, but an Orthodox of many cultures—but also on Ukrainian territory. One such miracle occurred in the household of his own servant, Stanislav Tretjak. Tretjak had just built a house and asked Mohyla to consecrate it. This Mohyla did, and left some of the holy water behind. When he returned a year later, he was met by Tretjak and his wife, who had kept the water and claimed that it had changed into wine. Mohyla tasted it. The taste reminded him, he wrote, of Moldavian wine (*vkus aki voloskoho vina*), and he wanted to make sure that no mistake had occurred. After all, the son of a hospodar of Wallachia and Moldavia would know his Moldavian wines. When the couple swore that the change was miraculous, Mohyla accepted their word, took the holy water with him, and still had it at the time of writing. The water "had the bouquet and flavor of wine, and was not turning

9. For Mohyla's dedication of the *Pentēkostarion* (*Cvětnaja Triodь*) of 1631 to Mojsej Mohyla, cf. Titov, *Materijaly*, pp. 263–66; and D. P. Bogdan, "Les enseignements de Pierre Movilă adressés à son frère Moïse Movilă," *Cyrillomethodianum* 1 (1971): 1–25, esp. pp. 19–22.

to vinegar."[10]

Stories such as this one must have been meant for all Orthodox, not only for those of Ukraine. When Mohyla addressed his own monks, Kyiv churchgoers, or the clerics of his jurisdiction, as he did in his inaugural sermon pronounced at the Kyivan Caves Monastery in March 1632, or in his prefaces to the *Služebnyk* of 1639 and to the *Trebnyk* of 1646, he wrote in Polonized Ukrainian, using such Polish words as *daleko barzěj* 'much more,' *pien'knaja* 'beautiful,' and *preložonyje* 'superiors,' but keeping the Ukrainian *ohon' musyt (byti)* 'fire must be,' *pyšučy* 'writing,' *ščo* 'what,' and *ščoby* 'in order that.' This mixed language also contained elements of Church Slavonic, if not quite authentic, appearance, as *jedinoutrobně* and *smotřěti*. Most scriptural quotations in the preface to the *Trebnyk* were in Church Slavonic, but some were in the Ruthenian literary language of the time, mixed with Slavonic.

When Mohyla addressed representatives of the Orthodox nobility, whether Bohdan Stetkevič, a Belarus' chamberlain, Teodor Proskura Suščans'kyj, a land-scribe of the Kyiv palatinate, or Jarema Vyšnevec'kyj (Wiśniowiecki), a prince in danger of apostatizing from Orthodoxy, his Ruthenian language was heavily Polonized, his quotations were drawn from Latin church fathers Lactantius or St. Augustine, his Christian similes were heavily contaminated with bits of pagan wisdom, and his flattery was as artless as the recipient must have been undiscriminating. To Prince Vyšnevec'kyj, a relative, he wrote: "This venerable cross will be unto your princely grace what the mast was once unto Ulysses, which protected him from the Sirens, that is, the pleasures of this world."[11] We must duly report that Mohyla's reference to Ulysses attached to the mast (a prefiguration of the cross) went back to Greek patristic literature of the fourth century. It is of more interest, however, to note that in naming the hero from Ithaca, he used the Latinizing *Ulessesovy*, rather than a derivative from the Greek *Odysseus*. And when Mohyla spoke about the ancestors of Teodor Proskura Suščans'kyj, a man whose young son—or, at least, relative—was a student at the *collegium*, he spun the following yarn, in which he must have believed as much as he did in Hercules or Apollo. The ancestry of Proskura went back to Volodimer the Great. One of his forebears served Anne, the daughter—so Mohyla seems to have said— of the Byzantine emperor who became the wife of Volodimer. This forebear was given the *proskura* (or *prosphora*, the blessed bread eaten after communion) to be carried from church to palace, and ate it on the way. Hence the family nickname Proskura. The nickname was attested by Rus' chroniclers,

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10. *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii*, pt. 1, vol. 7 (Kyiv, 1887), pp. 113–14.

11. Cf. Titov, *Materijaly*, no. 39, p. 269.

whom, of course, Mohyla failed to specify. Under Svjatoslav, prince of Kyiv in 1059 (*sic*), the Proskuras received their coat-of-arms—a cross and arrow—in reward for the exploits of one family member in a battle against the infidel Cumans (*hustym trupom pohanskym šyrokoje okryl pole*—most of this phrase, at least, sounded Ukrainian). We must skip four centuries for the next family exploit, assigned to the reign of King Aleksander of Poland (ca. 1500). From then on, it was clear sailing until the time of the recipient of Mohyla's dedication.

To church historians, Mohyla is best known as the author, or principal co-author, of the *Orthodox Confession of Faith*, a treatise in three parts (corresponding to the three theological virtues) that contains about 260 questions and answers. It was discussed and partly emended at a synod in Jassy (Iaşi) in Moldavia in 1642, and a year later its Greek version was approved by all four Greek Orthodox patriarchs. The *Confession* was first published in simple Greek (*pezē tē phrazei*) in Amsterdam in 1666. It had been elaborated in Kyiv in 1640, however, and its original language and one of its sources were, in all likelihood, Latin, although the possible existence of Slavic (most likely, Polish) drafts of the *Confession* should not be ruled out.

When it comes to vernaculars other than Ruthenian, Mohyla's mastery of Polish, both of the scholarly and of the oratorical variety, is safely attested by his own published writings. Furthermore, there is evidence that Mohyla knew some modern Greek and handled it in print and, naturally enough, that he was proficient in spoken Moldavian, although there is no trace of his ever having used Moldavian in writing. Such a find is unlikely, owing both to the cultural situation at the time—practically speaking, the earliest books in Romanian, printed by Ukrainian printers dispatched by Mohyla to Wallachia and Moldavia, date only from the 1640s—and to family tradition. The frescoes in the church at Suceviţa founded and richly endowed by the Movilă family are all in Slavonic.

Which languages did Mohyla use for private purposes? My guess is Polish and Ruthenian, rather than Slavonic or Latin. The notes he jotted down about the commissions he made to various goldsmiths in 1629 are in Polish (although one such note and two later entries in books, one of them made in 1637, are in Ruthenian).[12] Moreover, Mohyla chose to write or dictate a deeply personal text, his will, in Polish, rather than in Ruthenian or Latin. In that document he richly endowed his beloved *collegium* and gave it his library of books in several languages, collected over his lifetime (that library burned in the 1650s). With these good deeds, he stated in the will, he imposed on future generations an obligation to continue instruction in Kyiv schools as it

12. *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, pt. 1, vol. 7, pp. 184–85.

had been carried on during his lifetime under the privileges granted by his Royal Majesty, the Polish king.

IV

At Easter in 1632, twenty-three pupils (*spudeov*) of the *collegium*, headed by their professor of rhetoric and, presumably, the school's prefect, Sofronij Počas'kyj, submitted to Mohyla a pamphlet of thanks in verse called *Eucharistērion*.[13] The pamphlet, which included a preface in prose signed by the professor (who used two Greek quotations), had two parts. Both give us some idea of the horizons of the young men studying at the newly founded *collegium* and of the cultural values they encountered there.

The first part of the pamphlet was entitled *Helikon*: Mohyla's pupils erected that mountain of the Muses in a poetic act of gratitude to him. They also called their poem the First Garden of Knowledge. Eight "roots" appeared in it, each described in a verse signed by its student author or, at least, reciter. The "roots" were Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, Astronomy, and Theology, that is, the medieval *trivium* and *quadrivium* in the usual sequence, plus theology. (The appearance of theology expressed the hopes and early aspirations of the school's authorities rather than subsequent reality, for, as we know, the *collegium's* royal charter of 1635 withheld the right to teach that subject.) *Helikon* (or *New Helikon*), in case we have not guessed, referred to the school—or one of the schools—presided over by Mohyla (it was also a pun on his name, Movilă, i.e., "mountain" in Moldavian).

The second part of the pamphlet, also written in verse, was called *Parnass*—again the home of the Muses and of Apollo—or the Second Garden of Knowledge. It, too, was erected by the school's pupils in honor of Mohyla. The second garden had ten offshoots of knowledge, that is, the nine Muses plus Apollo. The existence of two mountains calls for an explanation, and the one that comes readily to mind is that they represented the efforts of the pupils of the Kyiv confraternity and the Caves Monastery schools, respectively.

The language of both poems is heavily Polonized Ukrainian. Their two

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13. For the text of the *Eucharistērion*, cf., e.g., the facsimile in *The Kiev Mohyla Academy*, a special issue of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (8, no. 1/2 [June 1984]), pp. 255–93; and V. I. Krekoten' and M. M. Sulyma, eds., *Ukrajins'ka poezija: Seredyna XVII st.* (Kyiv, 1992), pp. 174–88. For a partial, versified trans. into modern Ukrainian, cf. V. Masljuk, V. Ševčuk, and V. Jaremenko, eds., *Apollonova ljutnja: Kyjivs'ki poetyy XVII–XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1982), pp. 35–45. For the full text in Ukrainian trans., cf. V. V. Jaremenko, ed., *Ukrajins'ka poezija XVII stolittja (perša polovyna)* (Kyiv, 1988), pp. 222–50.

direct messages are the glorification of Christ, the Victor who rose at Eastertime, and the praise of Mohyla. Their two ideological messages seem to reflect the organizational compromise of 1631/32: first, that classics are good, but too classicizing an education is not a good thing; and, second, that the Uniates are certainly abominable.

The poems themselves say this in part: Grammar looks forward to the time when the Rus', descendants of the famous Roxolanians (a Sarmatian tribe whose mention provided antique ancestry for the Ruthenians and credentials of erudition for the poem's author), will equal the wise pagans in learning. Dialectic (likened, after a saying of the Stagirite, that is, Aristotle, to a sharp thorn) wishes that the thorn of wisdom would prick the sight of "the sad Uniate basilisks [who are] cruel asps." (Thus Aristotle was placed alongside King David, since the "basilisks" and the "asps" alluded to Psalm 90 [91]:13.) Music quotes the pagans Diogenes and Orpheus as well as the Byzantine John of Damascus. Geometry refers in the same breath to Xenophanes of Colophon and to Christ, "the highest Geometer," who rose from under the earth ("the earth" being *gē* or *gaia* in Greek; bear in mind that the various poems were both honoring Mohyla and celebrating Easter of 1632). In the final poem, on theology, Mohyla is indirectly likened to Hercules. As the "assiduous Spaniard" had set up a marble pillar on the shores of the Western ocean to mark the outer limits of Hercules' labors, so the archimandrite erected a column on the banks of the Dnieper in the "Septentrional" zone (*pry berehax Dniprovyx pod sedmi triony*) to mark the start of the ocean of theology. On that spot Mohyla would put an end to the Ruthenians' search and to their pilgrimages to faraway lands to study that subject; may the good Lord grant that from now on they listen "to theologians of their own." The verses addressed to Apollo toward the final part of the poem *Parnass* invite the pagan god to visit the Ruthenian lands (*krajev rossijs'kyx*), which hunger for learning. However, at the very end of *Parnass*, both Apollo and his sisters, the Muses, are chased away, and the Virgin Mary is asked to take up her abode among the students of the *collegium*.

Two emblematic woodcuts adorn the tract.[14] One depicts Mohyla himself standing on Mt. Helicon, holding the pastoral staff and the branch of wisdom; he is spurning the sceptre and the crown, an allusion to his having given up a claim to the throne of Moldavia. The other woodcut depicts Mucius Scaevola, the hero of a Latin legend set at the end of the sixth century B.C., standing on Parnassus and putting his right hand into the fire. The scene is included because the Mohyla family claimed descent from this Roman hero— a speculation that can be paralleled in the history of humanism and of the

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14. Cf. Titov, *Materijaly*, pp. 293–99.

Balkans.

This second woodcut sums up the composite character of Mohyla's world. Its hero, a Roman, stands on a Greek mountain. With one exception, the explanatory legends are in Cyrillic script, but they contain Polonisms, such as the word *zvytjazcy* for "victor." The single exception is something written in Greek letters on the left arm of the heroic Mucius Scaevola. The meaning of these letters seems to have been overlooked by previous scholarship, yet they deserve scrutiny, for they indicate the degree of familiarity with Greek in Mohyla's milieu. The letters read *skaia cheir* 'left hand,' and thus offer an etymologically correct pun on the name of Scaevola, because *scaevus* and *skaios* mean the same thing, namely, "left(-handed)," in Latin and Greek. Scaevola, we recall, got the nickname "left-handed" after putting his right hand into a burning fire and thus permanently crippling it. He did it to show his steadfastness to the Etruscans (hence the inscription *ohn' Hetruskov* in the woodcut).

We can be virtually certain that Sofronij Počas'kyj, author of the *Eucharistērion's* preface and perhaps of all its poems as well, was the same person as Stefan Počas'kyj, the student of the confraternity school who recited the first poem of the *Virši*, a tract published in 1622 by Kasijan Sakovyč to commemorate the funeral of Hetman Sahajdačnyj. A decade later, Počas'kyj must have remembered his role in that literary enterprise. In short, there is, *prima facie*, a presumption that the immediate model for the *Eucharistērion* was Sakovyč's *Virši*. (In the wider scheme of things, of course, models for the *Eucharistērion* are to be looked for in contemporary textbooks of poetics and in Polish Renaissance and baroque poetry.) The choice of Easter for reciting the *Eucharistērion* may have been influenced by what the printers of the Kyivan Caves Monastery had done in 1630: their *Imnologia*, a collection of ten signed poems, was an Easter offering to Mohyla, in which each author blended praise of Christ, the risen victor, with praise of the archimandrite.

We know almost nothing about the youthful authors (or reciters) of the *Eucharistērion's* gratulatory poems, with two exceptions. Such individuals as Teodor Suslo or Martyn Suryn are but colorful names to us. The exceptions are Vasylij Suščans'kyj-Proskura—who, as we have surmised, was the son or relative of the addressee of one of Mohyla's prefaces—and Heorhij Nehrebeckij, probably a relative of Father Constantine Niehrębecki, *namiestnik* of St. Sophia of Kyiv, and an executor of Mohyla's will.

On the other hand, we know a great deal about some officers or alumni of the *collegium* who were active or graduated during Mohyla's lifetime, for they were among the important intellectuals of the century. They included Jepifanij Slavynec'kyj, the Hellenist recruited to Moscow by Tsar Aleksej Mixajlovič; and Arsenij Korec'kyj-Satanovs'kyj, an assistant to Slavynec'kyj who also went to Moscow. Others, writing in both Ukrainian and Polish, were authors of

sermons and writers prominent in other fields as well: Joannikij Galjatovs'kyj, Lazar Baranovyč, and Antonij Radyvylovs'kyj. Thus, from its very beginnings, Mohyla's *collegium* was both a producer of local intellectual leaders and a purveyor of talent abroad, above all to Moscow. It was to perform this double role for more than a century.

V

Mohyla was a loyal subject of the Polish crown. He composed a liturgical poem in Church Slavonic to celebrate the enthronement of "our great Tsar Władysław [IV]." Whenever he spoke of "our fatherland" (*otčyzna naša*), he meant the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This should not astonish us: the Ukrainian hetman Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj used the term *ojczyzna* in the same sense as late as 1656, at least for the benefit of the Polish crown hetmans and the Polish king. In Mohyla's own mind, the legitimacy of his place on the metropolitan throne of Kyiv rested on three foundations: the inspiration of the Holy Ghost that moved the heart of His Majesty, King Władysław IV; the blessing of the holy apostolic capital of Constantinople; and the will of the whole of the Ruthenian nation (*narodu rossijs'koho*).[15] What he and his successor on the Kyiv throne, Syl'vestr Kosov, aspired to, but did not obtain, was equality for this Ruthenian nation within the framework of the Commonwealth. For all his Orthodoxy, and in spite of the fact that in 1640 he lavished fulsome praise on Tsar Mixail Fedorovič (from whom he requested material assistance for Kyiv's shrines and permission—never granted—to found a monastery in Moscow where Kyivan monks could teach Greek and Slavonic to sons of boyars and to simple folk),[16] Mohyla remained politically anti-Muscovite. He praised his noble Ruthenian addressees or their ancestors for taking part in the campaigns against Moscow in the service of the Polish king; he extolled the family of one of them for having waged war on Moscow under King Stefan Batory (Báthory); he commended another addressee for participating in the expedition to Moscow led by the young Władysław IV.[17] When Andrij Borec'kyj, brother of Metropolitan Iov Borec'kyj, in conversation with Mohyla presumably alluded to a possible union between Muscovy and Rus', Mohyla is said to have replied that this alone was enough to have Andrij impaled. The archimandrite's loyalist attitude was a far cry from that of the Borec'kyj brothers; of the Belarusian Afanasij Filippovič (we met him in Essay 10), a man lower on the social scale, who traveled to Moscow and

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15. Cf. Titov, *Materijaly*, no. 49, p. 359.

16. Cf. *Pamjatniki izdannye Kievskoju komissieju*, pp. 423–27; *Akty otnosjaščiesja k istorii Južnoj i Zapadnoj Rossii*, vol. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1861), nos. 18 and 33, pp. 27–29, 39.

17. Cf. Titov, *Materijaly*, no. 46, p. 332 and no. 47, p. 339.

embarrassed Mohyla by his Orthodox intransigence; or, finally, of those Orthodox whom Kasijan Sakovyč accused of betraying the Polish Crown's secrets to Moscow before 1646. As we saw, Mohyla's points of reference were Kyiv, Warsaw, Jassy, and Constantinople, but hardly Moscow. To fault him for this, to impute that it was not so, or to call his religious policy a "Latin pseudo-morphosis of Orthodoxy" is to disregard our evidence, to imply that the yardstick for measuring what is Orthodox is kept in Russia, and to indulge in anachronism. When it comes to Mohyla's theology, it is advisable to keep the verdict of Mohyla's Orthodox contemporaries in mind. In 1642/43, Greek Orthodox patriarchs and hierarchs found his Orthodoxy in order: they scrutinized his *Orthodox Confession of Faith* and approved it. In its approved form, the document was highly valued. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was accepted as the official profession of faith by all the leaders of the Orthodox churches, including Adrian, the last patriarch of Moscow before Peter I's reforms. Arsenij, enemy of Peter's reforms and metropolitan of Rostov in the 1750s, considered Mohyla's catechism "more essential for the priest than philosophy."

What Mohyla's attitude toward Hetman Xmel'nyc'kyj would have been we cannot say, for his death on 1 January 1647, and burial in the Dormition church of the Caves monastery (where, as early as 1637, he had wished to be buried), preceded Xmel'nyc'kyj's uprising (called a "civil war" in contemporary Polish sources) by more than a year. To form an educated guess on Mohyla's putative attitude, it is helpful to remember that in a hagiographical text dated 1629 he had a local saint frustrate the Zaporozhian Cossacks' plan to plunder the Moldavian city of Suceava, and that at one time or another, his female first cousins were married to Crown Hetman Stanisław Rewera Potocki, to the Polish palatine of Braclav Stefan Potocki, and to the father of the fiercely anti-Cossack prince Jarema Vyšnevec'kyj.

At first, the uprising did not badly disrupt the teaching of the *collegium*—some important students graduated in 1649 or 1650, and only later did the fighting cause serious damage to its buildings—nor did it stem the wave of Latin and Polish influence. To use Mohyla's own words, the whole Ruthenian nation—or, at least, its Ukrainian branch—looked with favor on the *collegium*. In 1651 and 1656, Hetman Xmel'nyc'kyj endowed the monastery of the Kyiv confraternity and "the schools attached to it" with lands expropriated from the Dominican fathers in and near Kyiv;[18] thus the *collegium* profited from the Cossacks' redistribution of spoils. The Treaty of Bila Cerkva of 1651 expressly mentions the rights of the Kyiv *collegium*. Yet the most important

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18. Cf. I. Kryp'jakevyč and I. Butyč, *Dokumenty Bohdana Xmel'nyc'koho* (Kyiv, 1961), no. 131, pp. 209–10.

assistance the Cossack uprising and its aftermath of 1654 gave the Mohyla *collegium* was indirect—namely, the expulsion of the Jesuits from Ukraine (they had been brought to Kyiv in 1620). They never returned to Kyiv, so serious competition to the *collegium* was eliminated—a competition that might have been a threat if the Jesuits had stayed. The Cossack decision potentially most advantageous to the *collegium* came not through Xmel'nyc'kyj, but through Hetman Ivan Vyhovs'kyj and the Treaty of Hadjač of 1658. That treaty raised the *collegium* to the rank of an academy and endowed it with the same prerogatives and liberties as "the Academy of the University of Cracow." It even provided that a second academy was to be erected in Ukraine. Although the relevant provision remained as unenforced as the other provisions of the Hadjač treaty, it did give teachers at the *collegium* a new impetus in their efforts to enhance the stature of their school. In 1670, Hetman Petro Dorošenko instructed his negotiators with the Polish side in Ostrih to press for the establishment of an academy in Ukraine. It would be the Russian tsar, Peter I, however, who would finally satisfy the Kyivan teachers' wishes (1694 and 1701).

VI

For all its undeniable achievements, Mohyla's *collegium* did not produce original thought. This was not only because original thought is rare in human affairs, but also because the *collegium*'s goal was fully to absorb existing—in this case, Western—cultural standards. Those who are catching up with established value systems strive for parity, not for originality. The persons involved generally do not regard this as a drawback; those few who do so gamble on original contributions coming after parity is achieved.

To be sure, a shortcut to original contributions does exist. It runs through changing the rules of the game: forgetting about catching up and striking out on one's own instead (or in the wake of others who have already left catching-up problems behind). In the history of learning and education, the challenge issued by the fledgling Collège de France to the Sorbonne a century before Mohyla is a case in point. Such shortcuts are taken only rarely in the course of civilization, however, and it would be unfair to Mohyla and to his successors to demand from them an act that was beyond their reach. The original contribution that we might, with some justification, expect from them was of a different kind: favoring the growth of a peculiarly Ukrainian consciousness. In that respect, too, the early *collegium* was the successful continuator of previous incipient trends rather than an initiator of new ones. In later years, an impact on national consciousness was neither explicitly sought nor intended.

One contribution was made in the early period, however: intellectuals in the milieu of Mohyla (as well as in that of his immediate predecessors [see Essay

9]) rediscovered Kyiv's early past. The roots of the Kyivan present were traced back to that past, and historical continuity was established between early Kyivan Rus', on the one hand, and early seventeenth-century Ukraine, on the other. Following in the footsteps of Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj and the *Virši* composed for Sahajdačnyj's funeral in 1622, Mohyla adopted the conception of the Kyivan *Primary Chronicle* and traced the nation back to Japheth.[19] That nation was called "the nation of Volodimer" by one student of his school.[20] Inscriptions in the Church of the Savior in Berestovo, restored by Mohyla in 1643/44, connect the name of Mohyla as metropolitan of all Rus' (*v'seę Rossii*) with that of the "autocrat" ruler of all Rus' (*vseę Rossii*), Saint Volodimer (*Vladimir*, who was thereby promoted to imperial rank). We already know that in his genealogical flatteries, Mohyla traced the ancestry of his addressees back to Volodimer's times and invoked Rus' chroniclers in support of his statements. Finally, in *Euphōnia*, the laudatory poem that the students of his school and the printers of Kyiv composed on the occasion of Mohyla's consecration in 1633, the "Ruins" of the Cathedral of St. Sophia addressed the new metropolitan in the hope that he would restore the church (which he later did); St. Sophia commended (*polecaju*) its walls, which it had received from Jaroslav the Wise, to the newly installed metropolitan.

As much as establishing historical continuities may appeal to us, this rediscovery of the Kyivan past had limited impact. To realize this, we have but to recall that when financial need arose, Mohyla pointed out to the autocratic Muscovite tsar that Volodimer and Jaroslav the Wise, both "autocrat" rulers, were the tsar's forebears; we may also juxtapose the Kyiv intellectuals' search for their roots in Rus' with the impressive claims to antiquity and suzerainty that the less sophisticated compilers of the *Stepennaja kniga* or *The Book of Degrees* (in the genealogical sense) had elaborated in Moscow three-quarters of a century earlier. To be sure, there are similarities in the two searches. When Mohyla spoke of "seventeen generations" that had elapsed "since their graces, the Stetkevičes, were born to senatorial dignity,"[21] the device paralleled the conception of the *Stepennaja kniga*. Kyivan intellectuals did little with the resources close to home, however, compared to what the Muscovite bookmen had done with the Kyivan tradition; and even such sophisticates as Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj and Afanasij Kal'nofojs'kyj used the Muscovite *Skazanie o knjazjax Vladimirskix* to improve upon the

19. Cf. Titov, *Materijaly*, no. 39, p. 268.

20. See H. Rothe, *Die älteste ostslavische Kunstdichtung, 1575–1647*, pt. 2 (Giessen, 1977), p. 328.

21. Cf. Titov, *Materijaly*, p. 338.

genealogies of their books' patrons, Princes Stefan and Illja Četvertyns'kyj.

Before we find these intellectuals sadly wanting, we should consider the differences in the respective historical settings of Kyiv and Moscow: the genealogies produced by the Kyivan intellectuals addressed the mere remnants of the Ruthenian upper class, while those produced by the bookmen of Moscow supported the claims of a powerful and vigorous dynasty. This dynasty obtained final suzerainty over the city of Kyiv in 1686, but its garrisons were present there as early as 1654. From the 1670s, Kyiv professors such as Innokentij Gizel' entered the ranks of the dynasty's ideologists, and the practice of establishing *direct* links between the Kyiv of St. Volodimer and that of the *collegium* soon had to be abandoned. From then on, the full panoply of speculations about Kyiv's glorious past began to be used for the benefit of Kyiv's new rulers, and the term *rossijskij*, hitherto applying exclusively to the Rus' of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, began to acquire the meaning of "Russian." As late as July 1705, Prokopovyč called Hetman Mazepa "a great successor" and a mirror image of Volodimer. But on 5 July 1706, during Peter I's visit to Kyiv, the same Prokopovyč delivered a welcoming sermon in which he saw to it that both the hills of the Second Jerusalem, Kyiv, and its church of St. Sophia sang the glories of the tsar *vsěja Rossii*, descendant and successor not only of Volodimer, but also of Jaroslav, Svjatoslav, Vsevolod and Svjatopolk, and the true embodiment of their virtues.[22] To judge by Gizel' and Prokopovyč alone, in the mature period of Mohyla's school, its leading professors used history to promote the notion of all-Russian oneness as much as their predecessors had used it to foster local patriotism.

The main, and most lasting, contribution the *collegium* made to a specifically Ukrainian consciousness was an indirect one, and it began in Mohyla's lifetime. It consisted in raising the general level of Kyiv's intellectual life, in imbuing Ruthenian youth with Western cultural notions, and, thus, in providing the elite with cultural self-confidence vis-à-vis the Poles. These Western notions may appear to us, modern readers of the *Eucharistērion*, as not of the highest order. From the local and contemporary point of view, however, a revolutionary change must have occurred for a Ruthenian student to speak of Mt. Helicon rather than Mt. Tabor, and to listen to Horace rather than to the *Oktoix*.

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22. For Prokopovyč's flattery of Mazepa, see the Prologue to *Vladimerъ*, in I. P. Eremin, ed., *Feofan Prokopovič: Sočinenija* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1961), p. 152; and in I. V. Krekoten', ed., *Ukrajins'ka literatura XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1983), p. 258. The sermon of 5 July 1706, entitled "Slovo privětstvitel'noe na prišestvie vъ Kievъ Ego Carskago Presvětlago Veličestva....," is in *Feofana Prokopoviča ... Slova i rěči poučitel'nyja, poxval'nyja i pozdravitel'nyja....*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1760); cf. esp. pp. 2–5 and 10–11.

By combining its Western tinge and its Latino-Polish message with Orthodoxy, Mohyla's *collegium* performed a double task: it provided an alternative to the outright Polonization of the Ukrainian elite, and it delayed its Russification until well after 1686. It thus helped strengthen, or at least preserve, that elite's feelings of "otherness" from both Poles and Muscovites (and, subsequently, Russians), and created the basis for later, affirmative feelings of Ukrainian identity.

Today, Mohyla and his *collegium* continue to serve as points of reference for scholars, both in Europe and in North America, who trace the growth of civilization and national traditions among the East Slavs in early modern times. Thus, when a student of the *collegium* wrote, in 1633,

> Gdyż Europá, Azja i kraj Ameryká,
> Z Płomienistą Lybią Mohiłow wykrzyka,[23]

his baroque hyperbole had the makings of a true prophecy.

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23. *Mnemosyne*, in Rothe, *Die älteste...Kunstdichtung* (as in n. 20 above), poem 13, ll. 29–30, p. 340: "While Europe, Asia, and the land of America together with the flamboyant Libya [i.e., Africa] proclaim [the glory of] the Mohylas,..."

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Cf. also the bibliographic notes to essays 9 and 10.

The Rise of National Identity to 1700*

I

*I*n dealing with Ukrainian history from the Kyivan Rus' period to the end of the seventeenth century, we have singled out a number of political and cultural factors that help explain the emergence, by 1700, of a distinct linguistic, cultural, and, in some sense, political entity on the territory of Ukraine, and the rise of a concomitant consciousness on the part of its elites. We call this distinctness "national," for lack of a better word, but we should realize that using the term for the early centuries is something of an anachronism.

Whatever terminology we adopt, by the end of the period covered by our essays, we can postulate the existence of a particular Ukrainian self-awareness. Moreover, between the second quarter and the end of the seventeenth century, not only enlightened inhabitants of Ukraine themselves, but their foreign contemporaries as well, felt that Ukrainian lands, whether they were then called *Rus'*, *Ukrajina*, or *Malorossija*, were inhabited by people distinct from Poles, Lithuanians, and Muscovites. There existed, on the one hand, objective, that is, observable differences between Ukrainians and their neighbors and, on the other hand, a self-image of the inhabitants of Ukraine, and their subjective awareness of being different from their neighbors. These distinctions were noted by outsiders, who recorded them. They included differences in language, both vernacular and literary.

Judging by written poetic records, the vernacular spoken in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, let alone the last quarter of the seventeenth, was practically identical in form with the Ukrainian spoken today. The literary language, on the other hand, had to be translated in Moscow at the time of Lavrentij Zyzanij's dispute (1627). Throughout the seventeenth century, the section of the Muscovite ambassadorial office (*posol'skij prikaz*) responsible for correspondence with the Ukrainian Hetmanate marked its translations of letters emanating from the hetman's chancery with the note "from the Belarusian tongue," and the Ruthenian literary language of the Orthodox of

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* Previously unpublished.

the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was called "Lithuanian" or "Polish" in Moscow.

The language of the Ukrainians (or of the "Čerkasy," as they were sometimes called) was considered a separate entity in Muscovy as late as 1704. In that year, the Muscovite scholar Fedor Polikarpov published a dictionary of three languages, Slavonic, Greek, and Latin. Polikarpov's *Leksikon trejazyčnyj* was preceded by three Prefaces composed in the Dictionary's three languages (with the Latin Preface sounding most, and the Greek one, least, idiomatic). In his Prefaces, the author spoke of various languages into which their "fertile father," the Slavonic, was subdivided: Polish, Czech, Serbian, Bulgarian, Lithuanian and (in the Slavonic Preface) "Little Russian" (*malorossijskomu*). There was no mention of Russian, probably because it was considered identical with "our" Slavonic. "Lithuanian" was, we know, Belarusian; "Little Russian," surely Ukrainian. In the Greek Preface, the languages were called πολονικήν (sic); βοεμικήν, σερβικήν, βουλγαρικήν, λιτφανικήν, and ῥωσσαϊκήν; in the Latin one, *Polonicam, Bohemicam, Serbicam, Bolgaricam, Lithuanicam,* and *Rossiacam*.

It follows, first, that for Polikarpov, *malorossijskomu*, that is, Ukrainian, was a separate language, on a par with Polish, Czech and the like. Since neither the Greek nor the Latin Preface displayed a form of "Little" (μικρός, *parvus* or *minor*) as part of the name of the language corresponding to *malorossijskomu*, we can further conclude that for Polikarpov words with the root "Russian" (ῥωσσαϊκήν, *Rossiacam*) denoted the language of the Ukrainians, not that of the Russians. Such had been the meaning of *rosskij, ruski, rus'kyj, rosiejski* and the like in the seventeenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (see Essay 10), and the same conception survived in Greek and Latin passages coming from a Russian scholar of the early eighteenth.[1]

In their use of terms, foreigners (e.g., the Greek hierarchs who visited Eastern Europe) showed that they were well aware of the distinction between the *Kazakoi* or *hoi orthodoxoi Rōssoi* on the one hand, and the *Moschoboi* or *Moschobitai*, on the other. At the end of the seventeenth century, Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem wrote of a land called *Kazakia*, also called *Ukraina*. Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, the Orthodox Arab who traveled through Ukraine with his father, Patriarch Makarios of Antioch, in the 1650s, was favorably impressed with the Cossack land and with its leader, *Xmil'* (i.e., Xmel'nyc'kyj), who had granted them an audience. Paul found Ukrainian

1.   Cf. the facsimile edition by H. Keipert of F. Polikarpov, *Leksikon trejazyčnyj: Dictionarium trilingue.* Moscow, 1704 (= Specimina Philologiae Slavicae, 79 [Munich, 1988]), fol. 2r, 3r, 4r = pp. 3, 5, 7 of the facsimile.

songs more beautiful and more euphonious than those of the Muscovites, and was astonished to find that in the Cossack land most women knew how to read and write. Having left Muscovite dominions and approaching Kyiv, he wrote, in a frequently quoted passage:

> This night [28 June 1656] we slept on the bank of the river [Dnieper], in perfect cheerfulness and tranquillity: for, from the moment we came within sight of the Monastery of the Caves, by the distant glittering of its cupolas, and at the first scent that reached us of these blooming lands, our souls thrilled with gladness and exultation, our hearts became expanded, and we overflowed in thanksgiving to the Lord our God. During these two years in Muscovy, a padlock had been set on our hearts, and we were in the extremity of narrowness and compressure of our minds; for in that land no person can feel any thing of freedom or cheerfulness, unless it be the native population... The country of the Cossacks, on the contrary, was like our own country to us, and its inhabitants were to us boon companions and people like ourselves.[2]

Up to this point the objective aspect of the picture is clear. Our sight becomes somewhat blurred when we turn to that picture's subjective side: the national consciousness and the historical claims on which it was based during that period. That the Ruthenians were aware of being different from the Poles and felt that the Poles were the source of their social and religious oppression is evident. True, the Rus' oppressed by the Poles was not coextensive with modern Ukraine: it encompassed all the predominantly Orthodox lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (i.e., both Ukrainian and Belarusian territories, from the modern point of view). Still, by 1670, the two terms, *Ukrajina* (inhabited by the Cossacks and "our *narod ruskij*") and *ruskaja zemlja,* meant "Ukraine," for the *Hustynja Chronicle* copied that same year used them in this sense. The chronicle stated that between the thirteenth and the seventeenth century, "our" *ruskaja zemlja* was devastated by Batu's Tatars, by the Poles, by Lithuania, and by Muscovy:

> *Donelě že prez Batija Tatarskoho carja, iže zemlju našu Ruskuju pustu sotvory, a narod naš umaly i smyry, k semu že i ot Ljaxov i Lytvy i Moskvy, takožde i meždosobnymy branmy zělo ozloblenny i umalenny byša.*[3]
>
> (Until they were sorely ill-treated and diminished in stature by Batu, the Tatar emperor, who laid waste our Rus' land, diminished the numbers of our people and humbled it; moreover, by the Poles, Lithuanians, and Muscovites, as well as by internecine wars).

2. This passage has been adapted from the translation by F. C. Belfour, *The Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch: Written by his Attendant Archdeacon, Paul of Aleppo, in Arabic,* vol. 2 (London, 1836), pp. 306–7.

3. *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej,* 2 (St. Petersburg, 1843), pp. 367–68.

Thus, to the compiler of the *Hustynja Chronicle*, the inhabitants of *zemlja naša ruskaja* were neither Tatars, Poles, Lithuanians, nor Muscovites.

The term "Ukraine" did not encompass all of the ethnic Ukrainian territory, but rather the palatinates that joined the Polish Crown after the Union of Lublin. Even the chronicler Samijlo Velyčko, who worked in a later period (d. after 1728), was indecisive in his terminology. In his *Tale of the War between the Cossacks and the Poles*, he sometimes spoke of the Cossacks and the Rus'; sometimes he included both under one term; sometimes he referred to the Zaporozhian host and Ukraine, "our fatherland" the "Ukrainian Commonwealth"; and at other times he spoke of the *Ukraino-Malorosijskij* people, the Little Russians and the Cossacks. He also mentioned Cossack-Ruthenian ancestors (i.e., *prodkom našym kozakoruskim*), but, imitating the Poles, he attributed Sarmatian origin to the Cossacks (*sarmato-kozackix prodkov*). All this fluidity reflects the arrested sociopolitical evolution of late seventeenth-century Ukraine: the Cossacks were more than an estate within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but they never attained the status of a nation. Sporadically, however, Ukrainian Cossacks were treated as a separate nation. In a Polish political tract of 1733, the "Polish nation" (*narodu polskiego*) addressed the "Russian and Cossack nations" (*narodom rosyjskiemu* [Russians] *i kozackiemu* [i.e., Ukrainians]).[4]

Velyčko also used the terms *Malaja Rossija*, spoke of both Right- and Left-Bank Ukraine as *Malorosijskaja Ukraina*, and referred to "our" *ukrainomalo-rosijskaja otčyzna* (fatherland). He even called the Ukrainian language *kozackij jazyk* (i.e., the Cossack tongue), and said that he was writing *prostym...narěčijem kozackim* (in the simple Cossack dialect).[5]

By the seventeenth century, there was little or no confusion over the meaning of the terms *Rossija* and *rossijskij*: as a rule, they were used in reference to Ukraine, and in opposition to "Muscovy" and "Muscovite" (thus, the Kyivan *Sinopsis*, a work of the 1670s and 80s, called Daniel (Danylo) of Halyč *Rossijskij carъ Danylo*, while Ivan Fedorov, who printed the 1574 *Primer* in Lviv, signed his name as *Ivan Moskovitjanin*). Confusion was already present, however, by the early eighteenth century: in the preface to his chronicle, Hryhorij Hrabjanka referred to Xmel'nyc'kyj as the most faithful *rossijskij syn*, who submitted his land (*Malaja Rossija*) to the *rossijskij* monarch (i.e., Tsar Aleksej Mixajlovič). Further on he remarked that not only the *slaveno-rossijskie* monarchs (i.e., the Muscovite tsars) were feared

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4. Cf. W. Kriegseisen, "Trzy pisma propagandowe....," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 90, no. 4 (1983): 809–22, esp. pp. 811–12, 819, 821.

5. Cf. *Samijla Velyčka Skazanije o vojně kazackoj z Poljakami* (Kyiv, 1926), esp. the preface; cf. also S. Velyčko, *Litopys*, vol. 1, trans. V. Ševčuk (Kyiv, 1991).

throughout the universe, but also their subjects (i.e., Ukrainians), who were capable of avenging the offense done to the *rosijane* (this time meaning Ukrainians).[6] Ambiguities like these gave rise to later unnecessary altercations between Ukrainians and Russians over Ukraine's right to its own name and existence. On occasion, the two parties disregarded the relevant material or asked the wrong questions, or did both.

We saw in Essays 8, 9 and 11 that in the first half of the seventeenth century, Kyivan intellectual circles and at least one Polish poet looked back to Kyivan Rus' for their historical roots. Following the Cossack wars, there came a new need to explain both the origin of the name "Cossack" and the emergence of that remarkable "nation." The name was said to come from the eponym "Kozak," who then gave it to the Cossack social formation (the Kyivan *Sinopsis* and the *Hustynja Chronicle*, among others, favor this version), or to go back to the glorious nation of the Khazars (so Hrabjanka and the *Razgovor Velikorossii s Malorossiej* [1760s]; and the diary of Jakiv Markovyč, d. 1770, quotes a chronicle with this etymology). Both these attempts and Velyčko's complaints that the works of foreign historians were either difficult to translate into the "Cossack tongue" or were unobtainable, and that "Cossack chroniclers" did not exist—hence Velyčko's abandonment of an early project to write his fatherland's history—show a heightened sense of historical consciousness, caused both by the Cossack wars and by the aftermath of the Perejaslav submission treaty of 1654.

Unfortunately, this consciousness was not yet strong, and establishing links with the Kyivan past that was to bolster it up could easily be manipulated in the interests of Kyiv's new ruler, the Muscovite tsar. Some twenty years after 1654, the tsar's local spokesmen used the argument of Kyivan continuity to prove that Ukraine should be his. The *Sinopsis*, the first published work on East European history by a local writer, appeared in Kyiv sometime between 1670 and 1674 (i.e., when Kyiv was already a *de facto* Muscovite possession); its author used the continuity of succession from Volodimer the Great to the Muscovite princes to prove that Ukraine should submit to Muscovy. The author praised Andrej Bogoljubskij and included in his work a genealogy originally devised in Moscow in the sixteenth century, according to which Volodimer was a descendant of Caesar Augustus. The *Sinopsis* (in its third, more pro-Muscovite, edition of 1681, it was addressed to Tsar Fedor Alekseevič) knew of the difference between *Moskva* and *Rossy*; it implied, out of habit, that *Rossejskij rod* (race) meant Ukrainians and Belarusians, and saw

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6.   See H. Hrabjanka, *The Great War of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, 9 (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), pp. 17 (= fol. 8r of the facsimile) and 296–97 (= pp. III–IV of the 1854 edition).

in this "race" the "root" of the genealogy of the tsar, by then that race's supreme head, but it also insisted on the kinship of the *rossijskii narody* (including linguistic identity).[7] In the *Sinopsis*, the fall of Kyiv to Batu's Tatars in 1240 was followed, after half a page of generalities, by the description of Dmitrij Donskoj of Moscow's victory over the Tatar khan Mamaj at the Kulikovo Plain (1380) and of this victory's aftermath, a description that took up one-quarter of the whole book, perhaps on account of the author's own anti-Ottoman bent. The author called Moscow's tsardom the Third Rome (a rarity in the seventeenth century) and in a mixed metaphor hailed the "return of the original rebirth" of Kyiv, the primordial and ruling city of all *Rossia*, Kyiv being the eternal patrimony of the ancestors of Tsar Aleksej Mixajlovič. The *Sinopsis* dated this momentous "return" to 1654. The author of this servile and confused work may have been Innokentij Gizel' (Giesel, Giziel), one of the leaders of the Mohyla *collegium* and later archimandrite of the Caves Monastery; in any case, he must have hailed from Kyiv's Caves Monastery, for he praised Kyiv as the "ruling" city and the "capital of the Rus' nation," and expressed his gratitude to tsars Aleksej and Fedor for their support of Kyiv's main monastery.

What was the role of the Xmel'nyc'kyj uprising in the forging of Ukrainian consciousness? In subsequent centuries, the role played by that movement was perceived as decisive; at the time of the uprising itself, however, the relevant articulate expressions were few. According to Polish sources, when Xmel'nyc'kyj arrived in Kyiv in January 1649, he was acclaimed by the pupils of the Mohyla *collegium* as a new Moses, a savior and liberator of the Rus' nation from Polish servitude. There is reason to believe that the contents of these acclamations were reported correctly. From the very beginnings of Byzantium, "new Moses" had been an important epithet of the Byzantine emperor, and the Orthodox teachers of the Mohyla *collegium*, in all likelihood familiar with this eastern device, just applied it to the ruler of the day. They may have learned it either directly or through the epithet "second Moses" bestowed upon Volodimer the Great in an early *Life* of that prince (see Essay 4), or, finally, through the mediation of some traveling Greek prelates. The same sources report that, on a later occasion, Xmel'nyc'kyj said: "Formerly I was struggling to rectify my own hurt and harm; now I shall liberate all the Ruthenian nation (*narod ruski wszystek*) from servitude to the Poles." This is about all one can garner in the way of evidence that Xmel'nyc'kyj had a

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7.   See H. Rothe, ed., *Sinopsis, Kiev 1681: Facsimile mit einer Einleitung*, Bausteine zur Geschichte der Literatur bei den Slaven, 17 (Cologne and Vienna, 1983).

"national" program.[8]

Nonetheless, the Xmel'nyc'kyj period brought such upheaval as to contribute decisively to the Ukrainian elite's realization that their land, even if part of it was called *Malorossija* as time went on, was a separate entity. This feeling is expressed, oddly enough, not only in the ephemeral formulations of the Hadjač union, but also in the eighteenth century, in the literature of the post-Poltava period, when Ukrainian autonomy was being whittled down by a centralized Russian state.

The versified *Razgovor Velikorossii s Malorossiej*, written by Semen Divovyč in the 1760s, pursued the fiction that *Malorossija* (Little *Rossija*) and *Velikorossija* (Great *Rossija*) were equals: *Malorossija* maintained that it had submitted not to *Velikorossija*, but voluntarily to the tsar—hence both served the same overlord as equals (*tak my s toboju ravni*) and constituted two neighboring countries. The dialogue unfolded in a charged atmosphere—*Malorossija*, stung by the reproach of Mazepa's "betrayal," in turn accused a treacherous boyar of *Velikorossija* of betraying the Cossacks in the wars with the Tatars, and openly enquired of Great *Rossija*, "Why are you trying to scare me?" and "Will you not desist from hating me?" At the time, the purpose of the exchange was to put the "Little Russian" elite on an equal footing with that of Great Russia. For us today it is important to note that long after the Hadjač union, and in spite of their protestations of loyalty, the literate Ukrainians of *Malorossija* continued to view themselves as a nation distinct from their Muscovite overlords. Some of these overlords were not pleased. The Chief Gendarme of Tsar Nicholas I and persecutor of Taras Ševčenko detected in the *Razgovor* "an insult to Russia" and prevented its publication in the 1840s.[9]

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8. In volume 8 of his *Istorija Ukrainy-Rusy* (1909), pp. 124–25, M. Hruševs'kyj claimed that the intellectuals of the Kyivan school were responsible for the phrase. This is likely, in view of the "new Moses" epithet, but there is little hard evidence for this attribution; perhaps Gizel', the versatile putative author of the later *Sinopsis*, was responsible for the formulation. In his summary of the period, Hruševs'kyj made a number of pessimistic remarks about the inadequacies of Xmel'nyc'kyj's circle in formulating an ideology and furthering culture.

9. [S. Divovyč], "Razgovor Velikorossii s Malorossiej," ed. N. I. Petrov, in *Kievskaja starina* 1 (1882): 325–65, esp. pp. 326, 342, 343, 361; on General L. V. Dubel't's condemnation of the *Razgovor* in the 1840s, cf. ibid., p. 314. Cf. also *Ukrajins'ka literatura XVIII st.*, ed. V. I. Krekoten' (Kyiv, 1983), pp. 384–414; and *Xrestomatija davn'oji ukrajins'koji literatury*, ed. O. I. Bilec'kyj (Kyiv, 1967), pp. 465–83.

* * *

We have come to the close of the present essays. From several roots, among which were the Byzantine ones, going back to Kyivan Rus', and the Western ones, which took hold when Ukrainian lands constituted a part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a Ukrainian culture and consciousness had evolved by 1700 that would serve, along with the folklore, as the basis for the Romantic national revival of the early nineteenth century. Not only the Ukrainian elite themselves, but also their non-Ukrainian contemporaries saw the inhabitants of *Ukrajina* or of *Malorossija* as linguistically, culturally, and, at times, politically distinct from their Polish, Lithuanian, and Muscovite neighbours. Whatever the judgment of a political historian may be, neither the social nor the cultural historian should be surprised by Hetman Ivan Mazepa's reluctant switching of sides in 1708, when he joined forces with Charles XII of Sweden against Peter I of Russia, or by Hetman Pylyp Orlyk's subsequent struggle for the "Rights of Ukraine" in the long émigré years after the Poltava battle of 1709.

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Chronological Tables

Table 1
Byzantine Emperors (from 527)

527–565	Justinian I
565–578	Justin II
578–582	Tiberios I Constantine
582–602	Maurikios
602–610	Phokas
610–641	Herakleios
641	Constantine III
641	Herakleonas
641–668	Constans II Pogonatos
668–685	Constantine IV
685–695	Justinian II
695–698	Leontios
698–705	Tiberios II Apsimar
705–711	Justinian II (restored)
711–713	Phillipikos Bardanes
713–715	Anastasios II
715–717	Theodosios III
717–740	Leo III the Isaurian
740–775	Constantine V Kopronymos (Copronymus)
775–780	Leo IV the Khazar
780–797	Constantine VI and Irene
797–802	Irene (alone)
802–811	Nikephoros I
811	Staurakios
811–813	Michael I Rhangabé
813–820	Leo V the Armenian
820–829	Michael II the Stammerer
829–842	Theophilos
842–856	Theodora
842–867	Michael III the Drunkard
867–886	Basil I the Macedonian
886–912	Leo VI the Wise
912–913	Alexander

913–920	Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (Porphyrogenitus)
920–944	Romanos I Lekapenos
944–959	Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (restored)
959–963	Romanos II
963–969	Nikephoros II Phokas
969–976	John I Tzimiskes
976–1025	Basil II Boulgaroktonos
1025–1028	Constantine VIII
1028–1034	Romanos III Argyros
1034–1041	Michael IV the Paphlagonian
1041–1042	Michael V Kalaphates
1042	Zoë and Theodora
1042–1055	Constantine IX Monomachos
1055–1056	Theodora
1056–1057	Michael VI Stratiotikos
1057–1059	Isaakios I Komnenos (Comnenus)
1059–1067	Constantine X Doukas
1067, 1071	Eudokia
1068–1071	Romanos IV Diogenes
1071–1078	Michael VII Doukas Parapinakes
1078–1081	Nikephoros III Botaneiates
1081–1118	Alexios I Komnenos (Comnenus)
1118–1143	John II Komnenos
1143–1180	Manuel I Komnenos
1180–1183	Alexios II Komnenos
1183–1185	Andronikos I Komnenos
1185–1195	Isaakios II Angelos
1195–1203	Alexios III Angelos
1203–1204	Isaakios II Angelos (restored) and
1203–1204	Alexios IV Angelos
1204	Alexios Mourtzouphlos
1204	Constantine XI Laskaris

Latin Emperors

1204–1205	Baldwin I of Flanders
1206–1216	Henry of Hainaut
1217	Peter of Courtenay
1217–1219	Yolanda
1219–1220	Conon of Béthune, regent
1220	Cardinal John Colonna, regent
1221–1228	Robert of Courtenay
1228	Maria, widow of Theodore Laskaris, regent
1228–1231	Narjot of Toucy, regent
1231–1237	John of Brienne

1237–1238	Anseau of Cayeux, regent
1238–1240	Narjot of Toucy, regent (again)
1240–1261	Baldwin II

Byzantine Emperors at Nicaea

1204	Constantine XI Laskaris
1204–1222	Theodore I Laskaris
1222–1254	John III Doukas Vatatzes
1254–1258	Theodore II Laskaris
1258	John IV Doukas
1258–1261	Michael VIII Palaiologos (Palaeologus)

.Byzantine Emperors at Constantinople

1261–1282	Michael VIII Palaiologos
1282–1328	Andronikos II Palaiologos
1328–1341	Andronikos III Palaiologos
1341–1354	John V Palaiologos
1347–1354	John VI Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus)
1355–1376	John V (again)
1376–1379	Andronikos IV Palaiologos
1379–1391	John V (again)
1391–1425	Manuel II Palaiologos
1425–1448	John VIII Palaiologos
1449–1453	Constantine XII Palaiologos

Table 2
Princes of Kyiv

862 (?)–879 (?)	Rjurik (Rjuryk; legendary founder of Kyivan dynasty)
872 (?)–913	Oleg (Oleh)
913–945	Igor' (Ihor)
945–962 (?)	Ol'ga (Ol'ha)
962 (?)–972	Svjatoslav Igorevič (Svjatoslav Ihorovyč)
972–980	Jaropolk Svjatoslavič (Jaropolk Svjatoslavyč)
980–1015	Volodimer (Vladimir) Svjatoslavič the Great (Volodymyr Svjatoslavyč)
1015–1019	Svjatopolk Volodimerovič (Svjatopolk Volodymyrovyč)

1019–1054	Jaroslav Volodimerovič the Wise
	(Jaroslav Volodymyrovč)
1054–1078	Izjaslav Jaroslavič
	(Izjaslav Jaroslavyč) (at intervals)
1073–1076	Svjatoslav II Jaroslavič
	(Svjatoslav II Jaroslavyč)
1078–1093	Vsevolod Jaroslavič
	(Vsevolod Jaroslavyč)
1093–1113	Svjatopolk III Izjaslavič
	(Svjatopolk III Izjaslavyč)
1113–1125	Volodimer II Vsevolodovič
	(Volodymyr II Vsevolodovyč) (Monomax)
1125–1132	Mstislav Volodimerovič
	(Mstyslav Volodymyrovč)
1132–1139	Jaropolk II Volodimerovič
	(Jaropolk II Volodymyrovč)
1139–1146	Vsevolod II Ol'govič
	(Vsevolod II Ol'hovyč)
1146–1154	Izjaslav Mstislavič
	(Izjaslav Mstyslavyč) (at intervals)
1149–1157	Jurij Volodimerovič Dolgorukij
	(Jurij Vladimirovič) (of Suzdal') (at intervals)
1157–1158	Izjaslav Davidovič
	(Izjaslav Davydovyč) (of Černihiv)
1159–1167	Rostislav Mstislavič (of Smolensk)
1167–1169	Mstislav II Izjaslavič
	(Mstyslav II Izjaslavyč)
1169–1171	Glěb Jur'jevič (of Suzdal')
1173–1210 (?)	Rjurik Rostislavič
	(Rjuryk Rostyslavyč) (six times)
1176–1194	Svjatoslav IV Vsevolodovič
	(Svjatoslav IV Vsevolodovyč)
1210–1212	Vsevolod Svjatoslavič Čermnyj
	(Vsevolod Svjatoslavyč) (of Černihiv)
1212–1223	Mstislav III Romanovič
	(Mstyslav III Romanovyč)
1223–1234	Volodimer Rjurikovič
	(Volodymyr Rjurykovyč)
1238–1239, 1241–1246	Mixail Vsevolodovič
	(Myxajlo Vsevolodovyč)
1236–1238, 1246	Jaroslav IV Vsevolodovič
	(of Vladimir)

1238–1264	Danilo Romanovič of Halyč
	(Danylo Romanovyč, Daniel)

Vassal of the Golden Horde (Černihiv-Putyvl' Dynasty)

late 13th–early 14th c.	Ivan-Volodimer
	(Ivan-Volodymyr)

Vassal of Lithuania

1331–1362	Stanislav-Fedor
	(Stanyslav-Fedir)

Lithuanian Princes of Kyiv (Sons of Algirdas [Ol'gerd, Ol'herd] and Others)

1362–1394	Volodimer Ol'gerdovič
	(Volodymyr Ol'herdovyč)
1394–1397	Skirgajlo-Ivan Ol'gerdovič
	(Skyrhajlo-Ivan Ol'herdovyč, Skirgaila)
1397–?	Ivan Ol'gimuntovič Gol'šanskij
	(Ivan Ol'hymuntovyč Hol'šans'kyj)
?–1399	Ivan Borisovič
	(Ivan Borysovyč)
1399–1416	Tatar occupations of Kyiv

"Rus'-Irredentist" Rulers and Princes of Kyiv (Ol'gerdovič-Olel'kovič Dynasty)

1430–1440	Svidrigailo-Bolesław-Aleksandr Ol'gerdovič
	(Svytryhajlo Ol'herdovyč, Švitrigaila)
	(grand duke of Lithuania to 1435)
1435	Ivan Volodimerovič
	(Ivan Volodymyrovyč)
1440–1454	Olel'ko-Aleksandr Volodimerovič
	(Olel'ko-Oleksander Volodymyrovyč)
1455–1470	Simeon Olel'kovič
	(Semen Olel'kovyč)
1471–1481	Mixail Olel'kovič
	(Myxajlo Olel'kovyč) (pretender to Kyiv and Grand Duchy of Lithuania)
1471	Liquidation of Kyivan principality

Table 3
Princes of Halyč, Volhynia, and Halyč-Volhynia

Princes of Halyč

1054–1064	Rostislav Volodimerovič (Rostyslav Volodymyrovyč)
1065–1080s	Wars of succession
1080s–1124	Volodar Rostislavič (Volodar Rostyslavyč)
1124–1153	Volodimerko Volodarovič (Volodymyrko Volodarovyč)
1153–1187	Jaroslav Volodimerovič (Jaroslav Volodymyrovyč) (Osmomysl)
1187–1199	Volodimer II Jaroslavič (Volodymyr II Jaroslavyč)

Princes of Volhynia

1054–1057	Igor Jaroslavič (Ihor Jaroslavyč)
1077–1084	Jaropolk Izjaslavič (Jaropolk Izjaslavyč)

Princes of Halyč-Volhynia

1199–1205	Roman Mstislavič (Roman Mstyslavyč)
1205–1215	Wars of succession

Princes of Halyč

1219–1228	Mstislav Mstislavič Udatnyj (Mstyslav Mstyslavyč)
1228–1230	Andrew of Hungary
1238–1264	Danilo Romanovič (Danylo Romanovyč)
1264–1301	Lev (Leo) Danilovič (Lev Danylovyč)

Princes of Volhynia

1216–1238	Danilo and Vasil'ko Romanoviči (Danylo and Vasyl'ko Romanovyči)
1238–1265	Vasil'ko Romanovič (Vasyl'ko Romanovyč)

1265–1289	Volodimer Vasyl'kovič
	(Volodymyr Vasyl'kovyč)
1289–before 1308	Mstislav Danilovič
	(Mstyslav Danylovyč)

Princes of Halyč-Volhynia

1301–1308 (?)	Jurij L'vovič (Jurij L'vovyč)
1308 (?)–1323	Lev II and Andrej Jur'jevič
	(Lev and Andrij Jurijovyč)
1323–1340	Jurij II Boleslav
	(Bolesław Trojdenowicz)

Table 4
Grand Dukes of Lithuania

c. 1240–1263	Mindaugas
1270–1282	Traidenis
1293–1316	Vytenis
1316–1341	Gediminas
1345–1377	Algirdas (with Kęstutis as co-ruler)
1377–1381	Jogaila (Jagiełło)
1381–1382	Kęstutis
1382–1392	Jogaila (Jagiełło) (again)
1392–1430	Vytautas
1430–1435	Švitrigaila (Svidrigailo)
1435–1440	Žygimantas (Sigismund)
1440–1492	Kazimieras IV (Kazimierz IV Jagiellończyk, Casimir IV)
1492–1506	Aleksandras I (Aleksander I)
1506–1548	Žygimantas I (Zygmunt I, Sigismund I)
1548–1572	Žygimantas II (Zygmunt II August, Sigismund II Augustus)

Table 5
Rulers of Suzdal', Vladimir, and Moscow (to 1725)

Princes of Suzdal' and Vladimir

1149–1157	Jurij I Dolgorukij
1157–1174	Andrej I Bogoljubskij
1176–1212	Vsevolod III "The Great Nest"
1212–1237	Jurij II
1237–1246	Jaroslav I
1246–1248	Svjatoslav
1248	Mixail Xorobrit
1248–1252	Andrej II
1252–1263	Aleksandr Nevskij
1264–1271	Jaroslav II of Tver'
1272–1276	Vasilij of Kostroma
1277–1294	Dmitrij of Perejaslavl'
1294–1304	Andrej III of Gorodec
1304–1319	Mixail II of Tver'
1319–1322	Jurij III of Moscow
1322–1325	Dmitrij II of Tver'
1326–1328	Aleksandr II of Tver'

Grand Princes of Moscow

1325–1341	Ivan I Kalita
1341–1353	Simeon the Proud
1353–1359	Ivan II the Meek
1359–1389	Dmitrij Donskoj
1389–1425	Vasilij I
1425–1462	Vasilij II the Blind
1462–1505	Ivan III the Great
1505–1533	Vasilij III

Tsars of Muscovy

1533–1584	Ivan IV (tsar from 1547)
1584–1598	Fedor I
1598–1605	Boris Godunov
1605	Fedor II
1605–1606	Dmitrij, Pretender
1606–1610	Vasilij IV Šujskij
1610–1613	Władysław of Poland (tsar-elect)
1613–1645	Mixail Romanov
1645–1676	Aleksej Mixajlovič
1676–1682	Fedor III

1682–1696	Peter I and Ivan V, co-tsars
	(1682–1689 Sophia, regent)
1689–1725	Peter I (Emperor from 1721)

Table 6
Kings of Poland

The Piasts

960–992	Mieszko I
992–1025	Bolesław I the Brave (king in 1025)
1025–1034	Mieszko II Lambert (king from 1025)
1031	Bezprym
1034 (?)–1058	Kazimierz I (Casimir I) the Restorer
1058–1079	Bolesław II the Bold (king from 1076)
1079–1102	Władysław I Herman
1102–1107	Zbigniew and Bolesław III the Wrymouth
1107–1138	Bolesław III the Wrymouth

Period of the Disintegration of the Kingdom

1138–1146	Władysław II
1146–1173	Bolesław IV the Curly-Haired
1173–1177	Mieszko III the Old
1177–1194	Kazimierz II (Casimir II) the Just
1194–1202	Leszek I the White and Mieszko III the Old
1202	Władysław Spindleshanks
1202–1210	Leszek I the White (again)
1210–1211	Mieszko the Stumble-Footed
1211–1227	Leszek I the White (again)
1227–1229	Władysław Spindleshanks (again)
1229–1232	Konrad I of Mazovia
1232–1238	Henryk I the Bearded
1238–1241	Henryk II the Pious
1241–1243	Konrad I of Mazovia (again)
1243–1279	Bolesław V the Bashful
1279–1288	Leszek II the Black
1288–1290	Henryk IV Probus
1290–1291	Przemysł (Przemysław)
	(King of Poland 1295-1296)
1291–1305	Wacław II of Bohemia
	(King of Poland from 1300)
1305–1306	Wacław III of Bohemia

Restored Kingdom

1306–1333	Władysław I (IV) Łokietek (King of Poland from 1320)
1333–1370	Kazimierz III (Casimir III) the Great

The Anjou Dynasty

1370–1382	Louis of Anjou
1382–1384	Civil strife
1384–1399	Jadwiga

The Jagiellonian Dynasty

1386–1434	Władysław II (V) (Jagiełło)
1434–1444	Władysław III (VI) Warneńczyk
1444–1447	Interregnum
1447–1492	Kazimierz IV (Casimir IV) Jagiellończyk
1492–1501	Jan I Olbracht (John I Albrecht)
1501–1506	Aleksander I
1506–1548	Zygmunt I (Sigismund I) the Old
1548–1572	Zygmunt II August (Sigismund II Augustus)

Elected Kings

1573–1575	Henri de Valois of France
1576–1586	Stefan Batory (Báthory)
1587–1632	Zygmunt III Waza (Sigismund III Vasa)
1632–1648	Władysław IV (VII) Waza (Vasa)
1648–1668	Jan II Kazimierz Waza (Vasa)
1669–1673	Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki
1674–1696	Jan III Sobieski
1697–1706	August II (Augustus II) the Strong
1704–1709	Stanisław Leszczyński
1709–1733	August II the Strong (again)
1733–1736	War of the Polish Succession
1736–1763	August (Augustus) III
1764–1795	Stanisław August (Augustus) Poniatowski

Table 7
Hetmans of Ukraine (1648–1709)

1648–1657	Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj
1657–1659	Ivan Vyhovs'kyj
1659–1662	Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj
1660–1663	Jakym Somko, acting hetman, Right-Bank Ukraine
1663–1665	Pavlo Teterja, Right-Bank Ukraine
1663–1668	Ivan Brjuxovec'kyj, Left-Bank Ukraine
1665	Stepan Opara, pretender, Right-Bank Ukraine
1665–1676	Petro Dorošenko, Right-Bank Ukraine
1668–1669	Petro Suxovij, pretender, Right-Bank Ukraine
1669–1674	Myxajlo Xanenko, pretender, Right-Bank Ukraine
1668–1669	Demjan Mnohohrišnyj, acting hetman, Left-Bank Ukraine
1669–1672	Demjan Mnohohrišnyj, Left-Bank Ukraine
1672–1687	Ivan Samojlovyč
1677–1681	Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj, Right-Bank Ukraine
1687–1709	Ivan Mazepa

Table 8
Patriarchs of Constantinople (806–1711)

806–815	Nikephoros I
815–821	Theodotos I Melissenos Kassiteras
821–837	Antonios I Kassimatas
837–843	Joannes VII Morocharzianos Grammatikos
843–847	Methodios I
847–858	Ignatios
858–867	Photios
867–877	Ignatios (again)
877–886	Photios (again)
886–893	Stephanos I
893–901	Antonios II Kauleas
901–907	Nikolaos I Mystikos
907–912	Euthymios I
912–925	Nikolaos I Mystikos (again)
925–927	Stephanos II

927–931	Tryphon
933–956	Theophylaktos
956–970	Polyeuktos
970–974	Basileios I Skamandrenos
974–979	Antonios III Studites
979–991	Nikolaos II Chrysoberges
996–998	Sisinnios II
1001–1019	Sergios II
1019–1025	Eustathios
1025–1043	Alexios Studites
1043–1058	Michael I Keroullarios (Cerularius)
1059–1063	Konstantinos III Leichudes
1064–1075	Joannes VIII Xiphilinos
1075–1081	Kosmas I Hierosolymites
1081–1084	Eustratios Garidas
1084–1111	Nikolaos III Grammatikos
1111–1134	Joannes IX Agapetos
1134–1143	Leon Stypes (or Stypiotes)
1143–1146	Michael II Kourkouas Oxeites
1146–1147	Kosmas II Attikos
1147–1151	Nikolaos IV Mouzalon
1151/52–1153/54	Theodotos II
1153/54–1154	Neophytos I
1154–1157	Konstantinos IV Chliarenos
1157–1169/70	Lukas Chrysoberges
1170–1178	Michael III of Anchialos
1178–1179	Chariton Eugeniotes
1179–1183	Theodosios I Boradiotes
1183–1186	Basileios II Kamateros
1186–1189	Niketas II Mountanes
1189	Dositheos of Jerusalem
1189	Leontios Theotokites
1189–1191	Dositheos of Jerusalem (again)
1191–1198	Georgios II Xiphilinos
1198–1206	Joannes X Kamateros
1208–1214	Michael IV Autoreianos
1214–1216	Theodoros II Eirenikos
1216	Maximos II
1217–1222	Manuel I Sarantenos
1222–1240	Germanos II
1240	Methodios II
1244–1255	Manuel II
1255–1259	Arsenios Autoreianos
1260	Nikephoros II
1261–1265	Arsenios Autoreianos (again)
1265–1266	Germanos III

1266–1275	Joseph I
1275–1282	Joannes XI Bekkos
1282–1283	Joseph I (again)
1283–1289	Gregorios II Kyprios
1289–1293	Athanasios I
1294–1303	Joannes XII Kosmas
1303–1309	Athanasios I (again)
1310–1314	Niphon
1315–1319	Joannes XIII Glykys
1320–1321	Gerasimos I
1323–1332	Isaias
1334–1347	Joannes XIV Kalekas
1347–1350	Isidoros I
1350–1353	Kallistos I
1353–1354	Philotheos Kokkinos
1355–1363	Kallistos I (again)
1364–1376	Philotheos Kokkinos (again)
1376–1379	Makarios
1379–1388	Neilos
1389–1390	Antonios IV (Anthony IV)
1390–1391	Makarios (again)
1391–1397	Antonios IV (again)
1397	Kallistos II Xanthopoulos
1397–1410	Matthaios I
1410–1416	Euthymios II
1416–1439	Joseph II
1440–1443	Metrophanes II
1443–1450	Gregorios III Mamme
1454–1456	Gennadios II Scholarios
1456–1462	Isidoros II
1462–1463	Gennadios II Scholarios (again)
1463–1464	Sophronios I
1464–1465	Gennadios II Scholarios (again)
1465–1466	Joasaph I
1466	Markos Xylokarabēs
1466–1467	Symeon I of Trebizond
1467–1471	Dionysios I
1471–1474	Symeon I of Trebizond (again)
1475–1476	Raphael I
1476–1482	Maximos III
1482–1486	Symeon I of Trebizond (again)
1486–1488	Niphon II
1488–1490	Dionysios I (again)
1491–1497	Maximos IV
1497–1498	Niphon II (again)
1498–1502	Joakeim I

1502	Niphon II (again)
1503–1504	Pachomios I
1504	Joakeim I (again)
1504–1513	Pachomios I (again)
1513–1522	Theoleptos I
1522–1545	Jeremiah I
1546–1554	Dionysios II
1554–1565	Joasaph II
1565–1572	Metrophanes III
1572–1579	Jeremiah II
1579–1580	Metrophanes III (again)
1580–1584	Jeremiah II (again)
1585–1586	Theoleptos II
1587–1595	Jeremiah II (again)
1596	Matthaios II
1596	Gabriel I
1597	Theophanes I Karykes
1597–1598	Meletios Pigas
1598–1602	Matthaios II (again)
1602–1603	Neophytos II
1603	Matthaios II (again)
1603–1607	Raphael II
1607–1612	Neophytos II (again)
1612	Kyrillos I Loukaris (Cyril Lukaris)
1612–1620	Timotheos II
1620–1623	Kyrillos I Loukaris (again)
1623	Gregorios IV
1623	Anthimos II
1623–1633	Kyrillos I Loukaris (again)
1633	Kyrillos II
1633–1634	Kyrillos I Loukaris (again)
1634	Athanasios III Patelaros
1634–1635	Kyrillos I Loukaris (again)
1635–1636	Kyrillos II (again)
1636–1637	Neophytos III
1637–1638	Kyrillos I Loukaris (again)
1638–1639	Kyrillos II (again)
1639–1644	Parthenios I
1644–1646	Parthenios II
1646–1648	Joannikios II
1648–1651	Parthenios II (again)
1651–1652	Joannikios II (again)
1652	Kyrillos III
1652	Athanasios III Patelaros (again)
1652–1653	Paisios I
1653–1654	Joannikios II (again)

1654	Kyrillos III (again)
1654–1655	Paisios I (again)
1655–1656	Joannikios II (again)
1656–1657	Parthenios III
1657	Gabriel II
1657–1662	Parthenios IV
1662–1665	Dionysios III
1665–1667	Parthenios IV (again)
1668–1671	Methodios III
1671	Parthenios IV (again)
1671–1673	Dionysios IV
1673–1674	Gerasimos II
1675–1676	Parthenios IV (again)
1676–1679	Dionysios IV (again)
1679	Athanasios IV
1679–1682	Jakovos
1682–1684	Dionysios IV (again)
1684–1685	Parthenios IV (again)
1685–1686	Jakovos (again)
1686–1687	Dionysios IV (again)
1687–1688	Jakovos (again)
1688	Kallinikos II
1688–1689	Neophytos IV
1689–1693	Kallinikos II (again)
1693–1694	Dionysios IV (again)
1694–1702	Kallinikos II (again)
1702–1707	Gabriel II
1707–1709	Kyprianos I
1709–1711	Athanasios V

Table 9
Orthodox (Melkite) Patriarchs of Alexandria
(1435–1710)

1435 (?)–1459 (?)	Philotheos
1459–1484 (?)	Markos VI
1484–1486 (?)	Gregorios V
1487–1565/67 (?)	Joakeim
1569–1590	Silvestros (resigned 1588; term completed by successor)
1590–1601	Meletios I Pigas
1601–1620	Kyrillos III Loukaris (Cyril Lukaris)
1620–1636	Gerasimos I Spartaliotes
1636–1639	Metrophanes Kritopoulos

1639–1645	Nikephoros
1645–1657	Joannikios
1657–1678	Paisios
1678–1688	Parthenios I
1688–1710	Gerasimos II Palladas

Table 10
Orthodox (Melkite) Patriarchs of Antioch
(1434–1720)

1434/35–1451	Dorotheos I
1451–1456 (?)	Michael III
1456 (?)–1457/58	Mark III
1458–1459	Joakeim II
ca. 1470–before 1484	Michael IV
before 1484–after 1500	Dorotheos II
ca. 1523/24–1529	Michael V
?–1530/31	Dorotheos III
1530/31–1534	Joakeim III
1534–1542/43	Michael VI
1542/43–1575	Joakeim IV
1543 (?)–1550 (?)	Makarios II (antipatriarch)
1576–1593	Michael VII
1581–1592	Joakeim V (antipatriarch)
1593–1604	Joakeim VI
1604–1612	Dorotheos IV
1612–1620	Athanasios II
1620–1634	Ignatios III
1620–1627	Cyril IV (antipatriarch)
1634	Euthymios II
1634–1647	Euthymios III
1647–1672	Makarios III
1672	Cyril V
1672–1682 (?)	Neophytos
1682 (?)–1720	Cyril V (again)

Table 11
Patriarchs of Jerusalem (1437–1731)

before 1437–after 1464	Joakeim
before 1450–?	Theophanes II
1452–1460 (?)	Athanasios IV
?–1468	Avramios
?–1482	Jakovos II
?–1493 (?)	Gregorios III
ca. 1505	Markos III
1506–1543	Dorotheos II
1543–1579	Germanos
1579–?	Sophronios IV
1606–1644	Theophanes III
1645–1660	Paisios
1661–1669	Nektarios
1669–1707	Dositheos II
1707–1731	Chrysanthos Notaras

Table 12
Metropolitans of Kyiv (to 1708)

988–before 1088	Theophylaktos
before 1018–c. 1030	Ioan
c. 1035–1040s	Theopemptos
1051–1054	Ilarion
1054/55–c. 1065	Efrem
c. 1065–c. 1076	Georgios
1076/77–1089	Joannes II Prodromos
1090–1091	Joannes III
c. 1093–before 1104	Nikolaos
1104–1121	Nikephoros
1122–1126	Niketas
1130–1145	Michael I
1147–1155	Klim Smoljatič (Klym Smoljatyč)
1156–1158/59	Constantine I
1160–1163	Theodoros
1164–1166	Joannes IV
1167–1169/70	Constantine II
1171–?	Michael II
before 1183–after 1201	Nikephoros II
1210–1220	Matthaios
1225–1233	Kyrillos (Cyril) I

1236–?	Joseph I
1242–1245/46	Peter Akerovič (Petro Akerovyč)
c. 1247–1281	Kirill (Cyril) II
1283–1305	Maximos
1308–1326	Peter
1328–1353	Theognostos
1352–1356	Theodoretos
1354–1378	Alexios
1378–1379	Michael III
1375–1406	Cyprian
1382–1385	Pimen
1384–1385	Dionisij
1408–1431	Photios
1415–1419	Gregory Camblak
1432–1435	Gerasim of Smolensk
1436–1458	Isidoros
1458–1472	Gregory the Bulgarian
1474–1480	Mysajil
1481–1488	Symeon
1488–1494	Iona Hlezna
1495–1497	Makarij I
1498–1501	Josyf I Bolharynovyč
1502–1507	Iona II
1507–1521	Josyf II Soltan
1522–1534	Josyf III
1534–1536	Makarij II
1556–1567	Syl'vestr Bel'kevyč
1568–1577	Iona III Protasovyč
1577–1579	Illja Kuča
1579–1588	Onysyfor Divočka
1588–1599	Myxajil Rohoza (Rahoza)

Uniate Metropolitans of Kyiv

1600–1613	Ipatij Potij
1613–1637	Josyf Vel'jamyn Ruts'kyj
1637–1640	Rafajil Korsak
1641–1655	Antin Seljava
1666–1674	Havryjil Kolenda
1674–1693	Kyprijan Žoxovs'kyj
1694–1708	Lev Sljubyč-Zalens'kyj

Orthodox Metropolitans of Kyiv

1620–1631	Iov Borec'kyj
1631–1632	Isaija Kopyns'kyj
1633–1647	Peter Mohyla

1647–1657	Syl'vestr Kosov
1658–1663	Dionisij Balaban
1664–1675	Josyf Neljubovyč Tukal's'kyj
1675–1679	Antin Vynnyc'kyj
1685–1690	Gedeon Četvertyns'kyj
1690–1707	Varlaam Jasyns'kyj

Table 13
Metropolitans of Halyč

1302–1305	Nifont
1308–1326	Peter
1331	Gabriel
1337–1347	Theodore
1371–1391	Anthony
1391–1392	Symeon

Table 14
Metropolitans of Lithuania

1299/1300–?	Unnamed
1329–1329/30	Theophilos
1354–1362	Roman

Table 15
Metropolitans and Patriarchs of Moscow (to 1700)

Metropolitans of Moscow

1448–1461	Iona
1461–1464	Feodosij
1464–1473	Filipp I
1473–1489	Gerontij
1490–1494	Zosima
1495–1511	Simon
1511–1521	Varlaam
1521–1539	Daniil
1539–1542	Ioasaf
1542–1568	Makarij
1564–1566	Afanasij

1566	German
1566–1568	Filipp II
1568–1572	Kirill
1572–1581	Antonij
1581–1587	Dionisij
1586–1589	Iov

Patriarchs of Moscow

1589–1605	Iov
1605–1606	Ignatij
1606–1612	Germogen
1619–1634	Filaret
1634–1640	Ioasaf I
1642–1652	Iosif
1652–1667	Nikon
1667–1672	Ioasaf II
1672–1673	Pitirim
1674–1690	Ioakim
1690–1700	Adrian

Table 16
Popes (858–1700)

858–867	Nicholas I
867–872	Hadrian II
872–882	John VIII
882–884	Marinus I
884–885	Hadrian III
885–891	Stephen VI
891–896	Formosus
896	Boniface VI
896–897	Stephen VII
897	Romanus
897	Theodore II
898–900	John IX
900–903	Benedict IV
903	Leo V
904–911	Sergius III
911–913	Anastasius III
913–914	Lando
914–928	John X
928	Leo VI
928–931	Stephen VIII

931–935	John XI
936–939	Leo VII
939–942	Stephen IX
942–946	Marinus II
946–955	Agapetus II
955–964	John XII
963–965	Leo VIII
964–966	Benedict V
965–972	John XIII
973–974	Benedict VI
974–983	Benedict VII
983–984	John XIV
985–996	John XV
996–999	Gregory V
999–1003	Sylvester II
1003	John XVII
1004–1009	John XVIII
1009–1012	Sergius IV
1012–1024	Benedict VIII
1024–1032	John XIX
1032–1044	Benedict IX
1045	Sylvester III
1045	Benedict IX
1045–1046	Gregory VI
1046–1047	Clement II
1047–1048	Benedict IX
1048	Damasus II
1049–1054	Leo IX
1055–1057	Victor II
1057–1058	Stephen X
1059–1061	Nicholas II
1061–1073	Alexander II
1073–1085	Gregory VII
1086–1087	Victor III
1088–1099	Urban II
1099–1118	Paschal II
1118–1119	Gelasius II
1119–1124	Calixtus II
1124–1130	Honorius II
1130–1143	Innocent II
1143–1144	Celestine II
1144–1145	Lucius II
1145–1153	Eugene III
1153–1154	Anastasius IV
1154–1159	Hadrian IV
1159–1181	Alexander III

1181–1185	Lucius III
1185–1187	Urban III
1187	Gregory VIII
1187–1191	Clement III
1191–1198	Celestine III
1198–1216	Innocent III
1216–1227	Honorius III
1227–1241	Gregory IX
1241	Celestine IV
1243–1254	Innocent IV
1254–1261	Alexander IV
1261–1264	Urban IV
1265–1268	Clement IV
1271–1276	Gregory X
1276	Innocent V
1276	Hadrian V
1276–1277	John XXI
1277–1280	Nicholas III
1281–1285	Martin IV
1285–1287	Honorius IV
1288–1292	Nicholas IV
1294	Celestine V
1294–1303	Boniface VIII
1303–1304	Benedict XI
1304–1314	Clement V
1316–1334	John XXII
1334–1342	Benedict XII
1342–1352	Clement VI
1352–1362	Innocent VI
1362–1370	Urban V
1370–1378	Gregory XI
1378–1389	Urban VI
1389–1404	Boniface IX
1404–1406	Innocent VII
1406–1415	Gregory XII
1417–1431	Martin V
1431–1447	Eugene IV
1447–1455	Nicholas V
1455–1458	Calixtus III
1458–1464	Pius II
1464–1471	Paul II
1471–1484	Sixtus IV
1484–1492	Innocent VIII
1492–1503	Alexander VI
1503	Pius III
1503–1513	Julius II

1513–1521	Leo X
1522–1523	Hadrian VI
1523–1534	Clement VII
1534–1549	Paul III
1550–1555	Julius III
1555	Marcellus II
1555–1559	Paul IV
1559–1565	Pius IV
1566–1572	Pius V
1572–1585	Gregory XIII
1585–1590	Sixtus V
1590	Urban VII
1590–1591	Gregory XIV
159J	Innocent IX
1592–1605	Clement VIII
1605	Leo XI
1605–1621	Paul V
1621–1623	Gregory XV
1623–1644	Urban VIII
1644–1655	Innocent X
1655–1667	Alexander VII
1667–1669	Clement IX
1670–1676	Clement X
1676–1689	Innocent XI
1689–1691	Alexander VIII
1691–1700	Innocent XII

Byzantine Empire

Extent c. 1025 — — —
Acquisitions after 1025 ·········
Name of province **EPIRUS**

0 100 200 300 km

ILLYRICUM

BYZANTINE EMPIRE

BULGARIA

THRACE

EPIRUS

THESSALONICA

MOREA

PELOPONNESUS

CRIMEA

KHERSON

CAUCASUS MTS

BALKAN MTS

BLACK SEA

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Spalato
Ragusa
Ras
Niš
Nicopolis
Silistra
Varna
Trnovo
Mesembria
Sozopolis
Amastris
Sinope
Trebizond
Colonea
Theodosioupolis
Kherson
Theodosia (Kaffa)
Bari
Dyrrachion
Ochrida
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Constantinople
Chalcedon
Nicomedia
Heraclea
Brindisi
Thessalonica
Elasson
Mt Athos
Kallipolis
Nicaea
Melitene
Amida
Lake Van
Rossano
CORFU
LESBOS
Pergamum
Ankyra
Amorium
Edessa
Thebes
Ephesus
Miletus
Syracuse
Corinth
Athens
SAMOS
PATMOS
Attalia
Tarsus
Antioch
Aleppo
Myra
MILOS
RHODES
Latakia
CYPRUS
CRETE
Beirut
Damascus
Nazareth
Caesarea
Scythopolis
Jerusalem
Gaza

Drava R.
Danube R.
Sava R.
Morava River
Vardar River
Danube River
Bosporus
Hellespont
Sangarius R.
Halys River
Meander R.
Araxes River
Tigris River
Euphrates River

42°
38°
34°
30°
24° 28° 32° 36° 40°

Kyivan Rus'

Peoples and tribes   SEVERIANS

Kyivan Rus' (1054)

Western territories annexed
by Volodimer the Great (980 to 1015)

Northwestern territories annexed
by Jaroslav the Wise (1019 to 1054)

Campaigns of Svjatoslav I

Border of Byzantine Empire

0   100   200   300 km

BALTIC SEA

LIVONIA

COURLAND

Western Dvina River

Toropec

Novgorod

Pskov

Polack

Vicebsk

Orśa

Smolensk

Andrusovo

Mahiloŭ

Ms'cislaŭ

PRUSSIA

Königsberg

Vilnius

Kreva

Nemunas

LITHUANIA

Hrodna

Navahrudak

Mensk

Sluck

Turaŭ

Cernihiv

POLISH-

Grunwald

Toruń

MAZOVIA

Warsaw

Vistula

Bug R.

Brest

Pinsk

Ljubeč

Cernihiv

LITHUANIAN

PODLACHIA

Dnipro River

Brjansk

COMMONWEALTH

GREAT POLAND

POLAND

Lublin

Volodymyr

Zamość

Hrodlo

Luck

VOLHYNIA

Ostrih

Kyiva

Putyvl'

SILESIA

Little Poland

Zawichost

Miechów

Belz

San River

L'viv

RUTHENIA

Cracow

Krosno

Halyč

Dnister River

Perejaslav

Lubny

HABSBURG

EMPIRE

KYIV

Korsun

Čerkasy

Cyhyryn

TRANSYLVANIA

HUNGARY

PODILLJA

Kam'janec'

Podil's'kyj

Braclav

BRACLAV

Boh River

Danube River

MOLDAVIA

ZAPORIZZJA

OTTOMAN

EMPIRE

CRIMEAN

KHANATE

Sea of Azov

Kafta

BLACK SEA

Balaklava

Don River

TSARDOM

OF

MUSCOVY

Beloozero

Galič

Rostov

Kostroma

Tver'

Perejaslavl'

Zalesski

Suzdal'

Niżny

Novgorod

B.

Volga River

Kazan'

Volga River

Bulgar

Kama River

Volokolamsk

Zvenigorod

Možajsk

Dmitrov

Moscow

Jurev

Pol'skij

Starodub

Bogoljubovo

Vladimir

Klusino

Oka River

Perejaslavl'

Rjazanskij

Rjazan'

Kulikovo Pole

Terešovskij

Don River

Novosil'

Don River

Donec River

Volga River

CASPIAN

SEA

Ladoga

Volchov R.

Legend

Symbol	Description
— · —	International boundaries
— — —	Boundaries of autonomous entities
- - - -	Boundaries of Polish palatinates on Ukrainian lands
(hatched)	Farthest eastward extent of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 1619
◉	Palatinate administrative centres

0   100   200 km

Ukraine c. 1650

| 22° | 24° | 26° | 28° | 30° | 32° | 34° | 36° |

Hrodna
Navahrudak
Mensk
Brjansk
52°

Bug River
Drohiczyn
(Dorohyčyn)
Warsaw
Brest
Starodub
MUSCOVY

Prypjat' River
Horyn' R.
Dnieper River
Novhorod
Sivers'kyj

Buh
Lublin
Desna River
Sejm River
Putivl'

Sandomierz
Chełm
(Xolm)
Volodymyr
Torčyn
Luc'k
Hošča
Ovruč
VOLHYNIA
R.
Čic̆nihiv
Nižyn
Psiol River
50°

Vistula
Belz
Ostrih
Krem'janec'
Suraž
Radomyšl'
Žytomyr
Teteriv
Kyiv
Hustynja
Hadjač
Vorskla River

L'viv
Oles'ko
Počajiv
Trypillja
Perejaslav
Lubny
Sula R.

Peremyšl'
(Przemyśl)
Zvenyhorod
RUTHENIA
Bila Cerkva
Kaniv
Čerkasy
Poltava

Drohobyč
PODILLJA
Vinnycja
Korsun'
Čyhyryn
Kremenčuk
Orel' R.
Samara R.
48°

Halyč
Kam'janec'
Podil's'kyj
Bar
Braclav
U K R A I N E
Kodak
(Fortress)
RAPIDS

POKUTTJA
Xotyn
Jempil'
Tul'čyn
Boh
XORTYCJA IS.

Suceava
Prut
Dniester River
EDISAN
Inhulec' R.
Dnieper River

Seret
Iaşi
River
Očakiv
KHANATE
SEA OF AZOV
46°

MOLDAVIA
Akkerman
(Bilhorod)
OF

WALLACHIA
BUDŽAK
Galaţi
Reni
Izmail
Kilija
BLACK
CRIMEA
Kerč

Kaffa

Bahçesaray
SEA
44°

Balaklava

Danube

Ukraine c. 1650

State boundaries
Palatinate boundaries
Boundary between
Kingdom of Poland and
Grand Duchy of Lithuania
Capitals of Palatinates
Other cities and towns

0   50   100   150 km

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Ukraine between East and West

Ihor Ševčenko's *Ukraine between East and West* explores the development of Ukrainian cultural identity under the disparate influences of the Byzantine Empire and western Europe, mediated through Poland. Byzantium was the source from which Kyivan Rus' received Christianity and a highly developed literary and artistic culture, which stimulated Kyiv's own achievements in those fields. Dr. Ševčenko shows how the prestige of Byzantine civilization was reinforced by the activities of Kyiv's Greek metropolitans, various Byzantine emperors, and the Byzantine missionaries and teachers of Greek who influenced the outlook of the South and East Slavic elites during the Middle Ages. Byzantine civilization impacted the culture of Rus' not only during Constantinople's period of greatness, but even after its fall to the Turks.

Professor Ševčenko also analyzes the importance of the Counter-Reformation in early modern Ukraine. Polish Jesuit scholarship and new instructional methods and the Polish church's and state's assimilationist pressures compelled the Ukrainian elite to rise in defense of its ancestral Orthodox faith and reshape its traditional culture with the aid of Western innovations. The intellectual ferment of the era is captured in essays on religious polemical literature and the complex figure of Kyiv's famous Orthodox metropolitan, Peter Mohyla. Concluding the book is a consideration of the way Byzantine and west European influences combined with the Kyivan legacy to produce a distinctive Ukrainian identity.
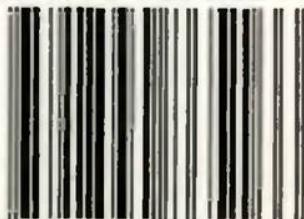
Ukraine between East and West provides a wealth of detail and the author's richly informed analytical perspective. The essays will be a rewarding read not only for students of Byzantine and East European history, but also for anyone interested in cultural formation and development.

Ihor Ševčenko is the Dumbarton Oaks Professor Emeritus of Byzantine History and Literature. Born in Poland, he studied at Prague's Charles University and the Catholic University of Louvain and was a member of Henri Grégoire's seminar in Byzantine history in Brussels. Dr. Ševčenko has taught and conducted research at many institutions, including the Collège de France, the universities of Cologne, Munich, Oxford, Michigan, and California (Berkeley), and Columbia University. Long associated with Dumbarton Oaks, where he served as the director of studies, he became the professor of Byzantine history and literature at Harvard University's Department of Classics in 1973 and served as the acting director of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard.

Dr. Ševčenko is the honorary president of the International Association of Byzantine Studies and a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the British Academy, the Society of Bollandists, the Accademia Pontaniana, the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the Polish Academy of Knowledge, and other learned societies. A founding editor of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, he also serves on the editorial boards of *Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae* and *Corpus des astronomes byzantins*.

Dr. Ševčenko has contributed greatly to the study of the relationship between the cultures of Byzantium and the Slavic world. His essay collections include *Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium* (1981), *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World* (1982), and *Byzantium and the Slavs in Letters and Culture* (1991).