

CRISIS AND REFORM



THE KYIVAN METROPOLITANATE,
THE PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE,
AND THE GENESIS OF THE UNION OF BREST



BORYS A. GUDZIAK

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Borys A. Gudziak

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Батькам з вдячністю присвячую

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Preface and Acknowledgments

Embarking upon this study I hoped to understand what the Union of Brest was in its time and context and how and why it occurred. I was motivated by spiritual concerns as well as purely intellectual interests. Pained and puzzled by the history of Christian disunity—particularly from the perspective of the Ukrainian religious experience—I became convinced that an examination of the relationship between the metropolitanate of Kyiv and the patriarchate of Constantinople provides an indispensable foundation for understanding confessional relations in the Ukrainian context. Here I tried to present an early-modern stage of this ongoing relationship, one that recently—after the manuscript was substantially complete—has taken on new importance, maybe new life. Evaluation of the Union of Brest has largely been made through the prism of confessional allegiances. This has hampered the development of a consensus about what the Union was as well as how and why it happened. In this book I sought to avoid judgments, confessional or otherwise, that cloud historical understanding. I hope that this reticence will be welcome and that this study will contribute to the formation of the kind of consensus concerning history that is a prerequisite for confessional reconciliation.

On taking leave of a topic that has held my attention for over a decade and moving on to study the heirs of the Union of Brest in the most recent times I am struck by the parallels between the atmosphere in which the Kyivan Church lived then and lives now. The monumental upheaval in European society at the time of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation/Catholic Reform is in many ways analogous to that in post-communist Europe; the proliferation of printing—to the computer and video revolution; the exuberance of the Baroque—to the poly-(or caco-)phony of contemporary art and popular culture. The end of the sixteenth century saw the influx into Eastern Europe of Western values and mentalities. On the eve of the twenty-first, they are being globalized. Besides aggressive missions of new Protestant movements and semi-(or non-)Christian denominations or sects (in the sociological sense of the term), both periods bear witness to a re-integrating, post-conciliar Catholicism. In East Slavic lands this is oriented towards conversion or re-evangelization and has a strong Polish component. As then, so today, the patriarchate of Constantinople is struggling for survival. The late-sixteenth-century crisis in Greek Orthodoxy under the *Tourkokratia* finds echoes in the defensive stance of world Orthodoxy after a century of

totalitarian persecution. Then the Russian Orthodox suspicion of and reaction to Western ways and values was a pre-imperial stance while today it is conditioned by historical nostalgias for a lost imperial past. Hierarchical weakness and a search for identity in the Ruthenian Church of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth find analogues in independent Ukraine in the renascent post-underground Greco-Catholic Church and in the volatility and division in Orthodox ecclesiastical leadership. Finally, the accent on spiritual concerns and the personalization of religious faith and practice in the last decades of the sixteenth century are variously mirrored by the profound spiritual hunger amidst the populace in contemporary post-communist societies. Separated by four centuries the early- and post-modern ages are worlds apart and yet strangely similar. The evident paradigmatic analogies between the circumstances prevailing in Ukraine and elsewhere in the former Soviet Union on the eve of the third millennium and in the world of the Union of Brest four centuries ago suggest the relevance of historical study. This book was written to explain events four hundred years ago. But maybe the story of the genesis of the Union of Brest can also offer perspective and new insight on the challenges of today.



This volume is not only the culmination of a long process of research, writing, and editing. It reflects rich experiences that have been for me both trying and fascinating and personal relations that have been profound and formative. The book's gestation began during my studies at Harvard University under the direction of an interdepartmental committee of inspiring and challenging faculty to whom I am greatly indebted. Edward L. Keenan served as my thesis advisor. I am most grateful to him for sharing with me his intimate knowledge of and original perspective on East Slavic history, literature, and culture, and for his genial encouragement, stimulating insight, and criticism during the arduous dissertation process. To Ihor Ševčenko, my second reader, I am beholden for what I have learned of Byzantium, for the unforgettable experience of his seminars, for his keen comments on my texts, and support during the years when I was revising my thesis. Omeljan Pritsak, the first director of the Ukrainian Research Institute, where many scholars and graduate students found a home, made it all seem possible during that first, brief encounter in Piazza San Pietro sixteen years ago. I thank him for his contagious enthusiasm for scholarship, spirited pedagogy, and critique of my drafts. I am grateful to George G. Grabowicz, chairman of my

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I would have never embarked on academic pursuits if it had not been for the example, witness, and blessing of His Beatitude Confessor and Patriarch Iosyf Slipyj, of blessed memory. To him, as well as to his co-workers who served as my teachers at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome, Their Graces Bishops Ivan (Choma) and Lubomyr (Husar), Frs. Ivan Muzyczka, Iwan Dacko, and Ihor Mončak, I am most grateful. Fr. Porphyrij Pidručnyj OSBM first encouraged me to explore the context of the Union of Brest and along with S. Sophia Senyk offered valued advice and spiritual support.

Many colleagues and friends have read and criticized sections of the typescript or offered assistance in translating difficult texts. I express my appreciation to Maria Campatelli, Iaroslav Dashkevych, Mikhail Vladimirovich Dmitriev, Boris Nikolaievich Floria, Maria Hablevych, Uliana Holovach, Iaroslav Isaievych, Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, Roman Koropecykj, Oleh Kupchynskyi, Miroslav Labunka, Illia Labunka, Henryk Litwin, Evgenii Mikhailovich Lomize, the late Fr. John Meyendorff, Dana Miller, Hugh M. Olmsted, Rev. John W. O'Malley SJ, Maria Mavroudi, Victor Ostapchuk, Donald Ostrowski, Paul Peeters, Vittorio Peri, Andrei Pliguzov, Serhii Ploky, Liela Prelec, Andrés Riedlmayer, Ewa Rybalt, Alexander Sich, Ihor Skochylas, the late Bohdan Strumiński, Francis J. Thomson, and Jeffrey Wills. Many of the above participated in the eighteen symposia on the Union of Brest organized by the Institute of Church History in Ukraine and Poland in 1994–96 that generated stimulating discussions helping me refine my arguments, even after the text was submitted for publication in 1994. During the long pre-publication period, extended because administrative responsibilities delayed my revisions, the dissertation which formed the basis for this book circulated for six years in some two score copies (known to me). It is gratifying to see its influence. I appreciate now more than ever the industry, intuitiveness, and conscientiousness of other scholars and previous students of the Union of Brest. My debt to them is acknowledged in the apparatus and bibliography.

Many librarians and scholars in Ukraine, Poland, Rome, Italy, Germany, at Dumbarton Oaks, and especially at Harvard's Widener Library helped me access rare books or unpublished materials. I would like to acknowledge the warm hospitality of the Daybreak Community of Toronto, Basilian Fathers in Warsaw, the Studite Monks formerly of Castelvigondolfo, the Monks of Mount Tabor in Redwood Valley, California, the Casa Santa Maria of the North American College in Rome, and the équipe at the Centro Aletti of the Pontifical Oriental Institute who at different times for extended periods received me into their midst. My travel, research, and writing was made possible by an International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) language training grant (Ukraine), IREX (Poland) and Fulbright-Hays (Poland and Italy) dissertation research fellowships, a Dumbarton Oaks Junior Fellowship, a Social Sciences and Research Council dissertation writing grant, and an IREX (Ukraine) post-doctoral fellowship. With gratitude I acknowledge this sponsorship. I appreciate the moral and technical support I have received from the Ukrainian Studies Fund staff, especially the late Fr.

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I am indebted to those who diligently prepared my typescript for publication. Illustrations and photos were provided by: my L'viv colleagues Volodymyr Alexandrovych and Stepan Kostiuk of the Vasyl' Stefanyk Scientific Library, and Orest Masiuk, Oksana Haiova, and Volodymyr Kuzemskyi of the Central State Historical Archives; S. E. Frukht of Centre d'Europe Publishers; the Houghton Library of rare books; and Fr. Pidručnyj, editor of the *Analecta OSBM*. Margaret Ševčenko graced the narrative by removing many stylistic infelicities. Marius Cybulski read the text assiduously, proposing numerous improvements and saving me from numerous errors. Fr. Cyril Mesarch assisted in the preparation of the index. The whole process of editing and presentation was managed with great professional and personal solicitude by Robert DeLossa, who with his family hosted me during my last pre-publication visits to Cambridge. Although the strengths of the book can be attributed to the generous constructive criticism of my teachers, colleagues, and editors, I must assume responsibility for its shortcomings.

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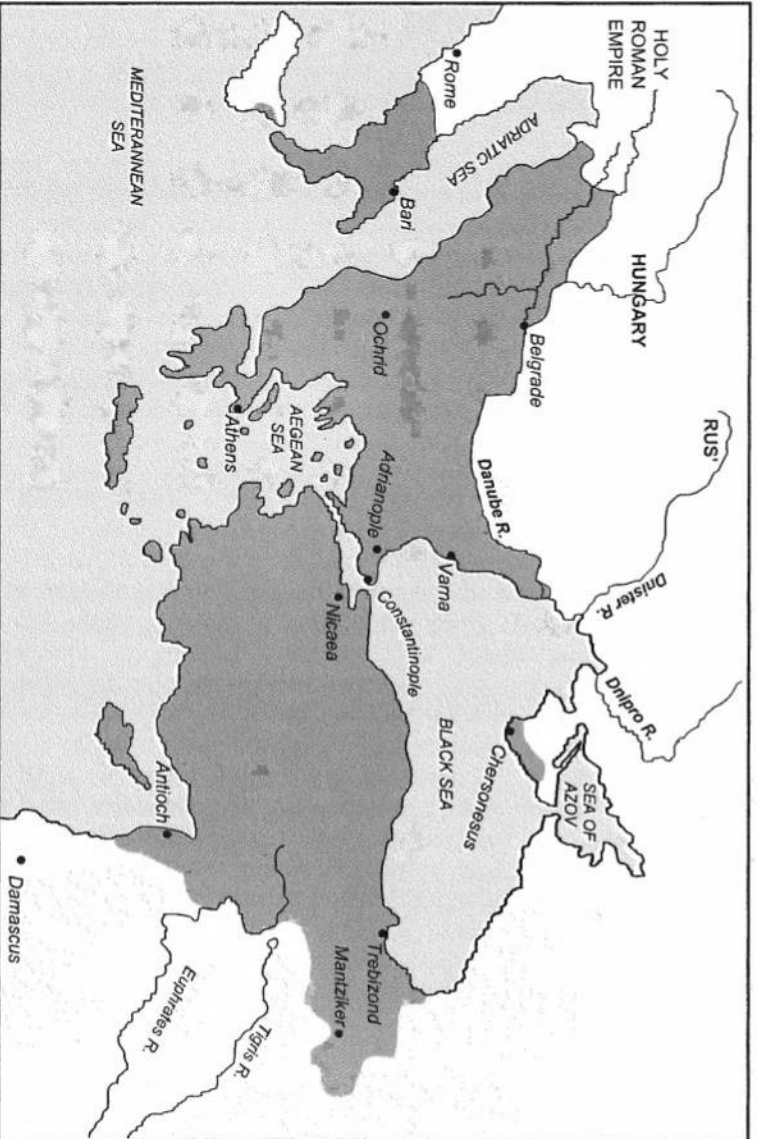
Note on Terminology

Geographical names and ethnic, linguistic, political, and ecclesiastical terms present a special problem for the historian of the pre-modern East Slavic world who seeks clarity and specificity of expression. Historical developments among the East Slavs often led to changes in terminology that present a challenge for the scholar seeking to represent historical nuances faithfully. The use of designations based on modern national, political or religious identities can be anachronistic and misleading; on the other hand, narrow terminological categories that obscure real historical continuities can be pedantic.

Here “Ukraine, Ukrainian” and “Belarus’, Belarusian” are used primarily when referring to geography; “Ruthenian” (for *rusyn, rus’kyi, Rus’*) when referring to linguistic, cultural, or ecclesiastical matters. Place-names are those of the language of the state in which the city or town is currently found, except where a well-established form exists in English—thus Moscow, Warsaw, and Brest, but L’viv, Vilnius, Polatsk (and not L’vov, Lwów, Lemberg; Wilno, Vilna; Polotsk, Połock). The three exceptions are Peremyshl’ (Przemyśl) and Kholm (Chełm) now in Poland, referred to almost exclusively as seats of Eastern Christian bishoprics, and Kyiv, which, although long known in English through the Russian spelling Kiev, is now increasingly accepted in its Ukrainian form. The terms “Muscovy” and “Muscovite” are generally used instead of “Russia” and “Russian,” in any late-medieval and early-modern context.

The Greek term *hē Rhōssia* and its adjectival derivatives are translated according to context: when referring to sixteenth-century ecclesiastical or political titles, *tēs pasēs Rhōssias* is translated as “of all Rus’”; when referring to the Muscovite polity or people, as “Muscovy” or “Muscovite.” Slavic and Greek transliteration follows the modified Library of Congress system, except again where a well-established English form is available (e.g., Tsar Ivan, but John Chrysostom; Petr Nashchokin, but Peter Mohyla). The names of Kyivan metropolitans of Slavic origin are rendered according to the Ruthenian pronunciation of Church Slavonic. The magisterial *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* has served as a general guide for other proper names of Greek origin: Arsenios, Christophoros, Dionysios, Hierotheos, Ignatios, Makarios, Meletios, Paisios, Stephanos, Theoleptos, but Cyril, Jeremiah, Joachim, Isidore, Gregory, and Sylvester. Because the Greek and Slavic sources generally refer to the Ottoman capital, Istanbul, by its Byzantine Greek name Constantinople, the latter will be used throughout.

Crisis and Reform



Map 1. The Byzantine Empire, early eleventh century.

INTRODUCTION

The Late-Medieval Metropolitanate of Kyiv and the Patriarchate of Constantinople

From the time of Volodimer and the establishment of the Church in Rus', the Kyivan metropolitanate¹ was a daughter Church of the patriarchate of Constantinople.² Hierarchically subordinated, spiritually indebted, culturally dependent, and liturgically united, Kyiv was solidly a part of the greater Byzantine Orthodox world—part but not necessarily partner. The sole emperor of the Romans, the territories that he governed directly (that is, the Byzantine Empire proper), and Greek language and culture had primacy. Kyivan Rus' and its Church were latecomers to the Christian world, and from the perspective of the Byzantines remained provincial and barbarian. The Byzantines expounded an ideology of superiority to which their neighbors generally acquiesced. Despite the inheritance from Byzantium of a rich patrimony that included the structure and organization of the Church, its sacramental life, the scriptural and liturgical corpus, and architectural and artistic models, all of which heralded a new legitimacy of Rus' in the community of Christian polities, the acceptance of the Kyivan polity into the Byzantine cultural and intellectual realm was hardly complete. Most of the Byzantine high literary genres, such as history or philosophical and properly theological works (as opposed to chronicles and homilies, canonical instruction, or popular exegesis), most of its scientific treatises and other secular writing, as well as the works of classical antiquity that received new attention during the Byzantine renaissance of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, were never translated into Church Slavonic and hence had no influence on Rus' culture.³

In addition to its Byzantine legacy, the Kyivan state was open to influences from the Eurasian steppe, the Baltic north, and Catholic West Slavdom through commerce, combat, and diplomacy. These contacts, combined with a growing sense of political power, resulted in

indigenous desiderata for the Rus' polity, society, and Church that were soon reflected in their interaction with Byzantium. Tensions between Kyiv and Constantinople were already evident when the Rus' disregarded Constantinople's prerogative to select Kyivan metropolitans and installed their own choices (Ilarion in 1051 and Klym Smoliatych in 1147)⁴ without Constantinople's approval.⁵ But aside from these rare exceptions, the Kyivan metropolitanate, led by Byzantine-appointed hierarchs following Byzantine imperial policy, continued to take its cue from the patriarchate of Constantinople.⁶

The late medieval political restructuring of the borderland between Europe and Asia, spurred by the rise of the Mongol Empire, affected the constitution of the Kyivan metropolitanate and created a new context for its relations with Constantinople.⁷ In the fourteenth and the first decades of the fifteenth century, Kyivan Rus' and the Galician-Volhynian principality gradually declined, and the Rus' lands were annexed by neighboring states. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania was the major beneficiary, progressively absorbing first Belarusian lands, then most of Volhynia and the central Ukrainian territories on both sides of the Dnipro (Dnieper). After the extinction of its dynasty, Galicia (along with western Volhynia) fell to the Kingdom of Poland in 1349, though it preserved some measure of autonomy until 1387. During the last decades of the fourteenth and over the course of the fifteenth century, the northeastern lands of Rus' came increasingly under the control of the Muscovite principality. With the territory of the Kyivan metropolitanate divided between three states,⁸ it was in the interest of each to press its case before the patriarchate of Constantinople regarding the residence and jurisdiction of the Kyivan metropolitan.⁹

In 1299/1300, Metropolitan Maximos (1283–1305) abandoned Kyiv for Vladimir-on-the-Kliaz'ma.¹⁰ The ancient heartland of Rus' and specifically Kyiv itself, the seat of the Rus' metropolitans, located just north of the border between the forest and steppe zones of the eastern European land mass, was particularly exposed to attacks by nomads striking from the vast plains to the south.¹¹ Although his predecessor Kyryll II (1242/7–81) had intermittently resided in towns to the north, Maximos' permanent departure set a precedent. It is not clear what actually prompted his move. The Tatars had sacked Kyiv in 1240, fifty-nine years before Maximos' departure, and had remained a constant threat to Kyivan and Galician-Volhynian lands and settlements. On the

other hand, northeastern Rus' was under Mongol tutelage and also suffered from the Tatars, enduring at least sixteen punitive incursions between 1273 and 1298. The northeastern towns, including Vladimir and Moscow, were raided as late as 1293, with Moscow suffering another sack in 1298. Therefore the Galician-Volhynian principality would seem to have been the most likely refuge.¹² Maximos' successor Metropolitan Peter (1308–26) transferred his residence to Moscow in 1326 and left a testament enjoining his heirs on the throne to remain there.¹³

Eventually, numerous Rus' boyar clans from what are today Belarusian and Ukrainian lands also began rendering service to the Muscovite principality as or after it expanded. This shift in loyalty and the metropolitan's move to northeastern Rus' were at once a consequence of the decay of the Rus' polity and their social and economic institutions in Ukraine and Belarus', and at the same time a cause of subsequent Ruthenian political and cultural impotence.

The Lithuanian grand princes, especially before their conversion to Roman Catholicism, tried to induce the patriarchs of Constantinople to appoint a metropolitan to reside in Kyiv, but although they were sporadically successful, they were not able to secure a continuous succession of Kyivan metropolitans in the Grand Duchy. Moscow enjoyed Constantinople's favor, and the patriarchate generally maintained a policy of appointing only one metropolitan for all the East Slavic Orthodox lands.¹⁴ Consequently, for most of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth centuries the Orthodox Church in the Grand Duchy was nominally subject to a metropolitan residing in Muscovy. This state of affairs not only frustrated Lithuanian political ambitions but also generated considerable resentment, eventually expressed explicitly, amidst ecclesiastical spheres in the Grand Duchy.¹⁵

The contentiousness between Muscovy and Lithuania and the fluctuations in Constantinopolitan policy are illustrated by the career of Metropolitan Kyprian (1375–1406, with interruptions). Kyprian, a Bulgarian monk, was consecrated "metropolitan of Kyiv, Rus', and Lithuania" in Constantinople in 1375 despite the fact that the "metropolitan of Kyiv and all Rus'" Alexios was still alive. Patriarch Philotheos' justification for such an irregular act was that Alexios was too firmly tied to the interests of Muscovy and was neglecting his Lithuanian territories. As long as Alexios was alive, Kyprian was to

serve the Lithuanian lands. When Alexios died, Kyprian was to assume the title and responsibility of “metropolitan of all Rus’.”¹⁶ Instead, a protracted struggle over control of the metropolitanate ensued. Because of political changes in Byzantium, Kyprian, who spent two years in Kyiv, lost the support of Constantinople and was then also rejected in Moscow, where he was viewed as a threat to the ambitions of a radically anti-Lithuanian boyar party seeking a metropolitanate separate from the Lithuanian lands. In Moscow Mikhail-Mitaii had assumed the metropolitan’s title and Kyprian was arrested and publicly humiliated when he arrived in 1378. After leaving Muscovy Kyprian excommunicated his opponents. Traveling with a Muscovite delegation seeking patriarchal arbitration Mitaii died just before landing in Constantinople—his ship was already in the Bosphoros. Neilos, the new patriarch, then ordained Archimandrite Pimen, a member of the Mitaii’s entourage, metropolitan of Kyiv and Great Rus’.

A synod held in Constantinople in 1380 portrayed Kyprian as a pawn of Lithuania who deceived Philotheos. The synod restricted his jurisdiction to “Lithuania and Little Rus’” and decreed that the unity of the metropolitanate was to be reconstituted under Pimen after the death of Kyprian. In 1380–81 the Muscovite attitude towards Kyprian was reversed; the metropolitan was acknowledged, summoned to Moscow by Grand Prince Dmitrii, and honorably received in May 1381. Pimen, who returned from Constantinople in the fall, was arrested and imprisoned, and Kyprian displaced the hierarch appointed by Constantinople. However, when Muscovy came under serious threat from the Tatars because Kyprian had never payed them the requisite obeisances, he became a political liability and Dmitrii reinstated Pimen. Yet another policy shift led Muscovy to seek a replacement for both Kyprian and Pimen, and Dionisii, bishop of Suzdal’, was entrusted by Constantinople with the administration of the metropolitanate. The confusion continued throughout the 1380s, ending only after the death of Dionisii in 1385 and Pimen and Dmitrii, both in 1389. The following year Kyprian assumed the metropolitan seat in Moscow ruling over a unified province until his death in 1406.¹⁷

In the Galician-Volhynian principality a separate metropolitanate of Halych was established in the first years of the fourteenth century, with Volodymyr-in-Volhynia, Kholm, Peremyshl’, Luts’k, and Turaŭ as its subordinate dioceses. Its status, however, was even more tenuous than

that of the metropolitanate that eluded the Lithuanian grand princes, and it too was contested by the metropolitans of Kyiv resident in Moscow, who strongly opposed hierarchical structures in the East Slavic lands not under Muscovite influence or control.¹⁸ In 1347 the Galician metropolitanate was dissolved by a chrysobull issued by Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos and ratified by the patriarchal synod. There are indications that the metropolitanate of Halych was revived in the second half of the fourteenth century, but if so, its existence was ephemeral, for by this time Constantinople itself and then the Kyivan metropolitan resident in Moscow had laid claim to jurisdiction over the Orthodox Church in the Polish Kingdom. By the turn of the century the Halych metropolitanate vanished from the Rus' ecclesiastical map, to be revived only at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the bishop of Rome.¹⁹

The struggle over the establishment of a Kyivan metropolitanate and the threats to its jurisdictional integrity continued into the fifteenth century. In 1415, with the support of Grand Duke Vytautas, the Ruthenian bishops in the Grand Duchy elected Gregory Tsamblak (1415–19) to be metropolitan of Kyiv and all Rus', thereby challenging the authority of both the patriarchate of Constantinople and the jurisdiction of Fotii (Photios, 1408–31), the metropolitan resident in Moscow.²⁰ They appealed to history, to the precedent of Metropolitan Klym Smoliatych, who had been elected independently of Constantinople. The synod also justified its act by charging that the patriarchate had become corrupted by simony and subservience to secular authority. Nevertheless, it acknowledged the ecumenical hierarch as "patriarch and father." Convened in synod in Navahrudak the bishops of Polatsk, Chernihiv, Luts'k, Volodymyr-in-Volhynia, Peremyshl', Kholm, and Turaŭ articulated their grievances against Constantinople, referring to fourteenth-century abuses in the Greek Church and to irregularities in the appointment of Kyivan metropolitans:

We turn away in disgust, for we cannot support the violence done by the emperor [Manuel II] to the Church; for indeed, the holy ecumenical patriarch and the divine Holy Synod of Constantinople cannot appoint a metropolitan according to the canons, but appoint whom the emperor wills. Hence, the gift of the Holy Spirit is bought and sold, as [Manuel's] father [John V] perpetrated against the Church of Kyiv, in our own days, in the case of Metropolitan Kyprian, and Pimen, and Dionisii and many others, with regard not for the honor of

the Church, but for much gold and silver. This gave rise to great debts and expenses, murmuring and confusion, as well as tumult and killing, and worst of all, the dishonor of the Church of Kyiv and All Rus'. On account of this, we took heed and determined that it is not right for us to receive such metropolitans appointed through bribes by an emperor who is a layman, and not by the will of the patriarch and according to the tradition of an authentic Apostolic synod. Thus, we came together, and through the grace given to us from the Holy Spirit, we appointed a worthy metropolitan of the Rus' Church.²¹

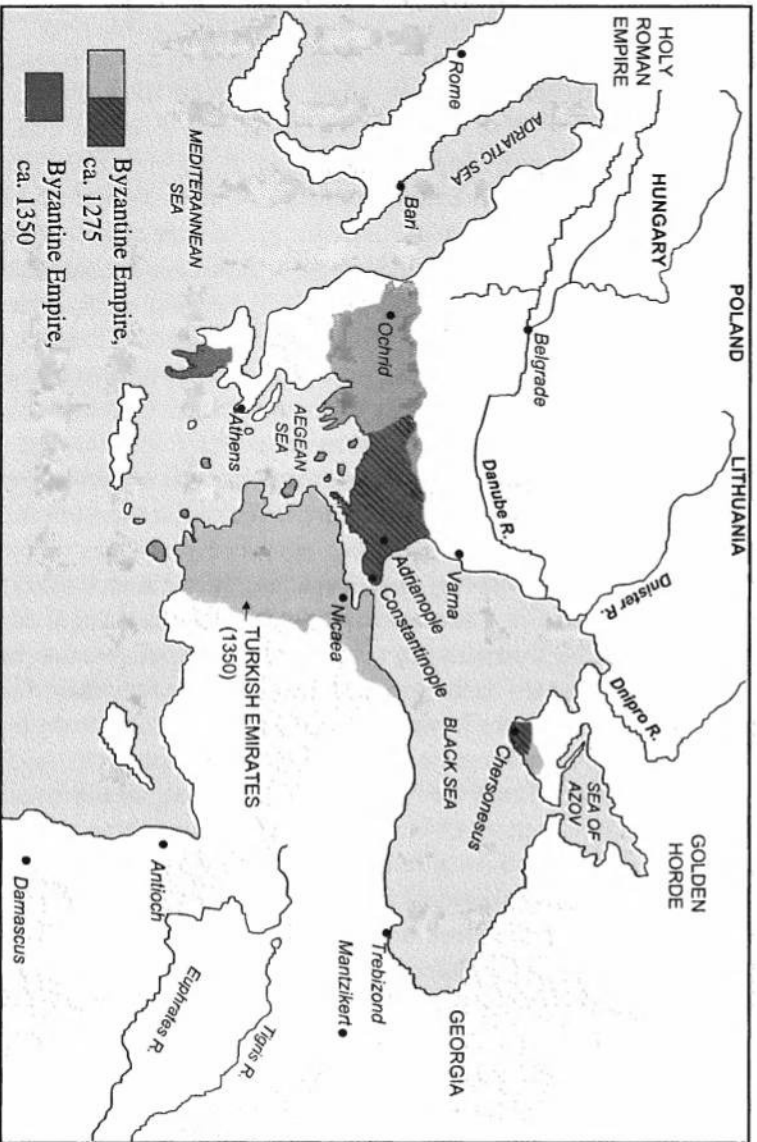
In Moscow Fotii, accused by Ruthenians of inattentiveness to the needs of their eparchies, inveighed against Tsamblak. Patriarch Joseph II excommunicated the independently elected metropolitan. Tsamblak, however, was able to lead a Ruthenian delegation to the council of the Western Church to be held in Constance. On 25 February 1418, in the presence of Pope Martin V and Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund, the metropolitan of Kyiv urged that an ecumenical council be convened for the purposes of reestablishing union between the Eastern and Western Churches.²² There is no further record of Tsamblak, and after 1419, the Ruthenian dioceses were again under the jurisdiction of Fotii. However, another precedent had been established. The Ruthenian bishops gathered in synod and, acting independently of Constantinople to determine the leadership of the Orthodox community in Lithuania and Poland, had for the first time charged the patriarchate with simony and undue submission to secular rule.

Ever since the Rus' Church had been established, approving candidates to the metropolitan throne had been the most direct means by which the patriarchate exerted influence over the Kyivan metropolitanate. In the next one hundred and fifty-five years the ability of the patriarch to choose, or even influence the choice of, the metropolitans of Kyiv would be largely lost, until the end of the sixteenth century, when the authority of the patriarchate in the Ruthenian Church was again being reconstituted. The question of material remuneration for "gifts of the Holy Spirit" would once more generate consternation in the Kyivan Church, but this time the corruption was plaguing its own internal affairs as well as its relationship with the patriarchate of Constantinople.



In the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries what constituted the Kyivan metropolitanate and how it was related to its Mother Church in Constantinople was subtly changing, but in the fifteenth century the geographical boundaries of the metropolitanate changed dramatically allowing its division, sought by Muscovy at the end of the fourteenth century, to be effected in the aftermath of the Council of Florence. Consequently, in the second half of the fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth century the Kyivan metropolitan had under his jurisdiction only the dioceses of the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland. Events after the Council of Florence allowed the papacy to involve itself directly in Ruthenian ecclesiastical affairs, an involvement that would ebb and flow until the beginning of the sixteenth century. The attempt to unify the Churches ultimately failed, however, and it produced prolonged reverberations in the Ruthenian Church. With minor modifications, the East-West division reemerged.

In the sixteenth century both branches of a divided Christendom found themselves at a new crossroads. In the West, the Reformation was questioning Catholic dogma and ecclesiastical practice in fundamental ways that led to the genesis of numerous contending denominations and to social, intellectual, and cultural revolutions that profoundly influenced the subsequent course of European history. In the East, the Orthodox Church faced the challenge of preserving its essential characteristics under the government of non-Orthodox polities, whether Muslim or Catholic. By the end of the century the leading Western denominations, having now consolidated their doctrinal positions and created or reenforced the structure of their communities, took to looking beyond the confines of Europe to launch their mission to the distant corners of a rapidly expanding world. Both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant West saw the Orthodox as possible allies, and thus confronted the Christian East just as the crisis in both the patriarchate of Constantinople and the metropolitanate of Kyiv was deepening.



Map 2. The contraction of Byzantine territory (13th and 14th centuries).

CHAPTER ONE

Crisis in the Christian East: The Patriarchate of Constantinople under Ottoman Rule

Although debilitated by institutional afflictions and cultural poverty, the Greek Orthodox Church at the end of the sixteenth century still remained a conscious carrier of a rich ecclesiastical, cultural, and political legacy. Despite chronic structural instability and corruption within its ranks, which in turn produced fiscal insolvency, the patriarchate of Constantinople, particularly in the person of Jeremiah II, preserved a profound sense of ecclesiastical responsibility. Byzantium had long since fallen, yet the Byzantine Church had survived. Maintaining within the Ottoman Empire a jurisdiction roughly coterminous with the boundaries of the tenth- or eleventh-century Byzantine Empire, the patriarchate “in captivity” assumed the role of preserving Greek Orthodox identity. Any examination of the relationship between the Kyivan metropolitanate and the patriarchate of Constantinople on the eve of the Union of Brest must take into account the predicament of the Orthodox Church and the concerns of the patriarchate itself.

Rise of the Ottoman Empire and Fall of the Byzantine Empire

Like a number of earlier upheavals in the Christian world, the fall of Byzantium involved a westward migration of populations from Central Asia. Since the early Middle Ages, Turkic peoples had been moving into Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean and into the Byzantine sphere of influence. After the victory of the Turks at the battle of Mantzikert (1071) and the political instability in the empire that resulted, the Byzantines lost most of Asia Minor to the Seljuks. The advance westward of the Mongols in the thirteenth century brought additional nomadic Turkoman tribes into Asia Minor. Under the leadership of *ghāzī* (warrior of Islam) potentates the Turkomans formed

principalities on the frontier between the Seljuk Sultanate and the Byzantine Empire. Osman (d. 1326), eponymous founder of the Ottoman dynasty, was one of these frontier *ghāzīs*. Despite recurrent civil war and temporary setbacks, the domain and suzerainty of his heirs grew through the gradual submission of Muslim emirates in Anatolia, advances against Byzantine positions on the northwestern coast of Asia Minor, and expansion throughout the entire Balkan peninsula and present-day Romania, the Ukrainian steppe, the Fertile Crescent, and North Africa. By the end of the sixteenth century Ottoman hegemony reached from Egypt to Algiers, from the Don to Buda. Through the effective use of the *kulluk* (slavery) system, especially the janissary corps (the first standing army in Europe), and through the establishment of the unique position of the sultans as preeminent *ghāzīs* and leading rulers of the *Dār al-Islām* (Domain of Islam), the realm of *ghāzī* raiders developed into the highly structured Ottoman state. The climactic moment of this rise was the capture of the Byzantine capital of Constantinople.¹

The fall of the imperial city on 29 May 1453 marked the end of a thousand-year Byzantine political tradition and dealt a lasting blow to the Eastern Christian world.² It is true that much of the Christian East had by then been under Muslim rule for centuries and that the complete subjugation of New Rome to a lord of a foreign creed had been foreshadowed when the devastating Fourth Crusade established an empire in Constantinople (1204–61). Byzantine political institutions never achieved the stability needed to confront successfully Byzantium's vigorous Muslim and Latin neighbors, and fiscal crisis and religious discord plagued Byzantine society. By the fifteenth century, imperial sovereignty extended over territory that was hardly of imperial proportions; when it revived in 1261, it included only northern Greece, the western coast of Asia Minor, and the south-central Peloponnesos. The political, social, and religious assimilation of former Byzantine territories to Ottoman rule proceeded gradually but relentlessly. By the 1440s, Ottoman possessions surrounded Constantinople, and its capitulation was only a question of time.³

Nevertheless, the end of the empire and the subjugation of the ecumenical patriarchate to Turkish overlordship shocked and gravely effected the Orthodox Church. The fall of the city had been bloody. Following the teaching of the Koran, the Ottomans first sought the

voluntary submission of the infidels, but when they resisted, the Muslims put their opponents to the sword. Holy War was intended to subdue, but not destroy, the infidel world, the *Dār al-Ḥarb* (“Abode of War”). Mehmed II the Conqueror had prepared systematically for a final strike on the Byzantine capital and began the siege on 6 April 1453. Constantine XI Palaiologos, the final imperial namesake of the great founder of Constantinople, was determined not to surrender and organized the defense with admirable fortitude. When the sultan breached the land walls, impregnable to direct assault for a thousand years, he was obliged according to Islamic custom to grant his soldiers a three-day license to loot the city, because it had resisted conquest.⁴ Even though the sultan put a stop to the wanton spoliation after the first day, the effect of the Ottoman conquest and pillaging of the imperial city, even in its reduced state, was profoundly demoralizing.

As long as the capital could be defended, all that the empire had stood for could be renewed. But now the conquerors had struck at the heart of Byzantine identity. The Great Church of Holy Wisdom—the outstanding sanctuary for all of Christendom and in Byzantine eyes the center of the Christian world—was converted into a Muslim mosque. The soldiers hacked the holy icons to pieces, including the most venerated *Hodēgitria* (Virgin Mary with Christ), symbols of God’s historic Incarnation and enduring presence among His people.⁵ The futility of any hope for Western Christian deliverance had become manifest. In the end, the population of Constantinople was left to the mercy of the sackers. In the words of the fifteenth-century historian Doukas, “the City was desolate, lying dead, naked, soundless, having neither form nor beauty.”⁶

Because of the tradition of Byzantine church-state inter-dependence, the collapse of the empire undermined key aspects of the identity of the Orthodox Church.⁷ The emperor had been central, not only to political ideology, but also to Byzantine ecclesiology. According to the Byzantines, the emperor was a providential ruler selected by God, “His representative on Earth and representative of the people before Him.”⁸ Ironically, in the late Byzantine period, when the Byzantine emperor Manuel II (1391–1425) had found himself the vassal of Sultan Bayezid, a patriarch of Constantinople articulated most strikingly the Church’s understanding of the imperial role: “The Emperor and the Church have great unity and commonality, and it is not possible to

separate them.”⁹ After Manuel, the Church was to enjoy “commonality” with only two more emperors. Having fought valiantly, Emperor Constantine had fallen with his soldiers at the walls of the city. The last “consecrated head of the ecumene” was dead, and all other claimants soon suffered the same fate. After 1453, the patriarchate of Constantinople slowly accommodated its ideology to the geopolitical realities of the *Tourkokratia*, but in terms of ecclesiastical vitality, it never fully recovered from the loss of imperial protection and from its relegation to minority status.¹⁰ By the late sixteenth century, ecclesiastical leaders in Constantinople were painfully aware of the ramifications of the fall of the imperial capital. What Theodosios Zygomalas, an Orthodox scholar, wrote about wisdom in a letter to Martin Crusius, a Lutheran divine, in a Lutheran-Orthodox correspondence of the 1570s could be applied to other aspects of ecclesiastical life: “As long as you have the Empire you have learning . . . Since we lost the Empire we have also lost learning . . . through long contact with barbarians we ourselves have become barbarians.”¹¹

The Orthodox Community under the Ottoman State

Although the Byzantines regarded their treatment and that of their Church by Ottoman conquerors as barbaric, it was also pragmatic. In 1453 the Turks had triumphed unconditionally, but complete displacement of the Greek population of Constantinople and suppression of Orthodoxy was not possible, customary, or in the best interests of the Ottoman authorities.¹² The prosperity of the conquered metropolis and the exploitation of the strategic, commercial, and political potential of what was to be the new capital of the Ottoman realm required a cooperative population. Under the Ottoman system, the Turks devoted themselves to administration, the military, Islamic religious institutions, and agriculture. Much of commerce and manufacturing was left in the hands of their infidel subjects.¹³ The Turks needed the expertise of the Greek farmers, seamen, and merchants, if their military success was to be translated into the strengthening of the economic power of the empire. Some districts and villages inside the walls of Constantinople had been spared in the abbreviated tridium of plunder, presumably because they had surrendered to Mehmed’s soldiers, open-

ing before them peripheral gates once the outcome of the final battle had become clear.

The sultan soon set out to repopulate his new capital using the system of compulsory resettlement (*sürgün*) by which Ottoman rulers had traditionally reorganized newly captured territories. Mehmed brought thousands of Greeks from Morea, Trebizond, and other districts to the new capital. Additional forced migration of Armenians, Jews, and Arabs as well as the influx of Turks and other Muslims from all corners of the realm also ensured the continuity of commercial and industrial enterprises.¹⁴ Before the fall of Byzantine Constantinople its population had dwindled to approximately 50,000.¹⁵ Despite the casualties and the subsequent dispersion of captives, the population then began to grow rapidly; by the middle of the sixteenth century it stood at three times the 1453 figure.¹⁶

As the Byzantine state declined, the Orthodox Church endured hardships, but also gained experience that prepared it for Ottoman rule. Materially, the patriarchate had been weakened and by the end of the fourteenth century its income, dependent largely on ecclesiastical holdings in Asia Minor, had declined so drastically that the patriarch had difficulty maintaining his palace.¹⁷ With the obvious exception of its spiritual children in the Kyivan metropolitanate, most of the faithful, not only under the patriarchate of Constantinople, but under the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem as well, were under Muslim rule, and all but Constantinople had been so for centuries. Since the territory of the patriarchate greatly exceeded that of the state, patriarchs had already been faced with ecclesiastical problems in Islamic states. Bishops were saddled with a certain civic accountability for their flock, in addition to their responsibilities for the strictly religious supervision of the Orthodox.¹⁸

Paradoxically, in some respects Mehmed II actually effected a consolidation of the patriarchate of Constantinople. Except for the East Slavic lands and those formerly Byzantine territories under the rule of European powers, mainly the Venetians and the Genoese, the Ottoman conquest reunited the metropolitanates and eparchies (dioceses) of the patriarchate within one state and its protectorates. The onset of Turkish rule over the patriarchate also enhanced ecclesiastical unity on yet another score. In 1439, in hopes of gaining European support for the defense of the empire, Emperor John VIII Palaiologos, Patriarch Jo-

seph II, and a significant proportion of the ranking bishops of the Orthodox world had accepted ecclesiastical union with the Latin West at the Council of Florence. Although numerous Greek prelates freely, if not out of profound conviction, supported the Florentine ecclesiastical rapprochement, the union itself was rejected by a majority of the monks and laity and thereby became a source of division in the Byzantine Orthodox community, as most of the Eastern signatories sooner or later disavowed their support. Many Greeks considered the calamity of the conquest to be divine punishment for their transgressions, foremost among them being capitulation to the Latin heresy at Florence. With the appointment of the anti-Unionist Patriarch Gennadios, the opponents of the Florentine compromise were vindicated. The Greek Orthodox Church formally abrogated the Florentine accord at a synod in 1484. Although the issue of union with Rome would reemerge as a point of contention among Orthodox clerics, amidst the conquered people it was as good as dead.¹⁹

The concerns of Greek Orthodox and Christian heterodox individuals under Muslim rule in the Middle East, North Africa, and Asia Minor had long been represented before Muslim overlords by church hierarchs, and after the fall of Constantinople Mehmed II turned to that model. Mindful of the sultan's favor, a synod in Constantinople elected the monk Gennadios Scholarios (1454–56, 1463, 1464–65) as patriarch to replace the Uniate Gregory III Mammas (elected in 1443), who had left his theologically strife-ridden see in 1451 and taken refuge in Italy.²⁰ The intellectually curious conqueror was impressed by Scholarios' erudition and integrity and met him on numerous occasions for intellectual discussions. At the sultan's bidding Gennadios composed a treatise, equipped with a short synopsis, explaining to Mehmed the principles of the Orthodox faith.²¹ Although enamored of Aquinas, earlier a supporter of union, and at the council itself a defender of the orthodoxy of the Latin doctrine on the procession of the Holy Spirit, Gennadios had for almost a decade staunchly carried the mantle of leader of the anti-Union party passed on to him by Mark Eugenikos on the latter's deathbed (1444 or 45). Mehmed could rest assured that Scholarios would not be tempted by West European ecclesiastical and political overtures.²²

Supposedly with the help of Gennadios, Mehmed formulated the terms and conditions according to which the Greeks were to be gov-

erned. Although no document has survived, in subsequent decades the Orthodox argued, to the satisfaction of later sultans, that Mehmed had issued a *ferman* (rescript) to Gennadios, granting the patriarch “personal inviolability, exemption from paying taxes, freedom of movement, security from deposition, and the right to transmit these privileges to his successors.”²³ The sultan allegedly issued another *ferman* that, among other assurances, declared that the remaining Orthodox churches would not be converted into mosques. Throughout the period of the *Tourkokratia* this putative concession served as a precedent to which patriarchs appealed, often successfully, when petitioning sultans to safeguard ecclesiastical property or return confiscated churches.²⁴

Recent literature has questioned the notion that the Porte governed the *dhimmīs* (non-Muslim subjects protected and tolerated by Muslim authorities) communally and not as individuals.²⁵ The idea that the Ottoman authorities ruled the *dhimmīs* through the *millet* system, that is, through the supreme leader of the respective religious community or nation, is no longer tenable for many periods of Ottoman history, including the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.²⁶ Nevertheless, it is clear that the patriarchs of Constantinople were in many ways responsible for the conduct of their people and charged with a degree of authority unprecedented in the Byzantine period.²⁷ The patriarch had authority in all matters connected with the religious life of the Orthodox community, including doctrinal issues, marriage and divorce, the custody of minors, and wills.²⁸ As in Byzantine times the patriarch was elected by the Holy Synod, with the lay ruler usually exercising decisive influence.²⁹ Together with the clergy he was free from taxation, except for the special tributes that at first were voluntary, but eventually came to be exacted with regularity by the officials of the Porte. The patriarchal tribunal heard most legal cases among Greeks other than felonies (and even those when they involved a priest). The patriarch was often held responsible for the tranquillity and loyalty of the Orthodox population and, at the behest of the authorities, enforced Ottoman taxation with ecclesiastical sanctions, including excommunication.³⁰ The new patriarchal mandates did not necessarily strengthen the Ecumenical See. The unprecedented extra-ecclesiastical political, economic, and juridical responsibilities of the patriarchs of Constantinople in the long run overextended the Church’s prerogatives, obstructed its ecclesiastical mission, and blurred its spiritual identity.

The Ottomans also allowed the hierarchical and administrative structure of the Church to continue unchanged, including the election of bishops by priests and of metropolitans by bishops.³¹ Ratification from the secular ruler under the Ottomans came in the form of an imperial diploma, or *berat*, the earliest surviving example of which dates from 1604.³² The Holy Synod was expanded to include not only metropolitans but high officeholders of the patriarchate, increasingly drawn from the laity. This diminished the authority of the patriarch and made the synod more vulnerable to internal dissension and intrigue, frequently instigated or fueled by the Ottoman authorities.

The patriarchal officials comprised a hierarchy of nine so-called pentads.³³ The first of these nine groups of five consisted of officials controlling the most important aspects of the patriarchate's affairs: Grand Oikonomos (finances), Grand Sakellarios (monastic life), Grand Skevophylax (liturgical accoutrements, icons, relics), Grand Chartophylax (records and archives), and Minister of the Sakellion (ecclesiastical discipline). Functionaries in the remaining pentads were responsible for other administrative, bureaucratic, juridical and liturgical duties. The structure of the patriarchate's administration did not remain static throughout the *Tourkokratia*. Over time new offices were created and the rank, responsibility, and effective influence of old ones changed, but the general trend, clearly evident by the end of the sixteenth century, was an increase in lay influence.³⁴ With the passing of Mehmed and Gennadios and with the progressive Turkish hegemony over the economic and social structures of Ottoman Istanbul, the fate of the Orthodox Church gradually worsened. Subsequent patriarchs did not match Gennadios in astuteness, wisdom, or moral stature, in the opinion of the Orthodox as well as the ruling Turks.

The broad-minded conqueror had an interest and respect for Western culture and Byzantine learning and ecclesiastical tradition that his first two successors did not share. The enthronement of Bayezid II (1481–1512) was accompanied by demands for a closer adherence to the shari'a, the religious law of Islam. In 1494, under pressure from conservative ulema (men learned in Muslim doctrine, law, and tradition), Bayezid ordered the execution of Molla Lutfi, one of their freethinking members.

The changing atmosphere affected the Orthodox community. In 1490 Bayezid sought to confiscate the Pammakaristos Church, home to

the patriarchs since Gennadios had moved there in 1454. Although the sultan relented and even proscribed the confiscation of other churches, within ten years two other churches were seized. Under Bayezid's son, Selim I (1512–20), the importance of the sacred law of Islam in state administration continued to grow. Having subjugated the Middle East, including the Arabian peninsula, the Ottoman sultan was no longer a mere chieftain. Now Selim and his successors were also custodians of the Islamic holy places and protectors of the pilgrimage routes to Mecca and Medina. The autocratic Selim brutally repressed the Shi'ite *kizilbash* (an Anatolian sect loyal to the Safavid shahs of Persia) and scorned the Orthodox; he even briefly considered forcibly converting all Christians to the Islamic faith. Although during his rule the Orthodox had some success in defending their houses of worship, conversion of churches to mosques continued.³⁵

Selim's successor, Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–66), had a profound and multifaceted appreciation for high culture and presided over a flourishing Ottoman civilization. His interest could hardly have been stimulated by representatives of the contemporary Orthodox hierarchy, whose learning and intellectual prowess did not match that of late-Byzantine churchmen such as Bessarion or Gennadios Scholarios. As the achievements of Byzantium were relegated to an ever more remote past, the status of the Greek ecclesiastical and civil elite became a function of Ottoman tastes and exigencies. Greeks, considered adept in commerce and perhaps effective in diplomacy, otherwise came to be disdained as infidels and as plotting, potentially disloyal second-class subjects. Although under Suleiman, Orthodox title to ecclesiastical property was generally respected, progressive ideological entrenchment and the weakness of its community would make it increasingly difficult for the Orthodox Church to maintain its rights and privileges.

During the latter part of the sixteenth century, in the time of Selim II (1566–74), Murad III (1574–95), and Mehmed III (1595–1603) the Ottoman state reached its apogee and began its gradual decline. Ottoman expansion into Europe was stopped at the outskirts of Vienna in 1529. Despite numerous efforts to break through further westward, the last of which was thwarted at Vienna in 1683, the empire did not score any lasting advances against European Christian states. The concept of Holy War guided much of Ottoman policy. Conquest of the infidel was a central tenet of the ideology of the Ottoman state. Since the character

of Ottoman administrative, fiscal, and military and religious institutions presupposed political expansion and subjugation of infidel lands, the establishment of a more-or-less fixed frontier with Europe slowly but profoundly affected all aspects of Ottoman society.³⁶ At the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 Turkish invincibility on the Mediterranean was shattered. Continuous wars with the Persians and Habsburgs, a dramatic rise in population and the resulting destabilization of the social structure and system of land ownership, failure to respond to the challenges set forth by the new European mercantile economy, and complacent traditionalism led to a weakening of the central authority, corruption in the state administration, and civil disorder.³⁷ By the late sixteenth century the structure of the Ottoman state began to creak. In these circumstances the patriarchate was easy prey for profiteering officials of the Porte eager to exploit Greek factionalism, by extorting ever-increasing sums for favors and offices. Annexation of churches continued under Selim II, an avid imbibor who neglected affairs of state. The effects of these processes within the Turkish polity extended far beyond the Ottoman frontier. The policies of the sultans and the status of the Orthodox Church under the Ottomans served to catalyze late-sixteenth-century Ruthenian-Greek contacts, and throughout the 1580s a significant number of Orthodox clerical alms-seekers traveled to East Slavic lands. In 1586 Murad III seized the Pammakaristos Church, above-mentioned home to the patriarchate. Two years later, in order to collect funds for the construction of new patriarchal headquarters, Patriarch Jeremiah II made his momentous trip to the East Slavic lands.³⁸

Consequences of Ottoman Rule for the Greek Orthodox Church

By the sixteenth century, accommodation of the Orthodox community to Turkish rule had produced patterns that profoundly affected the future of the patriarchate of Constantinople. Religious tolerance in the Ottoman Empire was in most respects greater than in the contemporary West. In general, the Ottomans did not persecute non-Muslim subjects, nor did they solicit wholesale conversions to Islam. According to Muslim teaching, monotheistic believers following a revealed religion, “people of the Book” such as Christians and Jews, must not be coerced into converting to Islam.³⁹ Economic realities played an important role—taxes paid by non-Muslims constituted an important source of

state revenues. Theoretically, the *berats* granted to patriarchs forbade forcible conversion of Orthodox Christians. The precepts of Islamic law protected the lives and property of Christians and Jews; as long as they were obedient to Muslim authority and paid the tax it required, they were permitted to practice their religion and follow their religious canons. Non-Muslims were not limited as to occupation or place of residence nor subject to expulsion, as were Jews in the medieval West. Unlike secular rulers in sixteenth-century Europe, who often imposed their dogmatic beliefs on their subjects, the Ottoman authorities did not interfere in matters of the *dhimmīs*' religious doctrine.⁴⁰

Nevertheless the Ottoman Empire was a polity guided by a militant Islamic ideology in which discrimination against non-Muslims was inherent. The consequent second-class status of Christians exacted a heavy toll on the Greek Orthodox Church. In general, the civil liberties of Christians were limited, compared to what they had been. Non-Muslims had to pay a special poll tax, the *kharaj*, an important function of which was to stress the distinction between believers and unbelievers and to humiliate the latter. In Islamic states the *kharaj* was exacted from non-Muslims males fourteen years of age and older excluded from military service. Thus, women and sailors were exempted. Greek Christians received bills of payment of a different color every year. They had to produce these receipts on demand, even on the streets, or be liable to a second collection. Those who paid were considered to be under Ottoman protection and were not to be maltreated by Turks. Payment also gave non-Muslims freedom of movement and the right to live anywhere in the empire. The *kharaj* was still collected in the Ottoman Empire at end of the nineteenth century.⁴¹ Christians were obliged to wear distinctive clothing, were normally barred from carrying arms, and as a community were on the whole vulnerable to the whims of the sultan and his officials. The marginalization of the majority of Christians as infidels and the decline of their institutional life were in such conditions inevitable.

Especially odious and damaging to the Orthodox ranks was the *devşirme* system of recruitment according to which Christian boys were collected from their home villages, converted to Islam and inducted into the civil service or the janissary corps.⁴² At irregular intervals unmarried non-Muslim boys above the age of seven (and sometimes up to the age of twenty) were requisitioned by an Ottoman

official sent to certain provinces and supported by a retinue of janissaries. (Only exceptionally were Muslims recruited, for example Bosnians who had converted to Islam in the fifteenth century but were included in the *devşirme* at their own request.) The boys were presented by the *protegoros*, the local Christian official of the area who knew the population. Concealment of children was severely punished, although rich parents through bribes often shielded their sons. Some areas such as Constantinople and its suburb Galata, Nauplia, and the territories that had voluntarily passed from the Venetians to the Turks (Rhodes and Chios), as well as Arabia, Egypt, and Hungary, Wallachia, and Moldova were free from this practice. Townsfolk and sons of craftsmen were generally exempt, as were some classes of Balkan Christians performing military duties, such as the *voinuks*.

Once collected, the recruits were dressed in uniform and taken to Istanbul, Galata, or Adrianople, where they were circumcised and inducted into Islam. Next followed an extended (ten-year) period of strict discipline, isolation, and training in Turkish. Some were educated to serve at court as chavushes, envoys, couriers, translators, and pages. Others served in the sultan's guard, as footsoldiers or cavalry. *Devşirme* conscripts became generals, admirals, pashas, and viziers (sultan's ministers and members of the imperial council). Some even married into the family of the padishah. There were even Christian youths that through the *devşirme* attained the office of grand vizier. For example, Mehmed Sokolli (Sokolov) from Trbinia, near Dubrovnik (*Ital.* Ragusa), a reader at a certain church of St. Savva in Bosnia drafted at the age of eighteen, worked his way up from the rank of royal gardener. In June 1565 he was appointed grand vizier—military commander, sultan's deputy in civil administration, and second only to the sultan in political power.

Martin Crusius, the Lutheran theologian in Tübingen who corresponded with the Constantinopolitan patriarch in the 1570s, testifies that poverty, insecurity (*diffidentia*), and avarice led parents to give up their children voluntarily.⁴³ Stephen Gerlach, who as Lutheran chaplain to the ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire at the Porte stayed in Constantinople from the middle of 1575 to 4 July 1578, reports that a boy escorting him to churches revealed his desires to “become a servant of the sultan as soon as possible.”⁴⁴ Such were the career possibilities for a janissary that it was not unknown for Christians to be asked by Turks, even viziers, to present Turkish sons to the janissary recruiters as

their own. Nevertheless, the practice was generally considered a gross violation of personal, familial, religious, and ethnic dignity.⁴⁵ Once inducted into the system there was no return. Former Christians reverting to Christianity were subject to capital punishment.⁴⁶

Subservience to Islamic masters, who did not have the best interests of the Christian community at heart, accounted for many of the patriarchate's woes. Throughout the *Tourkokratia* the Orthodox Church was plagued by internal division, often fostered and adeptly manipulated by Ottoman authorities. On the appointment of Gennadios, Mehmed was to have demonstrated his largess with the sum of one thousand florins. It did not take long for the direction of payment to be reversed. From 1463 to 1466 patriarchs of Constantinople were deposed or resigned five times, largely because of competition within the Orthodox leadership for the patriarchal throne. The Greeks themselves exacerbated the burden of the *peşkeş*, or enthronement fee, by pledging payments to the Turks on behalf of their candidates, even when the throne was not vacant, thereby encouraging Ottoman authorities to intrude and effect the deposition of reigning patriarchs. In the Turco-Mongol tradition the *peşkeş* was a gift symbolizing the dependency of the retainer on a lord. Under the Ottomans, governors presented a *peşkeş* to the sultan's officials on appointment. Although theoretically not a bribe, the *peşkeş* became in effect the price for high ecclesiastical office. The fee paid to the sultan and eventually also to the grand vizier gradually rose. With time, a yearly tax also became obligatory.⁴⁷ Since the patriarchate was a potential source for Greek economic gain or political influence, it was a desirable office for which opposing Constantinopolitan factions contested with little regard for the welfare of ecclesiastical structures or the Orthodox community. The sultan exacted a tax at the accession of every patriarch, and, since the Greek parties bribed high Ottoman officials to win favor for their respective candidates, the Ottoman authorities stood to profit from frequent turnover in the patriarchate.⁴⁸

Predictably, the tenure of patriarchs was precarious. In the last half of the fifteenth century, after the fall of Constantinople, the patriarchal incumbency changed eighteen times; in the sixteenth century, twenty-two times; in the seventeenth, an astounding fifty-four times, with Cyril Loukaris serving as patriarch six times and six others serving three or more times.⁴⁹ This lack of continuity and the simoniac campaigning of

the various factions demoralized the clergy and faithful, bankrupted the patriarchal treasury, and paralyzed the Orthodox Church at a time when it was confronting grave theological and cultural challenges from the West. The dynamic was a vicious one. The servile status of the Orthodox population bred corruption, while their inability to show solidarity heightened the antipathy of their already contemptuous overlords.⁵⁰

The persistent instability and resultant insolvency of the patriarchate had broad and deleterious consequences.⁵¹ The Orthodox Church could not muster the manpower or resources to maintain, let alone develop or expand, the institutions necessary for ecclesiastical vigor and vitality. Rather, the story of the Orthodox Church under the Turks is one of survival. The level of education of the clergy, including the hierarchy, was generally low.⁵² After the fall of Constantinople many Greek intellectuals who survived found refuge in Western Europe. With a few exceptions, especially refugees in Italy, during the second half of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Orthodox community in the Levant did not produce notable scholars or theologians.⁵³ This period saw a decline in schools and no development of Greek printing within the Ottoman Empire. Crusius notes that at his time Greeks in the Ottoman Empire had no “academies or professors,” only rudimentary (*triviales*) schools. According to him, the curriculum was limited to liturgical books and even these standard texts were frequently misunderstood by Greek priests and monks.⁵⁴ There were, in fact, a number of Greek schools in the Ottoman Empire, but formal advanced theological education was poor. A patriarchal “academy” of sorts (*patriarchikē megalē tou genous scholē*) did function in Constantinople, but with its limited faculty and resources it did not meet all of the needs of the Orthodox. From the perspective of the late sixteenth century, Greek scholarship and pedagogy in the capital had seen and would see better days.

If Crusius’ judgment is sweeping and harsh, it is nevertheless true that the outstanding centers of Greek learning and all Greek publishing were outside the Ottoman realm, in Rome, Vienna, L’viv, Vilnius, and especially Venice, where in 1471 the first book printed in Greek appeared and where, in 1499, the first regular Greek publishing house opened.⁵⁵ Inside the Ottoman Empire, Jews and Serbs had printing presses in the first decades of the sixteenth century; the Albanians had them by 1555.⁵⁶ The first Greek press in the Ottoman realm functioned

for only a few months in 1627 before it was confiscated by the Turkish authorities in January of the following year, after false accusations of sedition and slander against the Prophet were lodged with the Porte against the printer Nikodemos Metaxas by the French ambassador Philippe de Harlay de Césy who conspired with the French Jesuits in Constantinople.⁵⁷

The central importance of printing in ushering in the changes that came to characterize the early-modern world is a historical commonplace. The ability of an increasing number of purveyors of the word to disseminate their writings to a growing readership could not but influence the life of the Orthodox. At a time when the press had become at least as important in information management and propaganda as the computer is today, the challenge that the Greek world faced can on one level be gauged on the basis of a comparison of the development of Greek printing, theological and otherwise, with printing in Western Europe. The respective numbers put the crisis of the Greek Orthodox world in high relief. In the three-hundred-and-fifty-year period from the inauguration of Greek publishing to the end of the *Tourkokratia* (1471–1821) only some five thousand Greek editions appeared, including reprints. Of these only one-tenth were theological books, as opposed to popular religious or secular titles.⁵⁸ Out of the approximately five hundred theological books some were printed by non-Orthodox. If one takes into account that this meager average of one-and-a-half theological books per year was the total output of presses distributed throughout Western Europe, Ukraine, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire, it becomes apparent that Greek Orthodox theologizing was hardly vibrant during this period. Although the preeminence of the manuscript book prevailed in some corners of Europe, even into the nineteenth century, in the Greek Orthodox world manuscript production hardly compensated for limited publishing.

What was the situation in Western Europe? In the German lands in the sixteenth century an estimated 140,000–150,000 imprints (excluding broadsides) appeared.⁵⁹ In Venice alone, probably the most productive publishing center of the Cinquecento, according to a “conservative estimate,” there were some five hundred publishers, turning out some eight million individual volumes in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁶⁰ Over this period there were some 8,150 editions including reprints, for an average of one hundred and sixty-three titles

per year. Excluded in these figures are pamphlets published without an *imprimatur*. Between thirty and fifty publishers issued an edition in any one year during this period. These figures reflect the vitality of intellectual life in various parts of the Christian world.

Removed from the Catholic and Protestant publishing centers and protected by Ottoman borders and the commercial inviability of European editions in the Levant, the average Greek Orthodox monk or peasant might not feel the direct impact of the Western printed book. Yet below the surface, the swift undercurrent of the printed word was doing its work. In those parts of the Orthodox world that were more directly exposed to the production of printshops the effect of the revolution would be much more rapid and dramatic.

Orthodoxy in the Catholic West

By the beginning of the sixteenth century the agitation caused in the Orthodox world by the Union of Florence had dissipated, and the pro- and anti-Union Orthodox parties in Constantinople, so contentious on the eve of the conquest, had lost their distinct profiles. Because of the sizable number of Greek émigrés in the West, especially in Venice, and the central role played by Greeks in commerce between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, contacts and cooperation between Orthodox and Catholics were inevitable.⁶¹ Greek Uniate humanists such as Cardinal Bessarion, by propagating the Hellenic cultural heritage, figured as impressive representatives of their compatriots and as distinguished advocates of the Greek cause in the Catholic world. In 1514 the elegant and cultured Pope Leo X, before his coronation known as Giovanni de' Medici, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, exempted the Greeks of Venice from the jurisdiction of the Latin patriarch of Venice.⁶² However, the worldly extravagance and indulgent confessional climate of the late Italian Renaissance gradually gave way, in the sixteenth century, to reform and to denominational conflict and entrenchment. The winds of western European religious partisanship reached the Greeks and forced them to confront the religious and cultural currents of early-modern times. Nevertheless, Venetian authorities sanctioned Greek ecclesiastical, cultural, and intellectual life in their city even in the face of pressure from Rome to prune Orthodox liberties.

In the last decades of the sixteenth century, the Most Serene Republic of Venice sought to lessen the role of the Holy Office within its own

territory. This was especially manifested in the protection of the Venetian press.⁶³ The republic also shielded individuals, including Greeks, from the Inquisition. One such example was the case of Maximos Margounios, who sought to find a compromise between the Eastern and Western understanding of the procession of the Holy Spirit. His views on the divisive *Filioque* issue provoked condemnation from Gabriel Severos who, as metropolitan of Philadelphia resident in Venice, was the head of the Venetian Orthodox community. When the dispute was brought to the attention of the Vatican, Clement VIII wanted to summon the Greek theologian before the Inquisition. However, the Venetian legate in Rome informed the Holy See that Venetian authorities unconditionally guaranteed the religious liberties of their Greek subjects.⁶⁴ In fact, it was the Council of Florence that served as the “canonical point of reference” for the toleration of Eastern Christians in the Venetian republic, which in the sixteenth century in its decrees never formally granted “freedom of religion” to any Christians not seen as being in communion with the papacy.⁶⁵

After the Council of Trent, and in the wake of the defeat of the Turks at Lepanto, which rekindled hopes for an anti-Ottoman Christian crusade,⁶⁶ the papacy invigorated its Eastern policy, generally dormant throughout the first half of the Cinquecento, and began fashioning a multifaceted strategy to address the Orthodox world.⁶⁷ In 1564 Pius IV issued a papal brief decreeing that Greeks in Italy were under the jurisdiction of the Latin ordinaries.⁶⁸ In 1573 Pope Gregory XIII created the Congregation for the Greeks to coordinate Rome’s mission to and influence over the Eastern Christian communities in Italy.⁶⁹ In 1577 Gregory endowed the Pontifical Greek College of St. Athanasius for the education of Greek and other students recruited for the mission of expanding Roman allegiance among Eastern Christians.⁷⁰ The Collegium Illyricum was founded in Loreto for South Slavs with the same purpose in mind.⁷¹ There was also a project for a college in Candia on Venetian-held Crete for boys of the Greek rite. The papacy sponsored the publication of the Greek text of the acts of the Council of Florence, with a preface defending their validity, erroneously attributed to Georgios (later Gennadios) Scholarios. The purpose of the edition was to revitalize among Greeks the idea of ecclesiastical union according to the Florentine model.⁷² The edition, published also in 1577, was produced with no reference to those responsible for it, no Latin translation,

explanatory introduction, or dedication to Gregory XIII who underwrote the publication, thereby making it more palatable to the Orthodox reader. The appearance of this edition was a sign of the general shift of attitudes in the Catholic intellectual establishment towards the Greek cultural legacy—from a humanistic focus on classical and pagan antiquity prevalent in the first half of the sixteenth century to an ecclesiastically motivated emphasis on sacred texts, polemical tracts, and conciliar documents such as the acts of Florence.⁷³ As well, a catechism in vernacular Greek was printed in 1595, with a second one printed in 1602. The Eastern monks in Italy living according to the Basilian rule were canonically reorganized in 1579.

The avant-garde of sixteenth-century Catholic Reform and eventually of Vatican diplomatic endeavors in the East proved to be the Society of Jesus, founded in 1540. By the end of the decade, Jesuit missionaries under the leadership of Francis Xavier, crossing the Eurasian land mass, had reached Japan. At the death of Ignatius of Loyola in 1556, the society already had about one thousand members in eleven provinces, including India and Brazil. A consciousness of the East, more specifically the Ottoman-occupied Holy Land, had fired the imagination of Ignatius and his circle of friends in Paris even before the foundation of the religious order. Although not at the center of the original inspiration, confrontation of non-Catholic Christian denominations rapidly became an important part of the Jesuit mission and identity. Throughout Romance Europe the society began combatting various manifestations of Protestantism.⁷⁴

After 1564, when at the invitation of Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz an international contingent of eleven Jesuits arrived in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Ignatian order became engaged for the first time in a society with a sizable Orthodox population. In the early 1580s Antonio Possevino, the Jesuit emissary of Pope Gregory XIII, traveled to Moscow to mediate in the peace talks between Tsar Ivan IV and the Polish king Stefan Batory, hoping that thereby Muscovy could be brought into an anti-Ottoman coalition and won over for church union.⁷⁵ It was not long before the peripatetic priests came to the heart of the Orthodox world. In 1583 three Jesuits and two lay brothers under the leadership of Giulio Mancinelli were dispatched to Constantinople. By the time two of them had died from the plague in 1586, they and the others had already managed to start grammar, language, and “liberal

arts” courses and had captured the imagination of numerous young people. The missionaries sought to influence Orthodox families to join the union and held debates with Orthodox clerics.⁷⁶

After the fall of Constantinople the Catholic West, especially Italy, proved to be a most important place of refuge for Greeks and a haven for Greek culture. The Most Serene Republic of Venice was a particularly reliable guarantor of Greek tranquillity. In the last three decades of the sixteenth century, however, Catholic-Orthodox relations gradually shifted as, in response to complex confessional and political developments, the papacy adopted a comprehensive policy that addressed the Christian East from Constantinople to Muscovy, from Sicily to Vilnius. The breadth of this approach and the energy of its main agents, the post-Tridentine Curia, the papal diplomatic service, and the newly constituted Jesuit order, challenged the Orthodox world.⁷⁷ This confrontation forced Orthodox leaders to search for avenues of consolidating their positions, thereby lessening the distance between major Orthodox centers and contributing to increased contacts between the Ruthenian Church and the patriarchate of Constantinople. Rome’s unionistic effort was destined to fail because it was intimately tied to an anachronistic political project of an anti-Ottoman crusade; the spirit of the effort was to “reduce” the Orthodox to union individually or by communities; the Catholic attitude and apologetics generated hostility, and resistance arose among some circles in Rome over the expense of printing in Greek, Arabic, Syriac (Chaldean), and Illyric (South Slavic Church Slavonic). However, the effects of these background developments would become evident only as the sixteenth century came to a close.

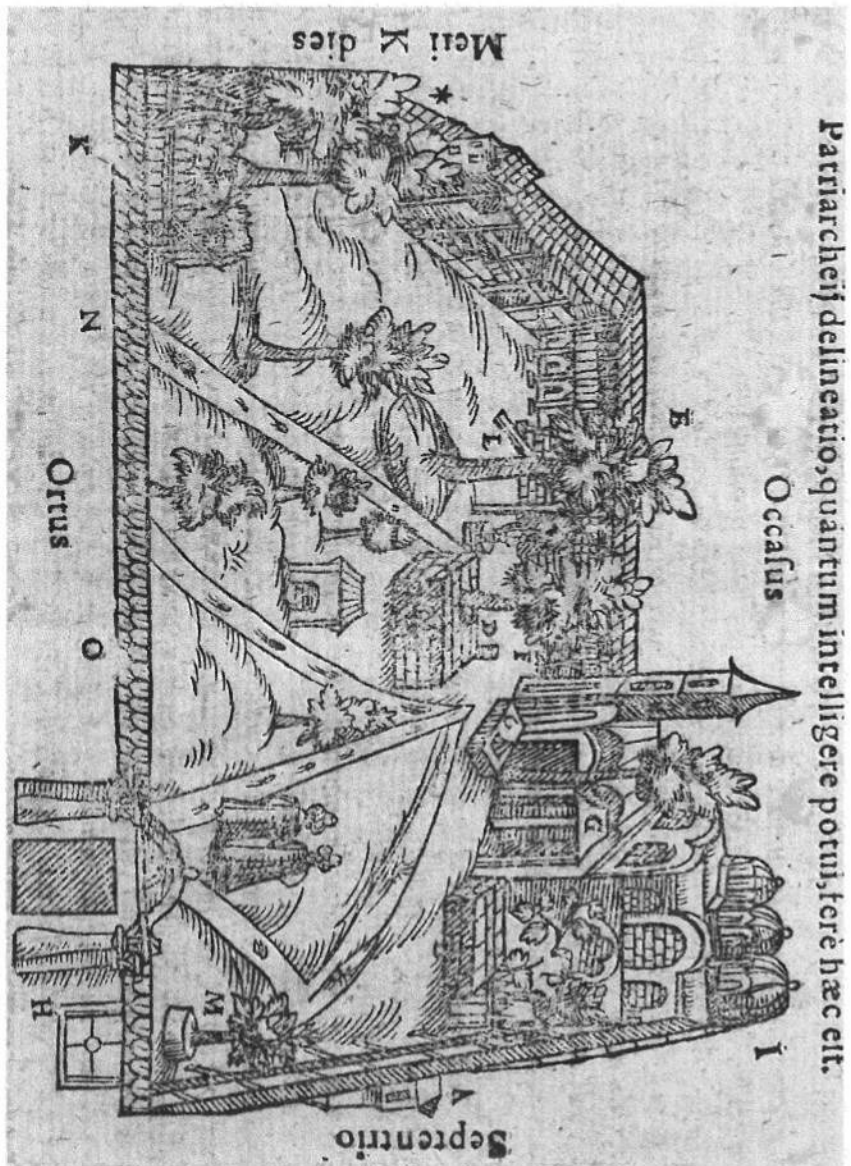


Illustration 1. The physical grounds of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (based on eyewitness visits). From Martin Crusius, *Turcograecia, libri octo* (Basel, 1584). Reproduced with the kind permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

CHAPTER TWO

Patriarch Jeremiah II and the Challenges of Reform

Although we can determine the general factors that shaped the life of the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire after the fall of Constantinople, there unfortunately is no account detailing the functioning of Orthodox institutions or capturing the texture and nuances of the daily life of the community for the first one hundred and fifty years after the Ottoman conquest. Because of the scarcity of sources it is questionable whether a satisfying social and economic analysis of this period can ever be written.¹ What is known about the patriarchate of Constantinople during the last years of the sixteenth century is based largely on anecdotal chronicles, memoranda, or hearsay characterizations recorded unsystematically and preserved by chance. The author of the Pseudo-Dorotheos Chronicle, our main narrative source for events at the patriarchate for the decade preceding the Union of Brest, remains unidentified.² It is difficult even to determine the exact chronology of the patriarchs.³ Very little about many of the patriarchs can be maintained with certitude, still less about their subordinates. For our purposes it is important to realize that certain patterns characterized the history of the patriarchate of Constantinople throughout the *Tourkokratia*. In this regard the story of the late-sixteenth-century patriarchate is an episode in an extended drama, during which the reality of Muslim dominion, the lack of solidarity that had become endemic in the highest circles of Orthodox leadership, and the resultant institutional weakness determined what was possible for the ecumenical leaders of the Orthodox Church.

In the late sixteenth century instability and incompetence at the patriarchate were most evident—with the exception of Jeremiah II (who reigned three times between 1572 and 1595), the patriarchs served ignominiously or without leaving a lasting impression. Unlike

most of the patriarchs during the *Tourkokratia* Ioasaph II (1554–65) was learned and cultured. In a letter to Ivan IV of Muscovy, sent in connection with the patriarchal recognition of the tsar's imperial title, Ioasaph writes that with Ivan's contribution he had established a school for "children, monks, and laity of different ages" where "wise philosophers" taught rhetoric, poetics, grammar, and music (church singing). The preceptors were paid well and poor students received stipends.⁴ Although little otherwise can be said about his activities, he seems to have enjoyed the respect of his flock.

In spite of these virtues, in 1565 Ioasaph was found guilty of simony and deposed by a synod including at least fifty-one hierarchs. His ouster was apparently hastened by the "patriarch-maker" Michael Kantakouzenos, the richest Greek merchant of the day, called *Shaitanoglu* ("son of Satan") by the Turks. Ioasaph had been involved in Michael's plan for an advantageous marriage between his relative Ioannes and a woman from the ruling Mircea family in Wallachia; after the match failed ignobly, Ioasaph was deposed.⁵

Ioasaph's successor Metrophanes III (1565–72; 1579–80), also an educated man, was repeatedly in trouble for his contacts with the papacy. In the late 1540s Patriarch Dionysios II (1546–54) sent him to Venice to settle some canonical matrimonial questions. From there the young metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia went to Rome where he met with Pope Paul III. When he returned to Constantinople in 1549 Metrophanes was summoned before the synod to respond to an accusation against him concerning the embassy to Rome. The patriarch distanced himself from Metrophanes' activities in the West, and Metrophanes was demoted from his see and sent to the islands of Paros and Naxos.⁶ The first reign of Metrophanes ended when he was forced to resign and was excommunicated in 1572, apparently for unionist tendencies. Unseated, he solemnly promised never to contend for the throne and was exiled to Mount Athos. After approximately four years of banishment, however, he returned to Constantinople and began plotting against the reigning patriarch, Jeremiah II. In 1579, Metrophanes again acceded to the patriarchal throne, but reigned only briefly: he died in office nine months later.⁷

The career of the usurper Pachomios (1584–85) is emblematic of the weakness of the late-sixteenth-century patriarchate. Dissolute according to Pseudo-Dorotheos, Pachomios was called *pagkakistos* ("most

wicked,” “super worst”) by his contemporary Leontios Eustratios, who attributed to him “immeasurable grief inflicted upon the Christians” and intrigues against Patriarch Jeremiah. Pachomios had been ecclesiastically censured and banished to Mount Athos, but he escaped, returned to Constantinople, and ultimately secured the highest office in the Orthodox world. Through effective slander and bribery he succeeded in having Jeremiah deposed and securing the patriarchal throne for himself.⁸ In 1583 and during the early part of 1584 Jeremiah was brought before the Turkish tribunal three times. Accusations that he was connected to a Greek plot and a cache of arms to be used in an anti-Ottoman uprising were proven false, but Jeremiah was also charged with converting Muslims to Christianity and suspected of having established a secret accord with the papacy. Since Gregory XIII continued the aggressive anti-Ottoman policy of Pius V, and since Jeremiah had indeed communicated with the pope and had been directly contacted by papal emissaries, the Porte had every reason to take such rumors seriously.⁹ Despite earlier enjoying a modicum of imperial favor, Jeremiah was sacked on 22 February.

Almost immediately, resistance to Pachomios was expressed by a large-scale withholding of contributions and dues to the patriarchate. The usurper further outraged the faithful by pawning religious articles from churches to meet payments to the Turks.¹⁰ After twelve months, Pachomios was replaced by Theoleptos (1585–87), portrayed by Pseudo-Dorotheos as a leading intriguer, who used Pachomios in his struggles against Jeremiah. Other sources speak of him more favorably, and even according to Pseudo-Dorotheos he was finally reconciled with Jeremiah. Otherwise, almost nothing is known about his patriarchate. While for the modern prosopographer Theoleptos remains enigmatic, it is quite clear that he made no significant moves during his brief tenure to confront the internal crisis engulfing the ecumenical patriarchate.¹¹

Jeremiah II Tranos and Reform Thwarted

The main protagonist in the late-sixteenth-century history of the patriarchate of Constantinople and its relations with the Ruthenian Church during the decade preceding the Union of Brest was Patriarch Jeremiah II (1572–79; 1580–84; 1587–95).¹² Jeremiah Tranos (“the Great”)¹³

was born around 1536 in Anchialos on the Black Sea coast, of a “good family,” according to Pseudo-Dorotheos. He was tonsured at the not-too-distant monastery of St. John the Baptist, located on an island near the mainland town of Sozopolis, today Sozopol in Bulgaria. Presumably there he received some schooling, later continued, according to Pseudo-Dorotheos, under the tutelage of Hierotheos, metropolitan of Monemvasia, Arsenios of Tŭrnovo, and especially under Damaskenos of Naupaktos and Matthew of Crete. Nothing is known about his ordination to lower orders. He served as metropolitan of Larissa, in Thessaly, beginning sometime after 1565, and took steps to confront the educational shortcomings of his diocese. Jeremiah founded a school in Trikke (Trikkala) in the northwestern part of the region, where his future companion in the journey to Moscow (1588–89), Arsenios of Elassona, studied grammar, poetics, and rhetoric.¹⁴

Jeremiah was raised to the patriarchate in May 1572 and immediately began combating the simoniacal practices plaguing the Greek Orthodox Church. It seems that he was a resolute and decisive reformer. He deposed a number of the worst offenders in the hierarchy, anathematized sacrament-selling clergy, and otherwise led a determined campaign against the use of high church office for personal gain.¹⁵ Jeremiah confronted the notorious commerce in hierarchical offices but also addressed abuses in the lower clergy, especially the scandalous charging of fees for confession and Communion. In 1575 Margunios wrote poignantly to Jeremiah appealing to him to curb this practice.¹⁶ The patriarch, possibly moved by the plea, issued a decree threatening with excommunication priests who charged fees for the absolution of sins. On one occasion, after a pontifical liturgy, an eschatologically obsessed monastic who announced the end of the world and sold bills of absolution was publicly anathematized and upon repenting was absolved by Jeremiah.¹⁷

During his reign Jeremiah ordered the renovation and reconstruction of the patriarchal cathedral and had other structures renewed or built. In addition to major work on the interior of the Pammakaristos Church, including a completely new iconostasis, he expanded the patriarchal quarters and added two two-story buildings on the same site with guest rooms and stables. Stephan Gerlach (see below, p. 35), however, was not overly impressed by these patriarchal facilities, which he described

as simple and of modest size. Although he appreciated the beauty of the Pammakaristos Church, he thought it small for a patriarchal cathedral.¹⁸

All indications are that Jeremiah was a conscientious archpastor, attending to a variety of administrative responsibilities and settling jurisdictional and disciplinary disputes.¹⁹ At the end of 1573, to collect the necessary funds and to address the needs of particular ecclesiastical provinces, he embarked on a visitation of the dioceses in Greece and the Peloponnesos. He returned to Constantinople only in August of the following year after having taken stock of ecclesiastical life in the immediately accessible part of his patriarchate. Subsequently, the patriarch sent his exarchs and other deputies to raise funds for the Mother Church as well as to collect the *kharaj*.²⁰

Apparently Jeremiah preached frequently, occasionally even in the vernacular. He was steeped in the Orthodox liturgical tradition and regularly read works from the Orthodox patristic canon. But, he could not read Latin texts, the number and dispersion of which increased dramatically after the advent of the printed word, and it is unlikely that he read many secular works. Jeremiah followed lectures on liberal arts given by a number of preceptors, of which Ioannes Zygomalas was the most learned, but Crusius' note about their meager remuneration, implies that the patriarch can hardly be classified as a humanist patron.²¹

The humble cultural and intellectual stature of the Greek Orthodox hierarchy accounted for many of the problems of the patriarchate. Patriarch Jeremiah was evidently sensitive to the need for education and formation of the Orthodox clergy. He may even have tried to establish new educational institutions, but his efforts encountered the opposition of ignorant clerics who were intimidated by such intentions.²² Some historians have seen a visionary plan of reform underlying Jeremiah's activity. The monastic Pavel [Vil'khov'skyi] argues that to replace the decrepit Orthodox elite, "Patriarch Jeremiah decided to create a different school of hierarchs, prepared by special formation and careful studies, a clergy of the Church, having acquired and assimilated a true understanding of their vocation. Through this he hoped subsequently to spread the light of knowledge and education for the spiritual benefit of the faithful and throughout the dioceses of his patriarchal province." Yet in the next line Pavel concedes that it is difficult to substantiate this assertion with the sources.²³ Although

Jeremiah may have had the admirable wish to bring the Orthodox clergy out from the darkness of ignorance and illiteracy, there is no evidence that he conducted a sustained campaign of fundamental educational reform. Even if the sources had recorded such an elaborated strategy, he failed to effect any substantial change in the preparation of priests or introduce consequential educational measures. The intellectual center of Greek Orthodoxy throughout this period was not in Constantinople but in Venice, far from the seat of the ecumenical patriarch.²⁴

The attempts at reform undertaken by Jeremiah and their failures were of concern not only to the Orthodox community in the Ottoman realm. The strengths and weaknesses of the patriarchate were being evaluated by East Slavic peoples who were re-appraising their own ecclesiastical and cultural relationship with the Constantinopolitan Mother Church. Jeremiah's efforts at reform in Constantinople foreshadowed his subsequent reforming activity in the Kyivan metropolitanate, but his lack of success in generating lasting reforms in the patriarchate would contribute to the alienation of some Ruthenians who, at a time of great challenges, saw Constantinople as their supreme ecclesiastical authority and expected its leaders to be models to follow and emulate, and considered those hopes to have been dashed. In the 1570s and 1580s the Orthodox of Ukraine, Belarus', and Muscovy were increasingly interested in the status of the patriarchate of Constantinople, including no doubt Constantinople's position regarding other branches of the splintering Western Christian world.

Relations with Western Christendom

In his first two incumbencies Jeremiah was especially noted for his contacts with the confessions of the Christian West. His contacts with German Lutheranism drew the patriarchate into the sphere of European denominational polemics and constituted the theological highlight not only of his three tenures but of sixteenth-century Orthodoxy.²⁵ Although Martin Luther referred to Eastern Christianity in polemicizing against Roman Catholicism and, in 1559, Philipp Melancthon translated the Augsburg Confession into Greek and sought to enter into direct relations with the Greek Orthodox Church, it was not until the reign of Jeremiah that the first engagement and systematic theological

dialogue between Orthodoxy and Protestantism occurred.²⁶ The initiative was taken by a group of university professors in Tübingen, that included Jacob Andreae, a theologian, and Martin Crusius, a theologian and professor of classical languages. They, among other concerns, hoped to win ideological and theological solidarity from the Orthodox in their stand against Rome.

In 1573 Stephan Gerlach was sent to Constantinople as chaplain of a Lutheran envoy to the Porte, David Ungnad, and assigned the task of establishing relations with the ecumenical patriarchate. He traveled to Constantinople carrying letters of recommendation from Andreae and Crusius. Soon more letters, as well as a homily by Andreae on the passage in Luke on the kingdom of God (10:9), were dispatched from Tübingen. In 1574 six copies of an apparently new translation of the Augsburg Confession were sent to Constantinople with requests for an Orthodox response. The ensuing theological exchange between Constantinople and Tübingen went on for seven years but produced no doctrinal agreement. Jeremiah's responses were drafted with the help of Theodosios Zygomas and other Greek theologians. The patriarch politely rejected the Western adherence to the *Filioque* clause in the creed and stressed the role of free will (the debilitating effects of original sin notwithstanding) in the human response to grace and the importance for salvation of good works as well as faith. Jeremiah defended the normative character of Sacred Tradition as well as Holy Scripture and the Orthodox teachings concerning the number of sacraments, the sacrificial character of the Holy Eucharist, veneration of saints, icons, and relics, and monastic life. Understanding could be reached only if the esteemed Tübingen theologians could accept the Orthodox position on these points. Although the patriarch set the conditions for an Orthodox-Lutheran doctrinal rapprochement and although he did not compromise Orthodox beliefs, adhering firmly to Eastern patristic principles, his responses were irenic and manifest a desire not to alienate the Lutherans.²⁷ When the theological disparity was obvious, Jeremiah was direct but amiable in offering his third response on 6 June 1581:

We request that from henceforth you do not cause us more grief, nor write to us on the same subject if you should wish to treat these luminaries and theologians [the Fathers] of the Church in a different manner. You honor and exalt them in words, but you reject them in

deeds. For you try to prove our weapons which are their holy and divine discourses as unsuitable. And it is with these documents that we would have to write and contradict you. Thus, as for you, please release us from these cares. Therefore, going about your own ways, write no longer concerning dogmas; but if you do, write only for friendship's sake. Farewell.²⁸

Roman Catholic polemicists delighted in the patriarch's defense of traditional ecclesiastical institutions. Jeremiah's initial response of 1574 was published in 1582 in a Latin translation by the Polish theologian Stanisław Sokołowski with a preface touting Orthodox rejection of Protestant doctrine. Sokołowski's publication was widely circulated and had considerable polemical effect.²⁹ Two years later the Lutherans published the entire exchange to put the document in a broader context.³⁰ The contact with the Lutherans also left a significant historiographical legacy. In 1581 Zygomalas sent Crusius the chronicle of Malaxos that became part of Crusius' *Turcograecia*, published in 1584, the principle source on sixteenth-century Greek ecclesiastical life. The Protestant challenge inspired the most systematic statement of Orthodox doctrine between the eighth-century *Fountain of Knowledge* (*Pēgē gnōseōs*) by John of Damascus and the Kyivan Metropolitan Peter Mohyla's *Orthodoxa Confessio Fidei* of the late 1630s. Jeremiah used patristic categories in responding to the Western challenge. The subsequent seventeenth-century Orthodox theological compendia were to adopt distinctly Western concepts to defend traditional Orthodox positions and institutions.

According to the Orthodox apophatic tradition, intellectual expression of doctrine and the creative theologizing like that found in the scholastic West were generally avoided. The liturgical life of the Church was seen as the primary theological locus. Theology, understood as it has been in the West since the late Latin Middle Ages as an intellectual discipline, deferred in the Christian East to the ineffable mystery of God, with the dogmatic canons of the ecumenical councils considered sufficient in content and normative in formulation. For that reason, along with others, theological *summae* were not composed. Contact with the West and the new challenge of vibrant Catholic and Protestant theologies in the early-modern period forced Orthodox leaders to articulate the faith of their tradition.³¹

Jeremiah's second major engagement with the West, occasioned by Pope Gregory XIII's reform of the calendar, occurred over the years 1582–1584.³² The Vatican directed Livio Cellini, a member of a Venetian delegation traveling to Constantinople for the celebration of the circumcision of Sultan Murad's son, Mehmed, to convey to Jeremiah the pope's intention to replace the astronomically inaccurate Julian calendar with a new system of computation. Cellini met with Jeremiah on 28 May and 10 June 1582. Besides the calendar reform, their conversations, the subject of which was carefully concealed from the Ottoman authorities, touched Western political support for the Greek cause. The patriarch questioned the faithfulness of the new calendar to the canon of the Nicean Council of 325, which regulated the date for the celebration of Easter, but did not dismiss the proposal. Meanwhile, on 24 February 1582, Pope Gregory signed the bull *Inter gravissimas* promulgating the corrected calendar. The new (Gregorian) calendar was to be introduced in October 1582 when ten calendar dates were to be skipped between the 4th and 15th of the month. In that year the new computation was accepted by King Stefan Batory, thereby making it the official civil calendar of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, including the Ruthenian lands.³³ The calendar reform immediately became a point of controversy and was rejected by the Orthodox. In Muscovy and, subsequently, within the Russian Empire, including most Ukrainian lands after the partitions of Poland, the Julian calendar continued to be used for civil as well as liturgical purposes until 14/1 February 1918.³⁴

Jeremiah learned of the pope's unilateral act in late June or early July 1582. He continued to meet with Cellini, but the stunning news was an affront and compelled him to actively oppose the reform.³⁵ An Orthodox synod, presided by Jeremiah and Sylvester, patriarch of Alexandria, assembled in Constantinople in November and condemned the reform in no uncertain terms. Jeremiah sent letters to the Kyivan Metropolitan Onysyfor (Divochka), Prince Konstantyn Konstanynovych Ostrozkyi, the Orthodox burghers of Vilnius, and subsequently to the Armenian community in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, exhorting them to preserve loyally the patristic computation of Easter.³⁶

In February 1583 the patriarch received the Venetian Bailo G. F. Morosini, legate of the doge to the Porte, who encouraged Jeremiah to

accept the Gregorian calendar. Morosini reported that “the patriarch responded *molto rissolutamente* . . . that it is not for him to change what the Holy Fathers established and what was observed for so many years.” Jeremiah was not insensitive to the concern of the Venetians about the unpropitious prospects of two different Christian calendars in Venice, but he pointed out that the Greeks differed from the Latins “in matters of much greater importance, and it would not be a *gran cosa* if they were so in this one as well.” He was ready to elaborate in writing the reasons why he could not accept the reform. He was even willing to avoid scandal by ordering the Greeks, under pain of excommunication, to refrain from speaking out against it. The patriarch intimated that even if he were to consider the reform advisable in certain places and would try to promulgate it, he would not only be disobeyed but would risk deposition because of the strong attachment of the Greeks to tradition.³⁷

The negotiations which seemed to have reached an impasse took a surprising turn. In the following summer two papal emissaries, the Greeks Michael Eparchos and Ioannes Buonafè, were sent to incline Jeremiah towards the new calendar. In late August they left Constantinople with a remarkable letter from Jeremiah notifying Gregory that the patriarch accepted the reform but requested a two-year period to introduce it throughout his jurisdiction.³⁸ Jeremiah’s intercourse and concord with Rome alarmed the Porte, which saw the calendar agreement as planting a seed for greater Orthodox-Catholic anti-Ottoman cooperation. The newly reached understanding with Rome served as a pretext for a faction of the Constantinopolitan Orthodox elite to seek the patriarch’s deposition in early 1584.³⁹ Thus, Jeremiah’s acceptance of the reform had the effect that he himself had foreseen. His deposition and the accession of Pachomios to the patriarchate brought the ecumenical venture to an end. By the time Jeremiah recovered the throne, Pope Gregory had been succeeded by Sixtus V (1585–90), a pope who was hardly forthcoming in interdenominational relations. Jeremiah himself underwent a change of heart and presided over the 1593 synod that, along with confirming the establishment of the Moscow patriarchate, harshly condemned the Gregorian reform.

The date of Jeremiah’s second restoration is somewhat unclear. Theoleptos was deposed in April 1587 and apparently at that point Jeremiah was again named patriarch, but he did not immediately return

from exile in Rhodes. When he was in Muscovy in 1589, he reported that his banishment had lasted four years, that is into the year 1588. In fact the Muscovites questioned Jeremiah keenly about the occupancy of the throne, indicating that they were unaware of his restoration as late as the middle of 1588. Pseudo-Dorotheos states that Jeremiah received official notification of his restoration from the Ottoman authorities in Moldova in late 1589, after his sojourn in Muscovy and in the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands. In the meantime, the patriarchate was administrated by Jeremiah's protosynkellos, Nikephoros, who had been a leader in the opposition to Theoleptos. It is after the deposition of Theoleptos and during Jeremiah's third patriarchate that the relationship between Constantinople and the Kyivan metropolitanate came to be radically questioned.⁴⁰

Evaluation

There are some indications that Jeremiah was not always prudent or steadfast in his ecclesiastical judgment. His strong stand on corruption earned him numerous enemies and contributed to his deposition. He evidently became a victim of one of his ecclesiastical appointees, the notorious Pachomios. First the patriarch refused to ordain the unworthy candidate to the Tŭrnovo metropolitanate. However, Pachomios persisted, and Jeremiah, under factional pressure, acquiesced to his ordination to the metropolitanate of Caesarea, only to be himself later replaced as patriarch by Pachomios.⁴¹ Jeremiah also could not avoid succumbing to Ottoman pressure in strictly ecclesiastical matters. He appointed the priest Stephanos to the see of Ephesus, second only to Caesarea in the hierarchy of the patriarchate's metropolitanates, because he was recommended for it by the Sultan Murad III himself. Apparently Stephanos had earned Murad's favor by cultivating beautiful gardens for him in that city.⁴²

Given the opportunism and corruption prevalent in the upper echelons of the Orthodox ecclesiastical structure and the interference of Ottoman authorities a thorough, lasting rehabilitation of church life could not, and did not, result from the efforts of a single reform-minded patriarch. Jeremiah possessed a range of attributes necessary for ecclesiastical leadership, yet he could not pull the patriarchate out of its problems. The realities of Ottoman overlordship were surely a major

hardship for the Orthodox Church, but they do not account fully for the failure of the Greeks to pool their resources and address the institutional and cultural needs of their religious community. Although there is little source material on the inner workings of the ecclesiastical elite, it is apparent that in its midst there persisted a lack of will to overcome the obstacles plaguing the patriarchate of Constantinople. Nevertheless, Jeremiah's reign marks a high point in the dismal sixteenth-century history of the patriarchate. In difficult circumstances Jeremiah sought to preserve, in his words, at least a "small spark of order."⁴³

After the fall of Byzantium the situation in the patriarchate of Constantinople was never less than critical, and by the late sixteenth century, the Greek Orthodox Church was a threatened ecclesial community. Still, it remained both an enduring legacy of the Byzantine period and a tolerated, if vulnerable, institution in the Ottoman state. The loss of the protection of the emperor had a profound effect on the identity of Greek Orthodoxy. In the post-Byzantine period the patriarchate confronted a dichotomy between a traditional politico-ecclesiastical ideology and radically altered geo-political circumstances. Efforts to resolve concrete problems such as ecclesiastical discipline, clerical corruption and ignorance, fiscal insolvency, and general institutional weakness were continuously confounded by the corollaries of servility and captivity: opportunism and factionalism. At a time when Christian Europe was mobilized to reform and to address the particular needs and circumstances of the age, the Orthodox never developed momentum, the critical mass of resources, or the leadership needed to initiate and promote a movement of revitalization.

The ecclesiastical elite clung more or less steadfastly to its Byzantine inheritance, or that part of it that had not been stripped away by the passing of the empire. The Orthodox Church, partly as a consequence of its apophatic theology and spirituality, did not develop dynamism in addressing its crises. In Byzantine times this religious outlook had been complemented well by effective political structures—the emperor, central administration, and army—thereby producing an integrated civilization that functioned more or less effectively for over a millennium. When the Church became the sole Byzantine institution to survive the Turkish deluge essentially intact, it found itself in a difficult position. Its prerogatives within the Greek Orthodox community increased, but the Orthodox nation was no longer dominant in society. The patriarch

was captain of the Christian vessel, but the bark was now sailing on Ottoman seas. Well aware of the Church's dilemmas, a hierarch such as Jeremiah could see that Orthodoxy would not receive much effective support from the European Christians. It was at this time that Constantinople turned its attention to the Slavic East.

Yet, none of the known sources disclose a Greek policy towards the Orthodox East Slavs. The Greeks were needy in many respects and not too proud to ask other Orthodox communities, especially the Muscovites, for support. At some level they harbored hopes for a liberation from the Ottoman yoke, but decades and even centuries of experience had shown that Christian powers, whether Orthodox, Catholic, or Protestant, lacked the resolve and probably the means to dislodge the Turks from the Balkans, much less Asia Minor. In the sixteenth century the Greeks had accommodated themselves to the enduring Turkish overlordship. They sought to fulfill more modest expectations and meet realistic goals. The Muscovites, and to a lesser degree the Moldovans, Wallachians, and Ruthenians, were approached as a source of resources to maintain the most basic structures necessary for the functioning of the Constantinopolitan Church and to safeguard the celebration of the Divine Mysteries. Numerous churchmen journeyed to East Slavic lands, where they represented the needs and concerns of the Greek Orthodox Church. By the end of the sixteenth century the honorary ecumenical head of the Orthodox world would himself leave his see and at an advanced age travel great distances in quest of funds to build a patriarchal residence and cathedral. It was through these travelers that the contacts between the Ruthenians of the Kyivan Metropolitanate and Constantinople were revitalized. Coming as they did at a time when Ruthenian society was itself confronting the challenge of the Protestant and Catholic reformational currents, these contacts contributed to both a crisis in and the reform of the Ruthenian Church on the eve of the Union of Brest.



Illustration 2. Detail of East Slavic participants at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439) from *Elucidarius errorum ritus Ruthenici* (n.p., n.d., ca. 1502).

CHAPTER THREE

The Union of Florence, the Greek East, and the Kyivan Metropolitanate

Fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century developments in the Kyivan metropolitanate variously paralleled or mirrored the dynamics of contemporary Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical history. As in the Greek East, the middle of the fifteenth century marked a major break in the history of the Kyivan metropolitanate, with its division into Ruthenian and Muscovite jurisdictions. Although not the complete political cataclysm experienced by the Byzantine world, this disjuncture was closely connected to the terminal crisis in Byzantium and the imperial attempts to arrive at ecclesiastical reconciliation with the West that preceded it. Precipitated by the Council of Florence and its aftermath, the division of East Slavic Orthodoxy into two ecclesiastical jurisdictions defined the boundaries of the Ruthenian Church until the Union of Brest.

The Division of the Kyivan Metropolitanate

Isidore, the Greek-born metropolitan of Kyiv and all Rus', was one of the preeminent spokesmen among the Greek hierarchy negotiating ecclesiastical unification with the Church of Rome in 1439 at the Council of Florence.¹ In 1436, to ensure his participation in the council, Isidore had been consecrated for the Kyivan metropolitan throne by the unionist Patriarch Joseph II (1416–39). The new metropolitan then left Constantinople for Moscow where he arrived on 2 April 1437 with a mandate to represent the Rus' Church at the union council. After five months, Isidore departed for Ferrara (the council's original site), where he and the delegation from the Rus' metropolitanate arrived on 18 August 1438. The following January the council was moved to Florence, where on 5 July 1439 the bull of union was signed by all of the Greek hierarchs except Mark Eugenikos, metropolitan of Ephesus, and

Isaiah, metropolitan of Stauropolis. Isidore subscribed both as “Metropolitan of Kyiv and All Rus” and as procurator of the patriarch of Antioch.

Having played a major role in securing Greek acceptance of union, Isidore then returned to his see. In Buda, on his way home, he issued a missive announcing the outcome of the council and declaring the equality of Eastern and Western rites implicit in the council’s decisions. The Kyivan metropolitan confronted the prejudices of both the Western and Eastern Christians. Addressing himself “to all people bearing the name of Christ, both Latins and Greeks, and all others who are subject to the ecumenical Church of Constantinople, namely the Rus’, Serbians, Rumanians, and other Christian nations,” he enjoined the Churches in Eastern Europe, poorly represented at the council, to “receive this most holy union with great spiritual rejoicing and veneration” and to respect each other’s sacraments.²

Isidore spent some time in the Ruthenian lands—about three months in the Polish Kingdom and another six in the Grand Duchy—where he was received and recognized as metropolitan, despite the fact that he was closely associated with Pope Eugenius IV (1431–47), while the Polish political establishment and the Latin hierarchy were partial to the pope’s conciliarist opponents, who had assembled in force at the Council of Basel (1431–37). The metropolitan was welcomed in Galicia and Kholm, where he mediated in a canonical dispute, and in Kyiv, where he was greeted by Prince Olełko (Aleksandr) who, together with his council, issued a charter referring to Isidore as his “*hospodyn*” and “*otets*” (lord and father) and confirming Isidore’s title to the benefices proper to the metropolitan. In Kyiv Isidore promulgated the Florentine accord in the Cathedral of St. Sophia on 5 February 1441.³

The strongest opposition to Isidore in the Grand Duchy came from the Latins. The bishop of Vilnius did not want to recognize the validity of the Eastern sacraments guaranteed by the Union of Florence and evidently prevented the metropolitan from promulgating the union in that city.⁴ Earlier Isidore had been welcomed in Cracow (where he celebrated in the cathedral) by the chancellor and archbishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki, regent of King Władysław III (1434–44) (the king was only sixteen years old). In the spring of 1443 Władysław issued a charter to the Ruthenian Church, guaranteeing its rights and its liberty to follow

its customs. He presented it to Isidore in Buda, whence the king was to lead the ill-fated anti-Ottoman crusade that ended disastrously at Varna. The privileges granted in the decree were confirmed in 1504, 1543, and 1621.⁵ The charter guaranteed in perpetuity the rights of Ruthenian hierarchs and clergy to villages and lands rightfully in their possession, while mandating the return of lands wrongfully taken away from the Ruthenian Church. It also protected the prerogatives of Eastern bishops to effect judgment over priests and restored the hierarchs' right to adjudicate matrimonial questions, including the granting of divorces, sanctioned by Orthodox canon law.⁶

Arriving in Moscow on 19 March 1441—purportedly preceded in procession by a Latin cross—the metropolitan celebrated in the Kremlin a Liturgy at which he commemorated the pope. In the Muscovite polemical literature Isidore's alleged entry with the Latin cross is presented as a great offense; four days after his arrival the champion of union was imprisoned and charged with heresy.⁷ Eventually, Isidore escaped from Muscovy to the Ruthenian lands, where he stayed for approximately one year and then went on to Italy, where he accepted the cardinal's hat bestowed on him *in absentia* after he had left Florence.⁸ Thereupon, he was sent by Eugenius to the Byzantine capital as papal legate. In 1453, Isidore participated in the final defense of Constantinople, barely escaping with his life. Clearly, in the years after his departure from the Kyivan metropolitanate the dire circumstances of Constantinople and of the Great Church absorbed more of his energies than his own metropolitan see. He lived out his days in Italy, where he died as papally-appointed uniate patriarch of Constantinople (1459–63) and never returned to Kyiv.

In the meantime, in Muscovy, where the Florentine accord was thoroughly repudiated, Iona, the bishop of Riazan', a native Muscovite, was elected metropolitan in 1448, in place of the ousted Isidore, without the sanction of Constantinople, thereby establishing *de facto* Muscovite autocephaly or ecclesiastical independence.⁹ In 1451 Iona (1448–61) was recognized as metropolitan of Kyiv and all Rus' by Kazimierz IV, Grand Duke of Lithuania (1440–92) and King of Poland (1446–92).¹⁰

The expansion of Iona's effective jurisdiction surely alarmed Rome where the absentee unionist metropolitan had taken refuge. However, in the 1440s at the center of Rome's Eastern policy was the crisis in

Constantinople, which generated desperate papal attempts to come to the aid of the besieged Byzantine enclave. It was only well after the fate of Constantinople had been sealed that the papacy moved to cut its losses and formally accepted the greatly limited vitality of the Florentine union among the East Slavs. On 3 September 1457 Pope Callistus III (1455–58) filled the Galician episcopal see that had been vacant since 1413.¹¹ He then proceeded to develop a plan for the division of the Kyivan metropolitanate, which was put into effect after his death by his successor Pius II (1458–64). In 1458, in concert with Gregory III Mammas, patriarch of Constantinople, who had left his see in 1451 and was residing in Rome, Pius appointed Gregory the Bulgarian (1458–72), one of Isidore's associates, to be head of the Kyivan Church.¹² The papal bulls of 3 September 1458 indicate that Rome had no illusions about the prospects of the Florentine accord in a "*Russia superior*" under "schismatic" rule where the "son of iniquity and perdition" Iona of Muscovy had assumed the metropolitan's title. The documents assume that the union was operative in the part of the Kyivan metropolitanate within Lithuanian and Polish borders. Pius appointed Gregory archbishop of "Kyiv, Lithuania, and *tota Russia inferior*," thereby adapting ecclesiastical jurisdiction to political and emerging ethnic (Ruthenian-Muscovite) borders.¹³ The bull of nomination delineates Gregory's province by enumerating the six dioceses in the Grand Duchy and three dioceses in the Polish Kingdom within the metropolitan's jurisdiction.¹⁴ Of these nine, only the bishop of Chernihiv and Briansk rejected the new metropolitan and fled to Muscovy.¹⁵

Along with the towns of Smolensk and Novhorod-Sivers'kyi, Chernihiv and Briansk were within the frontier region that was conquered by Muscovy when Ivan III progressively annexed one-third of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. Smolensk as well as Chernihiv and Briansk were diocesan seats. Thus, throughout the rest of the sixteenth century the Kyivan metropolitanate consisted of the metropolitan diocese of Kyiv and the dioceses of Volodymyr and Brest, Luts'k and Ostrih, Halych and L'viv, Peremyshl' and Sambir, Kholm and Belz, Pinsk and Turaŭ, and Polatsk and Vitsebsk. (In the early-modern period Ruthenian dioceses generally had two cathedrals or dual seats. According to another theory, the use of two or more town names to designate a diocese served to

describe the extent of diocesan jurisdiction. Since the towns named were also centers of civil jurisdictions which usually coincided with the ecclesiastical divisions, including both of them in the bishops title reinforced the bishops authority in the respective lands.)¹⁶

On 18 December 1458 the pope enjoined Kazimierz to preclude intervention in the Ruthenian dioceses by Metropolitan Iona or by the “profane patriarch of Constantinople, appointed by the ruler of the Turks.” The pope repeated his admonition to the king not to recognize a candidate to the metropolitanate sent by a “pseudo-patriarch” in Constantinople but to support Gregory fully.¹⁷ For his part Iona on numerous occasions sought unsuccessfully to extend his authority into the Grand Duchy, admonishing Ruthenian bishops and nobles to recognize him.¹⁸

When Iona’s died in 1461, his successor Feodosii (1461–64) apparently reverted to the short title “Metropolitan of All Rus’,” *sine* “Kyiv,” possibly reflecting a resignation to the loss of the Ukrainian and Belarusian dioceses.¹⁹ Metropolitan Gregory, whose allegiance evidently was not exclusively Roman (his unionist mentor Patriarch Isidore had died in 1463), petitioned the patriarch in Constantinople hoping to secure jurisdiction throughout the entire territory of the Kyivan metropolitanate as it stood before the division provoked by the disparate reception of the Florentine council. The patriarch’s response can be construed as an attempt to salvage relations with the Ruthenian lands by co-opting Pius’ appointee, while reasserting jurisdiction over Muscovy. In February 1467, Patriarch Dionysios I (1466–71, 1488–90), whose installation in the fall of 1466 was the ninth patriarchal enthronement in the thirteen years since the fall of Constantinople, recognized Gregory as the metropolitan of Kyiv and all Rus’. However, Dionysios’ circular letter to the “princes, princesses, boyars, *děti boiarskie*, merchants, and faithful” of Rus’ lands, in which he rebukes the Muscovites for electing Iona and dividing the Rus’ province and appeals for the reunification of the metropolitanate and recognition of the authority of a single metropolitan in the person of Gregory, did not evoke a positive reaction.²⁰ This division of the old Rus’ metropolitanate of Kyiv was to last.

Although the new jurisdictional boundaries of the Kyivan metropolitanate as mandated by Pius’ decree were well established and came to be recognized before the end of the fifteenth century by all

parties involved, the contemporary ecclesiastical orientation of the Kyivan province remained somewhat undetermined. The status of the Kyivan metropolitanate in the period after the Union of Florence does not fit neatly into the confessional categories (Greek-Latin, East-West, Orthodox-Catholic) used, then and now, to characterize pre-Reformational Christendom. It was not until a century later that these ecclesiological adjectives became restrictive. Until then, Greek/Latin or East/West appellations for the Churches prevalent until the end of the sixteenth century implicitly reflected a consciousness of mutuality, that is, an assumption that the two were parts of one Church of Christ.²¹

Despite the fact that the Kyivan metropolitanate had always been a daughter of Constantinople, it rarely entered into the ecclesiastical and dogmatic conflicts waged between the Byzantine Church and the sister Church of Rome.²² Like a child in the midst of chronic family discord, the Kyivan Church occasionally repeated formulations overheard in a distant debate, but for the most part avoided, or even ignored, the conflict within the senior generation. In the first five centuries after the establishment of Christianity in Rus', any word from the Kyivan lands dealing with the theological controversies between the Latin and Greek Churches had been rare. Anti-Latin writings had been composed in Rus', but like much of Rus' literature, they relied heavily on Byzantine prototypes, and their authors were themselves almost exclusively Greeks, who had come to Rus' lands as appointees to the Kyivan metropolitanate or as monks.²³

Allegiance to the patriarchate of Constantinople did not preclude direct contact with the Western Church. The hierarchs of Kyiv had appeared at international ecclesiastical fora in the West—the councils of Lyons (1245), Constance (1414–18), and Florence—to take a conciliatory position regarding the Greek-Latin debate. To be sure, in each of these cases the Eastern Church or its representative hierarch was in a difficult predicament and was seeking aid from the West. Nevertheless, a distinct pattern emerged of manifesting affinity to the Church of Rome without abrogating ties to the Mother Church in Constantinople. After the Council of Florence the lack of confessional ardor continued. Like the eleventh-century break between Rome and Constantinople, the failure of the Union of Florence was inherited by the Ruthenian Church from the Churches of Constantinople and Rome, and assimi-

lated only gradually; it was not completely recognized perhaps until the eve of the Union of Brest.

The factors accounting for the lack of absolutist tendencies in dogmatic and ecclesiological questions separating the Eastern and Western Churches underlie much of Ukrainian ecclesiastical, and indeed cultural and political, history.²⁴ Given the present state of scholarship on medieval and early-modern East Slavic cultural and religious life, the complex genesis of a Ruthenian theological stance straddling the East-West divide can be explained only partially and in the form of hypotheses. *Inter alia*, the geographical and intellectual remoteness of the Kyivan metropolitanate from the respective jurisdictional and theological centers of the opposing Greek and Latin ecclesiastical worlds conditioned the development of Ukrainian and Belarusian Christianity, its theological life, and ecclesiological orientation. Other historical contingencies, such as the limited or selective transmission of the Byzantine legacy to Rus', the lack of a strong East Slavic philosophical tradition, and the late development of formal schools contributed to the relatively low level of interest in questions of Trinitarian theology or even ecclesiology. To put it simply, the Greek-Latin theological differences largely bypassed the Church of Kyiv. They did not reflect the internal exigencies of ecclesiastical life in its dioceses and resonated only weakly in internal church policy and politics. The situation to the northeast was different. Although Trinitarian doctrine and other theological considerations, understood in strict terms, were not irrelevant, it was primarily the political and ideological context in Muscovy that conditioned the resolutely negative response and increasingly strident polemics, which contrasted with the attitude towards Florence in the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands.²⁵ The ambivalence in the Kyivan metropolitanate to the confessional and theological divide, bemoaned by those evaluating and judging historical periods according to particular standards of theological development or sophistication, was clearly evident in the post-Florence decades.²⁶

Kyiv between Constantinople and Rome

Because the late-fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century history of both the Kyivan metropolitanate and the patriarchate of Constantinople is poorly represented in the sources,²⁷ it is impossible to describe the

relationship between Constantinople and Kyiv in the post-Florentine period in much detail. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, the historian must depart from the premise that, despite instances of tension or alienation (such as Constantinople's delay in recognizing Metropolitan Gregory), the Kyivan Church remained in communion with the patriarchate. We do see, however, that on occasion metropolitans of Kyiv, probably sensing both the influence of a Roman Catholic establishment in Lithuania and Poland and the weakness of the institutionally unstable patriarchate of Constantinople, and explicitly invoking the Council of Florence, seem not only to have ignored the theological differences between Greek East and Latin West but also downplayed the divergence in ecclesiastical organization that had become a reality over the centuries. This theological stance and ecclesiastical consciousness is reflected in one of the few sources containing direct statements about the confessional orientation of the Kyivan Church in this period.

In 1476, representatives of the Ruthenian Church, including Metropolitan Mysail (1475–80) and the archimandrites (abbots) Ioann and Makarii²⁸ of the Kyivan Caves and Vilnius Holy Trinity monasteries, and thirteen representatives of the Ruthenian nobility, including Prince Mykhailo Olel'kovich, sent a long letter to the pope.²⁹ The document addresses Sixtus IV as “universal pope” and constitutes, in effect, a protracted encomium to the bishop of Rome.³⁰ At one point it likens Sixtus to the source of “four rivers, watering all of creation . . . through the four ecumenical patriarchs, the firm holy pillars of the Eastern Church.” A perceived harmony in faith between the Christian West, with its doctrine of the papacy, and the East, with its concept of the pentarchy, is expressed in a continuation of the metaphor:

From these rivers . . . we all . . . drank, we in the northern land adjacent to the East, having every satisfaction here, bounty for the satiety of our souls . . . we wash ourselves with it [the water] and cleanse ourselves in Holy Baptism; we are sanctified and illumined. . . . From childhood we have been accustomed to drinking of this water every day of our lives, until this day—we and our fathers and the fathers of our fathers; and of other, different waters we are not used to partake, doubting whether they are not contrary to our nature. For this reason we pray you, O Lord, send us this first water of four-channeled flowing.³¹

The letter maintains that “there is no difference among Greeks and Latins concerning Christ.” From the perspective of the Kyivan Church, both Greeks and Latins are “one and the same,” with all those baptized in Christ called to live according to their respective traditions.³² The recognition of papal supremacy and Kyivan submission to it is explicit, unconditional, and declaratively sincere.³³ The Florentine council and the *Filioque* are endorsed.³⁴ Mysail and the other signatories appeal to the pope for two emissaries, one a Greek, “following the entire law of the Eastern Greek Church,” and the other a Latin, who were to act as reconcilers in Poland and Lithuania, where the Roman Catholic clergy was denigrating the Ruthenian Church and charging Eastern Christians with heresy.³⁵ Mysail, evidently not yet confirmed by the patriarch of Constantinople, signed the letter as “metropolitan-elect.” A jurisdictional deference to the Constantinopolitan see is implicit here. Despite having recognized the pope as a “universal” hierarch, Mysail did not request papal confirmation, presumably because it was understood that this was the prerogative of the patriarch and not that of the “first pastor of the Holy Universal Catholic Church,” as Sixtus was called.³⁶

Redundant, pleading, and effusive to the point of obsequiousness, yet, in places quite moving and stylistically rather effective, Mysail’s long letter to Sixtus did not receive a response.³⁷ It seems that towards the end of the fifteenth century the papacy was giving up on the Florentine union in the Ruthenian lands. Meanwhile the patriarch of Constantinople was again exercising the right to nominate metropolitans for Kyiv. In 1476, conceivably in reaction to Mysail’s overtures to the papacy, a Tver’ monk named Spiridon, for his alleged, but unspecified, shady ways dubbed “the Satan,” was appointed metropolitan of Kyiv in Constantinople by Raphael I (1475–76), whose own patriarchal enthronement was irregular, even in the context of the declining hierarchical and institutional discipline of the period. Spiridon went to Lithuania and then Muscovy, but was rejected and interned in both realms.³⁸ To Muscovite eyes, Spiridon along with Isidore and his successor Gregory, had become a symbol of Greek intrigue, which at Florence revealed itself to be kindred to Latin heresy.³⁹

In the two decades following Metropolitan Mysail’s reign the orientation of the Kyivan Church focused again on Constantinople. The patriarchate was enduring difficult days, however, and Spiridon seems to have been the last metropolitan appointed unilaterally by

Constantinople.⁴⁰ Henceforth the metropolitans were selected by the synod of the Kyivan Church or by Polish-Lithuanian rulers. Nevertheless, the Ruthenian hierarchy respected the traditional prerogative of the patriarchs at least to sanction the synodal election of new metropolitans. The late-fifteenth-century metropolitans of Kyiv, Symeon (1481–88), Iona Hlezna (1489–94), and Makarii (1495–97), seem all to have been elected by synods of Ruthenian bishops (or appointed by the grand duke) and to have received consecration or ratification from Constantinopolitan patriarchs or their representatives.⁴¹ In responding to a reprimand from Constantinople that a request for patriarchal blessing should have preceded Makarii's installation, the Ruthenian bishops explicitly recognized the right of the patriarch to confirm metropolitan candidacies unless immediate need required a departure from this tradition. They did, however, refer to the precedent of Gregory Tsamblak's independent election by Kyivan bishops in 1415, thereby implying that they were within their bounds in seating Makarii unilaterally without waiting for the patriarch's approval.⁴²

After Makarii was chosen, two emissaries were sent to Constantinople to request the patriarch's blessing. However, Makarii was installed as metropolitan before the messengers could return with any such sanction.⁴³ It was not duty or tradition alone that led the Ruthenian Church to seek patriarchal approval of metropolitan appointments. Constantinopolitan confirmation served as a hierarchical-institutional foil to preserve the Ruthenian Church from the encroachments of the Latin authorities in Poland and Lithuania, both civil and ecclesiastical.⁴⁴

At the end of the fifteenth century there were other signs that Constantinople sought to reassert its authority in the Kyivan metropolitanate. In 1481, responding to a request from its archimandrite, Patriarch Maximos may have sent a letter to the Kyivan Caves Monastery that guaranteed its freedom from the interference of metropolitans. In affirming its stauropegial status (that is, its direct dependence on the patriarchate), Maximos was purportedly ratifying privileges extended by Andrei Bogoliubskii, the prince of Suzdal', in the twelfth century and by Maximos' predecessors.⁴⁵

A desire to reestablish contacts with Rome, however, soon resurfaced in the Kyivan metropolitanate.⁴⁶ In 1498 the bishop of Smolensk Iosyf (Bolharynovych) apparently wrote to Patriarch Niphon II for an opinion

on the Union of Florence.⁴⁷ On 30 May 1498, Iosyf was nominated metropolitan by Aleksander (Grand Duke of Lithuania 1492–1506, King of Poland 1501–06).⁴⁸ Two years elapsed before Iosyf was installed as metropolitan (on 10 May 1500) in the presence of a representative of Joachim I (1498–1502, 1504), the new patriarch in Constantinople.⁴⁹ Iosyf's interest in the validity of the Union of Florence should have been known to Joachim. However, a likely awareness of Iosyf's intent to pursue unionistic activity did not deter the patriarch of Constantinople from confirming Iosyf in his office, suggesting that attitudes towards union at the patriarchate were not fundamentally hostile.⁵⁰

At this point, the religious policy of the Lithuanian officials was challenged by the Grand Duchy's eastern neighbor. Not without political ambitions and not without some reason, Muscovy had charged Lithuanian authorities with violating the religious liberty of the Grand Duchy's Eastern Christians, foremost among them being Ivan III's daughter Elena, who had been given in marriage to Grand Duke Aleksander of Lithuania.⁵¹ The Muscovites, who launched an all-out attack on Lithuania in the spring of 1500, used the religious issue as a pretext, arguing that it was their duty to defend Ruthenian coreligionists who, at the behest of the Lithuanian grand duke, were being brought into Roman obedience by Metropolitan Iosyf. Although some of the Ruthenian nobles on the Lithuanian-Muscovite frontier defected to Ivan's side, most supported Aleksander. Nevertheless, the Lithuanian army, led by the Ruthenian Prince Konstantyn Ivanovych Ostrozkyi, was defeated on 14 July.⁵² This reversal forced Aleksander to seek the support of Poland, the vacant throne of which he occupied in 1501. Even earlier, Aleksander had sought to consolidate his domain by increasing confessional harmony and parity between the Eastern and Western Churches. Despite the strong anti-Ruthenian sentiments amidst the Latin clergy in his realm, the grand duke encouraged Metropolitan Iosyf to pursue action fostering ecclesiastical communion. On 20 March 1499 Aleksander had issued a decree guaranteeing the jurisdiction of the metropolitan, the bishops, and their ecclesiastical tribunals in all canonical litigation and submitting to the metropolitan's court cases against Catholic or Orthodox perpetrators of violence against Ruthenian priests. The decree safeguarded church benefices from lay confiscation and forbade nobles to dismiss priests from parishes on their estates without the metropolitan's permission.⁵³

Fading of the Florentine Legacy

Heartened by Grand Duke Aleksander and echoing the letter of Mysail, Iosyf wrote on 20 August 1500 to the notorious Pope Alexander VI. The document recognizes papal authority and professes the faith as expressed in the decrees of the Florentine council, including the *Filioque*.⁵⁴ The delegation sent by Aleksander with Iosyf's letter arrived in Rome 11 March 1501. It was headed by the Polish humanist Bishop Erazm II Ciołek (Erasmus II Vitellius) and included the Eastern adherent Ivashko Sopiha (Sapieha). In Rome, Ciołek, who represented the concerns of Wojciech Albert Tabor, Roman Catholic bishop of Vilnius, figured more prominently in deliberations and had at least two private audiences with the pope. Ciołek rejected the notion of a papal mission to the Ruthenians for the purpose of formally reestablishing communion according to the principles of the Union of Florence.⁵⁵ Two papal letters, one to Tabor (26 April) and the other to Aleksander (7 May), convey the concerns and conditions set forth by the papacy.⁵⁶ Rome responded with caution. In addressing Tabor, the pope noted that "the Church community should not be corrupted by dogmatic variance Therefore, it is more important, as we have determined . . . to guard a sound and immaculate flock, than to impair the safety of the flock by admitting sheep polluted by some stain of heresy or other diseases of infidelity."⁵⁷

Ritual differences were not an obstacle, and, pending a careful investigation (which was to be conducted by Bishop Tabor) of the Ruthenian adherence to the dogmatic definitions of the Council of Florence, the papacy seemed ready to recognize the Kyivan metropolitanate's Catholic communion. However, the main stumbling block from the Roman point of view was the fact that Iosyf was installed by "that heretic Joachim placed *violenta manu* onto the seat of Constantinople by the Turkish tyrant." Iosyf had not received the sanction of the pope or of the papally appointed patriarch of Constantinople Giovanni Cardinal Michele, the fourth successor of Isidore at that position.⁵⁸ Although Alexander VI guardedly welcomed Bolharynovych's initiative, he did not respond directly to Iosyf. The pope was not ready to deal directly with the Kyivan metropolitan until the latter clearly renounced the patriarch of Constantinople and received recognition from the pope or from Patriarch Michele.⁵⁹ The representatives

were told that Iosyf could be brought into the Roman Church by Bishop Tabor of Vilnius.

The attitude in Rome towards the Eastern Church is reflected in the fact that officials there deemed it necessary to have a Ruthenian priest in Sopiha's attendance reordained by a Latin bishop, even though there is no indication that the priest's ordination by a Ruthenian bishop had been in any way irregular.⁶⁰ As the recognition of the Ruthenian hierarchy at the time of the Union of Brest shows, doubt of the validity of Orthodox orders did not characterize sixteenth-century Latin policy. Barring unreported circumstances, this incident of reordination must have been highly offensive. Further indication of Latin attitudes towards the Christian East is given in papal letters to Grand Duke Aleksander, Bishop Tabor, and the grand duke's brother Fryderyk, the Polish cardinal-primate, concerning the religion of the grand duke's wife. The Borgia pope, Alexander, here eminently scrupulous in intimate matters, urged Aleksander, now Polish king as well as Lithuanian grand duke, to secure the conversion of Elena from the "*pessima Ruthenorum secta*," and released him from any oath made to Ivan III of Moscow not to force her to convert. He recommended the revocation of conjugal privileges and withholding of financial allowances until his spouse was persuaded.⁶¹ In general the responses show a distinct, if not consistent, tendency to identify the Catholic faith with the Latin rite. Although the Council of Florence is invoked repeatedly in the Roman documents elicited by Metropolitan Iosyf's overture, the spirit of the Florentine union had by this time largely dissipated.⁶²

In the beginning of the sixteenth century there were a number of signals that the papacy had not abandoned all hope concerning the union, both in the Ruthenian lands and particularly regarding the Greeks in Italy.⁶³ Pope Leo X, who in 1514 had exempted the Venetian Greeks from the jurisdiction of the Latin patriarch of Venice, in 1521 issued a bull protecting the Greek rite according to the statutes of the Council of Florence.⁶⁴ Although Leo's bull mentions only Greeks and the Greek nation,⁶⁵ at least one case pertained to the Ruthenian Church. In 1529, on the recommendation of King Zygmunt I (King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania 1506–48), the Ruthenian Prince Iurii Slutskyi petitioned Pope Clement VII for permission to marry the Roman Catholic noblewoman, Helena Radziwiłł, and to raise any male offspring born to the marriage according to the "Greek rite." After three

years Clement agreed to Sluts'kyi's request, without questioning the integrity of the prince's faith. The pope referred explicitly to the Council of Florence and in effect recognized the survival of the Florentine principle according to which the Latin rite was not a prerequisite for communion with Rome. However, this isolated example of indulgence towards a powerful Ruthenian prince, whose appeal was supported by a Catholic monarch, cannot be equated with Roman recognition of the Kyivan hierarchy or the Ruthenian Church's communion with the Holy See. Moreover, the benevolent expressions towards the "Greek rite" found in these documents of the 1520s and early 1530s were soon to be displaced completely by the post-Tridentine categories of the Counter-Reformation, according to which Ruthenians were designated "schismatics" to be "reduced" to union.⁶⁶

An important factor undermining Florentine unification in Lithuania and Poland was the hostility of the local Roman Catholic hierarchy and clergy to both the Ruthenian Church and to its union with Rome.⁶⁷ According to the Florentine accord, Latins and Greeks were to be on equal footing in the one Church of Christ. The entrance of the Kyivan Church into Roman communion threatened the privileged social and legal status of the Roman Catholic minority in the Ruthenian lands of Poland and especially in Lithuania. It is not surprising that faced with the implementation of the canons of Florence, the Latin bishop of Vilnius, residing amidst an overwhelmingly Eastern population, was most adamant in his opposition to the equalization brought by the recently concluded council. These sentiments were articulated at the behest of Bishop Tabor by Jan Sakran (Sacranus), a professor and five-time rector of the Cracow Academy.⁶⁸

In 1501 or 1502, in reaction to Metropolitan Iosyf's letter to Pope Alexander VI, Sacranus composed an intemperate polemical pamphlet, *Elucidarius errorum ritus Ruthenici*, attacking Ruthenian theological and moral consciousness, ecclesiastical discipline, and religious ethos in general.⁶⁹ Sacranus had been one of the first, cautious proponents of Western humanism at the academy. He was appointed the first royal chaplain in Poland by King Jan I Olbracht (1492–1501), and continued his duties as royal confessor to Aleksander and Zygmunt I. In this capacity he was able to influence policy, particularly during the reign of Aleksander. Although his treatise against Ruthenian errors was much wider in scope, it was in part occasioned by the dispute over

whether or not it was necessary of rebaptize converts to Rome from the Eastern Church. Sacranus attacked the position of the Bernardine friars who argued that no rebaptism was needed. The tract was dedicated to Tabor, the leading Catholic prelate in the Grand Duchy:

To Albert by Divine grace Bishop of Vilnius . . . who most vigilantly presiding over the See of Vilnius in Lithuania, surrounded by a tumultuous mob of Ruthenians, most hostile enemies of yours and the Roman Church, like a lamb among rapacious wolves you always request and await wholesome help from learned men. You . . . exhorted me . . . to look into the canonical writings and decisions of the Masters of Sacred Theology, concerning what should be justly thought of the abuses of the Ruthenians' rite and of their errors; you have been provoked by the audacity of certain people who (removed from obedience to you) have freely met in public places in the city and place of your See, and in the presence of both the Catholic and Ruthenian peoples, have dared to assert that their rite and Sacraments are true and valid; thereby confirming or rather stubbornly persisting in error and disdain for the rites of the Roman Church, causing scandal, finally, and generally abandoning the orthodox faith.⁷⁰

In the text the author argued that the Ruthenians were the “worst of all heretics” (much worse than the Greeks) and, unlike the Greeks, did not possess a valid episcopate and priesthood. Hence, the Ruthenian Church could not be a partner to reconciliation with the Church of Rome. All policy should be guided by the principle that Ruthenians could only be subjects for conversion to the one true Latin faith.⁷¹ The list of errors was clearly intended to be overwhelming. Sacranus enumerated forty points of theological disagreement, ritual abuse, superstition, and moral perfidy, many invented or presented in an unabashedly calumnious fashion—for example, according to him, the Ruthenians as a rule sanctioned fornication and theologically rationalized the murder of Latins.⁷² The basic ideology and spirit of the Council of Florence were unequivocally repudiated.

Views such as those expressed in the *Elucidarius* were current in Catholic clerical and lay circles in Poland and Lithuania and could not have escaped the attention of the Ruthenians, undoubtedly alienating them from the notion of communion with Rome.⁷³ It is not surprising that, after the rejection of Metropolitan Iosyf's overtures to the papacy, up to the pre-Brest period no manifestations of Ruthenian unionistic intentions addressed to Rome can be found in the source material.⁷⁴ In

the climate of increasing hostility to the Eastern Church in Poland and Lithuania and the concomitant institutional disadvantages that the Ruthenian Church endured within officially Roman Catholic polities, the tradition of Florence was forgotten or, at most, lay dormant until the latter part of the sixteenth century. When it was resurrected in the Kyivan metropolitanate as well as in Rome and ecclesiastical unification once again became a subject of intense discussions, the Union of Florence was passionately debated in polemical literature.⁷⁵ In the meantime, the circumstances of the Ruthenian Church changed gradually but substantially.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Crisis in the Kyivan Metropolitanate in the Sixteenth Century

In the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands, as in the Greek world, the political domination of non-Orthodox rulers had a profoundly detrimental effect on the hierarchical structure and organizational life of the Eastern Church. By the second half of the sixteenth century the Kyivan metropolitanate, like the patriarchate of Constantinople, was on the verge of institutional, moral, and cultural collapse. In the last decades of the sixteenth century both the Greek ecclesiastical leadership and Ruthenian Orthodox society faced revolutionary religious and cultural currents associated with the Protestant and Catholic Reform movements. Direct contacts between the Kyivan metropolitanate and the patriarchate of Constantinople, so vital to the medieval Kyivan Church, were revived precisely at a time when internal decline and external challenge faced both Churches.

In the thirteenth century the unification of Baltic tribal units, enhanced by a need for joint resistance to aggression of the Teutonic Order, had given rise to a vigorous Lithuanian state ready to fill the political vacuum left by the Mongol conquest of Kyivan Rus'. In the first half of the fourteenth century, through campaigns led by Grand Duke Gediminas, the Lithuanian principality gradually conquered Belarusian lands and Volhynia, and subsequently annexed Kyivan lands nominally under the control of the Golden Horde. By the end of the fourteenth century Lithuanians increasingly controlled the ruling elite of the Ukrainian-Belarusian lands in the Grand Duchy.

Rus' institutions and culture at first dominated the Lithuanian polity, as the Lithuanian elite became "Ruthenianized" through the adoption of Orthodoxy and the Slavonic liturgy and sacred texts. Old Ruthenian (Old Belarusian-Ukrainian) served as the court language. As the Lithuanian state and its ruling elite grew stronger, however, the politi-



Map. 3. Eastern Europe in the Late Sixteenth Century with Diocesan Divisions of the Metropolitanate of Kyiv.

cal and legal traditions of Kyivan Rus' began gradually to wane. Rus' political institutions continued to decline until in 1471 the Kyivan principality was finally abolished.

Although it was consolidating within, in the second half of the fourteenth century Lithuania endured constant pressure from Poland and the Teutonic Order, its Catholic neighbors to the west. To secure an alliance with the former against the relentless menace of the latter, the Grand Duchy acceded to the Union of Kreva (Krewo, Kriavas; 1386), which brought about a dynastic union of Poland and Lithuania under one crown through the marriage of the Lithuanian prince Jogaila and the Polish queen Jadwiga. Some Lithuanians who had earlier adopted the faith and culture of their East Slavic Orthodox subjects now converted to Roman Catholicism. The Union of Kreva set the stage for the subsequent infiltration and preeminence of Polish influence in Lithuania. First as a consequence of the Union of Horodło (1413) forty-seven Lithuanian Catholic boyar clans adopted the coats of arms of forty-seven Polish noble families and received the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Polish nobility. Thus, the Lithuanian elite gained a social and political affinity to the Polish nobility. At the same time the Ruthenian Orthodox elite, discriminated against in religion, custom, and law, was gradually relegated to second-class status. By the sixteenth century, Polish culture, language, and political structure had thoroughly penetrated all aspects of upper-class life in the Grand Duchy, a process accelerated by the Union of Lublin (1569), which created the Polish-dominated commonwealth in which the previously separate Polish and Lithuanian polities, united only by the person of the king, now shared political (the Diet) and social (legal estate of nobility) institutions; their separate administration, treasury, army, and legal system were preserved. The historic Kyivan, Volhynian, and Cossack-and Tatar-inhabited steppe lands (the Kyiv, Volhynian, and Bratslav palatinates) were directly annexed to the Polish Crown. Polish and Western Christian influences challenged traditional Orthodox culture, permeated Ruthenian society, and brought about an assimilation of the Ukrainian-Belarusian elite.¹

These developments were of utmost significance for the life of the Ruthenian Church. Lasting as they did for the better part of two centuries, they are not easily summarized or characterized, especially given the meager source base. Although the rise of Lithuanian and Polish

institutions and mores met with Ruthenian resistance and efforts at reform, the prevailing tendency over this *longue durée* bode ill for the Orthodox society. The absence of a Ruthenian political order, the steady Polonization of Ruthenian nobles and their concomitant conversion to Roman Catholicism and Protestantism combined with the inferior *dignitas* of the Orthodox Church and culture within Polish-Lithuanian nobiliary society exacerbated the already deteriorating state of Ruthenian ecclesial life.

At the end of the fourteenth and increasingly so in the fifteenth century the Polish kings and Lithuanian grand dukes as well as magnates and nobles acquired the right of patronage over the Orthodox Church. Civil authorities appropriated the right to appoint Orthodox metropolitans, bishops, and candidates to lower clerical or monastic offices or positions, to confer title to church estates, to issue decrees concerning ecclesiastical matters, and to arbitrate and adjudicate legal disputes involving Orthodox ecclesiastical persons or property. This prerogative of patronage over the Orthodox Church came to be known as the royal and noble right “to propose, recommend, grant” (*prawo podawania*).² At its best, the “right to grant” entailed concern of civil potentates for the institutional well-being of the Church. At its worst, this lay patronage involved the sale, entrepreneurial exchange, and mortgaging of ecclesiastical offices and landholdings.³

It has been argued that royal patronage brought with it the Western principle of the Church’s proprietary and theoretically inviolable hold on property, thereby strengthening the legal status of Ruthenian ecclesiastical institutions in Poland and Lithuania.⁴ In the long run, however, the authority of secular rulers in an officially Catholic state, the political system of which was enduring ebbs and flows of turbulence and instability, had a decidedly negative effect on the life of the Ruthenian Orthodox Church, particularly on the constitution of its higher clergy. Since episcopal nominations, as in the pre-Reformation West, were usually awarded to the most influential bidder, Ruthenian metropolitans and bishops, especially in the second half of the sixteenth century, often lacked the expected moral qualities and intellectual qualifications necessary for the fruitful fulfillment of their religious responsibilities. On occasion, coinciding nominations of two candidates resulted in long legal battles and even armed struggle for the possession of bishoprics and their sizable landholdings.⁵ Frequently the candidates were lay-

men. Of the seven bishops of the Diocese Kholm in the sixteenth century, five were laymen at the time of nomination. The remaining two, when appointed, bore the title of archimandrite, which they may very well have received without ever having been tonsured monks. In the same manner, it was not unusual for episcopal nominees to assume their sees without receiving episcopal consecration, which might have interfered with their only-too-secular lifestyles, so characteristic of the contemporary Polish nobility and of Roman Catholic bishops before the promulgation and enforcement of the Tridentine reform.⁶

The corruption of the higher clergy was matched by the ignorance and decadence of the parish priests and monastics. There were no seminaries for the training of clergy. Central authorities or local lords controlled parish appointments. In Ukraine, individuals were appointed priests, often as a reward for founding new settlements or expanding old ones. During the sixteenth-century economic boom in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the central authorities sought to foster the colonization of Ukrainian lands by encouraging settlement. To this end in newly founded villages the Polish Crown appointed Ruthenian priests and permitted the construction of Orthodox “synagogues,” as Eastern churches were pejoratively called in Polish civil and ecclesiastical documents. Only a most basic capacity to function liturgically was required of the candidates, who were chosen for their enterprise or loyalty and not for their ministerial aptitude or preparation.⁷

As in the medieval West, the concept of priestly ministry or pastoral care was not a central element in the ethos of the Christian community: the priest was primarily a liturgical celebrant who led the community in worship, the most exalted form of human expression. Otherwise, the village priest was little different from his peasant neighbors. The role of the priest was clear and, as long as he fulfilled his liturgical responsibilities with a modicum of grace and sensitivity and met his part of the social contract without grossly abusing his position for material gain or to increase his power, no more was expected of him. However, in the sixteenth century the degeneration of church structures and hierarchical discipline and the increased influence of lay nobles in ecclesiastical administration created the conditions for widespread abuse and neglect of even these modest requirements. The prevalent pattern of hereditary priesthood reduced the criterion for ordination to a question of birth. A parish priest was usually succeeded by a son if only to avoid the

complications associated with transferring the parish to another priest.⁸ The corruption prevailing amidst the clergy was reflected in the ecclesial life of the rank and file. Contemporary sources bemoan the illiteracy and spiritual darkness of the faithful whose assimilation of Christian teachings remained superficial.⁹

For most of the sixteenth century there is no evidence that the patriarchate of Constantinople showed even a perfunctory concern for this state of affairs. The final crisis of the Byzantine Empire had led to unprecedented discontinuities in the hierarchical relations between Constantinople and Kyiv. Though the relationship was at least nominally reconstituted in the last decades of the fifteenth century, the real power of the patriarchate to affect policy in East Slavic lands, as it had done more or less successfully in the fourteenth century, had been lost—first and foremost in Muscovy but also in Ukraine and Belarus'. Ottoman hegemony had weakened the patriarchate's institutions as well as its resolve and ability to formulate policy and systematically pursue it. Muscovy's *de facto* autocephaly since the election of Metropolitan Iona served as a general challenge to the principle of patriarchal overlordship, while Kyivan contacts with Rome afforded an occasion to reconsider the notion of exclusive allegiance to Constantinople.

Disruption of a different but familiar sort confirmed the displacement of the very seat of the metropolitanate. In 1482, during a Tatar invasion of Podillian and Kyivan lands promoted by Grand Prince Ivan III, the Crimean khan Mengli Giray sacked Kyiv, abducting the Kyivan palatine Ivan Khodkevych and the archimandrite of the Caves Monastery. The Tatars plundered both the Caves Monastery and the church of St. Sophia, sending sacred vessels from the Kyivan cathedral to Moscow as homage to the grand prince.¹⁰ Much of the city was devastated by fire. Many of the inhabitants perished or were captured, leaving Kyiv desolate and undercutting its economic life. This debacle was soon followed by another blow to the Kyivan see. In 1497, Tatar marauders ambushed and killed Metropolitan Makarii near Mazyr, north of Kyiv, as he was returning to his seat.¹¹

The vulnerability of Kyiv to attacks from the steppe was so great that in the second half of the fifteenth century a number of metropolitans took to living in Belarusian lands or established quarters there, especially in Navahrudak. For the next century no metropolitan would reside in the ancient Rus' capital. In their absence the merely titular

home of the ecclesiastical leaders of the Ruthenian Church degenerated further from its medieval splendor, becoming a dusty frontier town. By 1595 the once golden-domed St. Sophia Cathedral was “profaned by livestock, nags, dogs, and swine-sties,” and its rich adornments were being washed away by rain trickling down through holes in the roof.¹²

Metropolitans and Synods

As the metropolitanate endured institutional decay in the sixteenth century, the influence of Lithuanian and then Polish civil authorities in the nomination of metropolitans grew at the expense of the already minimal role of the patriarchs.¹³ After reporting Makarii’s violent death the *Supraśl Chronicle* tells us that Grand Duke Aleksander “gave the metropolitanate of Kyiv and all Rus” to Iosyf, the bishop of Smolensk, a scion of the prominent noble Bolharynovych clan. Metropolitan Iosyf (1498–1501) probably acceded to the throne with the aid of Ivashko Sopiha (Sopieha), a relative at the grand ducal court.¹⁴ Upon his nomination to the metropolitan see, the Smolensk cathedra was left vacant, and Iosyf was allowed to hold onto the Diocese of Smolensk and its benefices.¹⁵ Although Iosyf’s tenure was brief, he was apparently at least a concerned hierarch; his letter to Pope Alexander VI indicates that he sought ways to improve the lot of his flock. Still, the unilateral nomination of a powerful Ruthenian noble by a Roman Catholic monarch, accompanied as it was by the neglect of ecclesiastical norms safeguarding institutional well-being (in this case canons prohibiting the accumulation of dioceses and their benefices) foreshadowed the woeful record of metropolitan and episcopal nominations by secular authorities that was to predominate throughout the sixteenth century.

Contemporary sources are reticent about Iosyf’s successor as metropolitan, Iona II (1502–7),¹⁶ but they do indicate that Iona and his successor, Iosyf II Soltan (1507–22) received the blessing of Patriarch Pachomios I (1503–4, 1504–13).¹⁷ In the absence of evidence to the contrary we may conclude that Soltan and subsequent metropolitans acquiesced to the pattern whereby royal nomination effectively determined the leadership of the Ruthenian Church, and patriarchal confirmation followed as an automatic formality. Concerning the relations of Metropolitan Iosyf III (1522–34) with the patriarchate in Constantinople, no documentation is known.¹⁸ It is clear, however, that by this

time the metropolitan seat had become a prize that the rulers of Poland and Lithuania saw fit to distribute to Ruthenian nobles who, in turn, blatantly coveted and brazenly fought for it, in violation of ecclesiastical canons and customs and with little regard for the requirements for such office or for a Constantinopolitan role in the nomination process.

On 1 March 1534, while Metropolitan Iosyf was still alive, at the request of Makarii, bishop of Luts'k and Ostrih, and at the urging of Queen Bona Sforza, officials of the Grand Duchy, and Ruthenian nobles, King Zygmunt I issued a charter granting to Makarii upon Iosyf's death "spiritual breads" (as ecclesiastical offices were regularly and cynically called), in this case the metropolitanate and its benefices.¹⁹ Iosyf facilitated the transfer of the metropolitanate to Makarii, and it is not unreasonable to presume that the latter in effect bought the office.²⁰ The open campaign for the not yet vacated see and the all-important benefices and the complete neglect of the institution of synodal election, as well as the large role played by the secular and non-Orthodox nobility in the nomination, reflects the demoralization of the Ruthenian Church that had set in.

Makarii II was metropolitan from 1534 to 1556, but on 10 July 1551 the metropolitanate and its benefices had already been granted in anticipation of his death to Stefan Andriiovych Bil'kevych (Vel'kevych).²¹ Bil'kevych, concerning whom the sources record little more than his acquisitional successes, was a nobleman, who in Vilnius held the offices of royal keyholder and treasurer, apparently loyally serving the king. He secured for himself the position of archimandrite of the Holy Trinity Monastery in Vilnius, administering the community and its benefices as abbot of the monastery but without himself taking the cowl. Only after the passing of Makarii did Bil'kevych receive tonsure, a monastic name, and minor and major orders, and was raised quickly to metropolitan dignity. As Metropolitan Syl'vestr (1556–67) he helplessly presided over the huge metropolitan eparchy during a period that saw the onset of numerous conversions among the Ruthenian nobility to Protestant denominations. During Syl'vestr's tenure, the various Protestant groups, but especially the Calvinists, attracted the leading families in the Grand Duchy. Among the converts were members of such Ruthenian lineages as the Khodkevyches, Narushevyches, Vyshnevets'kyis, Hornostais, Hlibovyches, Volovyches, Zenovyches, Kyshkas, Holovchyns'kyis, and Veselovs'kyis.²² Although the Refor-

mation was not strong everywhere in the lands of the Kyivan metropolitanate (especially not in Ukraine), it was particularly influential in western and central Belarus', where, in Navahrudak, the Kyivan metropolitan resided. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that Bil'kevych ever made a concerted effort to organize an Orthodox response to the Protestant challenge.²³ There is some evidence that he took the initiative to call a synod in 1559, but none that it was actually convened.²⁴

The manner of Iona III Protasovych's (1568–77) accession to the metropolitanate is not recorded in extant documents. It is known, however, that his successor, Iliia Kucha (1577–79), in keeping with the practice of the period, received a royal charter before the death of Protasovych.²⁵ A half year later King Stefan Batory wrote to the patriarch of Constantinople Jeremiah II requesting confirmation of Kucha's nomination, for which, Batory assured the patriarch, "[you] will carry away our usual gratitude as you did from our predecessors."²⁶

A systemic dysfunction aggravated the weakness of the metropolitanate. For a prolonged period the central institution in the ecclesiastical structure according to Eastern ecclesiology, the synod of bishops, ceased to be a factor in the affairs of the Kyivan Church. Until 1589, when the assembly of Ruthenian bishops was convoked on the occasion of Patriarch Jeremiah's stay in Ukraine and Belarus', only one authentic, well-documented synod of the Kyivan metropolitanate was convened in the sixteenth century. Called to order on Christmas Day 1509 by Metropolitan Iosyf Soltan, it had in attendance seven other hierarchs, seven archimandrites, six hegumens, seven protopresbyters, and representatives of the rank-and-file clergy. The synod issued fifteen reformist directives that constitute a checklist of the contemporary problems of the Church.

The synod forbade the simoniacal pursuit of an ecclesiastical office while its occupant was still living as well as the ordination of itinerant *d'iaks* (church clerks and cantors) without the permission of the bishop of their home diocese. The hierarchs resolved not to consecrate unworthy candidates to bishoprics, even those already appointed by the grand duke. They promised to fulfill their ecclesiastical responsibilities, especially to meet regularly in synod. They also agreed to respect ecclesiastical sanctions issued by an individual bishop against his own subjects and to judge priests fairly, punishing reprobates through the action of cathedral chapters. The bishops sought to curb the wanton practices of

the nobility in appointing and removing priests by reiterating the necessity of episcopal approval before a priest appointed to a parish by a lay lord could serve there or before a priest could be removed by a noble once he had been confirmed in a parish by the local bishop. They defended their right to nominate a priest to a parish in the holdings of a lord if the position was left vacant for more than three months. The synod threatened with excommunication those nobles who confiscated ecclesiastical holdings or property. Finally the bishops resolved to stand in solidarity against any noble or even against the grand duke if he should issue an order against the rulings of the synod.²⁷

The resolutions of the synod were in essence confirmed by a royal decree issued on 2 July 1511,²⁸ but the resolve of the bishops to put their house in order did not last. The resolutions of the synod of 1509–10 point to specific abuses and recommend remedies, but the central admonition to assemble in synod regularly was honored only in the breach. By neglecting synodal decisions and the conciliar *modus operandi* in general, the Ruthenian hierarchy ignored its own self-prescribed antidote against further decline. There are indications that synods or synod-like gatherings were held or might have been held in 1514 (for the purposes of a canonization), 1540, 1546 and 1558, but no records of their proceedings have survived. Synodal consciousness and practice in the Kyivan Church continued to degenerate.²⁹ For the next thirty years, until a synod was convoked by Patriarch Jeremiah in the fall of 1589, there is no sign of any conciliar activity in the Kyivan metropolitanate.

It would appear that the bishops of the metropolitanate were themselves largely responsible for the gradual erosion of due process in the Orthodox Church. Ruthenian hierarchs frequently turned to the secular authorities for adjudication of purely ecclesiastical disputes belonging to the domain of the patriarchs or metropolitans. In 1511 at the diet in Brest the archbishop of Polatsk entered a complaint against the metropolitan and the bishop of Volodymyr for failing to recognize his archiepiscopal, not merely episcopal, dignity. When in 1541 a similar complaint against the bishop of Volodymyr was raised by the incumbent of Polatsk, Zygmunt I recognized the metropolitan's claims to ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the matter. However, the king indicated to the litigants that he would hear an appeal should the arbitration of the metropolitan not suffice.³⁰ In 1555 Zygmunt II August summoned Metro-

politan Makarii to respond to the charge made by Arsenii (Balaban), bishop of L'viv, that Makarii was interfering in Arsenii's affairs and disregarding royal charters. The king's father, Zygmunt I, had granted the monastery to Arsenii, but the monks did not want to accept his authority. Zygmunt August referred the case to Makarii, who rejected the argument of Arsenii's son, sent as the bishop's advocate, canceled the royal grant, and placed the monastery under his own authority. This was unacceptable in the eyes of the king who now took the matter into his own hands.³¹ Thus, ecclesiastical adjudication, even in purely ecclesiastical disputes, was not binding if it conflicted with the supreme political authority.

Through its rapaciousness for church benefices and its failure to cooperate and compromise, the Ruthenian higher clergy created conflict it could not resolve. By inviting the intervention of Polish and Lithuanian officials into their internecine struggles the Orthodox themselves undermined their own institutions and the authority of Ruthenian metropolitans and bishops. By the second half of the sixteenth century the prerogatives of the patriarchs in such matters were all but forgotten.

Eastern Orthodox Christians under Roman Catholic Civil Rule

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Roman Catholic Church variously infringed upon the rights of the Orthodox, particularly on Crown lands. In 1423, King Jogaila granted the Latin archbishops of L'viv jurisdiction to charge and punish "heretics" and other non-Catholics.³² These instances of the ascendancy of Latin hierarchs in Ruthenian ecclesiastical affairs were partly the result of a weakened Orthodox hierarchical structure in Galicia. The continuity of the Orthodox metropolitanate of Halych, reconstituted in 1370 by the Palamite patriarch of Constantinople, Philotheos Kokkinos (1353–54, 1364–76), with Peremyshl', Kholm, Turaŭ, and Volodymyr as suffragan dioceses,³³ had lapsed at the end of the fourteenth century after the death of Metropolitan Antonii (ca. 1390). Jogaila's candidate for the succession, Ioann, bishop of Lutsk, was opposed by the Kyivan metropolitan Kyprian who was residing in Moscow. Kyprian resisted Jogaila's unilateral nomination of a hierarch from Kyprian's jurisdiction to head a metropolitan see independent of the Kyivan province, a violation of his own prerogatives. He was able to convince Patriarch Anthony of

Ioann's unsuitability for the office. Ultimately, Kyprian succeeded in gaining the acquiescence of Jogaila who sent Ioann to Muscovy where the latter was imprisoned. From 1401 Kyprian began using the title of Metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych.

Maintaining an eparchial Orthodox hierarch (as opposed to a separate metropolitan) was not a high priority for the Catholic Jogaila who relented to Kyprian when it became apparent that the latter would not support the separate metropolitanate. The new Latin archbishopric, created in 1375 by Pope Gregory XI (1370–78) and in 1412 formally transferred from Halych to L'viv, diverted attention from Ruthenian concerns. No Orthodox bishop was appointed for the Galician lands. Throughout the fifteenth century ecclesiastical affairs in Galicia were administered by vicars (*namistnyky*) who resided first in Krylos and from the end of the fifteenth century at St. George's Monastery just outside medieval L'viv.³⁴ Apparently, during this period the vicars were nominated by the king and received the blessing of the Kyivan metropolitan while their consecrations were performed by the bishops of Peremyshl' or Orthodox hierarchs in Suceava, who from 1401 came to be recognized by Constantinople as metropolitans for Moldova.

In 1509, Zygmunt I gave the Latin archbishops of L'viv authority to nominate vicars for the Orthodox diocese of Halych, which for over a century had had no bishop.³⁵ A fierce struggle for control of the bishopric eventually ensued. The Ruthenian side was led by a vicar named Makarii Tuchaps'kyi, a L'viv burgher who in the end, to support his claim, organized the delivery of three hundred oxen to the royal court in three incremental installments. Queen Bona endorsed the Ruthenian cause, which was adamantly countered by the Latin archbishop of L'viv. In 1539 the metropolitan was finally able to appoint Makarii as bishop, subsequently confirmed by Zygmunt, thereby renewing the diocese and establishing its seat in L'viv.³⁶ The restoration of the bishopric improved the circumstances for the Ruthenian Church in Galicia, particularly in terms of protecting ecclesiastical benefices, for in the century and a half during which the see had been left vacant many of the lands of the diocese had passed into the hands of secular lords.³⁷ However, the Polish Catholic archbishops of L'viv continued to claim the right to nominate Ruthenian bishops of the city, and both Arsenii Balaban (1549–69) and his son Hedeon Balaban (1569–1607) fought for the seat against a candidate put forth by the Catholic archbishop.³⁸

A Latin synod held in L'viv in 1564 blithely encouraged all Roman "bishops of the province . . . to exercise their rights and jurisdiction over Greek bishops and Catholic priests (*Vladicae et Popones graeci*) and to conduct visitations of their churches."³⁹ In the 1580s Archbishop Jan Sieniński's successor, Jan Dymitr Solikowski, sought to enforce the adoption of the Gregorian calendar by the Orthodox of the city.⁴⁰

Although rare, there were cases when the proprietary rights of the Ruthenian Church were violated on behalf of the Catholic Church. Confiscation of benefices occurred in Kholm in 1533 and in Polatsk by Batory in 1580, when fourteen Ruthenian churches and monasteries were appropriated "irrevocably and in perpetuity" to support the founding of a Jesuit college.⁴¹ In 1579 and 1580 Hedeon (Balaban) charged in court that Ruthenian holdings were unlawfully transferred to Archbishop Sieniński.⁴² Thus, an aggressive Latin hierarchy in the Ruthenian lands challenged the Orthodox Church's property rights and created obstacles for Orthodox ecclesiastical self-administration.

In general, the degree of religious intolerance evident in contemporary Western Europe was foreign to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Poland and Lithuania. For political and military reasons it was essential for Polish kings and Lithuanian grand dukes to maintain good working relations with the Ruthenian Orthodox elite. But, although there was no overt religious persecution, various forms of discrimination did prevail. From the early fifteenth century in Lithuania and Poland, official decrees prohibited the construction of Orthodox stone churches or repair of those in ruin. In 1412, Jogaila had the Ruthenian cathedral in Peremyshl' reconsecrated as a Latin cathedral and exhumed the graves in the adjacent cemetery. In 1470 a characteristically Eastern structure was razed so that a new Catholic cathedral could be built using the same stone.⁴³ The ban on building churches, in effect through the middle of the sixteenth century, was not always observed, and in practice was enforced mainly in those areas that had a mixed Orthodox-Catholic population.⁴⁴

In 1387, after his conversion to Roman Catholicism and assumption of the Polish throne, Jogaila extended to boyars in the Lithuanian Grand Duchy certain social privileges and exemptions from services owed to the grand duke, thereby initiating the transformation of the patrimonial structure of Lithuanian society. However, the privileges and exemptions applied only to boyars who professed the Catholic

faith. Positive discriminatory legislation in the political sphere soon followed. The provisions of the Polish-Lithuanian Union of Horodło (1413) instituted restrictions barring non-Catholics from some of the highest administrative posts, such as palatine and castellan, or from sitting in the highest, secret council of the Grand Duchy.⁴⁵

In practice, these restrictions applied only in ethnically Lithuanian territories and surrounding Slavic lands, so-called “Black Ruthenia,” Polissia, and Podlachia (not in the Polatsk, Vitsebsk, Smolensk, Chernihiv, or the Kyivan and Volhynian lands of the Grand Duchy). The discriminatory legislation was modified in 1434 by the decree of Grand Duke Žygimantas (1432–40), son of Kęstutis and younger brother of Vytautas; that broadened the privileges of both Lithuanian and Ruthenian princes and boyars. Nevertheless, this prescript did not diminish the obstacles to high public office set before the Ruthenians by the Horodło union. They remained in place through the middle of the sixteenth century and were even reaffirmed by royal charters in 1529, 1547, and 1551. However, Zygmunt I allowed a number of exceptions, some of which provoked spirited protest from Lithuanian lords, who sought to preserve the highest offices in ethnically Lithuanian lands for native clans. During Zygmunt’s reign (1506–48) it was possible for a Ruthenian magnate such as Prince Konstantyn Ivanovych Ostrozkyi to serve as castellan of Vilnius (1510–22), palatine of Trakai (Troki) (1522–30), and grand hetman of Lithuania (1507–30).⁴⁶ The Vilnius diet of 1563 occasioned a decree, with somewhat provisional wording, granting the Orthodox full political rights. It was strengthened by a second privilege promulgated at the Hrodna diet of 1568, on the eve of the Union of Lublin of 1569. Zygmunt I abolished juridical discrimination barring the Orthodox from public office, in order to secure the support of Ruthenian magnates for the new union between Poland and Lithuania that brought most of Ukrainian lands from the jurisdiction of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy to the Polish Crown.

Following the arduous ratification of the Union of Lublin, Ruthenians in the lands under the Crown before the accord (Galicia, also called “Red Ruthenia”) also succeeded in securing a hearing of their concerns over denominational inequality. Before 1569 there had been no general charters guaranteeing the rights of Orthodox nobles in the Polish Crown lands, where the highest nobility was predominantly

Polish or Polonized much earlier. Ruthenian Orthodox burghers took on the responsibility of defending Orthodox positions, though in many ways they had to defer to their Catholic neighbors. Ruthenians belonging to urban guilds, which were dominated by Catholics, were subject to taxes collected to support Catholic institutions, and were themselves ineligible to become guild masters. They were often barred from advanced schools, including the academy in Cracow. In L'viv, Ruthenian funeral corteges or other religious processions proper to Eastern liturgical services could be conducted with singing, bells, icons, and lit candles only along the *vulytsia Rus'ka* (Ruthenian Street). Ruthenian burghers in L'viv were generally not allowed to live in the city, or to engage in certain trades (for example, brewing), or to deal in certain commodities (cloth on the retail market and alcohol in general). They had long demanded rights equal to those of Catholic burghers to choose and be chosen for positions in the city's administration.

After the Union of Lublin some attempt was made to pacify the vocal Ruthenians in L'viv. At the Warsaw diet of 1572, Zygmunt August guaranteed them full political and civil rights and his decrees were confirmed in 1574 and 1577 by his successors, Kings Henri de Valois (Henryk Walezy; 1572–74) in 1574 and Stefan Batory (1576–86) in 1577. Polish officials did not always observe this royal policy, however, and the central authorities had no effective means to enforce it. The city council in L'viv resisted granting Ruthenians the privileges mandated by Zygmunt's decree, as is apparent from the need to confirm it repeatedly, and in subsequent years political and commercial restrictions persisted.⁴⁷ Unlike the Armenians and Jews, the Ruthenians of L'viv were also not permitted to have their own self-government.⁴⁸

The difficulties Ruthenian artisans encountered in plying their trade are illustrated by the case of the Rohatynets' brothers, saddlers who had been brought to court by the Catholic saddlers' guild.⁴⁹ The brothers were allowed to accept only Catholic apprentices for training, excluding even their own sons. Ruthenians who belonged to Catholic-dominated guilds were often compelled to attend Latin services sponsored by the guilds. If they did not attend Mass in Roman churches as the rules of the guild stipulated, they were required to make a contribution to the Catholic Church *quasi pro poena absentiae*.⁵⁰ In Vilnius, where Eastern Christians constituted a majority in 1583, there were twenty Ruthenian churches in the city and only six Latin ones.⁵¹ They still had

no power and Catholic members remained in control of the local guilds.⁵²

During the sixteenth century, Polish kings guaranteed the liberty of the Orthodox Church on a number of occasions: in 1504 and 1543, Aleksander and Zygmunt I respectively confirmed the 1443 decree issued by Władysław III following the Union of Florence that had granted full rights to the Ruthenian Church.⁵³ Through the joint efforts of the temporarily powerful Polish, Lithuanian, and Ruthenian Protestant and Ruthenian Orthodox nobility, in 1573 the Confederation of Warsaw endorsed the principle of religious toleration for all confessions in the Commonwealth. Nevertheless, in practice, inequalities prevailed. Unlike Roman Catholic bishops, Ruthenian hierarchs did not have seats in the senate. Orthodox clergy, especially in Red Ruthenia or the lands under the Polish Crown before 1569 (coinciding with the Halych-L'viv, Peremyshl', and Kholm dioceses), were regularly subjected to royal taxation from which the Latin clergy was generally exempt; their contributions were voluntary (*subsidium charitativum*).⁵⁴ With the accession to the throne of the staunch Catholic Zygmunt III Waza (Sigismund III Vasa) in 1587, anti-Ruthenian measures became even more severe, until eventually, the confessional strife and partisan denominational atmosphere characteristic of sixteenth-century Western Europe became a feature of society in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as well. The wistful, if not somewhat idealized, reminiscences of Teodor Ievlashev'skyi (Teodor Ieūlasheūski; 1546–1604?), the Calvinist son of an Orthodox bishop, testify to the changes that occurred during his lifetime. Towards the end of the century, bewildered by the advent of a new strident age, he described the confessional climate of the 1560s:

At that time difference of belief was no obstacle to friendship, for which reason that age seems to me golden in comparison with the present day, when even among people of the same faith hypocrisy reigns everywhere. Particularly when it comes to different faiths, then it is useless to look for love, sincerity, and truly good manners, especially among the lay people. For I remember from times not long ago, when the present Pope Clement [VIII] was still cardinal [Ippolito Aldobrandini], appointed [nuncio] to Vilnius during the reign of His Majesty King Stefan in Vilnius, I was sitting together with some of his foremost Italian staff at table in the house of the Reverend Father Bartłomiej Niedźwiecki, the canon of Vilnius. On learning that I was an Evangelical [i.e., Protestant] they were aston-

ished that the reverend canon dared to invite me to his dinner; and when he explained to them that there was no hate among us on account of this [difference of faith] and that we loved one another like good friends, the Italians were filled with praise and said that here God Himself dwelled, while complaining of their domestic laws and their own conflicts. May God grant even now the return of gentler times⁵⁵

The historiography concerning the Ruthenian Church vis-à-vis the Catholic establishment in Poland and Lithuania has been concerned overwhelmingly with juridical rights and privileges and their violation. Ukrainian and Russian historians emphasize the anti-Orthodox thrust of Polish and Lithuanian legislation and violations of Ruthenian civic liberties, while Polish authors such as Kazimierz Chodynicki and especially Oskar Halecki are more apt to stress the efforts made by rulers such as Zygmunt August to protect the rights of the Ruthenians and of the Orthodox Church. In general, most literature on sixteenth-century East Slavic Christianity has focused on institutional and ecclesiastico-political history, rather than on the base communities, popular religion, or mentalities. Attitudinal questions, such as how a typical Catholic noble or peasant viewed and interacted with his or her Ruthenian Orthodox counterpart, have not received appropriate attention.⁵⁶

The evidence that safeguarding or expanding Ruthenian liberties and privileges involved persistent efforts on the part of those Catholic authorities sympathetic to Ruthenian concerns or otherwise confessionally tolerant, as well as the constant struggle on the part of the Ruthenians to safeguard their rights is itself an indication that the Orthodox community, even when protected by law, was perceived to have second-class status in the eyes of the Roman Catholic society in Poland and Lithuania. Although research using insights gained from sociology and cultural anthropology must be conducted before the nature and workings of this inferior *dignitas* of the Ruthenian Orthodox Church and community are fully understood, it is clear that the issue of Ruthenian social, cultural, religious, and political dignity and self-esteem was a significant factor in the early-modern history of the Kyivan metropolitanate.



Illustration 3. Portrait of Piotr Skarga SJ. From the collection of the Art Department of the Vasyl' Stefanyk Scientific Library, L'viv. Pawlikowski Collection, No. 31703. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Vasyl' Stefanyk Scientific Library.

CHAPTER FIVE

Challenge from the Christian West

Intrinsic to the concept of a decline is a comparison with an “ideal” or at least better antecedent state or contemporary model. By any standards the Kyivan Church in the sixteenth century was hardly flourishing,¹ though by the standards current in Poland and Lithuania, its decline was hardly egregious. The Catholic and Orthodox Churches in Poland and Lithuania in the first half of the sixteenth century had similar problems. The higher clergy in both were appointed through royal favor which was invariably swayed and governed by extra-ecclesiastical considerations. The competition for appointments and benefices among Catholic nobles was no less ferocious and debasing than it was among the Orthodox. The Latin hierarchy, drawn as it was solely from the nobility, now attentive to the styles and, in some cases, intellectual pursuits of the Renaissance, was generally better educated than their Ruthenian counterparts and even included some erudite scholars, quite comfortable in the most sophisticated humanistic circles of the time. This narrow but significant intellectual elite of the Polish clergy contributed to the development of a true Renaissance in Polish culture, including a rich Latin and vernacular literature, the likes of which was not evident in contemporary Ruthenian society. Appreciation for, if not participation in, literary and intellectual pursuits were ideals cultivated in Polish nobiliary society of which the hierarchy was an integral part. While the artistic and literary achievements of medieval Rus’ compared favorably with those of medieval Poland, from the middle of the fifteenth century, and especially in the sixteenth, the growing diversity and profundity of Polish literary, historical, and theological reflection and creativity stood in stark contrast to the “silence” of contemporary Ruthenian culture.

The refinement of a narrow elite, however, did not necessarily translate into more vibrant or devout ecclesiastical life. Most Catholic bishops in Poland and Lithuania had little or no theological training, and few of the Renaissance princes of the Church demonstrated an abiding commitment to their pastoral responsibilities. For the most part, the bishops spent their time in secular pursuits and pastimes, such as politics, estate management, litigation with rival nobles, entertaining, and hunting, just as the nobles did. Their energies were expended at the diet and the tribunal, the field and stream, and the bountiful table, not at the altar or pulpit, chancery, school, or hospice. Hierarchs often neglected summonses to synods. Rarely did they reside in their dioceses. The Latin religious orders deteriorated, as lay lords frequently administered monastic establishments and benefices without even entering the religious life.

The state of the Catholic lower clergy was no better than that of their Orthodox counterparts either. They had little formal preparation for parochial ministry, received inadequate pastoral direction and encouragement from the ecclesiastical leadership, and frequently endured material hardships. Morals were lax and morale low. Nor was the religious engagement of the Catholic population at large any more intense or profound than that of the Orthodox.²

Considering all this, the state of the Ruthenian Church was not so inferior after all. The ties of the Kyivan metropolitanate with Constantinople weakened and became merely formal, but they had been precarious since the fall of Constantinople, if not earlier. The level of Ruthenian clerical education was low, but it had not been high to begin with. Ruthenian bishops and priests were not pastorally solicitous towards their flock, but traditionally the Eastern clergy had emphasized liturgy over pastoral care, and people probably expected of priests only that they celebrate the basic liturgical services and solemnize the rites of passage.

Did, then, the Kyivan metropolitanate endure decline? Certainly, a deterioration in Ruthenian ecclesiastical organization in the sixteenth century is discernible, as is the retrograde composition and worldly nature of the hierarchy. In these regards affairs had worsened perceptibly: an institutional and structural decline in the Kyivan metropolitanate did occur. However, it was the radically changing religious and cultural context that brought these weaknesses into focus. The

advent of the revolutionizing Protestant currents in Poland and Lithuania and the parallel dynamism of the Catholic Reform—later in starting but longer lasting and stronger—made manifest the critical state of Ruthenian Orthodoxy.

The Reformation

Soon after its genesis in Germany, the Protestant movement in Poland and Lithuania began in the northern and western cities of Silesia, Pomerania, Livonia, and Royal and Ducal Prussia, where printed literature from abroad was readily accessible and the large German population quickly adopted Lutheran positions. In the early period Anabaptism attracted the lower urban classes and some peasantry, and as elsewhere a latent noble anti-clericalism contributed significantly to the popularity of the Reformation in eastern Europe. In the 1520s and 1530s, at the sessions of the Polish Diet, tension grew between the nobility, especially its middle and lower echelons, and the clergy over issues of clerical exemption from taxation, the broad prerogatives and sanctions of ecclesiastical tribunals, and the immunity from military service of certain civil officials on lands under ecclesiastical administration. In this early period Lutheranism gained converts among the nobility as well as the burghers of Pomerania and Great Poland.³

By the middle of the century a strong Reformed (Calvinist) movement, especially among and burghers of Cracow and nobility of Little Poland (where up to half of the nobles joined the Reformed confession) challenged the Catholic Church for the allegiance of the faithful. The open break with the Roman Catholic Church in 1553 of Mikołaj Radziwiłł “the Black,” who had earlier demonstrated Lutheran sympathies, catalyzed the spread of Protestantism among the magnates of the Grand Duchy. In that year, Radziwiłł, who as grand chancellor of Lithuania (since 1550) and marshal and palatine of Vilnius (since 1551) was at the pinnacle of power in the Grand Duchy, formed a Protestant, Lutheran-oriented, congregation in the Ruthenian lands, in his castle at Brest. The following decade was a period of remarkable confessional flux, for Radziwiłł personally and for the Lithuanian elite in general. Within two years the grand chancellor came under Swiss Reformed influences. By the end of the decade many of the leading families in Lithuania, including Ruthenian magnates, espoused Calvin-

ist positions. Others, including Radziwiłł himself from about 1558, adopted Antitrinitarian views.

In the 1560s the Reformed movement in Poland, by then the most numerous Protestant contingent in Crown lands, split: the radical Minor Reformed wing together with the Polish Brethren subsequently nourished the nascent Antitrinitarian (subsequently Budnyite, Socinian, or “Unitarian”) views that flourished in Lithuania and the Ukrainian lands, especially Volhynia. In these decades Poland and Lithuania became a refuge for some of the most radical reformers fleeing persecution in Western Europe. When the Reformation reached its peak in Poland and Lithuania in the 1550s and 1560s it could claim the allegiance of approximately one sixth of the nobility, a small portion, but one that included most of the powerful magnate families, thus making the Protestant movements a formidable religious, social, cultural and political force, one that seemed to be on the verge of attaining predominance in both the Kingdom and the Grand Duchy.

By 1569, only fifty percent of the Commonwealth’s senators (not counting bishops) were Catholic; in the Lithuanian Grand Duchy, Protestant senators were actually in the majority, and Protestant magnates occupied the most influential offices, including the grand hetmanate and chancellorship and the palatineships of Vilnius, Trakai, Navahrudak, Vitsebsk, Mensk, and Mstislaŭ. Yet despite this rapid growth, the Reformation in the Grand Duchy and especially in Poland did not make significant inroads among the peasantry. It also failed to topple the institutional structure of the Catholic Church and was unable to dislodge the established Church from its privileged political position. By the time of the Union of Lublin, the apogee of the Reformation in Poland and Lithuania had been reached. In the next three decades, with the advent of the Catholic revival, Protestant influence in the Commonwealth declined precipitously, though Reformational ideas and confessions continued to appeal to representatives of the Polish and especially Lithuanian and Ruthenian nobilities well into the seventeenth century.

The Catholic Reform and Counter-Reformation

In the early 1550s the new Confession of Faith prepared by Stanisław Hozjusz, bishop of Warmia, hailed the onset of a concerted Catholic response to the erosion of Catholic ranks.⁴ In 1555 a permanent papal

nunciature was established in Poland, strengthening papal influence in future religious affairs of the Commonwealth. Guided by the Council of Trent, whose decrees were officially adopted by Zygmunt August in 1565 (but not immediately by all Catholic bishops), and under the leadership of the Jesuit order, newly introduced (1564) in Poland, the Catholic Reform systematically addressed the ecclesiastical ills exposed by Protestant polemicists. At the same time it independently developed novel pastoral approaches and set its sights on new missionary horizons. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the Catholic Church quickly began to recover lost positions and promote a new Catholic-Baroque culture. With the introduction of an effective, captivating pedagogy, the sons of the Protestant nobility, educated in Jesuit schools and colleges, became staunch defenders of an increasingly triumphant Roman Catholicism.

The Jesuit schools attracted the sons of Ruthenian nobles as well. As early as 1577 Vasył Zahorov'skyi (d. 1580), castellan of Bratslav, wrote in his testament, composed in Tatar captivity from which he was never released, that his children should be schooled in the Ruthenian language from the age of seven. Having mastered it, as well as the Church Slavonic Scripture, they were to study Latin. Subsequently, according to Zahorov'skyi's will, the boys' guardian, his aunt, was to send them to the Jesuit school in Vilnius (or to a place deemed most appropriate by their guardian) where the children could receive a "good education." The children should remain there for seven years or more without interruption and with no visits home. At the same time the castellan stressed that the sons should cherish the Ruthenian customs, language and especially faith. They should never miss services in the Ruthenian Church, observe all of the fasts, avoid contacts with carriers of "heresy" (Protestants), and marry within their own faith, guided not by concerns for wealth or beauty, but by the desire to raise a God-fearing family. Apparently, Zahorov'skyi saw no conflict between a Jesuit education and the maintenance of a Ruthenian identity.⁵

The Catholic Reform aimed at the development of intense devotion and a reinforced pastoral commitment. Old Catholic religious orders revived, new ones were introduced, many nobles, especially women, entered the contemplative life, and the ranks of the episcopacy were filled by a new generation of zealous bishops that turned their attention to the consolidation of diocesan structures and to fostering the piety of

the faithful. More and better preaching, Lenten missions, pilgrimages, liturgical processions, and other devotional practices enabling personal involvement, as well as printed literature, reached and moved masses.⁶

As the acute threat of Protestantism receded, part of the Counter-Reformational missionary ardor was redirected to the Orthodox “schismatics.” Although the liberal, humanistic religiosity and optimistic anticipation of confessional harmony of the mid-century soon faded, compared to Western Europe, the denominational confrontation in the Commonwealth was relatively peaceful, and the rising Catholic Reform relatively tolerant.⁷ A deep piety, rather than inquisitorial practices, characterized Polish-Lithuanian Catholicism in the latter decades of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, the political tradition of noble liberties forestalled sanctions against any confession that had a significant noble contingent. In the Polish-Lithuanian political system, central royal authority could do little without the support of the nobility. The need for consensus to realize political steps such as the Union of Lublin or the election of new kings required that no part of the nobility be disenfranchised on religious grounds. Because of *dissidium niemate in causa religionis christianae* (“considerable discord in the matter of Christian religion”), as the Confederation of Warsaw characterized the confessional situation in the Commonwealth, compromise was essential for political survival and for the maintenance of tranquillity and order. That is why, the negotiation of the Union of Lublin led to the concession of complete political privileges and liberties to the Orthodox nobility. In an analogous way the interregnum and constitutional debate preceding the election to the Polish-Lithuanian throne of Henri Valois, duke of Anjou (one of the perpetrators of the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre), led to the Confederation of Warsaw in 1573, which enshrined the freedom of conscience and toleration of all creeds, including all Protestant denominations, and guaranteed civil rights and liberties to all nobles, regardless of religious confession.⁸

Nevertheless, an ominous shadow hung over the Ruthenian community. Confronted by the monumental innovations of the Protestant reforms and by an articulate and militant Polish Catholic movement which had forged its rhetorical weapons in polemics with the Reformation and was now pointing out the inadequacies in Ruthenian Church life, the sixteenth-century Kyivan metropolitanate appeared dysfunc-

tional institutionally, impaired sociopolitically, vulnerable culturally, and anemic spiritually and morally.

It was then that the notion of Ruthenian ecclesiastical unification with Rome was resurrected⁹ and promoted by Jesuit polemicists.¹⁰ The first of the Jesuits to campaign for union was Benedykt Herbest, who wrote two works about union: the brief *Indication of the Way*, published in Cracow in 1567, five years before Herbest entered the Society; and the *Exposition of the Faith of the Roman Church and History of the Greek Captivity*, published in 1586, also in Cracow. For a time its distribution was halted by the Jesuit provincial because its intolerant polemic was of questionable dogmatic implication. Herbest, however, presented no clear conception of a union. It should be added that he—like Sacranus, Tabor and other Polish and Lithuanian prelates in the second half of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—had no understanding of the spirit of the Florentine accord, that is, for them the reestablishment of communion with Rome alone would not suffice for the salvation of the Eastern Christians. The ideal of uniformity in rites and traditions—meaning Latinization or outright absorption of the Orthodox by the Roman Church—is presupposed in Herbest's attack on the Ruthenian Church.¹¹ It is the Jesuits in Vilnius, foremost among whom was the fiery Piotr Skarga, who were most influential in preaching union between the Church of Rome and the "schismatics."¹² As early as 1567 the most powerful of the Ruthenian magnates, the palatine of Kyiv Konstantyn Ostrozkyi, invited Skarga to his estates for discussions about union, but Skarga did not meet with Ostrozkyi on this occasion.¹³ Skarga eloquently presented his own theses about union in his widely read *On the Unity of the Church of God under One Shepherd and on the Greek Separation from that Unity*, the first edition of which appeared in Vilnius in 1577 and was dedicated to the palatine.¹⁴ In persuasive and passionate prose, Skarga sought to discredit the Ruthenians' Byzantine patrimony, their religious ethos, and Orthodox ecclesiology.¹⁵ He attacked even the Ruthenian Church Slavonic language, the medium of Ruthenian cultural and religious expression, at a time when Ruthenians were fumbling with the early-modern dilemma of developing a literary vernacular.¹⁶

Furthermore, the Greeks greatly cheated you, O Ruthenian nation, that in giving you the holy faith, they did not give you their Greek language. Rather, they ordered you to stand by this Slavonic lan-

guage, so that you might never attain true understanding and learning. For only these two, Greek and Latin, are languages by means of which the holy faith has been propagated and disseminated throughout the whole world, without which no one can attain complete competence in any field of learning, least of all in the spiritual doctrine of the holy faith. Not only because other languages change continuously and are unable to be stable within their framework of human usage (for they do not have their grammars and lexicons; only those two are always the same and never change), but also because only in those two languages have learned disciplines been established, and those disciplines cannot be translated adequately into other languages. And there has not been in this world, nor will there ever be any academy or college where theology, philosophy, and other liberal arts could be studied and understood in any other language. No one can ever become learned through the Slavonic tongue. And now hardly anyone understands it [Church Slavonic] perfectly. For there is not a nation on earth which speaks it the way it is found in the books. And it does not have its rules, grammars, and lexicons for the purpose of interpretation, nor can it any more. Wherefore, when your priests (*popi*) wish to understand something in Slavonic, they must have recourse to Polish for interpretation.¹⁷

The condemnation went far beyond the categories of language. According to Skarga; as a people the Ruthenians were duped, dumb, and damned. Having inherited a defective Christian tradition instead of the integral faith, they were left theologically speechless and spiritually imperiled. While prognosticating a dismal future for the vernacular languages, Skarga, a talented polemicist, used mature, articulate Polish to drive home a number of vital points. Ruthenians had absolutely no formal scholarship or tradition of intellectual inquiry. Association with the Greeks left them comparatively impoverished. They had not developed the scholarly disciplines, abstract reasoning, and institutions that had allowed the West, beginning in the high Middle Ages, to advance in learning. In pontificating to the Ruthenians, Skarga stood atop centuries of Western historical evolution that had recently culminated in the dynamic, explosive cultural and intellectual upheavals of the sixteenth century. For western Catholicism, the impact of the Reformation was revolutionary and traumatic, but by the latter part of the century the Catholic Reform had steadied the ship, and the Catholic Church had appropriated the pastoral, pedagogical, intellectual, organizational, and missionary means necessary to address the exigencies of the early modern *Weltanschauung*, while rapidly adapting to and further devel-

oping the new religious mentality and multiconfessional frame of reference.

The Orthodox Church, however, was just beginning to grope for its bearings. For much of the century the religious, cultural, and social critique had not been focused directly on the Ruthenian Church and society. It did not come from without, nor was it articulated from within. Through the printed vernacular language, ideas questioning the establishment spread quickly in the Latin West, including Poland, shaking the old world to its foundations. Notwithstanding a few non-conformist writings in Cyrillic, almost all of which circulated in manuscript,¹⁸ such ideas were not current in the Ruthenian idiom or cultural sphere. Although not oblivious to the Reformation, Ruthenian society, and particularly the hierarchy of the Kyivan metropolitanate, did not formulate its own response to contemporary Western cultural and religious ideas circulating in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.¹⁹ For the most part, it remained passively on the sidelines, though individuals might jump in of their own accord, usually joining one of the teams already contesting on the field and in effect being lost to the Ruthenian Orthodox cause.

In the 1570s and 1580s, however, Ruthenian society willy-nilly was confronted head on. Throughout Europe the importance of the individual was being emphasized as never before in Christian history, and the notion of pastoral ministry took hold. The competition of the creeds called forth an unprecedented popular desire for dogmatic understanding. The ascendancy of printing quickened the dissemination and assimilation of new ideas. The expectations—to be personally engaged in and to understand more adequately religious truths and practices—which in the West had evolved over centuries to coalesce climactically in the sixteenth-century reform movements, presupposed a codification of learning, intellectual systematization, formal schooling (especially at a university), literacy, a new psychological sensibility, and religious personalism. As general political, social, economic, and cultural interdependence between the Ruthenian and the Polish-Lithuanian Catholic nobility grew, Ruthenian society was drawn more and more into this early-modern forum. Here Skarga's argument was devastating, for he pointed out that, in the new arena, the Ruthenians used obsolete weapons. As a good polemicist Skarga set the rules of the debate, and disqualified the opposition from the start. *On the Unity of the Church*

constituted a full-scale attack on the Ruthenians' sense of cultural and ecclesiastical dignity. Although the book probably convinced few Ruthenian readers to abandon their positions, Skarga's argumentation was both impressive and daunting.

The Notion of Reform

The new fundamental verity confronting the Ruthenians in the last quarter of the sixteenth century was that in a matter of decades the world and its most stable traditions and institutions could change, and did change.²⁰ In the West, the medieval legal renaissance that revived the study of ancient ecclesiastical canons and norms had provoked a rigorous evaluation of contemporary ecclesiastical life and given birth to the revolutionary notion that the Church could be critically evaluated and reformed. The flowering of scholastic theology and philosophy stimulated speculative reflection, while the founding of the mendicant religious orders redefined and widened the scope of the monastic vocation. Meanwhile, through the Gregorian reforms the Western ecclesiastical polity and hierarchical structure had been consolidated and centralized and the Latin Church as an institution guided by a monarchical papacy came to exert a preeminent role in European society. The rediscovery of classical antiquity, spurred during the Renaissance by an essentially religious and moral critique of contemporary Christian society and scholastic learning, opened new horizons for intellectual inquiry into the nature of the human experience. During the Reformation and Catholic Reform religious life in the West came to be highly reflective and intensely dynamic. Rigorous interconfessional debate sharpened theological thought, stimulated missionary zeal, prompted innovative pastoral approaches formulated to reach all strata of society, and generally revolutionized corporate ecclesiastical life and the lives of individual Christians.

Over the centuries in Western Christendom change had occurred gradually yet with substantial consequences. A tenth-century French Benedictine monk would never have understood the outlook, routine, or language of a fourteenth-century Dominican friar. Transported to a fifteenth-century Spanish or Italian town, he would have marveled at its very existence, gawked at the commotion of the urban lay confraternities, and wondered what had happened to the centrality of the chanted

office in the life of the Church. In sixteenth-century Latin Christendom, radical change had occurred precipitously. Unlike Gregorian reforming popes, the mendicant friars, or humanists such as Erasmus, Luther and the other Protestant leaders did not seek a mere tightening of discipline, righting of morality, or elevation of the religious discourse in the ecclesiastic community. In their eyes the Church was rotten at the core. It had been beguiled by Aristotelian categories and corrupted by a monarchical papacy. It was preaching and teaching heresy. Its fundamental doctrine, especially soteriology and ecclesiology, needed immediate and drastic revision. Everything from the sacraments to celibacy, from structure to spirituality was questioned and criticized. When the dust began to settle, Western Christendom was divided and diversified, with virtually no aspect of it remaining unaltered.

In the West, catalyzed by the activity of the Gregorian papacy, the notion of institutional reform had earned legitimacy, ultimately threatening the very institution that gave it its impetus. Although potentially dangerous, change came to be considered, in certain circumstances, desirable and even necessary. Resisting the notion of innovation in principle, both the Protestants and Catholics in the sixteenth-century West in fact innovated with a vengeance. Veiled by disclaimers professing restoration of original foundational ideals, reformers were busily building new ecclesiastical structures and redirecting the religious outlook of Christendom. The reforms involved “across-the-board shifts in ministerial and ecclesiological paradigms.”²¹ Conducted self-consciously and deliberately, if not always foreseeing all consequences and ramifications, sixteenth-century reforms in the West and in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were changing nearly everything previously held to be immutable. For Ruthenians the possibility, desirability, and even necessity of radical reform were fundamentally new notions with which they would be forced to contend.

The Ruthenian nobility hardly felt honored by Skarga’s impassioned, erudite appeal to the “schismatics” to abandon their errors. According to the preface of the second edition (1590), “the rich of Rus” had bought up and burned all available copies of the first.²² At the same time the leading Ruthenian magnate, Prince Ostrozkyi, and certain segments of Ruthenian society began to take more constructive measures. Put on the defensive, Ruthenians began exploring new ways to protect their religious, cultural, and ethnic identity by adopting

contemporary Western technological advances (especially the printing press) and assimilating the current Western emphasis on Sacred Scripture, literacy and education, and lay responsibility for religious life, while simultaneously seeking to revive the Eastern cultural and religious legacy. This reaction was expressed through a new Ruthenian literary culture fostered initially through the activity of two centers of Ruthenian Orthodox intellectual activity—the school and publishing venture at Ostrih sponsored by Prince Ostrozkyi and the confraternity of laity and its school at the Ruthenian Church of the Dormition in L'viv. A central concern for both the Ostrih circle and the confraternity in L'viv was recruitment of qualified individuals who could develop the pedagogical, literary and publishing activities that these institutions were undertaking. Among those who were attracted to Ostrih and to the L'viv school were learned itinerant Greeks.

CHAPTER SIX

Orthodox Emissaries to the East Slavic Lands

In the sixteenth century a steady stream of Orthodox clerics traveled from the Ottoman-controlled Greek East to Wallachia, Moldova, the Ruthenian lands, and particularly Muscovy. Although records are sparse and it is impossible to measure the volume of this traffic, it seems that as the decades progressed these journeys grew in frequency and urgency. A few of these monks, priests, and bishops sought refuge in Muscovy from the hardships of ecclesiastical life under Muslim rule or for other reasons remained or were detained in the northern lands.¹ The vast majority, however, came and went, sent by their superiors to collect alms to meet the material needs of Orthodox churches, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical institutions in the Ottoman Empire. Most of the travelers coming to Ukraine and Belarus' had as their ultimate destination Moscow, the seat of the most powerful Orthodox ruler and only remaining independent Orthodox sovereign. Nevertheless, while journeying through Romanian and Ukrainian-Belarusian lands the clerics frequently stayed in local religious communities, sometimes for extended periods of time. As a consequence, while the overriding consideration of the itinerant Greeks was obtaining material assistance, in some instances they became involved in the concerns and activities of Orthodox in various ecclesiastical jurisdictions including that of the Kyivan metropolitanate.

That the Greeks could expect financial support from the Kyivan metropolitanate was based on a venerable tradition. According to the late-Byzantine practice, payment of stipends for ecclesiastical, even sacramental, services was widely accepted and ecclesiastically sanctioned.² In keeping with this practice, patriarchal nomination and consecration of the Kyivan metropolitans was invariably accompanied by a "gift" from the ordainee or from his sovereign.³ As the empire declined

and Byzantine territories and the fiscal network of the patriarchate on these territories had fallen increasingly under Ottoman hegemony, the patriarchate not only counted on these tokens of gratitude, but began to seek outright grants from Orthodox communities beyond the ever-shrinking Byzantine realm. Even before the fall of Constantinople, its patriarchs appealed to the charity of East Slavic secular rulers and to the metropolitans of Kyiv, assuring them that the provision of financial support for the defense of Constantinople would earn them heavenly rewards.⁴ In the sixteenth century, as we shall see, Greek Orthodox reliance on the support of Orthodox potentates, especially the grand prince of Moscow, progressively grew.

For the first eight decades of the sixteenth century virtually no sources mention the presence of itinerant Greek supplicants on Ukrainian and Belarusian lands. A general impression of how frequent their trips through Ukraine and Belarus' were can be derived from extant Muscovite records documenting embassies from the Christian East in Muscovy, since to reach Moscow, they generally traveled through the Ruthenian lands of Poland and Lithuania, usually crossing the Muscovite frontier at Smolensk, although a route through Crimea and the Tatar-controlled steppe was also possible. The sources rarely provide data on the exact itineraries of the travelers. In some cases, however, such as that of Patriarch Jeremiah's trip in 1588–89, it is possible to retrace the route. In other cases episodes in the Ruthenian lands involving the Greek itinerants are mentioned, though no information is given on the internal life of the Kyivan metropolitanate. The point at which the visitors crossed the Muscovite frontier, frequently mentioned in the Muscovite records, also tells us from what direction the travelers approached the Muscovite border. Since almost all Greek ecclesiastics entered Muscovy through Smolensk, almost all of them came through Ukraine and Belarus'.

In a series of catalogues beginning with 1509, Muscovite authorities recorded the coming and going of emissaries sent by Greek Orthodox hierarchs, monasteries, and churches and registered correspondence with them. The information in the *dela* (registers) in the *Grecheskie posol'skie knigi* ("books of the Greek diplomatic missions"), though not a complete record of sixteenth-century trips by representatives of the Greek Orthodox Church, document many of the Greek Orthodox missions, faithfully reflect certain prevailing characteristics of these

journeys,⁵ and serve to introduce the typical composition and usual concerns of ecclesiastical travelers from the Greek East to the East Slavic lands.⁶

The Early Missions

In January of 1509 a delegation of three monks from the St. Panteleimon Monastery of Mount Athos (or *Rossikon*, populated mostly by Ruthenians and Muscovites) brought to Moscow a letter from Paisios, the protos, or senior abbot, of the Holy Mountain.⁷ Paisios thanked Grand Prince Vasiliï III Ivanovich (1505–33) for a recent endowment⁸ and assured him that the Athonite monks remembered him in their prayers and commemorated his deceased parents in the Liturgy. The protos' letter commended to Vasiliï the three messengers who bore a petition from their hegumen which mentioned the charity of Vasiliï's father Ivan III. Soon after (probably within weeks), two monks arrived in Moscow delivering petitions from the Serbian metropolitan of Belgrade and from Angelina, the widow of the Serbian despot Stefan. The *despina* asked for resources to build a church to entomb her husband with dignity. She also requested aid for the St. Panteleimon Monastery. The monks added their own request for alms, referring to the generosity of Ivan III and his charter of free passage to Moscow granted to the monks on an earlier trip. A third Serbian monastic, from the Holy Transfiguration Monastery in Kučajna, carried no written petitions. On 24 July 1509 Vasiliï responded to all of the requests, sending most of his gifts through the Athonite monks because the Serbs had grossly abused Muscovite hospitality. In an altercation with the grand prince's *koniukh*, the irascible ascetics severely beat him, injuring the poor man gravely.⁹

Although most of these Greeks traveled to Muscovy seeking alms, there was at least one outstanding exception. Through an embassy to Mount Athos Grand Prince Vasiliï requested in 1515 that the protos send to Moscow a monk-translator by the name of Sabbas [Savva]. Sabbas declined the invitation, evidently for reasons of advanced age. Instead the protos sent Maximos, a highly-educated monk from the Vatopedi Monastery, who as the layman Michael Trivolis had received a humanistic education in Italy. Trivolis had encountered there the best of the Italian Renaissance and showed a strong affinity for Western

ways, to the extent that he even entered a Dominican friary. However, his very departure from Italy and the consistent and harsh criticism of Latin Christendom in his later writings indicate that he must have become profoundly disillusioned with the West. Maximos, in Russian sources known as “Maksim Grek,” arrived in Moscow in 1518, in the company of two other monks from Vatopedi, a Greek and a Bulgarian, and with the protohegumen of St. Panteleimon’s, who bore a petition from his monastery. The Athonites traveled as part of the suite of Metropolitan Gregory of Janina, emissary of Patriarch Theoleptos I (1513–22).¹⁰

The delegation left Constantinople in the summer of 1516 and stayed for a long time in Crimea.¹¹ There is no further information concerning Maksim’s itinerary, and it is uncertain whether or not his journey took him through Ukraine and Belarus. Maksim certainly did not go back, through the Ruthenian lands or any other way: he spent the remaining thirty-eight years of his life in Muscovy, mostly in confinement. His legacy of philological activity and the duration of his stay in Muscovy were unique for the sixteenth century, however, the paradoxes of Maksim’s experience there could not have encouraged Greek ecclesiastical leaders to send other well-educated clerics to Muscovy.

In the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands, the mid-sixteenth-century Orthodox hierarchy showed very little interest in recruiting Greek monastics such as Maksim. Representatives of the contemporary Ruthenian secular elite who may have been concerned with intellectual matters were generally drawn to activists and ideas of the Reformation. For most of the sixteenth century the interaction between Ruthenian and Greek ecclesiastical circles was limited and evidently of little lasting import. There are no known examples of extended sojourns by Greek ecclesiastical figures or clerical scholars in the jurisdiction of the Kyivan metropolitanate during the first three quarters of the sixteenth century. Well-educated Greeks were recruited to the Ruthenian lands only in the last decades of the century, as a result of Ostrozkyi’s patronage and the reforming activity of the confraternities.

Although Athonite monastics, especially from the East Slavic St. Panteleimon Monastery, were among the most frequent supplicants at the Muscovite court, other quarters of the Christian East were also represented. Requests came from Greek monastic establishments in various parts of the Ottoman Empire. For example, a monk from St.

Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai brought to Moscow a petition from his hegumen dated 16 November 1517 and a letter to Vasilii from Karl, the despot of Arta and cousin of the grand prince's mother Sophia. The monk was allowed to depart in July of the following year and was directed to take a route through Novgorod and the Baltic. He carried with him letters of recommendation from the grand prince requesting safe passage and the equivalent of six hundred gold pieces in pelts and other gifts.¹² In 1533 Joachim, who was patriarch of Alexandria for nearly eighty years (1487–1565/67?), sent three monks to Moscow, and requested that the grand prince endow them generously. Joachim put in a good word for some other travelers on their way to Moscow, monks from Sinai, an ecclesiastical enclave within the territory of his patriarchate. He also recommended a nun from Jerusalem named Makrina, the only Greek Orthodox female envoy to Moscow mentioned in the sixteenth-century records.¹³

After the registration of the Sinai mission there is a gap in the *grecheskie dela*,¹⁴ but relations between the Greek East and Moscow were by no means interrupted. In 1543 Patriarch Joachim of Alexandria wrote to the Ivan IV petitioning for Maksim's freedom and rebuking Ivan quite directly for the treatment of the Greek monk, a teacher of the word of God. Soon after his election Patriarch Dionysios II (1546–56) of Constantinople along with Patriarch Germanos (1543–79) of Jerusalem and fifteen metropolitans of the Constantinopolitan synod also wrote to Ivan asking for Maksim's release.¹⁵ In 1547 Metropolitan Makarii of Moscow issued a circular calling for alms for Athonite monks.¹⁶ Thus, there is ample evidence that official delegations of Greek clerics continued to come to Moscow in the 1530s and 1540s, even though these missions were not recorded in the *grecheskie posol'skie knigi*.¹⁷

According to the testimony of the sixteenth-century itinerant clerics, Ottoman overlordship was invariably at the root of all the evil—including fiscal insolvency—suffered by the ecclesiastical establishments in the Greek East. However, from the petitions it is evident that also contributing to institutional and financial problems were the various factions among the Orthodox who often failed to cooperate with one another or were easily exploited by the Turks. In June of 1550 two monks arrived in Moscow carrying a petition from Patriarch Germanos of Jerusalem written two years earlier. They were received by the grand

prince on 11 July and were allowed to leave on 20 July having each received twelve rubles from Ivan. The grand prince sent a benefaction of thirty rubles for the patriarch and fifty more for candles and incense to be used at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Soon after this party departed, a representation of two monks from St. Panteleimon's came asking for help to pay off a six-hundred-ruble debt and to reconstruct part of the monastery, in disrepair because of violence perpetrated by the Turks to the holdings of the monastery. The hegumen of the Serbian Hilandar Monastery, accompanied by three monks, also presented himself to the grand prince with gifts and with his declaration of needs. The letter he carried beseeched Ivan to intercede on behalf of the Orthodox monks before the Ottoman sultan to stop the exaction of exorbitant taxes and the confiscation of monastic property by Muslims.¹⁸ Both the East Slavic monks from St. Panteleimon's and the Serbian monks from Hilandar complained bitterly about the collusion of Greeks with the Turkish authorities. The following year Ivan wrote to the sultan on behalf of the two monasteries.¹⁹

Ecclesiastical affairs and international travel necessarily entailed an involvement in political and diplomatic matters. Undoubtedly Greek alms-seekers while in foreign lands had to gather intelligence for their Turkish masters. At the same time their Muscovite benefactors regularly extracted from them any information they could concerning the military and political activity of the sultan.²⁰ The sources do not allow us any firm conclusions regarding the degree to which the Greek clerics engaged in intelligence-gathering. However, there is evidence that political missions of the sultanate were combined with the ecclesiastical concerns of the patriarchate. In the early 1550s the sultan sent a message to Moscow through the layman Andrianos Chalkokondyles,²¹ who also brought a letter from Patriarch Dionysios of Constantinople requesting material assistance. Andrianos departed from Moscow with a message for the sultan and with assurances of aid to the patriarchate.

On his return Andrianos was accompanied by a "youngster" (*parobok*) Obriuta Mikhailov, sent by the Muscovites to learn Greek, most likely for future service in the *posol'skii prikaz*. Apparently, the sultans regularly relied on Greek clerics to serve as messengers, as is reflected in the documentation concerning subsequent ecclesiastical missions from the Greek East to Moscow. A decade later, when in 1561 Metropolitan Ioasaph of Euripos and Kyzikos traveled to Muscovy to

deliver patriarchal recognition of the tsar's coronation, he carried a number of documents from the sultan.²² The manner in which the Muscovites received the itinerant Greeks suggests that the Muscovites suspected them of being in the sultan's service.²³ Always careful with foreign visitors, the Muscovites showed no less vigilance when hosting even the most distinguished Orthodox hierarchs.²⁴

As the missions to Muscovy continued, the requests for aid took on a desperate tone. Towards the end of his reign Dionysios again appealed to the bounty of the Muscovite grand prince, this time through Metropolitan Ioasaph and a lay official of the patriarchate.²⁵ The patriarch's despondent plea reveals the lamentable state of the patriarchate:

Now we find ourselves in straits because of the [condition of the] fence [surrounding] the great patriarchal church. For earlier there was a stone wall here; but now the monastery is fenced with boards and is in ruin; and because of this we are constantly dishonored by the godless [Turks]. We have neither cells nor even the cheapest oil for the icon lamps. And if you want to be a builder of the Great Church, do this out of your love as Your Holy Imperial Highness may please.²⁶

The Greek community under the Ottomans was enduring difficult days, and its ecclesiastical leadership was not reluctant to reveal before potential benefactors the abject poverty of its Church.

Episcopal Emissaries

For most of the sixteenth century, lay monastics and ordained monks (called hierodeacons and hieromonks), not members of the higher clergy, predominated among the travelers to Moscow from the Christian East. The arrival of Metropolitan Ioasaph in 1556 marked the beginning of increased travel by episcopal emissaries of various ranks. While the metropolitan was still in Moscow, a letter arrived from the new patriarch in Constantinople, also Ioasaph by name. In January 1557, Ivan wrote back to Patriarch Ioasaph through the metropolitan, sending the patriarch sable skins and a thousand rubles. The grand prince's brother Iurii added two hundred rubles to the grant for the patriarch, and Metropolitan Ioasaph received two hundred rubles. At its departure, the metropolitan's delegation was joined by Hilandar monks who had arrived in Moscow earlier: they received three hundred rubles and a rich curtain for the Royal Doors in the main church of their monastery.

The party that headed for Constantinople also included Feodorit, a Muscovite archimandrite in Suzdal', whom the Muscovites had carefully prepared for a special mission. He was charged with gathering intelligence about the sultan from Patriarch Ioasaph and entrusted with Ivan's letter to the patriarch. In his letter Tsar Ivan reminded the Greeks of his past generosity to them. He then asked for a decree of the Constantinopolitan synod recognizing his imperial coronation, which had taken place in 1547.²⁷ In support of Ivan's case the Muscovites provided a *calendarium* of saints canonized in Kyivan Rus' and Muscovy, as well as an extensive list of ancestors to be commemorated in the Liturgy by the Greek clergy, thereby seeking to demonstrate the dignity of Ivan's realm and the genealogical legitimacy of his imperial claims. In addition to a letter of dismissal allowing Metropolitan Ioasaph and the Hilandar monks to cross the Muscovite frontier, Ivan gave them a letter of recommendation to Zygmunt August, so that they might pass freely through the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland.

Meanwhile, the reliance of the Orthodox Churches in the Ottoman Empire on Muscovy's favor continued to grow. In 1557, Patriarch Joachim of Alexandria wrote beseechingly to Moscow. He recommended four monks from Mount Sinai, who arrived in Moscow in January 1558 asking for material assistance.²⁸ To support their cause the monks related a story, duly recorded in the Muscovite registers, about their aged patriarch. Provoked by Alexandrian Jews a Turkish pasha put the Christian faith and its representative to the test by ordering Joachim to drink a poisonous potion. The patriarch asked for a week's respite, during which he fasted and prayed, and then confronted the challenge. Although his beard and teeth fell out upon imbibing the poison he was otherwise unharmed, while his Jewish accuser, when put to the same test, died on the spot. The Muscovites responded with a liberal grant of aid not only for the patriarch of Alexandria and St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, but also for Joachim, patriarch of Antioch, and Germanos, patriarch of Jerusalem, thereby establishing philanthropic ties with the three other Orthodox patriarchates, in addition to that of Constantinople. The tsar wrote to Zygmunt August, ruler of Poland and Lithuania, to the voevoda of Moldova, and to the sultan requesting safe passage for the delegation and sent with it Vasilii Pozniakov, a member of the merchant corporation resettled from Smolensk.²⁹ The four patriarchs acknowledged receipt of the alms, sent Ivan sacred objects as tokens of their

appreciation, and informed the tsar that Pozniakov, whose travels in the Christian East lasted two years, had suffered violence along the way and that some of the largess (two hundred and forty sables) had been taken away from him while he was still in Lithuania.³⁰ In his letter, full of flattery for the tsar and complete with a litany of hardships endured by the Orthodox, Germanos asked Ivan for a miter—because unlike the Armenians, Ethiopians, and many others celebrating at the Holy Sepulchre, he did not have one.³¹

In September 1561 Metropolitan Ioasaph of Euripos and Kyzikos arrived in Moscow bearing Patriarch Ioasaph's recognition of Ivan IV's imperial title. The synodal document concedes Ivan's "true imperial" descent from the Byzantine princess Anna, wife of Volodimer I and the sister of Emperor Basil II (976–1025).³² The connection between the recognition of the tsar's coronation and the Greeks' expectation of material assistance is direct. A second letter from Patriarch Ioasaph to Ivan expressed the opinion that it would serve the eternal glory of the tsar if he chose to become a benefactor of the renovations being carried out at the patriarchate. Like every successful fundraiser, the patriarch praised the virtues of the potential donor and enthusiastically described the fruitfulness of a previous Muscovite grant that had allowed the patriarchate to establish a new school. A third letter, like the first bearing signatures of representatives of the synod, compared the tsar to "the equal-to-the apostles and ever-glorious Constantine, who at the beginning of his imperial reign distributed largess to all churches, so that he be mentioned in their sacred diptychs."³³

Patriarch Ioasaph had strongly recommended Metropolitan Ioasaph of Euripos to the tsar. Nevertheless, the metropolitan endured some unexpected difficulties in Muscovy on account of a Ruthenian monastic, who with three associates had joined the metropolitan's party in Vilnius. The monk, Isaiia, originally from Kam'ianets'-Podil'skyi, traveled to Muscovy bearing a recommendation from Zygmunt August. He hoped to obtain a copy of the full Church Slavonic translation of the Bible compiled by Gennadii, archbishop of Novgorod, in order "to publish it in our Ruthenian land and Grand Duchy of Lithuania for our Ruthenian Lithuanian people and also for the Russian Muscovite people," as well as for the rest of the Orthodox world that used the Church Slavonic language in the liturgy.³⁴ While being questioned by Simeon, bishop of Smolensk—who like all officials of this border town

had received precise instructions from Moscow to interrogate foreigners crossing the frontier—Isaia accused Ioasaph of swearing an oath to Zygmunt August and his council in Vilnius. When Ioasaph reached Moscow, the tsar publicly reprimanded the metropolitan and refused to accept Ioasaph's blessing. At the tsar's table Ioasaph was grilled concerning his oath to Zygmunt and directed to respond in writing.³⁵

In his deposition Ioasaph sought to justify himself by presenting to the Muscovites an account of his stay in Vilnius. According to his version, he was greeted by the Kyivan metropolitan Syl'vestr (Bil'kevych) and questioned by the Lithuanian authorities about his intentions. After he revealed his ultimate destination and the fact that he carried letters from the sultan, Ioasaph was summoned to appear before King Zygmunt August. Ioasaph showed the Lithuanian authorities a letter from the patriarch addressed to the Kyivan metropolitan, the Ruthenian bishops, and the Orthodox faithful. Zygmunt instructed Ioasaph to remain in his quarters but promised that he would be allowed to leave for Moscow. After a week Ioasaph was brought to a church where in the sanctuary he was asked to seek reconciliation between Muscovy and Poland and Lithuania. Ioasaph pleaded the insignificance of his person and powerlessness in such high international conflicts, but his hosts insisted. Three days later, when summoned to the sanctuary of the Holy Trinity Church, the Vilnius cathedral of the Kyivan metropolitan, Ioasaph challenged the tendentious Lithuanian account of the conflict with Muscovy, but promised to inform the tsar of Zygmunt's desire for peace. Two more days passed before Syl'vestr and the local boyars, again in a church, urged Ioasaph to present the request for peace as his own desire. The authorities in Vilnius told Ioasaph to keep their discussions secret but to push for peace because they hoped subsequently to send to Moscow a papal emissary.

Once in Muscovy, Ioasaph pleaded that his forthrightness before the tsar not be revealed to the Lithuanians, lest on his return journey they take him to task. He categorically denied rumors about a purported oath to Zygmunt and underscored to the Muscovites his unblemished reputation in the eyes of the patriarch and synod in Constantinople. Ioasaph explained the origin of the rumors by the fact that he had repeatedly met representatives of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy in church, the usual forum for solemn oaths.³⁶

Apparently Ioasaph also sought to justify himself by denouncing his accuser, the monk Isaiia, as a Latin-tainted heretic. The Muscovites had carefully courted the patriarchate of Constantinople to secure recognition of Ivan's imperial coronation. Thus, Isaiia's allegation against Ioasaph, the patriarchal emissary bearing that recognition, was highly inconvenient. The authorities in Moscow probably found Ioasaph's countercharge against Isaiia opportune, and the Ruthenian monk spent the rest of his years confined in Muscovite monasteries.³⁷ Nevertheless, Ioasaph was also detained in Muscovy for at least two years. When he was finally allowed to depart, he was told to go not through Lithuania and the Ruthenian lands, or even through Crimea, but through Georgia and the Caucasus to Trebizond, and then by sea to Constantinople.³⁸ The tsar sent only a modest grant to the patriarch and other hierarchs because of doubts concerning the security of this route.³⁹

The caution of the Muscovites was well advised, for the metropolitan was never to deliver the consigned benefaction. He fell ill and died in territory controlled by the Georgian ruler Levon, who allegedly confiscated the grant that Ioasaph was to deliver. Three years after Ioasaph's departure, the Muscovites received a letter from one of the monks, who had accompanied Ioasaph, informing the tsar about the death of the metropolitan and of another member of the suite. According to the letter, the metropolitan had refused to reveal to Levon that he was carrying alms from the tsar, but the other monks told him, after which Ioasaph allegedly claimed that the grant had been intended not for the patriarchate of Constantinople but for him personally. After Ioasaph had died, Levon appropriated the grant. The Athonite monks complained that the Georgians had mistreated them. Subsequently, the monks were able to travel only as far as Caffa. They had endured many hardships during their journey, along the way exhausting the alms they had received from the tsar.⁴⁰ Ioasaph's ordeal and unhappy end show how precarious travel to and from Muscovy in quest of alms could be.

The manifold hazards did not change the fact that the Muscovites were a veritable, if not in every instance readily forthcoming, source of revenue. In 1571 Tsar Ivan IV sent a messenger to Constantinople with two hundred rubles for the commemoration of his late wife Anastasiia and another five hundred to cover the cost for the consecration of the Holy Chrism, requiring over fifty expensive aromatic ingredients for the myrrh and an elaborate order of consecration. This rite, which in the

Orthodox tradition had become the prerogative of the patriarch, assisted by the bishops of his synod, evidently had not been performed in Constantinople for fifty years because of the penury of the patriarchate.⁴¹ Concurrently, alms were sent to Sylvester, the new patriarch of Alexandria (1569–90), and to St Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai and to Mount Athos.⁴²

A Characterization of the Greek Missions

During the first three-quarters of the sixteenth century a distinct pattern of Greek petitioning for alms at the Muscovite court developed. Beginning with requests from the monasteries of Mount Athos and from the patriarchate of Constantinople, the practice of sending missions was adopted by the other Eastern patriarchates and by various Orthodox communities and institutions in Ottoman-ruled lands. The number of delegations, the seniority of their members, and the amounts they received from the Muscovites all rose in the middle of the century, at the time of the recognition of the imperial title of Tsar Ivan IV. The alms-seeking Greek clerics carried letters flattering their Muscovite hosts. In certain cases these petitions had a self-abasing tone. In beseeching Muscovites to supply resources for the most basic commodities or to mediate in inter-Orthodox conflict on Mount Athos, many of the requests reflect a humbled ecclesiastical world, the dignity of which has been seriously wounded. For their part, the Muscovites, although willing to part with significant sums, treated the ecclesiastical envoys from the Ottoman lands with reserve and even with severity. Muscovite charity was also not unconditional: the Greeks were expected to give due honor to their hosts. In the middle of the century the Muscovites sought and received recognition of their ruler's imperial dignity, and they regularly extracted information about Ottoman and Polish-Lithuanian affairs.

Throughout the sixteenth century the allegiance of, or control over, the lands to the west and north of the Black Sea were an immediate concern in the power politics between the Ottoman Empire, Muscovy, and Poland and Lithuania.⁴³ In this regard the Transdanubian principalities of Moldova and Wallachia through which the Eastern ecclesiastics traveled were pivotal points for incessant political jockeying.⁴⁴ Journeying as they did across all these frontiers, the representatives of

the Eastern patriarchates were not exempted from the diplomatic imperative to receive and convey information, impressions, and putative plans. The itinerant clerics, whose often plastic loyalties were formed and stretched by religious identity, political realities, economic hardships, and cultural differences,⁴⁵ were eager to earn or maintain the favor of various potentates who had much influence on the fate of the ecclesiastical institutions that the itinerants represented. They would certainly offer one of the few commodities in their possession—information on political, military, diplomatic, as well as ecclesiastical affairs in the lands in which they lived or visited.

While reporting to the Muscovites on developments in the Ottoman Empire, these representatives were ever mindful of the realities to which they were returning. The Ottomans closely monitored the affairs of the Orthodox Church, including their journeys. Mid-sixteenth-century developments on the Muscovite frontier impinged on Ottoman foreign affairs, especially on their conflict with the Iranian Safavid Empire. When the Muscovites captured Kazan' (1552) and Astrakhan' (1554–56), the Ottomans lost their free passage to the Caspian Sea, a possible launching point for attacks on Iran from the north. With the accession of Selim II (1566–74), the Ottomans sought to dislodge the Muscovites from the Volga basin and replace that route by connecting the Don to the Volga by a canal, thereby creating a water route from Istanbul to northern Iran. In 1568 the Muscovites established diplomatic relations with the shah, but when the Ottoman attempt to build a canal and capture Astrakhan' in 1569 failed, hostilities with the Muscovites died down.⁴⁶ Although the campaign of 1569 proved to be the last concerted Ottoman attempt to gain control of the Volga basin, the Ottoman presence on the Black Sea and the foreign and domestic policy of the Porte were enduring objects of Muscovy's attention. Thus, Muscovites, careful not to provoke the Ottomans and eager to maintain open channels for trade in luxury goods from Iran, were most interested in whatever new information the Greeks could provide about the state of the Ottoman-Safavid conflict.

The prevailing calm in the Volga basin also did not quell Ottoman desires to be well informed. In the 1570s and 1580s the possibility of a Christian anti-Ottoman coalition with Orthodox participation, promoted especially by the papacy, made Muscovy a potential threat. In 1576 the Venetian envoy to the Porte reported that "the Sultan is much

afraid of the Muscovites . . . because the Grand Prince of Muscovy is Orthodox like the people of Bulgaria, Severia [i.e., Serbia], Bosnia, the Peloponnesos, and Greece. For this reason these peoples are devoted to him and they are always ready to take to arms and revolt in order to get rid of the Turks and become subjects of the Muscovite prince."⁴⁷ There is, however, no evidence that the Muscovites ever seriously considered intervening militarily to liberate Orthodox co-religionists from Ottoman rule. Although some Greek churchmen harbored hopes for such a liberation and discussed its possibility with political figures in the Slavic world and in Western Europe, sober assessment led most Greek ecclesiastics, and particularly the officials of the patriarchate of Constantinople, to seek the more realistic goals of financial support for the faltering institutional structure of the Greek Orthodox world.

In the 1580s, the patriarchate of Constantinople endured a period of particular crisis, and the need for material assistance brought the highest Orthodox dignitaries to Muscovite frontiers. In their journeys, together with lesser clerics, Orthodox patriarchs traveled through Ukraine and Belarus' and became involved in the life of the Kyivan metropolitanate, itself subject to a prolonged period of structural decline. In the wake of the Florentine union, the division of the Kyivan metropolitanate, and the increased influence of secular authorities and lay lords in the affairs of the Ruthenian Church in Poland and Lithuania, the jurisdiction of the patriarchs of Constantinople in the affairs of the Kyivan Church for practical purposes had lapsed, despite the fact that communion remained unbroken. The travel of Greek churchmen became the occasion for the reconstitution of the Greek-Ruthenian ecclesiastical relationship, the subsequent nature of which came to be determined by interaction during the eighth decade of the sixteenth century. In the 1580s, the Ruthenians and their Greek Orthodox visitors together confronted the challenge of an increasingly contentious Western Christendom in a context in which the universe of discourse and the cultural models were rapidly changing.



Illustration 4. Details from the L'viv *Apostol* of 1574, printed by Ivan Fedorov.

The Introduction of Printing and the Onset of Ruthenian Religious Reform

The crisis in their ecclesiastical community and the threat to its traditional ethos challenged the Ruthenians to revitalize Orthodox religious life and articulate their Eastern Christian cultural and religious legacy. Like the challenge itself, the course they adopted was largely conditioned by Western developments. In order to protect their spiritual, cultural, and ethnic identity, the Ruthenians began utilizing the most formidable weapon of early-modern religious and ideological warfare—the printing press. The influence of the West, however, extended far beyond the realm of technology. The Orthodox in Ukraine and Belarus' embraced many aspects of both the contemporary Protestant and Catholic religious mentality, including the emphasis on Scripture, concern for literacy and education, and a stress on lay responsibility for ecclesiastical life.¹ The growth of the Ruthenian revival, with its assimilation of certain religious attitudes emanating from contemporary Western Christendom, was reflected in a series of institutional initiatives of the laity and through a new Ruthenian Orthodox (Ukrainian-Belarusian) literary culture built on the church-related school² and printing presses.³

The process of revival and reform was gradual. Despite the upheavals in the Polish Kingdom and the Lithuanian Grand Duchy, in the 1560s, 1570s, and 1580s most aspects of Orthodox ecclesiastical routine in Ukraine and Belarus' at the hierarchical, clerical, and, probably, lay levels changed little. During these decades, ecclesiastical establishment and cultural life changed very little. This mediocre constancy was brought into relief by the onset of reform in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Among Ruthenians reform consciousness grew slowly, and initially among the laity. The hierarchy was slower to realize that reform was necessary and slower still in taking concrete

steps to revitalize ecclesiastical life. Stimulated by the general climate in the Commonwealth and by the activity of the laity, in the middle and late 1580s the attention of Ruthenian bishops to the desperate circumstances of their Church was finally aroused by the involvement of senior prelates from the Greek East in the affairs of the Kyivan metropolitanate. With the dearth of source material reflecting the absence of dynamic Ruthenian religious life in the second half of the sixteenth century, it is difficult to gauge the gradual development of the Ruthenian revival.

Printing

A single phenomenon that stood out from the general inertia of contemporary Ruthenian cultural life—and by its very nature exerted widespread influence—was the gradual development of Cyrillic printing in the Ruthenian lands. Reforming currents were evident in the medium of discourse conventional in earlier times: the manuscript text and codex. Such manuscript works as the Peresopnytsia Gospel (1556–61), the Krekhiv *Apostol* (Acts and Epistles of the Apostles, probably 1570s), and the numerous contemporary Didactic or Homiliary Gospels, all of which rendered biblical texts in more or less vernacular Middle Belarusian-Ukrainian, reflect religious, linguistic, and cultural awakenings in the second half of the sixteenth century. Yet, manuscript literature of Ruthenian provenance by and against Protestants or Protestantizing individuals, or in response to the Catholic Reform, is of limited scope and quantity.⁴ Because both its form and content were manifestations and agents of reform, the development of printing is a primary indicator of early-modern Ruthenian religious change.

From the mid-1560s to the beginning of the 1580s no more than sixteen known Cyrillic editions appeared in the Ruthenian lands, half of which, although involving the sponsorship of powerful magnates and the collaboration of numerous individuals, were directly dependent on the technical ingenuity, creative energy, and vision of the deacon-printer Ivan Fedorov.⁵ Keeping in mind that in German-speaking lands over the same period editions were in the thousands, and that in second half of the sixteenth century in Venice alone printshops produced on average some one hundred and sixty-three editions annually, the output of Ruthenian publications is exceedingly modest.⁶ Nevertheless, these

publishing ventures catalyzed the revival and reform movement, addressed weaknesses in Ruthenian religious life, and were the medium for Ruthenian cultural interaction with foreign religious figures, scholars and bookmen, including representatives of the Greek East.

Although several Cyrillic editions were issued at the end of the fifteenth century and a number of Ruthenian publications appeared in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, Cyrillic printing in the Ruthenian lands did not become firmly established until the end of the 1560s. It began in Cracow, where Schweipold Viol (Fiol) published four Church Slavonic liturgical books, two undated and two appearing in 1491. In 1494–96 Cyrillic editions also appeared in Cetinje, Montenegro. In the first half of the sixteenth century, Cyrillic publications were printed in Wallachia (1508–12, 1534, 1535, 1545), Venice (starting in 1519), Serbia (1537, 1539, 1544–57), Herzegovina (1519–23), and in Sibiu, Transylvania (1546). As early as 1517–19, in Prague the Ruthenian printer Frantsysk (Frantsishak) Skaryna produced editions of the Psalter and twenty-two books of the Bible in the contemporary Ruthenian vernacular, and in 1523–25, he printed in Vilnius the “Small *Vade mecum*,” composed of biblical and liturgical texts, and a volume of the *Apostol*. However, almost four decades would pass before Cyrillic printing was again undertaken in the Ruthenian lands.

A new, but short-lived, initiative was occasioned by the growth of the Reformation movement in the Grand Duchy. In 1562, in Niasvizh, on the estates of the leading Lithuanian Protestant magnate and patron Mikołaj Radziwiłł “the Black,” two Ruthenian-language publications written by the radical Protestant theologian Szymon Budny appeared; one was a catechism, the other a treatise, “On the Justification of Sinful Man before God.”⁷ However, after these two works, Cyrillic was abandoned at the Protestant press in Niasvizh in favor of Polish, which subsequently became the predominant language of Reformation discourse in the Commonwealth. The establishment of printing among Orthodox East Slavs was late in coming and, in the Ruthenian context, was connected to the proliferation of Protestant editions. Between Skaryna’s Vilnius editions and the Zabłudów Homiliary Gospels issued in 1569 by Fedorov almost half a century had elapsed during which no Orthodox literature in Cyrillic had been printed in the Ruthenian lands. It was the Zabłudów editions that initiated a continuous and lasting publishing tradition.⁸

Ruthenian publishing apparently became the beneficiary of the turbulent political conditions that prevailed in Muscovy in the mid- and late 1560s (the first dated publication there, the *Moscow Apostol*, appeared in 1564). The *Apostol* and the two 1565 editions of the *Horologion*, (Slavon. *Chasovnik*, 'Office of the Hours'), seem to have aroused mistrust in the Muscovite ecclesiastical establishment, at a time when Tsar Ivan IV was upsetting the Muscovite political system through his temporary withdrawal from most governmental affairs in 1564 and the terror associated with the *Oprichnina*. Moscow was in turmoil, hardly a place to overstay one's welcome, and the printers of the first dated Muscovite imprints were forced to flee westward.⁹ Once in the Grand Duchy, Deacon Ivan Fedorov, a Muscovite, and Peter Mstyslavets', himself a Belarusian, found a sponsor in the person of the magnate Hryhorii Aleksandrovykh Khodkevych, grand hetman of Lithuania. In 1569, on his estates, in Zabłudów nine miles southeast of today's Białystok, the two printers issued a Homiliary Gospel (*Uchytel'noie ievanhelie*).

A Church Slavonic translation based on a Byzantine model, probably compiled by Patriarch Ioannes IX Agapetos (1111–34), the Homiliary Gospel consists of collected exhortations or sermons on the Gospel readings for the Sundays, feasts, fasts, and special occasions of the liturgical year.¹⁰ The preface presents the publication as a text "for the better instruction and rectification of the soul and body of the nations believing in Christ, one that the Catholic and Apostolic Church has always kept whole and sound, preserving [it] and not adding to it or taking away anything, understanding it to be indispensable to all, especially in the midst of the present upheaval of this world." Having emphasized the importance of education, particularly given the multiconfessional circumstances, the preface goes on to describe the problem and the need for a Scriptural remedy:

For many Christians have been shaken in their faith by new and diverse teachings, have become ferocious in their opinions, and have turned away from the uniform harmony of those living in faith. Therefore, [we have given them the Homiliary Gospels] in order that they may right themselves by the reading of this book, and be led to the path of truth. And [as for] those who to this day persist in the true faith and remain unshaken, all the more, Christ, through His words and teachings, will confirm them to be single-minded in faith and will

not let [them] be swept away by the waves of this life, or for the present heresies to be instilled in them.¹¹

The concern about the spread of heterodoxies is clearly a reference to the diverse Protestant currents and the “frenzied” (*razsverepěsha*) faithful in the western and central part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The Trakai palatinate, which included Zabłudów, and the palatinates of Vilnius, Navahrudak, and Samogitia had the highest concentration of Protestants, primarily Reformed (Calvinist) congregations.¹² In the 1580s the growth of the Protestant movement would be reversed and the Catholic challenge would replace it as the primary confessional threat to the Ruthenian Church. Until then, however, those Ruthenian Orthodox who sought to defend their Church, particularly in the Lithuanian and Belarusian lands, seem to have viewed the “heretics” as their most dangerous adversaries. In the face of “new and diverse teachings” and “ferocious opinions,” the Orthodox sought to resurrect traditional categories and modes of expression, those kept “always” unchanged by the Church. At the same time, they began adopting the technological instruments used by their adversaries to strengthen and propagate their own positions.

In the preface to the next Zabłudów edition, a Psalter and *Horologion* issued in 1570, the publisher Khodkevych (or his ghostwriter) reveals that he was inspired to sponsor a printshop by the establishment of presses “both in the Polish Crown and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in various places, through the zeal and concern of many people.” In the 1560s and 1570s biblical publishing indeed flourished in Poland and Lithuania. Besides numerous catechisms, pamphlets, theological tracts, and liturgical books in both Latin and Polish, Western Christians in Poland and Lithuania produced critical editions and translations of the text of the Bible.¹³ A Catholic edition of the complete Scriptures in Polish had been published in Cracow as early as 1561 (reprinted in 1575 and 1577). On the Ruthenian lands, in Brest, some sixty miles southeast of Zabłudów, a center of both Reformed and Antitrinitarian publishing developed in the 1560s, supported by Mikołaj Radziwiłł “the Black.”

The outstanding publication from among the numerous Protestant imprints emanating from Brest was a relatively good Polish translation of the Scriptures, issued by Reformed (Calvinist) scholars in 1563. A third translation of the Bible, completed by a group of Antitrinitarian

theologians, headed by Budny, was to appear in Belarus' (the place is not indicated in the edition) in 1572. In 1570 the Antitrinitarians around Budny issued separately a New Testament in Niasvizh. In the Grand Duchy, the Protestant publications had an impact on the nobility. Protestant divines could claim a mastery of the Holy Writ and disseminated a splendid array of interpretations. It is, therefore, not surprising that the preface to the second Zabłudów publication reiterates a concern about the proliferation of heresies. This concern, as the reader is told, led the publisher to forsake the notion of a vernacular edition of the Psalter, for the process of translation from Church Slavonic to Ruthenian would provide an occasion for the introduction of "new things . . . [and the] multiplication of heresies . . . from which God preserve us." The preface stresses that the aim of the publication was to facilitate the instruction of believers in the "original tradition" (*po pervomu predaniiu*), which the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church "received and preserves."¹⁴

Despite the acknowledged importance of publishing, the financial position of East Slavic printers was generally precarious and led to frequent problems and dislocations. Khodkevych (d. 1572), suffering the effects of his advanced age, terminated his sponsorship of the press. To support Fedorov he had earlier granted him the opportunity to live off the income from the village of Miziakiv in Podillia with its two hundred and sixty-two houses, but Fedorov found this unacceptable.¹⁵ "It was unsuitable for me to kill time," he wrote in the afterword of his next edition, an *Apostol* published in L'viv in 1574, "[working] the plow or sowing seed, for instead of a plow I have a mastery of tools in handicrafts; instead of grain seed [I am] to sow spiritual seed in the world and to distribute properly this spiritual nourishment to all." Fedorov describes vividly the anguish of his soul at the prospects of a "fruitless" vocation and wasting his "God-given talents." He "drenched his bed with tears many times" before moving to L'viv, but there the "rich and noble of the world," not only of "the Ruthenian nation" but also from among the Greeks of the city, did not respond to his numerous appeals either, but some lower clergy and "uncelebrated" laymen of L'viv did come to his aid.¹⁶

Religious Motivation for Reform

In discussing the late-sixteenth-century Ruthenian revival, and particularly the development of printing, the abundant Soviet literature on the subject stresses the educational and “enlightening” import of the first publishing ventures in Belarus’ and Ukraine. Completely ignored is the religious motivation behind the publishing enterprises, repeatedly expressed in contemporary sources, yet presumably discounted as a commonplace of a pre-secular culture.¹⁷ This tendency cannot be attributed solely to the precepts of a Marxist historiographical orthodoxy. Nineteenth- and early- twentieth-century historians, both clerical and secular, contributed to the de-emphasis of the specifically religious moment in the early-modern revival in Ukraine and Belarus’.¹⁸

Mykhailo Hrushevskyi, whose monumental study established the parameters for the discussion of many issues in Ukrainian history, devoted considerable space to the late sixteenth century in the *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*.¹⁹ His lack of enthusiasm for traditional Orthodoxy and indictment of early-modern Catholicism, if not quite Gibbonesque, nevertheless follows in the Enlightenment tradition of disdain for organized, hierarchical religion. Hrushevskyi’s later writings, complimentary to Protestant currents, were less an appreciation of Reformational theologies, spiritualities, or religious cultures than an endorsement of the secularizing repercussions of the radical Protestant critique of sixteenth-century Christendom.²⁰ At issue here are not the personal religious views of a historian but rather whether and how they affected his appreciation of historical realities of a remote past. In late-sixteenth-century Ukraine and Belarus’, religion determined social values and the *Weltanschauung* of individuals, if not their specific hopes, aspirations, and activities. Religious teachings and quotidian religious routine shaped the lives of all people. The resolution of religious issues frequently preceded and determined cultural, political and economic processes. For Hrushevskyi, however, as the title of his survey, *Kul'turno-natsional'nyi rukh na Ukraïni v XVI-XVII vitsi*, suggests, the late-sixteenth-century revival in Ukraine was a “cultural-national” phenomenon in which the religious dynamic was merely a vehicle for the communication of more significant, fundamental cultural and, ultimately, national-political developments.²¹ This view, *mutatis mutandis*, was subsequently canonized by Soviet historiography.

Ironically, ecclesiastical historians contributed to the shrouding of the religious genesis of the Ruthenian revival through the obsessive, if understandable, focus on the events and polemics associated with the Union of Brest.²² This historiography, generally characterized by palpable confessional tendencies, sought and ineluctably found evidence of diametrical polarization decades before the bifurcation of Ruthenian ecclesiastical life had occurred. Thus, polemical factors came to be seen as dominant in Ruthenian writings and publications in the early 1580s, and even in the 1570s and 1560s, and consequently in the religious, cultural, and social context these writings reflected. From this perspective it was impossible to perceive the subtle, yet prevalent, focus on the spiritual welfare of individual believers and the integrity of the Christian community animating the beginnings of the Ruthenian revival.

Depicting the late-sixteenth-century cultural revival without reference to the explicitly religious pursuit of reform would present a seriously flawed image of the prevailing mentality in the Ruthenian Orthodox lands. Many of the late-sixteenth-century Ruthenian activists, especially those involved in printing, were adventurers, risk-taking entrepreneurs, innovators, and “enlighteners,” but not with any of the areligious or anticlerical overtones implied by the eighteenth-century use of the last of these epithets. On this point the testimony of such protagonists as the printer Ivan Fedorov, himself an ordained deacon, is unequivocal. His statements, couched in contemporary Christian categories, are a reflection of his religious age. However, they also reflect his personal convictions and worldview, and consequently must be taken seriously if his work is to be at all understood. The afterword to the L’viv *Apostol* reveals that Fedorov saw his printing vocation to be essentially religious in nature. He considered as trivial all hardships befalling him on the way, “if only [he] could reach [his] Christ.”

The deacon states that he abandoned material security and the comfort of the Khodkevych estates “only to spread the word of God and to witness to Jesus Christ by duplicating [the Scriptures].” The *pershodrukar/pervopechatnik* (first printer), as Fedorov has been reverentially called in the literature, could not foresee the various ramifications of his pioneering work, much less the various “humanistic,” anticlerical, or even antireligious views speculatively attributed to him. He did, however, enunciate clearly his motivations and desires. Fedorov

saw his publishing activities in Zabłudów, L'viv, and later Ostrih not as the introduction of printing into the Ruthenian lands, but as a means to an end—the religious confirmation of individual Ruthenians and of the “Ruthenian nation of the Greek [religious law] (*zakon*)” as a whole. Put simply, if the deacon had not had the intention to “spread the word of God,” he would not have embarked on his printing endeavor.

Although the efflorescence of Protestant and Roman Catholic printing was the catalyst of Ruthenian publication efforts, the lack of polemical references to other confessions in the nine-page afterword to the L'viv *Apostol* implies that Fedorov's activity was only partly conditioned by challenges of the outside world. The onset of the Ruthenian religious and cultural revival was not simply a reaction to external threat. While the hierarchy and institutional structure of the Kyivan metropolitanate in the sixteenth century, as we have seen, were anemic and ineffectual, the Ruthenian Church and society were not necessarily moribund or utterly passive. Little can be said with any assurance concerning the everyday rhythms and dynamic of parishes and the routine of the ordinary believer. Given the state of the clergy, it seems that the spiritual life of the laity was characterized by ignorance of doctrine and often informed by folk customs, nature-related myths and their attendant cults, as much as by institutional religion, with its canonical literature, dogmatic and moral codes, and liturgical practices. Nevertheless, Ruthenians were carriers of a long Eastern Christian tradition. More or less effectively they had transmitted from one generation to the next a Christian identity. The church was the center of every community and locus of the most important events in it. The liturgy continued to be celebrated, sung by the congregation. The vivid contemporary Ruthenian iconography exemplified by the Last Judgment images that came to dominate the Western walls of many sixteenth-century Ruthenian parish churches reveals a certain vibrancy in contemporary popular religious experience.²³ A basic viability, if not vitality, persisted in Ruthenian religious life, even if its cultural manifestations were not particularly creative or immediately responsive to the paradigmatic shift in the confessional, cultural, and intellectual circumstances occurring in Christendom.

Fedorov was able to develop his activities because the Ruthenian Orthodox needed printed literature to counter new exterior threats, but also because his product filled a basic need for spiritual sustenance.

The liturgy required texts, and texts required literacy. It is not surprising, then, that the first publications in Zabłudów were liturgical. Within a decade of his first Ruthenian imprint, Fedorov would issue two primers.²⁴ Those Ruthenians who sponsored his activities or otherwise cooperated in producing the publications presumably shared the views expressed in the editions concerning the exigencies of the time and endorsed the priority of liturgical and biblical literature. Thus, the printer was not alone in his efforts “to spread the God-inspired dogmas.”²⁵

Fedorov’s Zabłudów patron is a case in point. In the preface to the Homiliary Gospels of 1569, presented in the name of their sponsor, Khodkevych, the author twice stresses the need for “instruction” of the faithful, the first time introducing the passage, quoted above, about the dogmatic confusion prevailing in the Grand Duchy. He returns to the theme of popular education towards the end of the preface:

And I ordered them [Fedorov and Mstyslavets’] to create a press and print this book, the Homiliary Gospel, first for the honor and glory of God, One in the Trinity, and for the instruction of the Christian people of our Greek law. I had even thought of translating this book into the vernacular [i.e., the Ruthenian literary language] so that common people might understand [it] and I took great pains to do so. But wise people, versed in this literature, advised me that, in translating ancient expressions into new ones, considerable errors are committed, as can be found today in the newly translated books. For this reason I ordered that this book be printed as it was written of old [in Church Slavonic] which [book] is accessible to all, not difficult to understand, and salutary to read, especially for those who with diligence and attention will wish [to look for], and indeed will find, that which they seek.²⁶

The interconfessional challenge spurred Khodkevych to fund the printing project. To his alarm many of his peers in the Grand Duchy had shifted confessional allegiances. At the same time his contribution to the incipient revival in Ruthenian religious and cultural life was inspired by universal evangelical impulses. The aged magnate was not driven by a desire to make a personal statement or to cater to the tastes of a rarefied noble elite. Rather, the preface indicates that Khodkevych sought to satisfy spiritual yearnings, including those of the “common people.” As elsewhere in contemporary Europe, these impulses were manifested through the implementation of the technology of printing

and through a renewed attention to the Scriptural text. In the Ruthenian context, the first publications were books that figured prominently in the liturgy and preaching—the Gospels, the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles, the Psalter, and the *Horologion*.

In 1574 Fedorov issued the first East Slavic printed primer, most likely at the request of Ruthenian burghers of L'viv. After the Union of Lublin, in the early 1570s, these burghers were engaged in a struggle to secure social parity for themselves, including the right to offer their children a formal education.²⁷ The *Primer* begins with examples of the alphabet, verb conjugations and government, orthography, and relevant exercises. Practice readings follow, including an acrostic of theological and moral maxims, daily prayers, a prayer of St. Basil the Great, the "Prayer of Manasseh,"²⁸ verses from the Book of Proverbs, and selections from Paul's epistles. In his brief afterword, Fedorov says that the publication is not his own innovation: he recommends it, rather, as a continuation of Sacred Tradition, coming "from the teaching of the blessed apostles and God-bearing holy fathers, and a bit from the grammar of our venerable father John Damascene."²⁹

The reference to "apostles and fathers" is a commonplace in the Eastern Christian ethos. However, given the context of doctrinal innovation and self-willed questioning of the religious status quo (less prevalent in L'viv itself, where civil strife with Roman Catholic burghers was the operative concern, but widespread throughout most of the Ruthenian lands) Fedorov's invocation of Sacred Tradition cannot be considered a mere commonplace. He emphasizes that his imprint is meant for "the beloved honorable Ruthenian nation of the Greek [religious] law." He claims responsibility for composing the edition ("these things which I wrote for you") but stresses that he is not the source of its contents.³⁰ The printer refers to the patristic theologian St. John of Damascus (ca. 675–ca. 749), to whom Slavic manuscripts spuriously attributed a treatise entitled "Concerning the Eight Parts of Speech," considered by modern scholars to be a Serbian version of an unidentified Greek text, composed in the fourteenth century.³¹ Otherwise the appeal to Sacred Tradition is quite general. Fedorov invokes the classical authorities for Eastern Christians, the "apostles and holy fathers." The bond is with a Greek world of the patristic age. The interaction with Greek clerics, reflected in Fedorov's later imprints and in the surviving documentation concerning Ruthenian religious activity in the

1580s, is absent here. In these few printed, evidently programmatic words, one senses an initial, groping effort to ground and articulate the embattled Ruthenian Orthodox identity. An appeal to authorities from the hallowed past, even in rather abstract form, was a firm platform for a start. In Fedorov's prefaces and afterword, in the Zabłudów and L'viv editions, there is no reference to the current Greek Orthodox world, its authorities, patriarchs, or churchmen. One should be careful not to make too much of their absence. Fedorov's brief texts generally dwell on the immediate circumstances of an edition. A careful study of the manuscript tradition on which these publications were based would probably reveal that they rarely, if ever, included specific appeals to Constantinopolitan authority. In the 1570s the patriarchate probably continued to be no more or less removed from the reality of the Ruthenian condition than it had been in previous decades.

It seems that the itinerant Greek clerics passing through Ukraine and Belarus' on their way to Moscow were not yet involving themselves in Ruthenian affairs, which is attested by the fact that the Zabłudów and L'viv imprints contain no mention of Greek participation in the publishing effort, while Fedorov's later imprints do mention it in their prefaces. The predominantly Church Slavonic-language editions of the Homiliary Gospels, Psalter and *Horologion*, *Apostol*, and Primer, based on an adequate supply of Church Slavonic manuscripts, required no particular expertise in Greek. Fedorov mentions the Greeks explicitly only with regard to the failure of the Orthodox burghers of L'viv, including the Greeks, to support his press, an indication in itself that the Greeks, as members of the same religious community, would be expected to support Ruthenian religious projects and in general stand in solidarity with the "Ruthenian nation."

This sense of commonality is underscored by the terminology prevalent, or at least widespread, in sixteenth-century Church Slavonic, Ruthenian, Polish, and Latin documents, according to which Ruthenians were designated as being "of the Greek faith," "of the Greek law," or "of the Greek religion." In the preface to the Zabłudów Psalter, the publisher indicates that his sponsorship was motivated by a desire to render "honor and praise to God and to instruct the people believing in Christ, those of our Orthodox, Greek law."³² Although the first manifestation of a Ruthenian awakening occurred apparently without the participation of Greeks, a traditional religio-cultural depen-

dence of Ruthenian ecclesiastical life on the Byzantine legacy would soon bring representatives of the Greek Orthodox world into close cooperation with Ruthenian activists. In the afterword to the L'viv *Primer* Fedorov expressed a desire to “work on other well-pleasing writings.”³³ This he was to do, with the collaboration of a number of Greeks as well as Ruthenians, in the context of the cultural center founded by Prince Ostrozkyi at Ostrih.



Illustration 5. Copy of a sixteenth-century portrait of Konstantyn Ostrozkyi. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Central Historical Museum, city of L'viv.

Konstantyn Ostroz'kyi, the Ostrih Circle, and Representatives of the Greek East

In the 1570s and 1580s the Ruthenian hierarchy played virtually no role in initiatives for reform in Ruthenian Orthodox cultural and religious life. The stimulus came from the laity, either the burghers, particularly in L'viv, or from a few individual magnates of exceptional means, such as Hryhorii Oleksandrovykh Khodkevych, who sponsored the printshop and editions produced in Zabłudów. Another Orthodox magnate, who had even greater material resources at his disposal, was Prince Konstantyn Ostroz'kyi, palatine of Kyiv (1524 or 25–1608), son of the former palatine of Trakai and grand hetman of Lithuania, Prince Konstantyn Ivanovych Ostroz'kyi (ca. 1460–1533). As Kyivan palatine (he was appointed in 1559), Ostroz'kyi was protector of the southern and eastern lands of the Commonwealth, for which he was able to raise and maintain a sizable army. He led numerous military campaigns on behalf of Poland and Lithuania against the Tatars, Muscovites, and Cossacks.¹ His prestige and power allowed him on occasion to defy the official foreign policy of the Commonwealth, for example, by sending forces to support the Moldovan voevoda Ioan Vodă cel Viteaz (“the Brave,” 1572–74) in his struggle with the Ottomans in 1573. Apparently, the strain in Ostroz'kyi's relationship with Crown Grand Chancellor Jan Zamoyski (d. 1605) can be attributed to the palatine's support for an anti-Ottoman league, championed by the papacy and the Habsburgs, whose influence Zamoyski persistently counteracted.²

Next to the king, Konstantyn Ostroz'kyi may have been the largest landholder in the Commonwealth. The prince's assets translated into military might and political influence. During the interregnum after the death of Stefan Batory, in 1587, Orazio Spannocchi, who served as the papal nuncio Alberto Bolognetti's secretary, composed a memorandum on possible candidates to the Polish throne, among whom Konstantyn

Ostrozkyi figured prominently. Spannocchi stated that Ostrozkyi was “considered the wealthiest and most powerful lord in the entire realm.” In 1541 by royal decree the young prince, still a minor, became proprietor of a large portion of his father’s holdings, until then held by his brother’s widow. (The rest he acquired after the death of his niece in the 1570s.) Through his marriage in 1550 with Zofia (d. 1570), the daughter of Crown Grand Hetman Jan Tarnowski, and assumption of her vast estate, Ostrozkyi’s fortunes further increased.³ Estimates, often unsubstantiated, of Ostrozkyi’s huge holdings are given in the literature (six thousand villages is one figure that appears). One reliable source, a 1603 document outlining the partition of Ostrozkyi’s properties between his sons Janusz and Oleksander, lists some fifty-seven towns and castles, eight hundred and fifty-seven villages, and one hundred and eleven estates or manors (*fil’varky*).⁴ Although Ostrozkyi participated in a number of major political struggles in Lithuania and Poland during the second half of the sixteenth century, including the deliberations preceding the Union of Lublin (during which he resisted the incorporation of Volhynia into Crown Poland) and the interregnum and royal election of 1572, his political role in the Commonwealth, for the most part, was not commensurate with either his high social standing or immense wealth. His Ruthenian nationality and especially his Orthodox religion disqualified him not only for the Polish throne but for other functions as well.⁵

Ostrozkyi, however, was able to use his wealth and influence to act as senior patron of the Ruthenian Orthodox Church. Beginning in the 1550s, he bestowed a number of benefices on Orthodox churches and monasteries in Volhynia and exercised his power to influence ecclesiastical appointments—for example, securing local bishoprics for his chosen candidates, such as Kyryll (Terlets’kyi), who in 1585 became bishop of Luts’k, and Castellan of Brest Adam Potii (Ipatii, bishop of Volodymyr from 1593). According to Nuncio Bolognetti the prince controlled appointments to over a thousand Ruthenian churches and numerous Latin ones.⁶ When Ostrozkyi had accrued his vast estates, Ukrainian lands were not yet fully integrated into the new Commonwealth. As the preeminent landholder in the Volhynian palatinate, with title to nearly a third of its territory, and as palatine of the sprawling Kyiv palatinate, Ostrozkyi therefore enjoyed the status of a local potentate. Bearing the ancient title of prince, Ostrozkyi was a regional

player, representing before the rest of the Commonwealth nobility a territory, whose distinctness was recognized less in official political ideology and legislation than in the acknowledgment of certain traditional prerogatives of the local nobility and differences in culture, language, and, most of all, religion.⁷ Since the Ruthenian lands had no autonomous political institutions, it was in the ecclesiastical sphere that a Ruthenian magnate of Ostroz'kyi's stature could best exercise his regional authority, not only by controlling appointments to ecclesiastical offices and benefices but also by acting as spokesman for a religious community.

The Ostrih Publishing Enterprise

Ostroz'kyi's patronage extended beyond the domain of clerical offices and church benefices. In the town of Ostrih, from which his ancestors took their name, the palatine sponsored the first Ruthenian Orthodox scholarly religio-cultural center. The outstanding achievement of the Ostrih circle and, in all probability, the occasion for other publishing and academic endeavors at Ostrih was the preparation and publication in 1581 of the first complete Church Slavonic Old and New Testament, the Ostrih Bible.⁸

The appearance of the full Bible had been foreshadowed in 1580 by the publication of a volume containing the New Testament and Psalter.⁹ In its preface of five printed pages, the author, probably Ivan Fedorov, praises Prince Ostroz'kyi for promoting and underwriting the publication of "the Divinely-Inspired Scriptures, yearning for all people to be saved by the grace of the good God, and to come to the knowledge of truth and render devout glory to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit."¹⁰ The preface also includes some interesting details. Its marginal references identifying the book, chapter and incipit of quoted scriptural passages hint at a new ideal of biblical literacy, as does a fifty-two-folio index or concordance of phrases from the New Testament (only a few from the Psalter) prepared by one Tymotii Mykhailovych and appended to some of the volumes of the 1580 edition; the original may, however, have been a separate publication. The compact size of the New Testament and Psalter, clearly meant for individual reading and reflection rather than liturgical use, reflects the contemporary European emphasis on popular access to the Scriptures.



Illustration 6. Frontispiece of the Ostrih Bible, 1581.

The preface ends with a Greek accent, reflecting both an emphasis on the Greek-Eastern tradition and a poor knowledge of Greek: “Doxa tō syntaxonti apanta. Amēn.” (“Glory to Him bringing order to all things. Amen.”) In this five-word phrase there are five grammatical mistakes.¹¹

The preface is exclusively religious in content. It expresses the author’s profound sense of responsibility for the spiritual well-being of the Christian people, his concern for the fostering of “unity [effected by] spiritual love,” and his desire for the preservation of the integrity of the “divinely-inspired dogmas of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.” A deeper understanding of the soteriological moments in the earthly presence of Jesus Christ is for the author a means of defense against the “wicked and perverse generation,” presumably those within the Ruthenian community as well as those outside it, who “in the present time . . . through negligence of the commandments of our Lord Jesus Christ come to oppose them [the commandments], mercilessly rend the Church of God, and relentlessly torment His flock.”¹² Reading the New Testament is presented as a remedy for the negligence and the harm that such neglect causes.

The Ostrih Bible itself was the largest printed book before the seventeenth century—both in length of text and in format—to be published in Cyrillic characters. It had the longest press run of any Cyrillic book published before 1610. It was as accomplished as any edition of the Polish Scriptures, and in terms of its editorial and scholarly sophistication, it was comparable to the best sixteenth-century Latin, Greek, or Hebrew editions. Prince Ostrozkyi became the first Orthodox publisher to issue a complete Bible in Church Slavonic and he understood that the significance of his pioneering effort transcended the Ruthenian or even East Slavic context. As its introductory statement indicates, the edition was meant for use in the entire Slavic Orthodox world and presumably Moldova and Wallachia.¹³ Its appearance also generated a flurry of editorial, literary, pedagogical, and publishing activity, acting as a stimulus to a more general Ruthenian revival. Finally, as a religious and cultural achievement of monumental proportions, it bolstered the dignity and identity of the Ruthenian Orthodox community.

The stages of the Bible’s production are not described in detail in any known source, but it is clear that such an ambitious project entailed the collection of various Church Slavonic, Greek, and Latin biblical

texts and the assembly of a polyglot team of scholar-translators, editors, and printers. Ostroz'kyi, or more probably one of the members of the Ostrih circle writing in his name, presented in a foreword a general sketch of both the editorial priorities and the steps taken to realize them. The first obstacle was the lack of a Church Slavonic text of the complete Scriptures. To overcome it, Ostroz'kyi acquired a copy of the only complete Church Slavonic Bible in existence, the late-fifteenth-century Gennadii Bible. Ostroz'kyi's preface explains the inception of the project as follows:

. . . we could discover neither how to begin the work, nor the workers to do it, for we did not have even a text of the Books called the Bible at the beginning of our work . . . nor in the lands of our people of the Slavonic tongue was a single Bible found complete in all the books of the Old Testament. Only from that pious, surpassingly radiant in orthodoxy, Sovereign and Grand Prince, Ioann Vasilievich of Moscow, etc. through God's chosen man, Mykhailo Haraburda,¹⁴ a scrivener of the Grand Principality of Lithuania, were we able to obtain by diligent imploration a complete Bible translated from the Greek Septuagint into Slavonic more than five hundred years ago, in the time of Volodimer the Great who baptized the Land of the Rus'. And we acquired many other Bibles in different letters and languages, and we commanded it to be determined by comparison whether they all agreed in the entire Divine Scripture. And much was found to be different: not only differences, but even corruptions . . .¹⁵

The Gennadii Bible was an important source for the Ostrih edition, but as this passage tells us the publisher and his team did not limit themselves to one manuscript. The Ostrih Bible's language itself reflects the use of Church Slavonic translations made at different times. Both East and South Slavic translations found their way into the final product. The variety of Church Slavonic sources is also reflected in the Bible's orthography and accentuation, which is not uniform in all books. The Vulgate, along with Czech, Polish, and early Church Slavonic translations of certain books were used as references in the editing process, while at least one translation apparently completed by Maksim Grek, that of the Book of Esther, served as a main text.¹⁶ Presumably, members of the Ostrih circle also produced some original translations. The editors considered the canonical Greek text, the Septuagint, in a Roman edition, as authoritative in correcting the Church Slavonic Scriptures, especially those books that had been trans-

lated into Church Slavonic from the Vulgate.¹⁷ With regard to the number, naming, division, and placement of Old Testament books, however the Ostrih edition did not adhere strictly to either the Septuagint or Vulgate canons, nor to the pattern established by Protestant editions, steering what seems to have been a deliberately independent course.¹⁸

The Ostrih Bible had two introductory statements or prefaces. The first, identified as written to Prince Ostroz'kyi, is not actually called a preface. The first quarter of the text is accompanied by a roughly parallel Greek version.¹⁹ Addressed “to the sons of the Eastern Church in the Ruthenian nation (*v narodě ruskom*) and to all who are in agreement with the Slavonic, who are united in the Orthodoxy of that Church, to Christian people of every rank . . . to all Orthodox everywhere,” the text informs the reader that the Bible was issued in reaction to “the vulnerability (*vetkhost'*) of Christ's Church,” itself surrounded by “various foes and multifarious temptations,” who “like grievous wolves . . . unsparingly plunder and frighten the flock of Christ's sheep.”²⁰ Thus the palatine's patronage was motivated both by a desire for ecclesiastical revival and by the need for defense against the adversaries of the Eastern Church.

The second preface, the one explicitly bearing that designation, is a hortatory treatise with a Christological emphasis admonishing those who are not “grounded” in the faith and who in the “early morning came to the law of the Lord [and] in the evening are [already] willing to be called teachers.” It also enjoins the staunch believer to use the Divine Scriptures to respond to those claiming that Christ is a “creature, without [being of] the Divine Substance.” With alarm the author, Herasym Smotrytskyi (d. 1594), apparently the chief editor of the Bible, refers to the occurrences of “this present, recent time, [when] on account of sinful negligence, and our failure to punish [sins], a great flame—of evil, cunning, multi-headed heresies—has been ignited, slowly, gradually launching a blasphemous, assault on [our] ecclesiastical traditions, one after another.” He repeatedly expresses solicitude for the spiritual well-being of both the Orthodox and Heterodox reader, in some places resorting to ominous warnings, in others cajoling, encouraging, and consoling: if “you ask of [Him] Who gives spiritual wisdom to all, it too will be given you—only read diligently, zealously [preserving] the teaching.”²¹

Although in the rhymed verses printed immediately following his preface Smotrytskyi generalizes about the “Western Church as the source of night,” it seems that his concern for the Ruthenian faithful is provoked more particularly by the spread of Protestant teachings, particularly Antitrinitarian negations of the divinity of Christ. Smotrytskyi develops the argument of his treatise using specific quotations and references to scriptural passages supporting Christ’s divine nature. He also explains Jesus’ statement in Matt. 19:17 about the exclusive goodness of God, one of the New Testament pericopes used to support Unitarian theological positions.²² Given the success of Antitrinitarian preaching among the Ruthenian nobility, especially among the magnates, it is not surprising that the anti-Trinitarian critique of the central doctrine of Christianity may have been considered the greatest of menaces by the Orthodox activists in the Ostrih circle. Although Roman Catholics had published a Polish Bible, scriptural texts were not the primary weapon used in Roman Catholic proselytizing among the Orthodox.²³

Protestants of all persuasions were united in recognizing the more or less exclusive and supreme authority of the Scriptures and, consequently, based their own proselytizing on arguments drawn from scriptural texts. From the mid-1570s to the early 1580s, at the time of the conceptualization and production of the Ostrih Bible, the Roman Catholic Church in the Commonwealth was preoccupied with recovering ground lost to various Protestant denominations. Contemporary Catholic efforts to sway the allegiance of the Orthodox faithful were then much less intense than they would become in subsequent years and decades. It would seem, therefore, that the Protestant and especially Antitrinitarian threat, as much as, if not more than, the Catholic challenge, motivated Prince Ostrozkyi to sponsor the publication of a Bible, which, if “read diligently” would confirm the faith of the individual Orthodox Christian, thereby strengthening the entire “Ruthenian Church of the Greek law.”²⁴ Given both the startling, if rather short-lived, Protestant successes and the Roman Catholic threat that lasted at least from the from the time of Grand Duke Vytautas at the turn of the fourteenth century through the conflicts with Latin hierarchs in L’viv, it is probably impossible to say which was perceived as being the greater menace. What is clear is that in the second half of the sixteenth century

Ruthenians were confronted by diverse challenges to which the Ostrih Bible was the outstanding theological and literary response.

In the last decades of the sixteenth century, especially at the time the Bible was produced, the Ostrih circle rivaled other East European centers in its dedication to the Greek language and texts. This focus, however, was determined not by a Renaissance humanistic emphasis on classical antiquity and rhetorical eloquence, but rather by a wish to recover or foster the patristic and especially biblical foundations of Eastern Christianity. The project to publish the Bible in Church Slavonic was certainly inspired by the new emphasis in Europe on reading the Scriptures. Even the idea of producing a complete Church Slavonic Old and New Testament in one compendium or volume, almost without precedent in the Christian East (the Gennadii Bible being the only exception), was a reflection of new Western attitudes towards the scriptural canon and of the emphasis on individual reading and knowledge of *Sacra Scriptura*.²⁵ Yet external Protestant and Catholic influence alone does not account for the desire to publish a Church Slavonic Bible. A fresh appreciation of Scripture, just as a revival of preaching and attention to moral discipline and liturgical order, was a constituent element in every movement for Christian ecclesiastical or religious reform. The first manifestations of revival in the Ruthenian Christian community naturally reflected this new attention paid to the sources of the Christian experience as a whole.

The scope of the publishing and literary activity at Ostrih responded to the immediate needs of the Ruthenian faithful. In addition to Scripture, later Ostrih editions included works on ecclesiastical discipline and polemical defenses of Ruthenian religious traditions and customs. The publications and manuscripts stemming from the Ostrih circle, the Bible and various primers, pamphlets, patristic works, and polemical treatises—twenty-eight known publications over the period between 1578 and 1612²⁶—are the most important and in many cases the unique source of information on the members of the Ostrih intellectual community and their activities.²⁷ Some of the Ostrih intellectuals composed works in the Ruthenian literary language, for example Herasym Smotryts'kyi's collection published in 1587 in Vilnius, which included *The Key to the Heavenly Kingdom* and his critique of *The New Roman Calendar*.²⁸ Among writings of the Fathers printed in Ostrih were Basil the Great's *Book on Fasting* (1594) and a collection of John

Chrysostom's sermons entitled *Marharyt* (from a Greek word meaning "pearl," 1595), works of a practical, disciplinary, and parenetic nature rather than dogmatic literature. The members of the circle issued no properly historical or philosophical works.

In many ways, the Ostrih Bible represented the climax of the circle's activities; by the end of the century, though it remained involved in literary polemics, Ostrih was waning as an intellectual center. In fact between 1581 and 1594 publishing there came to a halt.²⁹ In the mid-1590s the polemic over the imminent Union of Brest infused some vitality into the circle and attracted additional Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical figures to Ostrih, including the future patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Loukaris, and the protosynkellos of the patriarchate, the exarch Nikephoros.³⁰ However, the number of activists in extended residence and the quality of their production did not match that of the first years, when the Bible was issued. Later some of the Ostrih momentum was transferred to Derman', where translation and publication continued from 1602 to 1605. The Ostrih center did not long outlive its founding patron, who died in 1608.

The Ostrih School

Ostrih's publishing activities led to another undertaking that constituted a significant contribution to the Ruthenian revival. The concentration of competent philologists required for the editing of the scriptural text provided the cadres to staff the so-called Greco-Slavonic-Latin Ostrih "Academy," also sponsored by Prince Ostrozkyi and the first institution of higher education in East Slavic territory.³¹ Since aside from the imprints themselves, there is little documentation on the Ostrih circle, determining the date of the school's founding is difficult. Activity there commenced in the mid-1570s and it was not long before a pedagogical program was instituted.³² Reference to a school appears in the preface to the primer, the first Ostrih edition, completed in June 1578.³³ According to the preface, the palatine established a building (*dom*) for the instruction of children, and "having selected men knowledgeable in the Divine Scriptures in the Greek, Latin, as well as Ruthenian languages" to teach them, he had the primer printed for that purpose.

The 1578 primer differs from Fedorov's 1574 primer published in L'viv mainly in the prefatory material (including the Greek alphabet and parallel texts of prayers in Greek and Church Slavonic) and in the appended version of the late-ninth-century tale of the monk (*chernorizets'*) Hrabūr "On the Alphabet." Hrabūr's tale defends the Old Church Slavonic Glagolitic alphabet developed by Constantine-Cyril against those "accursed" ones who maintain that only Hebrew, Greek, or Latin letters (the languages used for the superscription on Jesus' cross, according to John 19:21 and Luke 23:38) can be employed for the expression of divine truths (a version of the trilingual heresy). Although the theologically framed challenge to the Glagolitic (as opposed to the Greek-based Cyrillic) alphabet in late-ninth-century Bulgaria was quite different from the cultural-intellectual indictment of Church Slavonic in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 1570s, the story of Hrabūr may have been seen as a ready (if not compelling) response to Skarga's 1577 treatise dedicated to Ostrozkyi.

The distinct emphasis on Greek and the Greek tradition is a notable and temporary characteristic of the early-modern Ruthenian revival. After the Union of Brest, in both its Orthodox and Uniate manifestations, Ruthenian religious and cultural life would increasingly orient itself towards Western literary, pedagogical, and even theological models, utilizing the Western languages of Polish and Latin. The search for legitimacy in the face of Protestant and Catholic critiques led leaders of the Ruthenian revival to call on a countervailing authority. Despite the weakness and remoteness of the Greek East, its language and legacy of religious literature served as the main point of reference for the currents of reform in the Ruthenian Church. The Ostrih circle's homage to Greek ecclesiastical authority and the authoritative character of the Greek Scriptures is pronounced directly in Ostrozkyi's introductory statement to the Bible.

Therefore, sending my embassies and epistles to many distant parts of the world, to the borders of Rome and to the Island of Crete, and to many Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian monasteries, I finally came to the high-throned Church of the Vicar of the Apostles himself, the First Hierarch of all the Eastern Church, the Most Honorable Jeremiah, archbishop of Constantinople, the ecumenical patriarch, requiring with fervor and diligent entreaty men instructed in the Holy Scriptures in Greek and Slavonic as well as revised texts, attested to be free of every blemish . . . And having taken sufficient counsel with

them, and with many others well instructed in the Divine Scriptures, by their common counsel and unanimous desire I chose the text of the glorious ancient Scriptures, in idiom most profound and in letters Hellenic, translated by the Seventy-Two blessed and divinely wise translators at the ardent desire of the bibliophile Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, from the Hebrew tongue into the Greek. It [i.e., the text] much more than all the others agrees with the Hebrew and with the Slavonic, and I commanded that it be followed in everything without alteration or hesitation.³⁴

The nature of the Ostrih publications as well as the fact that Greek constituted an important part of the pedagogical program at the Ostrih school indicates that the first attempts to consolidate Eastern Christian religious and cultural life in Ukraine sought a normative, scriptural, patristic, and Greek platform. In the “Brief But Urgent Preface to the Rus’ Peoples, with an Admonition and Pressing Plea,” introducing his *Key to the Heavenly Kingdom*, Herasym Smotryts’kyi responded to mounting attacks, especially those of Skarga and Herbest, on the Greek foundations of the Ruthenian Church:

To whom in the world can it be a secret that the whole world has philosophers from the Greeks [and] theologians from the Greeks, without whom his [i.e., Skarga’s] Rome knows nothing. [It is on the basis] of their Tradition, teachings and canons that the Holy Eastern Church stands firm and without retreat.³⁵

Smotryts’kyi, considered to have been the first rector of the Ostrih academy,³⁶ stressed the importance of “the beacons and unshakable pillars of the Church, the Greek teachers Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian [i.e., of Nazianzus], John Chrysostom, Athanasius the Great [i.e., of Alexandria], Cyril [of Alexandria], John of Damascus, and many others.”³⁷ The knowledge of the Greek language promoted by the Ostrih program was a first step to a greater appreciation of the works of these fathers. However, little more can be said about the manner in which this orientation was expressed under the tutelage of Smotryts’kyi or other teachers in Ostrozkyi’s lyceum. The structure and curriculum of the Ostrih school, as well as the number and names of teachers and students there, remain largely unknown.

It seems that the school provided training for pupils and students from the elementary to advanced secondary level, with an emphasis on grammatical and philological principles.³⁸ Among its students were the son of the Bible editor Herasym Smotryts’kyi, the future grammarian,

polemicist, and archbishop, Maksym Smotryts'kyi (Meletii in religion; 1577–1633); the future Athonite monk and founder of the Maniava Skete, Ivan Kniahynys'kyi (in religion: Iezekiil in the lesser *schema* and Iov in the great *schema*; 1577–1621); the celebrated Cossack hetman Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachnyi (d. 1622); and the hieromonk Kyprian, who served as translator from Greek at the Orthodox Synod of Brest in 1596 and translated works of the Greek fathers.³⁹ Although the school produced some of the leading figures of the late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Ruthenian movement, it appears that its fortunes reflected the decline of publishing activity in Ostrih in the 1580s. By the end of the second decade of the school's existence, both the traditional curriculum and its faculty must have proved increasingly inadequate in the face of the educational revolution in the Commonwealth caused by the dynamic development of the new Jesuit pedagogy, attractive to Ruthenian as well and Polish and Lithuanian nobility. Nevertheless, the group of scholars, scriptural editors, and tutors assembled by Ostrozkyi to meet the religious and cultural needs of the "Ruthenian people of the Greek law" had brought the reform movement to a new level of intensity.

The editorial team that produced the Ostrih Bible (and presumably the New Testament and Psalter), headed by Herasym Smotryts'kyi,⁴⁰ included a number of Greeks who participated in the collation of the scriptural texts, although little more can be said about the role they played. The sources refer to some ten Greeks on the estates of Ostrozkyi in the last decades of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, only a few of whom were directly connected with the editorial and pedagogical activity of the Ostrih circle.⁴¹ One of them, the Rome-educated Dionysios Rhalles-Palaiologos, in the late 1570s delivered a codex of the Bible from Pope Gregory VII to Prince Ostrozkyi and remained in Ostrih into the early 1580s.⁴² Presumably this enthusiast of the Florentine model of ecclesiastical union was involved in the editorial activity, but there is no direct evidence to this effect.⁴³ Another Greek arrival from Rome, who participated in the translations and taught students in Ostrih (Ostrozkyi's children and probably others), was Nathanael Eustathios of Crete.⁴⁴ Theophanes "the Greek," to whom King Stefan Batory granted the post of archimandrite of the monastery at Zhydychn and its benefices through the intercession of Prince Ostrozkyi, was also a possible collaborator.⁴⁵

According to the preface, the prince had appealed to Patriarch Jeremiah II for “men instructed in the Holy Scriptures in Greek and Slavonic, as well as thoroughly revised texts, attested to be free of every blemish.” Yet the lack of any reference to a response in the preface (where the manuscript sent by the Muscovites is acknowledged) or in other sources (where, for example, Ostrozkyi thanks the pope for sending him a Bible), and the general shortage of well-educated clergy prevailing in Constantinople suggest that the patriarch, himself deposed on 23 November 1579, was not in a position to offer much assistance.

Some of the Greeks involved in the Ostrih publishing activities and the school may have been collaborating with Ruthenians at the behest of Greek ecclesiastical authorities. It is more likely, however, that they acted independently. Their participation in the Ruthenian revival, therefore, does not imply a structural, institutional bonding of the Ruthenian and Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical communities or the establishment of continuous systematic cooperation. The particularly turbulent conditions prevailing at the patriarchate in Constantinople from the late 1570s and through the 1580s made it impossible for the patriarchate to pursue a consistent internal policy, much less one regarding the Orthodox East Slavs. The clerics traveling from the Greek East in search of material assistance for their institutions, even those sent by patriarchs of Constantinople, did not necessarily follow patriarchal instructions or complete their missions.⁴⁶ The involvement of Greeks in Ostrih is to be attributed to the initiative of Ostrozkyi and his circle, rather than to the Greek Orthodox authorities. Ostrozkyi seems to have hired itinerant clerics. The two about whom some concrete information survives, Dionysios Rhalles-Palaiologos and Eustathios Nathanael, although Greek in origin, came to Ostrih via Rome. Thus the revival of Greek-Ruthenian ties did not follow the Orthodox institutional route.

The Calendar Reform and an East Slavic Patriarchate

Two ecclesiastical questions that arose in the early 1580s did, however, bring the institutional relationship between the Kyivan metropolitanate and the patriarchate to the fore, and with both—the calendar reform and the prospects of locating a patriarchate in East Slavic lands—Konstantyn Ostrozkyi was again at the center.

In 1582, the year of its promulgation, King Stefan Batory accepted the Gregorian calendar reform and decreed that the use of the new

calendar was obligatory for all subjects in the Commonwealth, including the Ruthenian and Armenian Orthodox.⁴⁷ Attempts to enforce its use caused much consternation among the Ruthenian population, especially in L'viv, where the Catholic archbishop Jan Dymitr Solikowski ordered all of the Orthodox churches in the city locked on the day of old-calendar Christmas.⁴⁸ Turbulent protests erupted in Luts'k and Vilnius, reflecting a pattern of disturbances in other towns throughout the Ruthenian lands.⁴⁹ Although Batory sought to pacify the Ruthenian population by issuing decrees forbidding the high-handed imposition of the reform,⁵⁰ the new calendar became an issue around which opposing confessional positions came to be formulated, as exemplified in polemical treatises of the 1580s.⁵¹ Potentially affecting the liturgical life of every parish as well as mainstays in economic life, such as the local fairs that were usually connected with specific feast days, the introduction of the new calendar quickly provoked widespread opposition.

Revived solicitude for the Kyivan Church on the part of the patriarch helped consolidate this opposition. Sometime after a November 1582 synod condemning the new calendar and before the summer of 1583, Patriarch Jeremiah II, at first (and later) favorably disposed towards the calendar reform, together with Sylvester, patriarch of Alexandria, wrote to Prince Ostrozkyi rejecting the "innovation of old Rome" and encouraging the Ruthenians to stand firm and preserve the Nicene computation of Easter.⁵² Jeremiah also sent letters to Metropolitan Onysyfor (Divochka; 1579–89) and to all "Orthodox Christians of the northern lands, especially to burghers of the city of Vilnius accomplishing feats of righteousness."⁵³ In the letter to the metropolitan, the patriarch indicates that he learned from Prince Ostrozkyi of the "disturbances against the Christian Church [coming] from the Latin-minded and other heretics." Jeremiah recommended to the metropolitan and the Orthodox of the Commonwealth his exarchs Protosynkellos Nikephoros and Archimandrite Dionysios and their translator the Ruthenian *spudei* (student) Teodor. The patriarch sent his emissaries to evaluate the hardships of the Ruthenian faithful and to bolster their fidelity to Eastern ecclesiastical tradition, and against the teachings of the "fanciful Latin star-gazers, who have passed from the truth to the fables of Chaldean invention."⁵⁴ Jeremiah seems to have grossly underestimated the depth of the crisis in the Kyivan metropolitanate, the severity of the confessional circumstances, and the pervasiveness of the

religious, cultural, and pedagogical revolution unfolding in the Commonwealth. His response to the problems of the Ruthenian Church was to promise more emissaries “with our letters” and to encourage the metropolitan to help Teodor purchase books, so that when he came a second time, “scholarship could flourish.” Despite Jeremiah’s familiarity with the upheavals convulsing most of Christian Europe, his letter does not reflect an awareness of the fact that epochal change was occurring in the Kyivan metropolitanate and that radical methods were needed to bring about comprehensive reform in Ruthenian ecclesiastical life.⁵⁵

The two exarchs got as far as Iași (Jassy) but then encountered obstacles, as Jeremiah inexplicably had foreseen.⁵⁶ Because of Tatar raids reported on the frontier of the Commonwealth, they sent a letter with the evidently more intrepid Teodor to the bishop of Turaŭ and Pinsk, Kyryll (Terlets’kyi; 1576–85; bishop of Luts’k, 1585–1607), the Ruthenian hierarch whom Jeremiah would designate in 1589 as his patriarchal exarch in the Kyivan metropolitanate.⁵⁷ Nikephoros and Dionysios reiterated much of what Jeremiah had written to Metropolitan Onysyfor. They assured Bishop Kyryll that after returning to Constantinople they would again try to make the trip to the Kyivan lands. In the meanwhile, Kyryll should receive Teodor, who was being sent in their place on a fact-finding mission to him, the metropolitan, and the other bishops, to determine what problems confronted the Kyivan Church. To this end, Teodor was to interview both Orthodox and “heretics” (Protestants) and ascertain which writings from the ecclesiastical tradition were needed to counter the prevailing arguments, presumably so that on a subsequent journey the exarchs might deliver the necessary literature. The Greek prelates charged Kyryll to:

. . . provide this same Teodor, our student, with [material] assistance in his study and for the purchasing of books of the theologians expounding on the teachings of philosophers. For these studies are a benefit to all. For the sake of which [benefit] the Ecumenical Patriarch desires to send [help] soon, so that [even] your youngest may partake as well of theological studies, and after this may stand against the heretical confusion. For the Savior obligates us to this saying: “Search the Scriptures, for in them . . . ye have eternal life” [John 5:39]. All theologians also testify that from the ignorance of these [the Scriptures] myriads of evils have arisen⁵⁸

Jeremiah's attempt to send Greek clerics to the Kyivan metropolitanate must have been unsuccessful, as Teodor's mission left no traces. However, the patriarch's communications with Ruthenian hierarchs and especially with Prince Ostrozkyi were not without effect. In those years Ostrozkyi, notwithstanding his heartfelt attachment to the faith of his fathers, was generally conciliatory, if not pliable, in his relations with Catholics. His oldest son Janusz had publicly professed the Roman Catholic faith, and a younger son Konstantyn was to do so in the summer of 1583.⁵⁹ During a conversation with Nuncio Bolognetti in Cracow in July of that year, an encounter that set the stage for a series of exchanges in the following months, Konstantyn senior emphasized his abhorrence of religious discord and stated that he was willing to give his life for union between the Eastern and Western Churches. During the same encounter, confronted with the arguments of the Vatican diplomat, the palatine expressed his opposition to a calendar reform conducted without the approval of the patriarch of Constantinople.⁶⁰ Ostrozkyi hoped that some understanding could be reached on this point as well. He separately asked Antonio Possevino to help formulate a response to the sharply worded letter from Patriarch Jeremiah that would serve to bring the two sides to some kind of agreement.⁶¹ Eventually Ostrozkyi's position on the calendar would harden, reflecting the progressive polarization of confessional positions that occurred in the 1580s and 1590s. In 1587 he sponsored Herasym Smotrytskyi's treatise attacking the new calendar. The Polish professor of mathematics Jan Latosz, who rejected the Gregorian reform and was expelled from the faculty at the Cracow Academy in 1601, fled to Ostrih where he taught in the school, having found in Ostrozkyi a patron.⁶²

For Ostrozkyi, and for the Ruthenian community in general, the letter to the prince from the venerable patriarch was more than an exposition of the Orthodox stance concerning the calendar correction. Along with the letters to Metropolitan Onysyfor (Divochka) and the Vilnius burghers, it constitutes the first known sixteenth-century patriarchal attempt to address a specific issue in the shifting confessional context within the Kyivan metropolitanate. Confronted with Reformational and Counter-Reformational challenges, the Ruthenians had to this point received no direction, moral support, or practical assistance from the ecclesiastical authorities in Constantinople, who claimed their

allegiance, but seemed incapable of responding to their needs. The response which came was modest, and although the intention to provide learned teachers to help the Ruthenians articulate their ecclesiastical tradition was not realized, at least a voice from the patriarchate was heard. The patriarchal letters did not resolve the calendar problem, but they did show some recognition of the complex Ruthenian religious, cultural, social, and political dilemma, if not yet the need for comprehensive reform. With the vacuum in the Ruthenian religious community created by weakness in the Kyivan hierarchy,⁶³ the arrival of even a few brief, but authoritative missives from the patriarch of Constantinople was for the short term a welcome and heartening development.

Ecclesiastical communities in the Commonwealth were increasingly being defined in negative terms, each in opposition to the others. The reform of the calendar further separated them into partisan confessional camps. In confronting the rhetoric of the Roman Catholic camp, the Ruthenian Orthodox party needed as a point of reference and as an external legitimizing authority a real, or at least perceived, counterbalance to the bishop of Rome from whom the Roman Catholics received spiritual, intellectual, and institutional direction, tactical counsel, and well-trained cadres. Despite the institutional feebleness of the Greek Church, the ancient and distant patriarchate of Constantinople, especially in the venerable person of Jeremiah II Tranos, could be presented as the source and validation of Ruthenian Orthodoxy, its traditions, and mores.

During his first two patriarchal tenures (1572–79, 1580–84), Jeremiah had entertained overtures from Protestants and Catholics in the West, demonstrating a willingness to seek common ground, particularly with regard to calendar reform. Even after the reform had been unilaterally promulgated by Gregory XIII, the patriarch gave the papacy reason to hope that an accord concerning the calendar could be reached. It seems that his position hardened only under pressure from his Greek constituency. Once this happened, Jeremiah and the synod issued a strong repudiation of the Catholic calendar reform.⁶⁴ Patriarch Jeremiah's carefully considered rejection of the Protestant dogmatics presented by the Tübingen school was becoming well known in the Commonwealth and the rest of the Catholic world through Stanisław Sokołowski's 1582 publication of the patriarch's first response to the

Tübingen theologians. The Greek prelate earned the respect of the Catholic ecclesiastical figures, both in Rome and in the Commonwealth,⁶⁵ with whom Konstantyn Ostroz'kyi was conducting discussions on confessional matters. Such recognition by the mainstream of the Catholic elite, with which the Ruthenian prince pursued amicable relations, could only have elevated Ostroz'kyi's regard for the patriarch of Constantinople. Within Ruthenian society at large, the patriarchate's firm statement regarding the calendar "innovation" and harsh reproach of the Roman Church, otherwise encroaching on Eastern ecclesiastical life in Ukraine and Belarus', turned Ruthenian attention to the Mother Church.

The palatine had earlier expressed his respect for the patriarchal see, mentioning prominently in the introduction to the Ostrih Bible "the high-throned Church of the Vicar of the Apostles himself, the Principal Hierarchy of all the Eastern Church, the Most Honorable Jeremiah," even though it is not clear whether the patriarchate contributed tangibly to the production of the edition. Reporting on his discussion with Ostroz'kyi concerning the Gregorian calendar, which occurred after the prince had received Jeremiah's letter, Bolognetti stated that Ostroz'kyi's primary reservation was that the pope had decreed the reform without the agreement of the Greeks, represented by the patriarch of Constantinople.⁶⁶ When the prospects of a union arose, the palatine would assume an amenable posture yet would insist that such reconciliation involve the patriarchs of the East. Despite the rather tenuous ties of the Ruthenian Church with the patriarchate throughout much of the sixteenth century, not only did a connection with and deference to Constantinople remain a central component in the ecclesial identity of a Ruthenian magnate such as Ostroz'kyi, but the expectation developed that the patriarchate might offer remedies to the crisis in the Kyivan Church.

If Ostroz'kyi or other Ruthenians hoped for further leadership from Constantinople, they were soon disappointed by news of Jeremiah's second deposition. The intrigue led to his 3 March/22 February 1584 ouster cast the Church of Constantinople into a turmoil that would endure throughout the rest of the decade, seriously undermining the patriarchate's fiscal and institutional stability. Jeremiah's removal and exile to Rhodes provoked the concern and sympathy of the Roman authorities⁶⁷ as well as that of Ostroz'kyi.⁶⁸ It also gave rise to an

improbable project involving these parties to bring Jeremiah to Muscovite or Ruthenian lands, possibly to the estates of Ostrozkyi himself. Pope Gregory XIII hoped that the deposed patriarch, who had demonstrated a cordial attitude to the Holy See, could lead Orthodox East Slavs, either the Muscovites or the Ruthenians, or both, away from allegiance to the usurper Pachomios, into Roman obedience. In late April 1584, the Vatican secretary of state wrote to Bolognetti and Possevino, directing them to examine the possibilities and best way of carrying out such a project. The plan was viewed with skepticism by King Stefan Batory, to whom Bolognetti related it, and by Possevino. Ostrozkyi's interest in Rome's version of an East Slavic patriarchate was probably guided as much by his respect for Jeremiah and a desire to host him in Ostrih as by the possible unionist implications of such a venture.⁶⁹ By the fall of 1584 the papacy itself had shelved the project, fearing that news about it could reach the Ottomans, thereby jeopardizing a possible release of Jeremiah. According to reports from Constantinople, Jeremiah's restitution was being considered by the Porte in response to ever-increasing appeals of its Orthodox subjects.⁷⁰

The origin of the Roman plan to locate a patriarchate in the Ruthenian lands or Muscovy can actually be traced back to the Ostrih circle. As early as the summer of 1583, in conversation with Bolognetti, Dionysios Rhalles-Palaiologos, most likely with Ostrozkyi's blessing, sought to convince the nuncio that the creation of a patriarchate in the Ruthenian lands would be the "proper and shortest route" for reconciling the Kyivan metropolitanate with the papacy.⁷¹ Bolognetti noted the "dexterity" with which Rhalles-Palaiologos again brought the proposal to his attention through one of the nuncio's intimates and questioned the Greek's motives in putting forth the stratagem, but he regarded Rhalles-Palaiologos' plan to get the Ruthenian bishops out from under the authority of the reigning patriarch in Constantinople worthy of consideration. In referring it to Rome, the nuncio relayed his impression that Rhalles-Palaiologos himself aspired to fill the newly created post but remarked that Providence often turns the calculations of men in unexpectedly fruitful directions.

In Rome, Rhalles-Palaiologos' idea of establishing a patriarchate in Ostrozkyi's holdings was apparently transformed in the spring of 1584 into the proposal to install the deposed Jeremiah on Ruthenian or Muscovite territory. However, when prospects improved for

Jeremiah's reinstatement in Constantinople, though the reinstatement would be less immediate than originally thought, they seem to have removed the idea of an East Slavic patriarchate from Rome's unionist agenda. Evidently, Ostrozkyi did not pursue the project any further either.⁷² The question of an East Slavic patriarchate would arise again at the end of the decade in Muscovy, when Patriarch Jeremiah appeared there, but by then the circumstance and the end in mind were different, yet in a manner not without import for the Kyivan metropolitanate.⁷³

The 1583–84 proposal to bring the patriarch of Constantinople to Ukraine proved to be impracticable, but in figurative terms, the distance between the patriarchate, and the Greek tradition it represented, and the Kyivan metropolitanate had nonetheless been lessened in the late 1570s and early 1580s, particularly through the activity of Ostrozkyi and the Ostrih circle. The production of the Bible and the establishment of the school had resulted in some practical cooperation between Greeks and Ruthenians and in a new appreciation of the Byzantine roots of Ruthenian Orthodox Christianity. Contemporary ecclesiastical developments such as the introduction of the calendar reform and the Roman projects on church unity made Ruthenian activists take stock of their institutional relationship with the Constantinopolitan patriarchate. The patriarchate, in turn, despite internal difficulties under Patriarch Jeremiah II, showed new signs of accepting responsibility for the fate of the Kyivan metropolitanate.

A Characterization of Ostroz'kyi

Prince Ostrozkyi was the principal Ruthenian protagonist of these developments. Authentically devoted to his Church, Ostrozkyi felt called on to act as spokesman for the Ruthenian Orthodox community. Though not without personal ambition he was also sincere in his intentions, and his social standing and fabulous wealth suited him for the role. Ostrozkyi's ecclesiological understanding was hardly profound, as suggested by his neglect of the role of bishops in the life of the Church: he undertook his initiatives in a religious context, but without any serious attempt to include the Ruthenian ecclesiastical establishment. His sensitivity to canonical order was obscured by the inertia of the Ruthenian hierarchy, by the prevailing influence of the Commonwealth's lay authorities in ecclesiastical affairs, and by his

own sense that he had the power to act as veritable Ruthenian *pater familias*. As palatine of the Kyivan lands, which until 1471 had preserved the status of a principality, he saw himself in the tradition of ancient rulers who established, patronized, and guided the Eastern Church. Like Emperor Constantine I and Grand Prince Volodimer the Great, Ostrozkyi considered the Church his responsibility and his domain.⁷⁴ His good intentions were not always accompanied by a realistic vision and sustained effort; he sought systemic change but worked largely outside the Ruthenian ecclesiastical system. His achievements at the early stage of the Ruthenian revival, such as the printing of the Bible and the creation of the school, though significant, were not really commensurate with the means at his disposal.⁷⁵ In the 1580s the lull in the activity at Ostrih probably resulted from his lack of focus and decreased funding.

As a powerful magnate, Ostrozkyi juggled political, military, economic, and cultural concerns along with his religious interests. By contrast, the more narrowly religious activists, such as the Jesuits, who by the 1580s had begun shaping the religious discourse of the Commonwealth, could focus their energies more completely on ecclesiastical issues.⁷⁶ Still, Ostrozkyi did initiate a number of projects of lasting significance, if not duration, and through his persistent emphasis on the role of the patriarchate of Constantinople in the affairs of the Kyivan Church and Christendom in general, set the stage for the intensified contacts between the patriarchate and the Ruthenian Orthodox community of the middle and late 1580s.

Some of Ostrozkyi's views on ecclesiastical union and his hopes for importing a patriarch seem at turns naive and shallow. The lack of clarity and persistence in his religious activity was, contrary to Hrushevskyi's opinion, less a function of his character or personality, than a reflection of the change occurring in European and Polish-Lithuanian society. Like the memoirist-assessor of Navahrudak, Teodor Ievlashevskyi [Ieūlasheŭskii], Ostrozkyi came to maturity at a time of previously unimaginable confessional experimentation, virtually unbridled proliferation of Radical Protestant views, and a unique spirit of religious toleration in Poland and Lithuania. By the 1580s the atmosphere was changing. After a period of disorientation, traditional religious communities began slowly to regain their balance or, more precisely, establish new sharp bearings. Weary of "innovation," they

sought consolidation, “confirmation,” and protection against outside threats. For some, the best defense proved to be a good offense.

In the contest for confessional preeminence in the nobiliary republic, the Roman Catholic Reform captured the high ground by dominating the education of young nobles. Ostrozkyi established his Ostrih circle just as the embattled and bruised established Church of the Commonwealth was beginning to recover ground lost to Protestant Reformers. The Roman Catholic Church was in an advantageous position. It could import models for reform developed over decades in Western Europe and invite highly trained and well-disciplined clerics to apply these models in the Commonwealth. By contrast, as was becoming increasingly evident, the Orthodox could not rely on outside assistance. At a time of religious and cultural weakness, Ruthenians had before them the arduous task of reinterpreting their religious heritage to meet contemporary needs. The momentum necessary for comprehensive reform could not be generated instantaneously.

Although the Ostrih school was established within a decade of the first Jesuit college in the Commonwealth, it failed to develop a strong faculty or a curriculum that could attract the sons of the Ruthenian nobility.⁷⁷ Despite the achievements of the editorial group, press, and school, the competition was rapidly outpacing the Ruthenian revival, because the dearth of educated clergy and competent tutors was a persistent obstacle to its development. Well into the 1580s the Ostrih school was understaffed and the palatine's extensive search for preceptors was largely unsuccessful. When Ostrozkyi declared to Bolognetti that he was willing to give his life for union, the nuncio counseled him to work for it, at least in his own estates, by disseminating good literature, appointing able individuals as parish priests, and teaching solid doctrine to youth in the Ostrih school. Bolognetti offered to ask the pope for educated individuals who could help in this respect, even though it would be difficult to find someone appropriate. Ostrozkyi greeted the proposition enthusiastically.

The dramatic changes of the 1570s and 1580s happened faster than the Ruthenians could adjust to them. Ostrozkyi seemed stunned by the conversion of his son Konstantyn, despite the fact that Janusz, his firstborn, had taken the same path earlier. If he did sense the young man's inclinations, he was in any case powerless to change them. The Roman Catholic restoration swept through the confessionally diverse nobility of

The L'viv Confraternity and the Greek East

Since the hierarchy of the Ruthenian Church in general did not take a leading role in the early stages of the religious and cultural revival in Ukraine and Belarus', Ruthenian religious reform, as exemplified by the activity of the Ostrih circle, was dependent largely on individual lay initiatives leading to the cooperation of relatively small groups of laity and lower clergy. The one institutional expression that did become widespread, however, was the confraternity. The transformation of more or less informal Ruthenian urban associations of laity into formally constituted brotherhoods (or confraternities) was formally recognized in 1586, when Patriarch Joachim of Antioch endorsed the statutes of the L'viv *bratstvo* (see illustration no. 15, following p. 202).¹ By then, though, the process that was already well underway. In endorsing it, the patriarch gave his blessing to a lay movement spurred more by Western developments than by any patriarchal action.² The Vilnius *bratstvo* was recognized soon after that of L'viv, presenting its statutes for ratification to Metropolitan Onysyfor in 1588. They were published that year and later confirmed by Patriarch Jeremiah.³ In addition to these two most important confraternities, numerous others were formed in Galicia, Volhynia, the Grand Duchy, and among the Ruthenian Orthodox in other areas of the Commonwealth.⁴

A formidable achievement of the confraternities was the organization of the first network of independent, but mutually sustaining, Orthodox schools in the Slavic East. Eventually, as at Ostrih, pedagogy in the confraternities was accompanied by publishing. Establishing a press in L'viv was one venture on which both the local Ruthenian laity and Bishop Hedeon (Balaban) agreed and sometimes cooperated. To preempt the purchase of the late Ivan Fedorov's fonts by merchants planning to take them to Muscovy, and thereby to prevent the loss of an

“exceptional treasure with not insignificant harm (*shkodoiu ne maloiu*) to the churches of God and to all Orthodoxy of the holy Greek law (*vsemu pravoslaviiu zakonu sviatoho hrecheskoho*),” Hedeon (Balaban) together with the L'viv burghers promised fifteen hundred *zlotys* to Fedorov's creditors, who held the press as collateral. It was being stored pending payment, for which purpose Hedeon sought contributions from Ruthenian bishops, clergy, nobility, and officials.⁵

Despite the sometime solidarity between the episcopacy and laity in attempting to establish a sound financial base for the L'viv press, the publishing activity of the local confraternity developed slowly and did not become an important source of income until the seventeenth century. The first three imprints of the confraternity press appeared in 1591. The first, which appeared on 23 January, consisted of a November 1589 circular epistle of Patriarch Jeremiah to the Ruthenian episcopate, clergy, and people, prohibiting the practice of bringing foodstuffs to church for blessing at Christmas and Easter and forbidding the practice of keeping Friday holy as the Sabbath rather than Sunday.⁶ The second publication was the grammar book *Adelphotēs* (see illustration above, p. 142).⁷ The third consisted of the verses of greeting recited in the Dormition Church on 17 January 1591 and in the confraternity school on the following day, during the visit of Metropolitan Mykhail (Rahoza) in L'viv: *Prosphōnēma*.⁸ In 1593 the confraternity published a translation of a polemical treatise written by the patriarch of Alexandria, Meletios Pegas,⁹ and, towards the end of the sixteenth or at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a letter from a metropolitan of Monemvasia (preserved only in a defective copy). Between 1608 and 1616 the confraternity press issued some eleven publications. It was inactive from 1616 to 1630, but over the remaining seventy years of the seventeenth century produced some seventy editions.¹⁰

The desire to address the educational and cultural needs of the Eastern Christian community in the Commonwealth grew out of the emphasis by the confraternities on building up the ecclesial community, an orientation originally expressed through a broad range of charitable practices. Fraternal activities and Christian works of mercy were at the heart of the confraternity ethos. Almsgiving, the maintenance of hospices, and the support of widows, orphans, and others in need involved all confraternity members, forging in the organization a strong sense of fellowship, solidarity, and common cause. While the

printing ventures in Zabłudów and the multifaceted program at Ostrih were supported by magnates, the brotherhoods reflected a grassroots effort at religious reform in Ruthenian urban, generally non-nobiliary, society.¹¹

Early-Modern Ruthenian Lay Associations

The antecedents of the confraternities in Ukraine and Belarus' have been traced back to medieval and even pre-Christian centuries in East Slavic history. Hrushevs'kyi proposes that the urban ecclesiastical organizations of laity developed from pre-Christian patrimonial ritual and cultic associations which constituted autochthonous extended versions of Slavic clan structures. The most notable expression of the early Ruthenian church organizations was the periodic fraternal feast (*bratchyna*), open to the broader church community and serving as an occasion to gather resources necessary for parish life through the production and sale of mead and beer. Eventually these associations took on the features of, and sometimes fused with, the new urban guilds or trade organizations, which in the second half of the fifteenth and during the sixteenth centuries became an important part of Ruthenian town life.¹²

Undoubtedly, there exists continuity between pre-historic Slavic social associations and such structures as the Dormition brotherhood. Although drawing analogies between the organizations sponsoring *bratchyny* and *bratstva* is valid, it seems that late-medieval and early-modern associations of laity in the Christian West correspond to the late sixteenth-century Ruthenian confraternities more closely in their structure, objectives, and *modus operandi*.¹³ Recent studies have showed the massive proliferation of confraternities in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Western Europe.¹⁴ The pervasiveness of this phenomenon in the West suggests that the development of the *bratstva* cannot be examined in isolation from the corporate religious impulse characterizing late-medieval and early-modern Western Christendom.

The gradual revival of European urban life occasioned the rise of such corporate institutions as universities and guilds. Religious life in Italy, Spain, and in other parts of continental Europe on the eve of the Reformation and throughout the sixteenth century was galvanized by

the multiplication of fraternities, sodalities, and other lay religious associations (often called *scuole* or *compagnie*), involved in corporal works of mercy and, eventually, in catechetical pedagogy. Lay associations established orphanages, hospitals, and asylums for the terminal victims of contagious diseases. Special confraternities arose to minister to the imprisoned and condemned, and to promote other specific acts of mercy, charity, and piety. Confraternity-like organizations fostering *Christianitas*, the practice of the virtues of piety and charity as defined by Christian tradition, became central for religious experience in the Western European urban setting. Thus, there is evidence that there were at least one hundred and thirty-four confraternities in Genoa between 1480 and 1582 and eighty-three confraternities or *scuole* in Milan in 1582.¹⁵ In Rome between 1540 and 1600 some sixty-one *new* confraternities were established.¹⁶ It is probably not coincidental that the Ruthenian confraternity movement was catalyzed by the organization of laity in L'viv, a town with extensive commercial contacts with Western Europe. L'viv burghers and merchants had contacts with Polish towns, Moldova and Wallachia, Muscovy, and traders with goods from German towns and from the Ottoman Empire and Persia—evidenced by the wares sold in the stores of late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century L'viv.¹⁷ The Ruthenian market was open not only to Western manufactured products and commodities. Ideas, fashions, cultural currents, and models of community association and activity were tendered by the sixteenth-century traders coming and going between cosmopolitan emporiums.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, towns in most parts of the Commonwealth prospered; this wave of economic growth reached Ukraine in the latter part of the sixteenth century.¹⁸ Although urbanization in Eastern Europe did not proceed as quickly as it did in the West, the influence of urban centers in the economic, political, and cultural affairs of the Commonwealth grew perceptibly. In L'viv, the new economic prosperity, the struggle for equal civil rites, and the repeated Catholic attempts to place the Ruthenian bishopric under the authority of the local Roman Catholic archbishop, Solikowski, thrust the relatively well-off and self-confident Orthodox laity into a pivotal role in intra-Ruthenian ecclesiastical affairs and in defending the prerogatives of the Eastern Christian community from outside threats.¹⁹

A solidarity developed between the Ruthenians and the Greek merchants settled in L'viv. Besides acting as social and economic models for Ruthenians—relative newcomers to the commercial professions—the Greek merchants of L'viv supported the attempts of the confraternity to consolidate the Eastern Christian “nation of the Greek law.” As the energetic Orthodox burgher community asserted itself, it sought to address the ills afflicting Ruthenian ecclesiastical life. Consequently, in L'viv, and subsequently following its example in other towns, Ruthenian confraternities, with their relatively broad base, patriarchally endorsed legitimacy, and comprehensive charitable and cultural program, became centers for the forging of a new, gradually emerging, early-modern Ruthenian religious identity.

One manifestation of the threatened status of the Orthodox bishop of L'viv and of the laity's, correspondingly, increasingly prominent role in ecclesiastical affairs was Bishop Hedeon's (1569–1607; Hryhorii Balaban in secular life) drawn-out, debilitating, and even violent feud with the L'viv confraternity. Bishop Hedeon inherited from his father Arsenii (1549–69; Marko Balaban in secular life) not only the L'viv bishopric, but also the latter's inclination for conflict. During the first years of his reign, he repeatedly resorted to violence—conducting a fierce campaign for control of St. Onuphrius' Monastery in L'viv and the monastery in Univ. He used all of his resources and authority against those who stood in his way, including prohibiting Communion to a number of L'viv burghers who defended the St. Onuphrius Monastery.²⁰ For his lawlessness, Arsenii endured censure from both the Polish kings and the metropolitan of Kyiv.²¹

When Arsenii died, it appears that Zygmunt II issued conflicting nominations for the L'viv bishopric to Arsenii's son and to Iona (Ivan Lopatka Ostalov'skyi in secular life).²² The resulting confusion persisted from Arsenii's death in 1569 until the passing of Iona in 1576, when by royal rescript Hedeon's exclusive title to the bishopric was confirmed.²³ The relations between Hedeon and the Ruthenian burghers of L'viv seem to have been quite peaceful during the first part of his episcopacy, but as the initiative of the laity grew bolder, and the members of the confraternity were given broad powers by Eastern patriarchs, a conflict between hierarch and faithful developed, in which Hedeon resorted to measures like those his father had employed.²⁴

*The Reconstitution of the L'viv Confraternity and its
New Social and Cultural Mandate*

Although as early as 1542 and 1544, these associations had used the term “confraternity” (*bratstvo*) in their statutes defining the dues and charitable activities of members,²⁵ the earlier lay organization at the Church of the Dormition in L'viv in the mid-1580s differed markedly from the confraternity that it engendered at that same parish. Before that time, the Dormition organization had a loose structure and a modest philanthropic program. According to the statutes confirmed by Patriarch Joachim in 1586, works of charity remained central to the fully constituted L'viv confraternity, but the new statutes gave the association a more clearly defined institutional form and system of government that allowed it to develop an articulate ethic and plan of action, as well as a ritual and discipline, expressed through solemn initiations, oaths of allegiance, regular assembly, and fines and penalties for neglect of responsibilities.²⁶ The confraternity also began a pedagogical program, and its charter, later also confirmed by Patriarch Jeremiah, became a model for all other confraternities.

The fundamentally religious inspiration of the L'viv confraternity was expressed in its attention to routine practices and needs of the parish community and to the moral conduct of brothers. (Female membership, though not unknown, seems to have been exceptional.) The statutes constituted an Gospel-based moral code, quite specific in proscribing activity detrimental to the development of a healthy community dynamic—for example, enunciating special solicitude for discipline of the tongue, while repeatedly stressing the salutary practice of repentance and forgiveness.²⁷ Upkeep and beautification of the parish church, common attendance at liturgical services, and keeping order at religious solemnities were basic responsibilities of confraternity members, and, as the statutes warned, “damned are all who do the works of the Lord with neglect.”²⁸ The brothers committed themselves to assisting the needy, maintaining a hospice, and fostering community spirit through festive banquets (*pyry*), which also served as a source of income.²⁹

The need for institutional revitalization of the Eastern Christian community also led Orthodox burghers to confront the problem of illiteracy and ignorance in Ruthenian society. In an age when, through

the medium of print, words and ideas assumed an unprecedented, pervasive importance, the charge of inarticulateness leveled at the Ruthenian nation by polemicists such as Skarga struck a painful nerve. The lack of education impaired the fostering of religious life in parishes, weakened the Kyivan Church, and undermined the legitimacy of the Ruthenian religious community.

The school established by the members of the Dormition parish organization possibly predates the coming of Patriarch Joachim to L'viv in 1586.³⁰ It was not large, but at a time of cultural crisis, it represented a significant contribution to revival. Contemporary documents record the names of at least sixty-six pupils for the years 1587–95.³¹ Also associated with the school were *spudei* or “graduate assistants” who, besides being students themselves, in a number of instances were invited to other towns to teach in newly established schools. The main instructors during the school’s formative years were the future anti-Union polemicist Stefan Zyzanii-Tustanovskyyi (d. 1621)³² and the Greek archbishop Arsenios of Ellassona (1550–1626).³³

Arsenios (baptismal name unknown), a native of Thessaly, was the son of a priest, whose five sons all became monks (of these, eventually three were bishops). Orphaned as a child, he received a good education, first at the side of his brother Ioasaph, bishop of Stagoi, then at the well-staffed school in Trikkala, established by Jeremiah Tranos, the metropolitan of Larissa (1565–72). The instruction in the school followed the trivium of grammar, poetics, and rhetoric. While still a student, the youth was tonsured and ordained a hierodeacon, and some time later became a priest. After Jeremiah’s elevation to the patriarchate in 1572, he summoned Hieromonk Arsenios to Constantinople, where in the early 1580s he was consecrated archbishop of Ellassona (today a village in Thessaly/Epirus, in the province of Janina).³⁴ In the spring of 1585 Arsenios was called from his diocese to Constantinople by Patriarch Theoleptos who, having received a generous benefaction from the Muscovites, decided to send to the tsar two dignitaries with the title of patriarchal exarchs, Arsenios and Paisios, bishop of Dyrrachion (*Albanian Durrës*) on the eastern coast of the Adriatic.³⁵ They made the journey to Moscow, according to Dmitrievskii, with a Muscovite envoy, Boris Blagoi, and reached the Muscovite frontier early in 1586. They were allowed to depart from Moscow with gifts from the tsar sometime in March.³⁶ On the way back to Constantinople,

in May, Arsenios and Paisios stopped in L'viv, where they were warmly welcomed and where Arsenios was invited to stay.³⁷

Arsenios remained in L'viv for almost two years before joining the entourage of Patriarch Jeremiah who was then on his way to Moscow.³⁸ In these years the curriculum of the confraternity schools was being systematized, and to this effort Arsenios contributed both his knowledge of Greek and the experience he had gained in the secondary school in Trikkala. Besides playing an important role in the establishment of the program of studies³⁹ and providing instruction, Arsenios prepared the first printed Greco-Church Slavonic grammar, the above-mentioned *Adelphotēs*, published by the confraternity in 1591, three years after Arsenios returned to Muscovy.

Arsenios' grammar of the Greek language is based on the grammars of Constantine Laskaris, Philipp Melanchthon, Martin Crusius, and Nicolas Clenard. Associates of the school provided point-by-point Church Slavonic translations of Arsenios' text making the *Adelphotēs* a practical manual for the teaching of Church Slavonic as well as Greek and for the introduction of basic grammatical and philological principles. The 1591 publication also served as a point of departure for Church Slavonic grammars composed by Ruthenians over the subsequent decades (e.g., those of Lavrentii Zyzanii [Vilnius, 1596] and Meletii Smotrytskyi [Vilnius, 1619]), thereby initiating the Ruthenian response to Skarga's charges that the Ruthenian religion and culture were mute because the Church Slavonic language had not been codified.⁴⁰ During Arsenios' two-year tenure at the confraternity school, despite his being integrally involved in the work of the local lay association, he seems to have stayed remarkably clear of the conflict between the bishop and members of the brotherhood. His sustained presence and restrained demeanor in L'viv, combined with his outstanding contribution to the educational program of the school, assuredly strengthened the sense of solidarity between Ruthenian activists and the Greek Church and cultural tradition which the archbishop represented and fostered.

The curriculum of the L'viv school apparently consisted of primary and secondary instruction, including both the trivium and quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy).⁴¹ The pedagogical rule (*poriadok shkol'nyi*) of the school established guidelines for the academic program and spelled out the responsibilities of teachers and

students in which such virtues as fairness, obedience, and conscientiousness were implicitly stressed. The L'viv pedagogical rule fostered education throughout the Ruthenian Orthodox communities of the Commonwealth. Just as the charter of the L'viv brotherhood served as a model for the statutes of other confraternities, so, too, the L'viv *poriadok shkol'nyi* became a charter for the schools of other brotherhoods.⁴²

Although the membership of the L'viv confraternity, like the number of students in the school, was never high in absolute terms, it included the leading Orthodox burghers. During the first decade after its reorganization, the brotherhood's ranks grew from an initial twelve or possibly fourteen charter members to between fifty and sixty. Not included in this count were members such as Metropolitan of Kyiv Mykhail (Rahoza) and princes of the Vyshnevets'kyi and Ruzhyts'kyi families, who maintained a formal association with the confraternity. Nor did it include associates from other confraternities, although there was at least one example of members of another brotherhood registering as members of the L'viv organization: in 1590 eight men and three women of the Rohatyn confraternity inscribed themselves as associates of the L'viv *bratstvo*.⁴³

The L'viv confraternity included Greek as well as Ruthenian burghers. That the Greek origins of many of the merchants residing in L'viv was still remembered at the time suggests that the settlement of Greeks from the Ottoman Empire, including Moldova and Wallachia, in L'viv or other Ukrainian towns was a relatively recent phenomenon. Their number was limited, however. Throughout the long history of the L'viv confraternity, Greeks never constituted more than a small percentage of its membership.⁴⁴

The earliest extant record of Greek membership in the L'viv association comes from the minutes of a 11 May 1579 meeting, in which Marko Hrechyn (Markos "the Greek") and Sava Hrechyn (Sabbas "the Greek") are mentioned among the fourteen "senior and junior" brothers. Marko Hrechyn, along with the Ruthenian Les'ko Malechkyi (Malets'kyi), was chosen *vytrykush* or keeper (from Latin *vitricus*—"stepfather, guardian") of the organization's possessions, which included sixty-three books.⁴⁵ The registers from the late 1580s and the 1590s list the names of nine Greeks, most of whom are not mentioned elsewhere in the documents of the confraternity, presumably because

as merchants they did not remain permanently in L'viv, or for other reasons did not play an active role in the organization. Although they are absent from the 1586 register made at the time of the confraternity's constitution, two Greek merchants, Constantine Korniaktos (Korniakt) (d. 1603), one of the wealthiest L'viv burghers, and Manoles Arphanes Marinetos, were listed in 1589 as "founding" members or "patrons" (*fundator*) of the confraternity. Korniaktos prospered not only from commerce. Beginning in 1571 he held the position of royal tax collector, not only in Galicia, but also in the palatinate of Kyiv, Podolia (Podillia), Volhynia, and westwards as far as Cracow. Korniaktos' support of the confraternity, although not insignificant, was relatively modest, given his means. He did make a large contribution to the Dormition parish for the construction of a belltower (1572–79), still called the *vezha Korniakta*. However, in November 1587, probably at the request of the confraternity, Patriarch Jeremiah appealed to him to make a contribution for the construction of a new church for the Dormition parish, suggesting that Korniakt was not always forthcoming with largess. There is reason to think that, in the confraternities' struggle with Bishop Hedeon, Korniaktos was partial to the hierarch.⁴⁶

In general, Greek laymen did not play an active role in the confraternity's pedagogical work, publishing, or its struggles with the archbishop of L'viv and the Catholic-controlled L'viv city council. Their participation is reflected only in scattered notices: "Greeks as well as Ruthenians" appear as the contractees in an agreement concerning the construction of the confraternity church.⁴⁷ In a letter to Tsar Fedor Ivanovich the L'viv clergy and school teachers are referred to as the "Rus' and Greek race."⁴⁸ A Greek named Ioannes Aphenikos (Ianii Afendik), along with the Ruthenian Ivan Krasovs'kyi went to Moldova as representatives of the confraternity,⁴⁹ but it appears that the confraternity delegated only Ruthenians for its mission to Muscovy.⁵⁰

ΙΕΡΕΥΣΙΩΝ ΔΟΥΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΩΝ
ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΩΝ ΜΕΛΕΤΩΝ

Illustration 8. Signature of Patriarch Jeremiah II on a charter confirming the status of the L'viv Confraternity (2 December 1587)

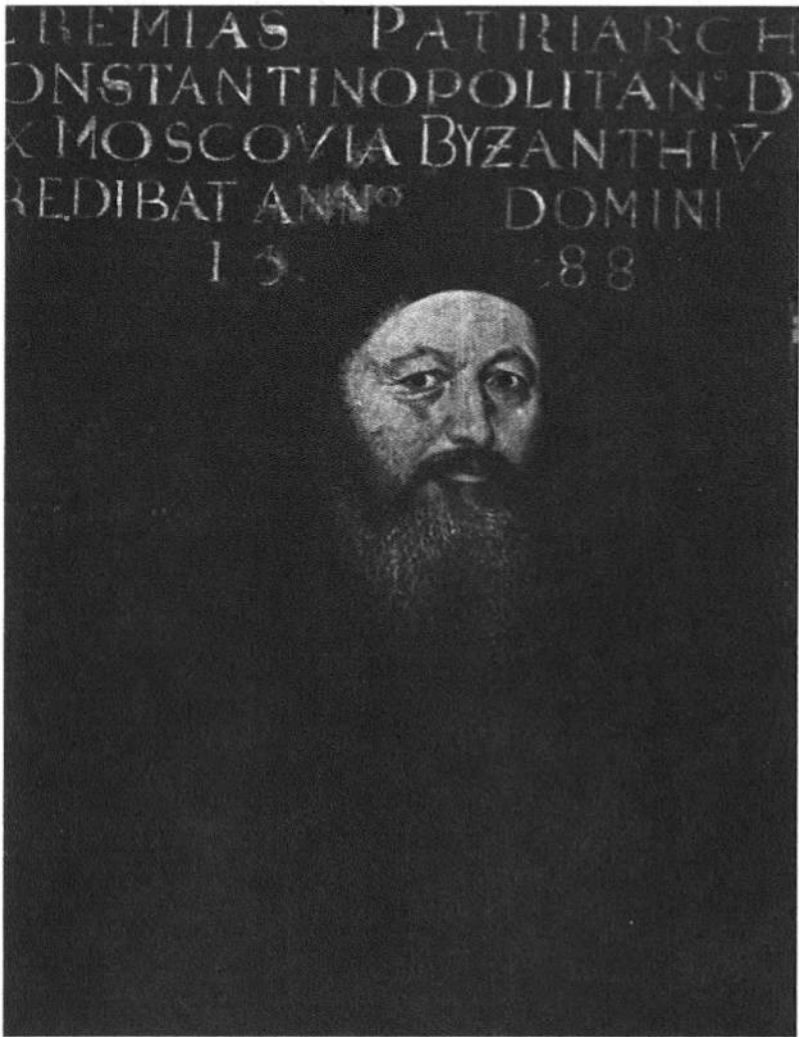


Illustration 9. Portrait of Patriarch Jeremiah II (Cracow, Museum of the Jagellonian University).

CHAPTER TEN

Eastern Patriarchs in Ruthenian Lands

Throughout the 1580s the traffic of Orthodox clerics traveling back and forth from the Ottoman Empire through Ukraine and Belarus' to Muscovy in search of funds continued. The Muscovite *Grecheskie dela* report that in September 1583 two delegations of churchmen journeying via Kyiv had arrived at the border at Chernihiv.¹ In December the voevodas in Chernihiv reported the arrival of Metropolitan Timotheos, two monks, and three servants who also had been in Kyiv.² In those years Muscovite royal deaths proved to be a boon for the Greek Orthodox. After slaying his son in a fit of rage, Tsar Ivan IV dispatched an emissary to dozens of Orthodox ecclesiastical establishments in the Ottoman Empire asking them to pray for the repose of the tsarevich's soul. Along with the request for intercession, the tsar sent a benefaction worth 2,870 rubles to various monasteries on Mount Athos, with an additional eight hundred and twenty to Vatopedi, and seven hundred more to Hilandar. Patriarch Jeremiah of Constantinople received a total of 2,300 rubles.³ In 1584, upon the death of Ivan, Tsar Fedor sent some 1,000 rubles to Constantinople and Mount Athos for the commemoration of his father.⁴ The increasing number of Greek petitioners and the size of the Muscovite endowments suggest that at a time of fiscal hardship the Orthodox under Turkish rule viewed Muscovy as an essential source of income. The Muscovite records mention another nineteen clerics crossing the border at Smolensk in 1584 on their way to their home monasteries and churches.⁵ Although no record of these travelers' sojourn in Ukrainian and Belarusian lands is preserved, it is clear that Ruthenian-Greek contacts were increasing, if only on a superficial level.

One can only speculate as to the nature of the interaction between itinerant Greek monastics, archimandrites, and bishops, on the one

hand, and the Ruthenians who acted as their hosts during their trips through the Kyivan metropolitanate, on the other. The Greeks in Ukraine and Belarus' were in transit. Travel was dangerous, arduous, and exhausting. When they arrived, the Greek were eager to go on to their Muscovite source of endowments. When they returned, they were hurrying back home to deliver the aid. They had no particular reason to linger. Moreover, many of the towns they visited had sizable Greek communities, including affluent merchants, who most probably sought out these more or less distinguished visitors from their native or ancestral lands. With no common language, communication between Ruthenians and the Greeks clerics was difficult, and we can assume that many of the encounters, although cordial, were not sufficient to allow for deeper mutual understanding.

Although every Greek cleric knew about the "heresies" of the Latin West, it is doubtful that each itinerant monk had the perspicacity to perceive and understand the complex confessional context in the Commonwealth and offer insightful commentary or advice. When through interpreters a Ruthenian and Greek did broach the pressing issues troubling the Ruthenian ecclesiastical community, the Greek most likely offered heartfelt encouragement without proposing specific solutions. They could not manage their own dilemmas. To be sure, the Orthodox from the Ottoman Empire decried the baneful circumstances in which they lived to their Ruthenian hosts, as they did to the Muscovites, and as other Greeks did in Western Europe, hoping for a tangible sign of Ruthenian sympathy. Undoubtedly, there were also petitioners who did not actually represent any institution and took advantage of Slavic hospitality for personal gain.

Those Ruthenians who had repeated contacts and discussions with the itinerant clerics, and showed interest in such matters, accumulated details about Turkish injustices, Greek internecine conflicts, and the spiritual, cultural, and intellectual poverty of Greek Orthodox religious life. In the 1580s, the discussions would be spiced with stories about the scandalous depositions of one patriarch after another. The penury of Greek ecclesiastical establishments—the very concern that led Greek clerics to undertake the demanding and demeaning missions of mendicancy—must have been manifest to the Ruthenians. Although they commiserated with the Greeks, those Ruthenians who were also aware of the developments in the Western Church, who sought to be in

the mainstream of society in the Commonwealth, and who encountered the well-trained, confident Jesuits, or other reformed religious making their presence felt in Crown Poland and the Grand Duchy, could not help but make comparisons. For some, who through contact with Greeks learned of the plight of Eastern Christendom, interaction may have been an incentive to look for common ground and build stronger ties. For others, the encounter may have been the opposite. For others still the encounter was simply puzzling. Not all Ruthenians understood clearly who these clerics traveling from the Christian East were and whom they represented. The author of one Belarusian chronicle under the year 1586 mistakenly refers to a patriarchal visitor to the Ruthenian lands as "Jeremiah," and records that Joachim, the ranking Orthodox hierarch in Syria, spoke "Antiochian" (*iazykom antiokhiiskim*) while in the Commonwealth.⁶

Joachim of Antioch

With the establishment of regularity in the traffic of Greek Orthodox clerics to Muscovy, there had occurred an escalation in rank of petitioners and messengers, especially in connection with the recognition of Tsar Ivan's imperial title. It continued in the 1580s, when besides monks and hegumens, bishops, archbishops, and a number of metropolitans made their way to the footstool of the generous tsar. Both the amount of Muscovite donations and the poverty of his Church probably induced the patriarch of Antioch, Joachim V (ca. 1581–92), to set out himself for Muscovy in 1585, making him the first patriarch to travel to East Slavic lands. Unlike the monastics and lower hierarchs from the Greek East who over the previous years and decades had gone through Ukraine and Belarus' without leaving so much as a trace in the sources, Joachim's trip not only generated documentary evidence but also left its mark on the course of the Ruthenian revival.⁷

Although elected patriarch in 1581 by the inhabitants of Damascus (the adopted residence of the patriarchs of Antioch), because the throne was contested, Joachim was not able to take possession of his see until 1583.⁸ The Antiochian archbishopric, in the fourth century the third most important see after Rome and Alexandria, had declined in significance as an ecclesiastical center with the rise of Constantinople, the recognition of Jerusalem's patriarchal status at the Council of

Chalcedon (451), the outbreak of the so-called Nestorian and Monophysite schisms, and the successive conquests of Syria by the Persians, Arabs, and Turks. Throughout the *Tourkokratia*, Antioch was the poorest of the Eastern patriarchates.⁹ Although Antioch was fourth in the pentarchy after Rome, Constantinople, and Alexandria, and one rung higher than the patriarchate of Jerusalem, the last had the advantage of being custodian of the sacred sites of the Holy Land, attracting both pilgrims and benefactors. When it came to concrete matters such as distribution of aid, therefore, the Muscovites gave Antioch the least. Apparently Joachim thought that a personal appeal to the tsar would increase the yield.

On his way to Muscovy, Patriarch Joachim stopped in Constantinople, where he collected a letter of recommendation issued by the patriarch of Constantinople and countersigned by the patriarch of Alexandria.¹⁰ He passed through Constantinople at a time when the affairs of the ecumenical patriarchate were in disarray. Patriarch Jeremiah II had been deposed on 3 March/22 February 1584, and the usurper Pachomios was replaced by Theoleptos in the middle of February 1585.¹¹ Although Joachim was recommended to the tsar by Theoleptos and Sylvester, patriarch of Alexandria, there is no direct evidence that his authoritative decisions in the Kyivan metropolitanate were made in the name of the patriarchate of Constantinople, to whose jurisdiction the Ruthenian province belonged. Later, when promulgating documents in the Ruthenian lands, Joachim did so in his own name only, without reference to the ecumenical patriarchate.¹²

According to later sources, Joachim arrived in L'viv on 11/1 January 1586 and was led into the city by solemn procession.¹³ Apparently that very day the patriarch had issued the decree ratifying the statutes of the confraternity.¹⁴ Both the immediacy of the confirmation and the text of the document suggest that before reaching L'viv, Joachim had been apprised of the general state of Ruthenian ecclesiastical life by members of the confraternity. In fact, it is likely that the initiative in the ratification of the confraternity's statutes was largely that of the, by then quite radical, Orthodox lay leadership in L'viv. As we have seen, Joachim spoke "Antiochian." Undoubtedly, he knew no Slavic and was at the mercy of his hosts or intermediaries in assessing the needs of the L'viv Orthodox community. The reorganization of the laity of the Dormition church, including the preparation of the new charter, must

have been well advanced before Joachim came to the Commonwealth in the winter of 1585–86. That the patriarch's initiative probably was secondary in the matter does not alter the fact that his endorsement of the statutes of the confraternity gave the fledgling institution a new legitimacy in the eyes of its members, if not in those of the local bishop, Hedeon (Balaban).

Besides mandating the regular religious and charitable practices, pedagogical program, and system of internal discipline, Patriarch Joachim's signature effectively granted the L'viv confraternity extraordinary, even unprecedented, prerogatives. The confirmation document established the seniority of the L'viv brotherhood over other confraternities and licensed it to act as keeper of ecclesiastical order and decorum. The decree charged the confraternity with monitoring the morals, not only of the laity, but also of the clergy. Members of the brotherhood were to report clerical offenses to the bishop. The new statutes enjoined the lay organization to oppose the bishop if he were to act against the teachings of the fathers or the dictates of the canons. The broad authorization deserves to be quoted at length:

For this purpose, we Joachim, by the Grace of God, patriarch of Great Antioch, sent by the synod of the patriarchs, command by the power of God that these commissions be firmly observed in perpetuity. And we grant power to this church Confraternity to reprimand by the law of Christ opponents and to banish all disorder from the Church. And if any brother should be excommunicated from his church by his own priest, let not the protopresbyter or the bishop bless such a man until he has reckoned with the Confraternity. And if someone in this city or a church, or some other confraternity is seen or heard to be living not according to the law, be it a layman or religious, a protopresbyter, priest, deacon, or of one of the minor orders, he should be reprimanded in word or in writing. If certain persons are found to oppose the law of truth, they should be reported to the bishop. If the bishop himself acts against the law of truth and does not manage the Church according to the law of the canons of the Holy Apostles and Holy Fathers, corrupting the righteous to injustice, sustaining the hands of the lawless, such a bishop should be opposed, as an enemy of truth. If the Confraternity makes an accusation to the bishop concerning any brother, the brother cannot be tried until the whole Confraternity stands with him, and together with the bishop let the brothers investigate the cause of the accusation and adjudicate according to the canons of the Holy Fathers. And if in other places disorderly priests or laymen are known or seen, they should be reprimanded in a

Christian manner, and an explanation should be sought. If persons are detected who are contrary or insubordinate to the bishop, they should be reported. Moreover, if there were anywhere a confraternity that did not act according to the rule of this church Confraternity, on which we first in L'viv lawfully bestowed seniority [let it be reported]; and let no one oppose the latter or hinder it through [the use of the rules of] an older confraternity not confirmed by some bishops who have convened. We command that all confraternities everywhere be subordinate to the Confraternity of L'viv. And every city having this lawful confraternity ought to know the life of both priests and laity within it and in surrounding towns and villages, and seeing all lawlessness, shall not conceal it, but shall report it to the bishop. . . . With all the above written down lawfully, let not the bishop oppose the code granted by us in a spiritual manner to this church for all ages. . . . Whoever comes to oppose this spiritual code and attempts to abolish it, whether archbishop, [the contemporary Ruthenian translation adds "bishop"] protopresbyter, priest, deacon, or any cleric of the Church, or any from among the rulers, or the laity, our blessing will not be upon him, but rather the anathema of all four ecumenical [*sic*] patriarchs and the anathema of the Holy God-Bearing fathers of the Ecumenical Councils.¹⁵

Earlier bylaws, those ratified by Bishop Makarii (Tuchaps'kyi) in 1544, served as a basis for the new confraternity statutes.¹⁶ However, the difference between the 1544 and 1586 version was considerable, conditioned by the dramatic changes in religious life in the lands of the Kyivan metropolitanate that had occurred in the intervening decades. The Ruthenian religious renewal movement, heralded by the onset of printing and by the formation of the Ostrih circle in the 1580s, increasingly involved representatives of the urban laity, particularly in L'viv. At a time when the hierarchy and clergy were only beginning to recognize the need for the revitalization of the Eastern Christian community, the Orthodox burghers of L'viv sought to establish structures allowing them to address the crisis in the Ruthenian Church. The 1586 confirmation of the bylaws by Patriarch Joachim served as an authoritative endorsement of their initiative.

Joachim, himself steward of a Church in crisis, presumably impressed by the expression of religiously motivated concern of laypersons for the welfare of Ruthenian church institutions, agreed to put his seal to a charter endowing the L'viv burghers with exceptional powers to monitor those ecclesiastical institutions. The dynamism of the L'viv burghers stood in marked contrast to the state of religious life not only

in the Kyivan metropolitanate, but also throughout the Christian East. Comparing the circumstances in Antioch and L'viv, the patriarch could have imagined the fruits that an energetic laity could bring to a spiritually destitute ecclesiastical structure. Joachim himself was on a mission to address the needs of the impoverished Church of Antioch; his journey to Muscovy was a desperate attempt to address the extreme fiscal condition of the Antiochian patriarchate. Encountering the dysfunction in the Ruthenian Church, Joachim acceded to radical measures.

The early stage of the Ruthenian renewal had largely bypassed the hierarchy. The printing activity in the 1560s and 1570s and the work of the Ostrih circle occurred without the direct involvement of the bishops of the Kyivan metropolitanate. Prince Ostrozkyi, acting as a secular patron of the Church, had negotiated various ecclesiastical issues with the representatives of the papacy with little regard for the Ruthenian synod. Although the attempts of Catholic civil and ecclesiastical authorities to impose the calendar reform on the Eastern Christian communities in the Commonwealth seem to have aroused some members of the Ruthenian hierarchy, for example Hedeon (Balaban), the metropolitan himself had been slow to respond. After encountering the phenomenon of a spirited confraternity, Joachim found himself not only encouraging the development of lay activism but, perhaps inadvertently, stressing it in opposition to the traditional hierarchical structure. The tone of the document sanctioning the L'viv confraternity is rather confrontational when it talks about the state of the clergy and hierarchy, and it served to pit Bishop Hedeon and the association of burghers against each other.

The resentment of the local hierarch is understandable. Although Hedeon does not question the authority of the Antiochian patriarch, perhaps realizing that the document was probably written by the L'viv brethren and that Joachim may have been manipulated, his subsequent hostility towards the confraternity suggests that he took offense at the brotherhood's patriarchally granted prerogatives. The statutes were meant to foster reform of the corrupt Church structures. However, Joachim's decree broadening the mandate of the confraternity served to undermine the authority of the local bishop, the cornerstone of Orthodox ecclesiastical polity. The direct submission of the bishop to the scrutiny of the laity in so many matters was a stark departure from Orthodox ecclesiology, if not practice. By granting the burghers the right to

monitor the activity of Bishop Hedeon, Joachim touched the sensitive nerve of the jurisdiction and legitimacy of the Ruthenian bishop of L'viv, variously questioned and assailed over the previous fifty years by the Roman Catholic archbishop of L'viv and the Catholic-controlled L'viv municipal council. When, with the rise of the Counter-Reformation, the Ruthenian hierarchy was being made ever more aware of the inferiority of its *dignitas* in relation to that of its Catholic counterpart and was about to reassert its demands for positions in the political institutions of the nobiliary Commonwealth and social status equal to that of Latin prelates, the document endorsed by Joachim subjected the L'viv bishop, in his words, to the judgment of mere "cobblers, tailors, and coat makers."¹⁷ Hedeon could already imagine the paternalistic expressions of sympathy of the Catholic archbishop of L'viv concerning "patriarchal bondage." It is to him that he would soon turn to escape from the patriarchally endorsed prerogatives of the confraternity.

The brotherhood was gloating for different reasons. The sanction of a patriarch residing in a distant land was most convenient for the confraternity. The patriarchal confirmation itself, as well as the notion of reform resonating in the statues, fashioned the L'viv confraternity's identity.¹⁸ For the bishop, the anomalous codification of a lay preeminence in ecclesiastical affairs by the patriarch of *Antioch* on his way through the Kyivan metropolitanate to Muscovy must have been further cause for indignation. According to ancient, if not always respected, ecclesiastical legislation, episcopal jurisdiction was territorially circumscribed. As patriarch of Antioch, Joachim had no canonical right to issue any decrees regarding the affairs of the Kyivan metropolitanate, which was under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople, but the troubled patriarchate did not seem to have any sustained policy towards the Kyivan metropolitanate and there is no indication that Patriarch Theoleptos delegated his authority to Joachim. Although the sources do not indicate that Hedeon or other Ruthenian bishops questioned the validity of Joachim's decrees on the basis of this jurisdictional principle, the hierarchy recognized this canonically irregular and fortuitous intrusion of the itinerant patriarch of Antioch into Ruthenian ecclesiastic life as another example of the disordered involvement of Eastern patriarchs in their intricate problems.¹⁹

During his stay in L'viv, Patriarch Joachim issued other documents addressed to the Ruthenian clergy and laity stressing the need for reform.

On 25/15 January 1586 he appealed to the Kyivan hierarchy, monastic and lay clergy, nobility, and all Orthodox Christians to support the renewal of the Christian Church by making contributions to establish a school fostering the study of Church Slavonic and Greek letters so that “the Christian race be not [left] without voice on account of ignorance.” He encouraged donations to pay off a debt of fifteen hundred *złotys* on a press. He endorsed the confraternity’s agenda *in toto*, including its plans to build a new church, school premises for a press, and hospice, commending all of these projects to the generosity of all Orthodox hierarchs, clergy, monastics, nobility, and commoners.²⁰

The following day Joachim promulgated a fire-and-brimstone condemnation of twice-married (digamist) clergy in which he censured the ecclesiastical abuses of the Ruthenian metropolitanate, where the “bishops are like the priests, the priests like are the laity, and the laity are like demons.” Foreshadowing the resolute reforms of Constantinopolitan Patriarch Jeremiah just three years hence, Joachim pronounced the excommunication not only of priests who, once widowed, remarried or lived in concubinage while continuing priestly functions, but also of the hierarchs who tolerated such moral irregularities in their dioceses. The excommunication applied as well to anyone who, knowing of an instance of uncanonical clerical concubinage, failed to report it to ecclesiastical superiors. Joachim forbade all interaction with priests living uncanonically and barred from communion anyone who would turn to such a priest to have their own children baptized or married.²¹ Given the general state of the Ruthenian clergy, it is difficult to imagine that this categorical decree was enforced systematically. Nevertheless, the sharp tone of the condemnation as well as the multiplicity of versions in which it has been preserved suggests that Joachim’s circular registered in the minds of the Ruthenian clergy.

The renewal of contact between the Ruthenians and representatives of the Greek East did bolster the reform-minded laity’s confidence in the patriarchate of Constantinople. On 7 June/May 28 1586 the L’viv confraternity wrote an ardent letter composed in rhetorical Church Slavonic to Patriarch Theoleptos of Constantinople. The confraternity members characterized themselves using a pastiche of biblical metaphors and similes: lost sheep threatened by a wolf; a victim of brigands bypassed by the priest and Levite, but with no Samaritan providing comfort; the blind leading the blind. They reported that Patriarch

Joachim visited the confraternity but “could not heal their wounds” in a short period. The brothers appealed to Theoleptos to endorse the statutes of the confraternity with his signature and to give his blessing for the school and press *da zahradiatsia vsiaki usta protivliaiushchiiasia* (“that the lips of those opposing [us] may be sealed”).²² The plea of the confraternity ends with the following passionate lines:

If these facilities [i.e., the school and press] through neglect and evil jealousy are brought to nought we will come to ultimate ruin. Reversal of malice is the beginning of the salvation, for we hope that you will reverse it.²³

The confraternity brethren brought to the attention of the patriarch of Constantinople the critical state of Ruthenian ecclesiastical life, referring obliquely to the conflict with their chronic nemesis, Bishop Hedeon. Encouraged by Joachim’s extraordinary gesture of confidence in them, the L’viv laity sought further patriarchal confirmation of their endeavors. Ironically, the new Ruthenian expression of hope in the patriarch of Constantinople came at a time when the patriarchate was in utter disarray, on the verge of institutional breakdown, losing even its physical plant because of factionalism among the Greeks and a shift in policy of the sultan, who in 1587 had seized the Pammakaristos Church, the main cathedral of the patriarchate. The members of the confraternity were not unaware of the general conditions of the Greek Orthodox Church. Their expectations for patriarchal assistance were based less on hopes that the patriarch would send cadres to reform Ruthenian ecclesiastical institutions than on anticipation that the patriarchate would give the confraternity moral support and confirmation of its legitimacy in the face of Bishop Hedeon’s opposition.

Jeremiah II of Constantinople

The confraternity wrote to Patriarch Theoleptos in the summer of 1586, but seems not to have received a response from the patriarch, whose short incumbancy ended in the middle of April 1587 with the restoration of Jeremiah II. The confraternity did receive a letter dated 3 August/24 July 1587 from Meletios Pegas, who was in Constantinople between 1585 and 1588. The prominent Orthodox prelate expressed his appreciation of the confraternity’s labors on behalf of the Eastern Christian community and praised their efforts to establish a school.²⁴ In Novem-

ber of that year Patriarch Jeremiah addressed the concerns of the confraternity by dispatching a letter to Bishop Hedeon, in which he sternly admonished the bishop not to obstruct the worthwhile activity of the brotherhood, especially its school and its attempt to establish a press. Jeremiah threatened to excommunicate the bishop if he did not desist.²⁵ In December Jeremiah sent to the confraternity the affirmation it had requested of Patriarch Theoleptos (see illustration above, p. 153). The reinstated patriarch confirmed Joachim's ratification of the confraternity, extending blessings to its school, hospice, and press, the last of which was only then being established.²⁶ With Joachim's decrees issued in L'viv undoubtedly at the behest of the brotherhood it is difficult to determine where the desires of the confraternity end and the intentions of the patriarch begin. Jeremiah, however, is writing from a distance, not under the direct influence or pressure of the confraternity. Thus, still in Constantinople, he seems to have developed certain notions about the need for reforms in the Kyivan metropolitanate. Although he makes no mention of it in his letter, within the next few months Patriarch Jeremiah would embark on a trip to Muscovy which would bring him through the lands of the Kyivan metropolitanate and give him the opportunity to observe the life of the Ruthenian Church firsthand.

The silence of the sources from the end of 1587 or the beginning of 1588 concerning Jeremiah's trip to the East Slavic lands suggests that the journey was not planned far in advance.²⁷ Never before had a patriarch of Constantinople set foot on East Slavic soil, and would not do so again for 400 years. Patriarch Jeremiah's decision to make the long trip was occasioned by particularly dire circumstances in Constantinople. During the previous ten-year period the patriarchate had endured particularly devastating blows to its institutional stability. Patriarchs had been deposed and elected five times.²⁸ The taxes and bribes exacted by the Ottoman authorities and individual officials at each enthronement and the corruption of unscrupulous Greeks had emptied the patriarchal treasury. Finally, even the patriarchal cathedral and residence had been confiscated by the sultan.

Jeremiah's trip to Muscovy brought him through the Kyivan metropolitanate twice—once in the spring of 1588, and the other time in the late summer and fall of 1589.²⁹ Before he set out, he apparently sent a letter to Archbishop Arsenios of Ellassona announcing his intentions, which Arsenios received in L'viv on 11/1 May. The patriarch

asked Arsenios to secure from the Grand Chancellor Jan Zamoyski a guarantee of safe passage through the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.³⁰

Jeremiah left the Ottoman Empire in late winter-early spring 1588, traveling through Wallachia and Moldova before reaching Ukraine.³¹ He arrived in L'viv in May and from there wrote to Zamoyski, again asking him for a bill of safe passage through Commonwealth territories.³² Zamoyski invited Jeremiah to Zamość where the patriarch arrived 22 May and was met by Arsenios. Zamoyski, one of Poland's leading patrons of humanist learning, seems to have come away from his encounter with Jeremiah impressed. Four months after Jeremiah's brief stay in the Commonwealth, Zamoyski wrote of his conversations with the patriarch to the papal legate, Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini (later, Pope Clement VIII [1592–1605]). He proposed for the cardinal's consideration the idea of moving Patriarch Jeremiah's residence from Constantinople to Kyiv, the seat of the old metropolitanate that united the Ruthenian and Muscovite lands. Zamoyski considered that it would be possible to speak about religious concord "*cum homine lit[t]eris erudito.*" During Jeremiah's stay in Zamość, the chancellor had also questioned the patriarch about a union and reported to Aldobrandini that Jeremiah did not seem to be averse ("*alienus*") to contact with the Roman Church.³³

Aldobrandini received another report (dated August 23) concerning Jeremiah's trip through the Commonwealth from the bishop of Luts'k, Bernard Maciejowski. Maciejowski attempted to meet the patriarch but was unable to catch up to his suite, which was traveling through Ukraine and Belarus' at a rapid pace.³⁴ Maciejowski hoped that Catholic theologians could engage the patriarch in public colloquia. If he were to refuse, the Ruthenians would see that the patriarch was wary of confronting a Catholic apologist. Should he accept, Maciejowski had no doubts that Latin theologians would carry the day, and the effect on the Orthodox would be even stronger. Jeremiah's own description of the meeting with Zamoyski, as presented to Muscovite officials and recorded in the *Posol'skaia kniga*, is couched in general terms and reveals no new information: Zamoyski spoke about the 1587 election and coronation of the Swedish King Sigismund Vasa as successor to Stefan Batory.³⁵ From Zamość Jeremiah traveled northeast to Brest³⁶ and arrived in Vilnius on June 3. During his twelve-day stay he ratified

the statutes of the Holy Trinity Brotherhood and mandated the convocation of a synod of Ruthenian bishops for the fall of that year.³⁷ The L'viv confraternity wrote a long letter to him expressing grievances against Bishop Hedeon and the hierarchy in general and sent it to the patriarch in Vilnius.³⁸ The Barkulabava Chronicle records that Jeremiah traveled through Belarus' with three bishops and his suite included fifty horses.³⁹

Jeremiah left the Commonwealth intending to petition the tsar for alms and to leave Moscow after a stay of a few weeks, as did other ranking prelates such as Archbishop Arsenios of Elassona and Patriarch Joachim of Antioch. While still in the Commonwealth he ordered the Ruthenian bishops to assemble in the fall of the year. Since he had gone to Muscovy in early summer, it is quite conceivable that he intended to be present at the synod himself; he did not, however, expect that his Muscovite hosts would hold him in Moscow for almost an entire year. He did return to the Commonwealth to issue a number of decrees and institute a series of reforms that proved to be of great consequence for subsequent developments in the Kyivan metropolitanate, but not until the summer of the following year.⁴⁰

CHAPTER ELEVEN

The Creation of the Moscow Patriarchate

The Muscovite Political Context

The patriarch's two sojourns in the Ruthenian lands were separated by his eleven-month stay in Muscovy during which he elevated Metropolitan Iov of Moscow to patriarchal dignity, thereby making Moscow one of five Orthodox patriarchates. His reforms in the Ruthenian lands were only incidental. Like his predecessors Jeremiah was simply passing through on his way to Muscovy seeking money. Although he attended to a number of problems troubling Ruthenian church life, there is no indication that he developed a plan of action for the Ruthenian Orthodox Church. Had he not gone to Moscow, it is doubtful that he would have paid attention to the ecclesiastical and cultural crisis in the Kyivan metropolitanate. Considering the time he spent as a guest of Jan Zamoyski in the Commonwealth, it becomes even clearer that contact with the Ruthenian Orthodox and affairs in the Kyivan metropolitanate were strictly secondary concerns. To view his stay in Muscovy as a prelude to the reforms he conducted in the Kyivan metropolitanate is an inversion of his own priorities. The source material pertaining to Jeremiah's activity in the Ruthenian lands is correspondingly modest compared to that for his Muscovite trip, but careful attention to the latter can also add to our knowledge of Ruthenian-Greek ecclesiastical relations at the time.¹

When Jeremiah crossed the border between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy, he entered into a state that in many respects was radically different from the one he had just left. One important contrast concerned the relationship between the ecclesiastical and secular realm. A Church-state separation had never developed in Muscovy as it had in Western Christendom. At a time when religious questions were revolutionizing societies and polities in Europe, Muscovite ecclesiastical developments were for the most part guided by the

authority of the tsar and his boyars. The fifteenth- and sixteenth-century ascendancy of Moscow was crowned by the assumption of the imperial title (*tsar'*, the Slavic form of *caesar*) by Grand Prince Ivan IV in 1547.² According to the Byzantine imperial model emulated by Muscovy, the Church was intimately tied and placed under the stewardship of the ruler.³ As in Byzantium, so too in Muscovy, the Church played a central role in imperial image-building, thereby enhancing the ruler's supremacy even in ecclesiastical matters. Following Byzantine tradition, the Church anointed the new tsar and the metropolitan expressed the imperial ideas that made the tsar the protector of Orthodoxy. Thus, through the words of the metropolitan, the Church itself entrusted its fate to the political authority.⁴

Although the Muscovite Church was strong in the middle of the century under the leadership of the learned and dynamic Metropolitan Makarii (1542–68), its subordination to political institutions was never in doubt.⁵ During Ivan's long rule, domestic and foreign policy were erratic, sometimes dictated by whim and fear rather than by reasons of state. The reign of the mercurial tsar sorely tried Muscovite state, society, and Church. Ivan vented his fury arbitrarily, disrupting governmental institutions and executing many of his political allies along with his foes. When in the midst of the bloody *Oprichnina* Metropolitan Filipp (1566–68) raised his voice in protest against the violence, he was imprisoned and killed.⁶ Ivan's own death on 29/19 March 1584 ended an inconsistent and turbulent reign that, despite significant early territorial consolidation and expansion eastward along the Volga to the Caspian Sea and into Siberia and the increased power of the royal administration, left Muscovy financially drained and militarily vulnerable.

Patriarch Jeremiah's journey to Muscovy coincided with this period of destabilization. In addition to leaving behind a fresh legacy of defeat in the Livonian War and the consequent loss of access to the Baltic ports vital to the Western trade, social and economic instability, landowner-peasant tensions, and dissatisfaction among the aristocracy, Ivan failed to leave a strong successor. In a furious rage he had killed the crown prince Ivan Ivanovich and caused his daughter-in-law to miscarry. This left two ill-suited sons as candidates for the throne: the pious and meek Fedor was physically feeble and apparently mentally handicapped; his half brother, Dmitrii, born of Ivan's uncanonical seventh marriage, was too young to assume the throne. The Muscovite

political system required a tsar—any legitimate tsar, if only possessing nominal authority—to act as the focus and guarantor of the stability of the ruling boyar oligarchy.⁷

Despite his shortcomings, Fedor was crowned on 10 June/31 May 1584. Fedor found many of his duties tiresome. He much preferred to spend his time at prayer and amused himself ringing the church bells of Moscow and viewing boxing matches and bear-wrestling. Affairs of state little engaged him, and he did not involve himself in setting policy.⁸ Although Fedor had a sincere commitment to the life of the Church, it was not he who determined the direction of ecclesiastical affairs. His limitations created a power vacuum in both secular and ecclesiastical matters that generated new opportunities for strong figures in the boyar oligarchy to fill. In a span of a few years, the leading member of the Godunov family, one of the clans vying for power at the court, rose to a dominant position.⁹

Boris Godunov was relatively low born.¹⁰ His family, the junior branch of the Saburov-Godunov-Vel'iaminov line, had improved its position at the grand prince's court through the *Oprichnina*, and Boris became the beneficiary of his sister Irina's marriage to Fedor. After the death of Nikita Romanov-Iur'ev in April 1585, Boris emerged as the leader of the inner circle surrounding Fedor and received the title of *koniushii* (master of the horse), as a sign of his influential standing at court.¹¹ During the first five years of Fedor's reign, through strategic arrests, banishments, and opportune gestures of clemency, the sharp and shrewd Boris deftly deflected the plots of the Shuiskiis, and removed them and other contending clans from the locus of political power. He thereby consolidated his preeminent position in the ruling oligarchy, acting as caretaker for the helpless sovereign, and was recognized as such even by foreign rulers in their correspondence and embassies to Moscow. Boris also dominated the ecclesiastical sphere. In 1586 he obtained the deposition of Metropolitan Dionisii (1581–87), replacing him with the docile Archimandrite Iov. During Patriarch Jeremiah's stay in Muscovy it was with Boris—to the complete exclusion of church hierarchs—that he conducted the negotiations concerning a Muscovite patriarchate, continuing the established pattern of the tsar's sovereignty in establishing church policy. When the heirless Fedor died, thus ending the Daniilovich line of the Riurikovich dynasty, Boris Godunov was elected to the Muscovite throne to rule as tsar *de jure* from 1598 to his death in 1605.

Diplomatic Protocol, Largess, and Sequestration

At the beginning of the summer of 1588 Patriarch Jeremiah and his suite left the Commonwealth via Vilnius and Orsha, the last town before the Lithuanian-Muscovite frontier, located at the confluence of the Dnipro and Orsha Rivers.¹² The party was almost at the walls of Smolensk before it was first noticed by Muscovite authorities: on 4 July/24 June 1588, voevoda Prince Mikhail Petrovich Katyrev-Rostovskii and boyar and voevoda Prince Fedor Dmitrievich Shestunov wrote to Tsar Fedor Ivanovich in Moscow that Patriarch Jeremiah, Hierotheos, metropolitan of Monemvasia, and Arsenios, archbishop of Ellassona, accompanied by an entourage of monastic elders (*starsy*), had arrived. The approach of the travelers had gone undetected and the voevodas had not expected Jeremiah. As they awaited the tsar's permission to proceed to Moscow, the Orthodox churchmen began a year of experiences that would impress upon them their dependence on the good will of the Muscovite sovereign.

From the outset, the patriarchal party received provisions distributed according to a scale that reflected the respective ecclesiastical dignity of each member.¹³ Over the next twelve months the Muscovites prescribed a catalogue of food supplies for each part of the patriarch's sojourn: the initial days in Smolensk, the journey to Moscow, the stay in the capital, the visit to the Sergiev-Holy Trinity Monastery, the trip to Smolensk, and finally departure.¹⁴ Besides these supply lists registered in the *Posol'skaia kniga*, there are many admonitions to the men responsible for the patriarch to make sure that Jeremiah and his delegation are well fed. The solicitude for the patriarch's welfare was not solely the gesture of a gracious prince. The careful, repeated itemization suggests that this expression of hospitality was an important, ritualized aspect of diplomatic strategy.

Along with the report from his Smolensk voevodas, Fedor Ivanovich received a letter from Jeremiah himself, in which the patriarch stated that it was the hope for aid from the realm of the son of Ivan IV of blessed memory that had brought him to Smolensk.¹⁵ Jeremiah referred to the hardships of the Orthodox in general and those that he himself had endured under the Ottomans.¹⁶ The letter says nothing of Jeremiah's experiences after his departure from his see and includes no information on his trip through the Ruthenian lands or any comment on

his ecclesiastical activity there. Nor is there any mention of ecclesiastical affairs in Muscovy. Only the purpose of the trip, to obtain material assistance for the patriarchate of Constantinople, is given.

The unexpected news from the border generated a flurry of activity in the Kremlin, reflected in a series of letters sent to the frontier post. Petr Neelov, the messenger who had brought word of the patriarch's arrival, was sent back to Smolensk with two documents dated 7 July/27 June. The first was a *gramota* giving the voevodas instructions concerning Jeremiah's stay in Smolensk and introducing Semeika Pushechnikov, Jeremiah's designated escort for the journey to Moscow. The voevodas were to give the Greeks the stipulated *per diem* and to choose three responsible gentrymen (*deti boiarskie*) to guard them. The court directed the voevodas to examine the visitors' goods, make an inventory, and send it ahead to Moscow.¹⁷ The court also permitted Jeremiah to pray in the Cathedral of the Smolensk Mother of God and charged the voevodas there to ensure that the patriarch was received by the bishop honorably, according to his rank (*chestno*). The Smolensk authorities were to bring an audience for the services made up of boyars, *strel'tsy*, and merchants so that the atmosphere would be as solemn as possible.¹⁸ Neelov also carried a letter to Sil'vestr, bishop of Smolensk, bidding him to make sure that the ceremonies were impressive and imposing, should Jeremiah express a desire to pray in church.

The instructions for greeting the patriarch were tinged by a note of ambiguity: both the voevodas and Sil'vestr were to honor Jeremiah "as our *metropolitan* is honored, according to the *episcopal* rank."¹⁹ Given that Jeremiah was not a mere bishop, nor even a metropolitan of an autocephalous see, but the ecumenical patriarch, honored as senior among all Orthodox hierarchs, a metropolitan's welcome for him according to episcopal dignity and rank projected an ambivalent message. In a society very conscious of hierarchy and seniority, and vigilantly protective of subtle degrees of status (*chest'*) using the appropriate titlature in documents was a matter of crucial importance. As a rule, the court carefully worded the instructions sent to the tsar's servitors. Therefore, that the prescribed welcome did not recognize Jeremiah's correct rank was significant. Since Jeremiah was only the second patriarch to come to Muscovy, one can argue that the Muscovites had not yet developed a specifically patriarchal protocol, but neither did they attempt any special arrangements to distinguish the patriarch *qua* patri-

arch, as they did six months later in the case of Iov, for whose elevation a special rite of patriarchal “ordination” was quickly prepared. This was therefore a signal indicating that the patriarch of Constantinople was being received with diplomatic reserve.²⁰

From the start the court set out to impress Jeremiah with its power and to manifest its ability to exercise control. Even his participation in the local liturgy was determined by the political authorities; the church hierarchy had little or no say in the matter. Metropolitan Iov sent no greeting to the patriarch at the border, nor did he give the instructions to his subordinate, Bishop Sil’vestr, for welcoming the highest ecclesiastical dignitary ever to visit Muscovy. Not until the eve of their departure from Smolensk on 15/5 July did Jeremiah, Hierotheos, and Arsenios in fact attend the Divine Liturgy (*obednia*) celebrated in the Cathedral of the Smolensk Mother of God, where they witnessed the pomp and circumstance Moscow prescribed within a carefully staged liturgical assembly. Jeremiah was not a celebrant but “was placed at the right side of the church, where a place had been prepared for him with an episcopal rug.” There is no indication that he partook of Holy Communion.²¹ An account of the proceedings was dispatched to Moscow, and Voevoda Katyrev-Rostovskii dutifully reported to the tsar that the goods of the visitors had been searched and inventoried.²²

Diplomatic protocol has always been an instrument in conducting foreign policy, and Muscovy was no exception: the Greeks found much to offend them, though in essence the protocol used for dealing with the patriarch was no different from that applied to other foreign envoys. The Muscovites sought to show their authority over Jeremiah from the outset. This is reflected in the contents and chastising tone of Fedor’s letter to the Smolensk voevodas: the tsar’s court was not pleased by the spontaneity of Jeremiah’s arrival. Effective manipulation of the patriarch’s attitude and judgment required that his stay in Muscovy be orchestrated from beginning to end. Control would be more effective when exercised through benevolent gestures, without resorting to overt oppression and intimidation, and by alternating subtlety with magisterial firmness. However, it would be crucial, no matter what the means, for it to be applied systematically.

The voevodas reported that the patriarch had arrived at the border with forty-two other people, some obviously members of his suite, others clearly not.²³ Archimandrite Christophoros; two priests,

Makarios and Akakios; an archdeacon named Leontios;²⁴ the monastic Theoleptos; a treasurer; a steward (*kelar'*) by the name of Stephanos; a liturgical reader-cantor (*pevchii diachok*); an interpreter; and nine servants comprised the patriarch's personal entourage of eighteen. Hierotheos had with him a monk, the priest Gregory, and four servants; Arsenios was accompanied by a monk and a servant, Ignatios, for a total of nine. A monastic from Serbia named Antonii, who arrived with Jeremiah, had traveled with three merchants from the Ottoman Empire (*turskie zemli*), a merchant or tradesman (*torgovoi chelovek*), and six servants, along with four prisoners of war (*polonianiki*), for a total of fifteen.²⁵

At the time of his departure from Moscow, Semeika Pushechnikov, Jeremiah's court-designated escort for the journey to the capital, received a detailed memorandum (*pamiat'*) outlining his responsibilities while traveling with the patriarch.²⁶ Pushechnikov's mission was to learn inconspicuously from the patriarch's elders and servants the purpose of the Jeremiah's journey and to elicit information directly in conversations with the patriarch. The court apparently was not aware of changes on the patriarchal throne and wanted to be sure of Jeremiah's legitimacy. The memoranda included many specific questions to be answered. Some concern the state of ecclesiastical affairs in Constantinople, others are directed at political developments: why has Jeremiah come? Is he still patriarch? How did he come from Constantinople? What happened to Theoleptos, his predecessor? Was he accompanied by Turkish guards when he left Constantinople?

Pushechnikov was to ascertain whether Jeremiah had the other patriarchs' mandates.²⁷ As the discussion below will show, there is positive evidence that the Synod of Eastern patriarchs had not given Jeremiah a mandate to create a patriarchate in Muscovy. The fact that in the intelligence reports recorded in the *stateinyi spisok* there is no indication that Jeremiah carried mandates is additional evidence that he did not have any extraordinary authority to make major ecclesiastical decisions, without the other Orthodox patriarchs. Pushechnikov was charged with extracting political, as well as specifically ecclesiastical, information. Mendicant Greek ecclesiastics could always be pressed for the latest news concerning the military activities of the Ottoman Porte. The Muscovites were interested in the relations of the sultan with the Kizilbash (i.e., the Safavids).²⁸ The Muscovite court did its best to

keep up with European conflicts and their effect on Western anti-Ottoman resolve. They inquired as to whether the sultan was at war with the French, the Spanish, or the Austrian emperor. There were also questions concerning political affairs in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Jeremiah's route through it, possible encounters with the king or the *Pany rada* (the Lithuanian council of lords, composed of higher secular and clerical nobility), and especially about the royal succession. All this information was to be sent ahead to Moscow.²⁹

Pushechnikov sent word to Moscow that the delegation would be in Mozhaïsk on Tuesday (19/9 July)³⁰ and included an intelligence report. The patriarch's tale of woe is recorded in it, but adds nothing new. Because Jeremiah had lost the favor of the sultan, he had been replaced by Theoleptos and exiled to the island of Rhodes. Four years later the sultan had summoned Jeremiah back to Constantinople but also closed the patriarchal church and appropriated the patriarchal treasury.³¹ Restored to the patriarchate, Jeremiah was allowed to rebuild an Armenian church to which he had to add monastics lodgings (*kelii*). The sultan had given Jeremiah permission to seek construction funds for this project in Wallachia and Muntenia (*volozhskaia* and *mutianskaia zemlia*), from where he proceeded to Lithuania and then on to the tsar. Jeremiah assured his hosts that he was the only patriarch in Constantinople—Theoleptos had been deposed because the synod saw him as causing the destruction of the Church. Concerning the Ottomans, Jeremiah reported that the sultan had planned to “wage war on the Mediterranean in galleys,” but since Jeremiah's restoration, he had not sent any armies to battle and was at peace with the Holy Roman emperor and with the French king. The patriarch did not see the newly elected King Zygmunt III, who was absent from Lithuania at that time, but he had been the guest of the Polish kingmaker Jan Zamoyski and could report to the Muscovites that indeed the “Swede's son” was king in the Commonwealth, but that the opposition was not fully pacified and a fraction of the nobility still supported the Russian candidate, Maximilian of Austria. With an opaque disclaimer Pushechnikov then reports that the Greek ecclesiastics have no more news about Lithuania because they traveled too swiftly to observe political developments.³²

It was in the best interests of Jeremiah to ingratiate himself with his hosts. He had little to offer to the Muscovites, or so he must have

thought, and there is no indication that he was holding anything back in his reports to his prospective benefactors. His trip had one fundamental purpose: to collect funds for the destitute patriarchate of Constantinople.³³ No mention is made of ecclesiastical affairs in the Ruthenian lands, or of the possible elevation of the metropolitanate of Moscow to the status of a patriarchate.

Jeremiah's Reception at Court and the Negotiations

In responding to Pushechnikov the tsar asked whether there were Lithuanians with the hierarchs³⁴ and told him to arrive in Moscow on Saturday, 23/13 July at the fourth or fifth hour (late morning), stopping on the way at the Dorogomilskaia *sloboda*,³⁵ where he was to be met by Grigorii Nashchokin. The rate of approach to Moscow, the exact route, and protocol upon arrival were all fixed in instructions given to Nashchokin.³⁶

The Greek hierarchs arrived in the capital as scheduled and, according to Arsenios, their reception by two archbishops, two bishops, boyars, archimandrites, hegumens, priests, monks, and a throng of Muscovites was most solemn.³⁷ Remarkably, Metropolitan Iov was not part of the welcoming party, and though the next day his personal emissaries greeted the patriarch, the sources are silent concerning a meeting between the metropolitan and Jeremiah. Apparently, Iov did not see the patriarch until six months later, on the eve of his elevation to patriarchal status.³⁸ The churchmen were lodged at the court of the bishop of Riazan', where they received food supplies sent by Metropolitan Iov, but were kept isolated. Foreigners could see the Greek only with the permission of the tsar's boyars or the *posol'skii diak* (foreign minister) Andrei Shchelkalov. The court wanted no contact between the patriarch and foreign merchants, especially Greeks or other subjects of the Ottoman Porte, because they regularly served as diplomatic couriers and were therefore suspected of being Turkish agents. The Lithuanian and Wallachian (*voloshskie*) traveling companions were relegated to the Lithuanian guest court.³⁹

Eight days passed before Jeremiah, Hierotheos, and Arsenios were summoned to "behold the imperial eyes." On Sunday 31/21 July Jeremiah was brought to Fedor's court mounted on an ass, while the other hierarchs rode horses. The *posol'skaia kniga* records the

patriarch's encounter with the court in some detail.⁴⁰ Jeremiah was allowed to ride all the way to the *runduk*, the entry pedestal, but Hierotheos and Arsenios were obliged to dismount and walk the last symbolic measure.⁴¹ The highly structured court ritual designed to flatter the patriarch at the same time as it underscored the tsar's imperial dignity and projected his autocratic image to emphasize his ultimate lordship over his guest. Jeremiah offered the tsar many venerable relics of Byzantine saints, including a piece of the elbow of the first Byzantine emperor, St. Constantine the Great, a gold-encased icon of the Mother of God for the *tsaritsa*, along with other gifts.⁴² Despite the tsar's munificence, the welcome was left conspicuously unconsummated: the *stateinye spiski* make a point of the fact that the patriarch was not invited to the tsar's table.⁴³

During the reception Tsar Fedor distributed largess to Jeremiah and Hierotheos, but Arsenios received nothing; he had already received his gifts during a recent visit, but had chosen to remain in L'viv rather than return home. Perhaps he sent the grant to Constantinople with someone else; the Muscovites did not charge him with financial impropriety, but they did resent his not completing the mission personally.

After the reception, Shchelkalov informed Jeremiah that he was to be questioned by Boris Godunov himself. The tsar's *koniushii* posed the same questions that Pushechnikov had asked of Jeremiah along the way from Smolensk to Moscow. The patriarch related that a Greek under his obedience had slandered him to the sultan and how Theoleptos bribed the Ottoman authorities by promising to pay the sultan two thousand gold pieces in addition to the usual *peşkeş* if he were to become patriarch. The sultan "violated earlier decrees" and appointed Theoleptos without the synod's approval, and Jeremiah was exiled to the "White Sea" (the Mediterranean) to the city of Naurod for four years.⁴⁴

This encounter set the stage for negotiations left largely unrecorded. In the sources, the process leading up to the elevation of Iov as patriarch is subsumed by the final outcome. However, references to Jeremiah's desire to go home, the forceful opposition of Hierotheos and other Greeks to the elevation and the general atmosphere created by the Muscovite authorities indicate that the patriarch endured a long and psychologically taxing detention.⁴⁵ He was forced to stay until a patriarchate for the realm was created. Although no text giving the course of

events has been preserved, an outline of the developments does emerge from the sources, from the sketchy references a number of general observations can be extracted.

According to the *posol'skaia kniga* and the Pseudo-Dorotheos chronicle, which preserves accounts by members of Jeremiah's party, the Muscovites did ask Jeremiah to establish a patriarchate in their realm. Both indicate that Jeremiah was not immediately forthcoming.⁴⁶ The passage from Pseudo-Dorotheos is worth quoting:

The Muscovites announced to Patriarch Jeremiah that they wanted him to create a patriarchate for them. First, Jeremiah said that this could not be done; he would only install an archbishop, as in Ohrid. And when they were one on one, the metropolitan of Monemvasia [i.e., Hierotheos] said to the patriarch: "My Lord, this cannot be done, because Constantine the Great created the patriarchates together with an ecumenical council. And Justinian the Great together with the Fifth Ecumenical Council made Ohrid an archbishopric and Jerusalem a patriarchate, on account of the Venerable Passion of Christ. There are only three of us here. ([This is so] because one, the archbishop of Elassona, Arsenios, who did not have a see of his own, joined up with us in Poland and came to Russia with the patriarch.) Lord, we came to the tsar for alms and on account of the debts incurred in our days." And he [i.e., Jeremiah] answered: "Neither do I want this. But if they wish, I will dwell [here] as patriarch." And the metropolitan of Monemvasia said to him: "Blessed Lord, this is impossible, for you speak a different language, you are not used to the place, they have different ordinances and customs, and they do not want you. Don't embarrass yourself!" But he did not want to listen at all.⁴⁷

The Pseudo-Dorotheos chronicle is explicit about Jeremiah's reluctance to accede to Moscow's initial request to elevate to the patriarchate a Muscovite chosen by the synod. Members of his suite, if not Jeremiah himself, saw important canonical obstacles. Ecclesiastical policy in the Christian East was articulated, or at least ratified, by ecclesiastical authority, which resided ultimately in local and ecumenical councils. Given the gravity of the proposition and the essentially conciliar nature of Orthodox ecclesiology and church polity, the creation of a fifth Orthodox patriarchate was not a question that Jeremiah could decide without a synod of the Orthodox Church with the participation of the three other Eastern patriarchs. Pseudo-Dorotheos implies

that they had not given their support for the creation of a Moscow patriarchate, contrary to the indication in the *posol'skaia kniga*.

Metropolitan Hierotheos, according to the chronicle, outlined an imposing series of practical problems that a Greek patriarch would encounter in the Muscovite lands. Cultural differences in the Orthodox world, particularly between Greeks and non-Greeks, have always been obstacles to the Orthodox solidarity. Pseudo-Dorotheos, openly critical in his portrayal of Greek ecclesiastics, was equally candid in his depiction of the Muscovites, charging them with cruelty and imputing evil motives to them.⁴⁸ Despite centuries of organized church life, the Slavs in the north were still regarded historically as upstarts by the Greeks. The notion of Slavic ecclesiastical pre-eminence was undoubtedly unsavory, if not threatening, to a Greek hierarch such as Hierotheos and perhaps to the more docile Jeremiah as well.

Since our sources preserve only a partial record of Russo-Greek negotiations, it is difficult to say much about them, except that it is clear that Muscovite ecclesiastical authorities played no role in them; it was the boyars and not even the tsar who determined Muscovite policy and conducted the discussions.⁴⁹ Pseudo-Dorotheos' account provides the greatest detail:

Then cunningly the Muscovites devised a scheme and said: "My Lord, if you determine to stay here, we will have you." But these words were said to them neither by the tsar nor by any of the boyars of the palace, but only by those who guarded them. Jeremiah thoughtlessly and without sizing things up, and without the advice of anyone said: "I am staying." And he had this habit, that he never listened to good advice from anyone, even from those subject to him. And for this reason both he and the Church were ruined in his days.⁵⁰ Then the Muscovites, seeing that he was not about to ordain [someone else as patriarch], and that he wanted to remain, told him: "Because, my Lord, you want to stay, we want this as well; however, since the ancient Rus' throne is in Vladimir, take pains to stay there." And that was a place worse than Koukousos.⁵¹ Then with the assistance of certain Christians, the patriarch said: "There will be no discussion [about going to Vladimir]. I will not do this."⁵²

Pseudo-Dorotheos considers the invitation to stay in Vladimir a tactical ploy to induce the patriarch to install a native Muscovite as patriarch. It could indeed have been a ruse, since the Muscovites might

have suspected that Jeremiah would not accept the proposal. The patriarch was bound to avoid everything that would compromise the seniority of his office or the traditions of Orthodox Christianity. The early Christian ecclesiological principle of the geographical permanency of bishops had over the centuries come to be violated in many ways not only among the East Slavs, especially in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but also by Eastern patriarchs. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they regularly abandoned their sees to take up residence in Constantinople. Nevertheless, despite the abandoning of many Orthodox rules, certain of them concerning the patriarchate of Constantinople have always been treated with a particular respect by Orthodox Christians, especially by those associated intimately with the patriarchate itself. Offering to settle the patriarch of Constantinople in a provincial Russian town, far from the capital, besides being an outright affront, according to Pseudo-Dorotheos, challenged some of these cherished precepts: the status of Constantinople as the supreme ecclesiastical center, and the importance of harmony and cooperation between the ecclesiastical and political authorities. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 had dealt a lasting blow to these concepts, but the principles remained dear in Greek Orthodox consciousness.

The Muscovite sources are mute about any Greek opposition, but the information from the Greek sources compliments the Muscovite accounts and provides evidence that the final creation of the patriarchate of Moscow was the fruit of intrigue and a calculated and coercive imposition. Whatever may have been the details of the talks, from the sources it emerges that the court engaged the patriarch on the subject and that he had not immediately ruled it out, thereby giving the Muscovites room to maneuver. The patriarch had acted impulsively and for the rest of the match he was on the defensive. In this contest the Muscovites' patience and persistence slowly wore down the aging prelate. Having initially refused to accede to any patriarchal proposal, Jeremiah softened his stance, offering to confirm Muscovite autocephaly along the lines of the archbishopric of Ohrid, the Bulgarian see which from the beginning was never truly self-governing and subsequently, under the Ottomans was in fact under the tutelage of the patriarch of Constantinople, even receiving its Holy Chrism from him.⁵³ The Pseudo-Dorotheos chronicle criticizes Jeremiah for abandoning his original resolve, thereby giving the Muscovites cause for

confidence that he could be persuaded to yield to their demands. The struggle of wills and wits lasted a long time, for it was exactly six months after the arrival of the Greek delegation that Jeremiah agreed to install as patriarch of Vladimir, Moscow, and of All Rus' the tsar's candidate from the Muscovite synod.

The pressure put on the patriarch had been formidable. Although Jeremiah's sequestration was probably no worse than that described by Herberstein, Possevino, Fletcher, and other diplomats in Muscovy, it is clear from the *Posol'skaia kniga* that he and his companions were carefully watched.⁵⁴ Arsenios, who had earlier visited Muscovy, no doubt advised the patriarch about Muscovite diplomatic hospitality. Even if they had been forewarned, the Greek delegation would have found these circumstances in Moscow oppressive. Hierotheos, unlike Arsenios who in the end remained in Muscovy and wrote memoirs that cast his Muscovite hosts in a favorable light, described the conditions of the house arrest and wrote bluntly about the wardens who kept constant watch over the Greek prelates: "He [Jeremiah] had mischievous and cruel men on his heels, and everything that they heard they passed on to the interpreters, who in turn told the tsar." Jeremiah was confined to quarters: "In the place where they [the Muscovites] held Jeremiah they would not let anyone from the local people come to see him, nor would they allow him to go out. Only the monks [in Jeremiah's suite], when they so desired, would go out with the people of the tsar into the marketplace and the Muscovites guarded the monks until they returned to their quarters."⁵⁵ Quite possibly Jeremiah was aware of the travails and three decades of Muscovite detention and imprisonment endured by Maksim Grek.⁵⁶ Confinement, scrutiny, and psychological stress combined to produce an intimidating effect.

The Elevation of Iov to the Patriarchate and Alms from the Tsar

On 23/13 January Godunov and Shchelkalov went to Jeremiah "on orders from the tsar" with a concrete proposal to elevate Iov to the patriarchate. After a long discussion (*sovetoav mnogo*), Jeremiah agreed to install as patriarch the tsar's candidate from the Muscovite synod.⁵⁷ He was not oblivious to the canonical irregularities of this development and he tried to ensure that the damage to Orthodox practice was minimal by demanding that the patriarch be properly elected.⁵⁸

The few words relating Jeremiah's plaintive plea after having yielded are telling: "And as for him [i.e., Jeremiah], the most righteous and Christ-loving tsar should have pity on him and release him to Constantinople."⁵⁹

On 27/17 January Fedor informed Iov and the synod of Jeremiah's willingness to install a patriarch according to the tsar's wishes.⁶⁰ The metropolitan responded by conceding the whole question to the "will of the most righteous tsar and grand prince, to do as the most righteous Sovereign, Tsar, and Grand Prince Fedor Ivanovich of All Rus' deigns."⁶¹ On 2 February/23 January the synod of Muscovite bishops assembled to go through the motions of electing a patriarch from a list of three candidates, preordained by the court: Iov, Aleksandr of Novgorod, and Varlaam of Rostov, as well as metropolitans for the two newly created metropolitanates, Kazan' and Astrakhan', and Rostov.⁶² After half a year in the capital, Jeremiah was for the first time brought to the Cathedral of the Dormition to elevate the metropolitan of Moscow to the patriarchate; he had apparently not yet set eyes on him,⁶³ and there was some apprehension about their first encounter; the Muscovites took steps to preclude any possibility that Jeremiah might in some way reject the metropolitan.⁶⁴ However, he followed the script, and Iov, Godunov's man from the beginning, was solemnly chosen.

Jeremiah was probably not particularly shocked by the manner in which the Muscovite secular authorities selected Iov as patriarch-designate or by the diocesan reorganization that ensued, for this was in keeping with Byzantine tradition.⁶⁵ Although the complete and detailed orchestration of the proceedings contradicted the spirit and letter of canon law, making a farce of ecclesiastical propriety, the vicissitudes of life under the Turks had tempered the patriarch's sensibilities in this regard. The nature of the election is a clear indication that the patriarch had virtually no influence over the process.

More offensive, however, was the rejection of the Greek rite of patriarchal installation and the sacramental innovation introduced by Muscovites in the rite of patriarchal ordination prepared especially for the occasion. According to Apostolic Christian Sacred Tradition there are only three degrees of the priestly order—the diaconate, presbyterate, and episcopacy, each of which requires a successive ordination or "laying on of hands" (*cheirotomia*), in the Byzantine liturgy characterized by a prayer beginning with the words "Divine grace."

Archbishops, metropolitans, patriarchs, and popes all participate in the episcopal order by virtue of one episcopal ordination but they are installed in office. For Iov, however, a special patriarchal ordination liturgy, including the prayer "Divine grace," was prepared, because the rites of installation as they appeared in the Greek service books were deemed insufficient for the occasion.⁶⁶ The actual elevation occurred on 5 February/26 January 1589,⁶⁷ and here, as in the royal court, the hosts impressed their majesty on the visiting patriarch. No efforts were spared to solemnize the occasion and to convince the patriarch that he had in fact made a responsible decision.⁶⁸

Although the Moscow patriarchate was now a reality, Jeremiah was not yet free to go. The spring thaw, which made Muscovite roads impassable, might have been a reason for the delay, but Jeremiah had already been eager to leave in January. Since there is abundant evidence that travelers to the Greek East and Greek hierarchs themselves did leave Moscow in the months of January and February, it is clear that it was not the season that held him in Moscow.⁶⁹

The irregular, non-synodal manner in which Patriarch Jeremiah upgraded the metropolitanate of Moscow was not lost on Fedor's government. Care had to be taken to ensure that Jeremiah act on Moscow's behalf to gain ratification from the other three Orthodox patriarchs.⁷⁰ Additional persuasion was in order to secure officially documented confirmation of the installation:

And they brought a large, exceedingly wide parchment document written in Bulgarian letters. And the patriarch signed it. But the metropolitan of Monemvasia asked: "What is written here? [When you tell me] then I will sign." And the first one [i.e., the overseer],⁷¹ Andrei Tzalkanos [Shchelkalov] by name, answered: "It is written how you installed the patriarch and how you came here." And the metropolitan of Monemvasia said: "It should have been written in Greek, not in Russian." But they did not listen to him. The patriarch's hieromonks signed as well, as did the archbishop of Ellassona. But the metropolitan of Monemvasia was completely against this, lest the Church should be divided and another head and a great schism be created. He was in danger of being thrown into the river, until the patriarch took an oath that the metropolitan of Monemvasia had said nothing.⁷²

On 29/19 May 1589, the tsar wrote a letter to Katyrev-Rostovskii and the other Smolensk gentry that he had released Jeremiah along with

his delegation for their homeward journey. The party was escorted by Grigorii Nashchokin and Semeika Pushechnikov and thirty *deti boiarskie*. In Smolensk the travelers were to be given rations for six days and then provided at the border with the abundant provisions prescribed by the court.⁷³ When they were about to depart from Moscow, Jeremiah, Hierotheos, Arsenios, and other members of the delegation received money and gifts from the tsar. Although it is difficult to determine the real value of the Muscovite endowment, it clearly was a most generous grant.⁷⁴ In Smolensk the tsar's messenger, Roman Tushin, caught up with Jeremiah's suite and delivered an additional thousand rubles for church construction. Tushin had received orders to pursue the patriarch even across the border to hand over the sum. Since the court decided to allocate the thousand rubles after Jeremiah had departed from Moscow, it is evident that the Muscovite leadership was doing everything it could to garner the favor of the Constantinople-bound hierarch. Tushin carried three *gramotas*: one from the tsar to Sultan Murad, another to Jeremiah, and one from Godunov to the patriarch. The tsar called on Murad to protect the patriarch and asked Jeremiah for his prayers. Godunov also requested that Jeremiah write a secret report about affairs in Lithuania and Constantinople, not revealing Godunov's or his own name.⁷⁵ On 14/4 June Jeremiah was still in Smolensk, but a few days later he sent effusive letters of gratitude to Tsar Fedor and Godunov from Orsha, acknowledging receipt of the alms and supplies from the Smolensk vоеvodas. He was also quick to report that Maximilian was no longer a contender for the Polish throne.⁷⁶

At every turn Jeremiah had been confronted with symbols of the tsar's power to keep him aware of the ability of the tsar to determine his fate. The internal memoranda show that the Muscovites carefully maximized the effect of their overtures to Jeremiah and his entourage. Each Muscovite gesture was ostentatious. The principle at the heart of hospitality—disguising the prepared nature of the welcome by creating an atmosphere of spontaneity—was systematically inverted. The patriarch was made aware of every minute concession and of his utter dependence on the host. As far as visits go, this visitor was at the mercy of his host in a definitive way: he was refused permission to leave at will.

At certain moments the drama was heightened by the creation or exploitation of expectations: will Jeremiah be allowed to eat with the

tsar? When will he be allowed to return to Constantinople? Will the tsar provide funds? The ceremonies marking the patriarchal elevation itself were ponderous and unabashedly contrived. The absence of joyful celebration is evinced by the formulaic statements to the contrary. By any standards, the treatment meted out to the Greeks in Moscow as described in the sources was intended to intimidate and create an apprehensive respect for the *mysterium tremendum* of Muscovy.

The negotiations and bargaining involved in the creation of the patriarchate of Moscow encountered resistance by Jeremiah and members of his suite and entailed a series of canonical innovations and irregularities as the sources make clear. Jeremiah was held in Moscow against his will. Members of his party and he himself opposed the creation of a patriarchate. From an Orthodox ecclesiological point of view, the entire procedure was uncanonical. A pan-Orthodox synod had not been convoked, the election of candidates was fixed, and the sacramental integrity of the single episcopal consecration had been violated; there is no credible indication that any previous agreement among the Eastern patriarchs concerning the creation of a patriarchate for Muscovy had been reached, nor even that the Greeks had any policy towards the Muscovite Church.

Jeremiah was no naive, wide-eyed novice to the hardball world of state and ecclesiastical politics. Nor was he a rash churchman. He had withstood the humiliations of life as patriarch under the Turks, with intrigues, depositions, and deprivations. He had held his own with Pope Gregory XIII, and his correspondence with the Protestants of Augsburg indicates that he was not easily overwhelmed. Yet, Pseudo-Dorotheos complains that the patriarch did not heed his warnings and imprudently allowed himself to be manipulated. It is easy to imagine how this could have happened. The position of the Orthodox in the Ottoman Empire was desperate. The travails of the Orthodox Churches that Jeremiah encountered on his way to Muscovy could not have been heartening. In Muscovy he was received and treated by the political authorities like any other diplomat coming to Moscow. He was interrogated repeatedly, sequestered and held against his will, and imprisoned in a gilded cage for eleven months in an alien world. The Muscovites made it clear that his fate was completely in their hands. A native of the temperate southern coast of the Black Sea, the sixty-year-old hierarch endured a fair dose of monastic mortification in the extreme conditions of the

long Russian winter. He could not well refuse the Muscovite demands without jeopardizing essential support from the tsar. To put it simply, the Muscovites made him an offer he could not refuse. The patriarch of Constantinople was bereft of all power except for the dignity and honorific authority of his primatial see. In the end, to escape—figuratively and literally—from a difficult situation he had to share with Muscovy the only capital at his disposition. In doing so he was forced not only to devalue his own currency but also to violate tenets of Orthodox ecclesiology and hallowed church custom. The elevation of the metropolitan of Moscow was not an act of patriarchal authority, but one of patriarchal submission. Lest Jeremiah be confused about the exact nature of the ecclesiastical concession, Hierotheos reminded him of it in no uncertain terms. The days in early January were at their shortest and coldest and thoughts of home were on his mind when Jeremiah gave in. It was with a sinking heart that the patriarch acceded to the court's demands.

All told, the elevation of the metropolitanate of Moscow to the patriarchate appears to have been an act of resignation on Jeremiah's part. He traveled to Moscow intending to collect alms and in this he was in fact successful.

The Greeks finally left Muscovy in wagons creaking from the weight of the coffers and a hundred buckets of honey, live fish, and other provisions.⁷⁷ However, the encounter with Muscovy, in general, and the solemnities and celebration of the installation of a new patriarch, in particular, were enigmatic from the perspective of the Church of Constantinople. Muscovy was rich and could help, but it was hardly clear that it shared the Greeks' cause. At every step the Muscovites demonstrated a more or less subtle attitude of reserve and paternalism. Although the documents wax eloquent about Orthodox solidarity, no rapport or fellowship had been established with the Muscovite church circles. In fact, over such an extended period there had been hardly any sustained contact with Muscovite ecclesiastics. Almost all of the interaction was between the ecumenical head of the Orthodox Church and the rulers of the Muscovite state. Although Jeremiah traveled to Muscovy as an ecclesiastical leader looking for support for his Church, he was received and treated as a diplomat on a political mission to Muscovy. The Muscovite court and not the Church was his host. Metropolitan Iov did not meet, greet, or see the patriarch when he arrived, nor for

the next six months. The senior hierarch of the Orthodox world was not invited or admitted to the Cathedral of the Annunciation and possibly other churches until he had acquiesced to the tsar's desires. Apparently, with the sole exception of the patriarchal elevation of Iov, Jeremiah did not break Eucharistic Bread with the Muscovite Orthodox. The Muscovites saw fit to defy the Sacred Tradition of the Greek East, spurning the Greek ritual for the installation of a patriarch and composing their own, which included an unprecedented rite of patriarchal consecration. Throughout his stay Jeremiah was a ritual figurehead, whose role and responsibilities were ultimately determined by Muscovite authorities, even in the liturgical sphere. If not immediately upon arrival, then in the following weeks and months of protracted detention, all of these slights, insults, and canonical innovations or irregularities violated the dignity of the patriarch of Constantinople.

The palliative effect of the pecuniary reward must have been mixed with regret. After a long life under the Ottoman regime he was well aware of just how tenuous was the Church's hold on any acquisition. Still, he certainly could not return empty-handed. The last-minute, thousand rubles the tsar sent for church construction to the patriarch in Orsha in the tsar's name was an unexpected benefaction that served to underscore the tsar's bounty and raise hopes for future largess. Jeremiah expressed his gratitude with the required obsequiousness. At the same time it is difficult to imagine that material endowment could fully heal the subtle, yet profound injury to Jeremiah's human and patriarchal dignity wrought by the ordeals endured during a year of sequestration and manipulation.⁷⁸ It is with this financial gain but canonical compromise and ideological sacrifice that Jeremiah traveled to the Ruthenian lands and catalyzed a major upheaval of the Orthodox Church in the Kyivan metropolitanate.



Illustration 10. Portrait of Bishop of L'viv Hedeon (Balaban) from Pompei Nikolaevich Batiushkov, ed. *Kholmkaia Rus'. Istoricheskie sud'by russkogo Zabuzh'ia*. St. Petersburg, 1887, insert between pp. 120–21. The etching is a copy of a portrait that was held in the St. Onuphrius Monastery in L'viv.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Patriarch Jeremiah, the Kyivan Hierarchy, and Ecclesiastical Reform

Patriarch Jeremiah left Muscovy in the middle of June 1589 and arrived within two or three days at Orsha, the first town on the Lithuanian side of the border. There, he drafted letters to Tsar Fedor Ivanovich and Boris Godunov, expressing his gratitude for the considerable benefaction given to him just before leaving Smolensk and reporting that because of the tsar's recommendation, the patriarchal suite had been received "with honor, grace, and great joy."¹ Along with the parting grant, Godunov had sent Jeremiah a letter directing him to inform the Muscovites about the fate of the Habsburg claimant to the Polish throne, Archduke Maximilian, specifically whether he had been released from confinement, and if so, on what terms. Godunov also inquired about the stability of the Swedish king's (Sigismund) position in the Commonwealth and about the monarch's attitudes regarding Muscovy.²

Jeremiah sent two letters to the tsar and two more to Godunov, whom he addressed as "Sovereign," promising more information on Sigismund and on Polish-Lithuanian relations with the Habsburgs. For the time being, he could report only that the Poles had released Archduke Maximilian; that the archduke had made peace with Sigismund which, however, remained undocumented; that there had been no new Tatar raids; and that Sigismund was to have been in Vilnius at that time.³ Allowing for an interval of reconnaissance and composition of the letters, it can be assumed that the patriarch stayed in Orsha for a number of days.

*The Status of the Patriarch of Constantinople in the
Kyivan Metropolitanate*

Jeremiah traveled to Vilnius from Orsha, a two-hundred mile journey that probably took the better part of a fortnight.⁴ If so, he arrived during the first week of July. At that time Sigismund, now Zygmunt III Vasa after his election to the Polish-Lithuanian throne, was visiting Vilnius for the first time. On 7 July he issued a rescript acknowledging Jeremiah's jurisdiction over the Ruthenian hierarchy and clergy. The rescript recognized Jeremiah's right to evaluate the affairs of the Kyivan Metropolitanate, to promulgate ecclesiastical legislation, and to judge the Orthodox clergy, from the lowest to the highest, which "from ancient times" had belonged to the jurisdiction of the patriarchs of Constantinople. The king forbade all civil or ecclesiastical officials to undermine in any way Jeremiah's authority over the Kyivan Church.⁵ Zygmunt's decree, in a slightly expanded form dated 15 July, was printed, ensuring wide dissemination.⁶ The decree was recorded in the books of the Vilnius municipal council, copied in local Ruthenian churches, and nailed to the city gates.⁷

A nephew of the Polish King Zygmunt II August and the son of the Swedish King John III, Zygmunt III was born in a Swedish dungeon, where his parents were imprisoned, and raised in Sweden. As king of Poland, Zygmunt was beginning his reign in a foreign land. He had weathered an unsuccessful but formidable Habsburg challenge to his election to the throne, and it was natural for the twenty-two-year-old king to seek consolidation of his authority by accommodating the religious communities in his new domains. Jeremiah's presence in Vilnius influenced the king's recognition of the Vilnius brotherhood and his guarantee of broad rights and liberties to the brotherhood. On 21 July 1589 Zygmunt sanctioned the Vilnius confraternity at the Holy Trinity Monastery, confirming its statutes (which had been published), endorsing its program of teaching literacy in Ruthenian, Greek, Latin, and Polish, and permitting printing in Greek, Church Slavonic, Ruthenian, and Polish. The confraternity building and those residing in it were to be exempt from municipal rents and taxes. Zygmunt declared the confraternity free from the control of secular and clerical (both Orthodox and Catholic) authorities, reserving for himself the right to hear claims against the it.⁸ The king had been shown a document



Illustration 11. Portrait of Zygmunt III Vasa, sometime after the taking of Smolensk in 1610. L'viv City Museum of Portraiture. *Reproduced with permission.*

indicating that the bylaws of the confraternity had received “the blessing of their [i.e., the Ruthenians’] supreme pastor, Archbishop of Constantinople and Ecumenical Patriarch Jeremiah.” The royal charter permitted the confraternity to use its seal, “granted to them by the patriarch.” Of note is the fact that in the king’s decree the patriarchate is referred to three times, while the Ruthenian hierarchy is virtually ignored.

Eventually, Zygmunt, whose ardently Catholic mother had influenced his Protestant father to convert secretly in 1578, would prove to be a staunch opponent of any patriarchal influence in the Ruthenian Church. His sanction of Jeremiah’s activity in the summer of 1589, remarkable for its breadth and absoluteness, was, however, more than the sign of a monarch’s temporary benevolence to the Orthodox Church and to its highest ranking hierarch. In the context of other developments in Ruthenian culture and society, the solemn royal confirmation of the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople in the Metropolitanate of Kyiv reflected the revitalization of the relationship between the Ruthenian Church and the patriarchate that had been occurring throughout the 1580s.

After the Council of Florence and the direct papal appointment of Metropolitan Gregory in 1458, the nature of the metropolitanate’s subordination to patriarchs in Constantinople became ambivalent. During the first two-thirds of the sixteenth century, communion between the Kyivan Metropolitanate and the Church of Rome lapsed, while the bond with the Patriarchate of Constantinople prevailed, though only tenuously. In Ruthenian sources from this period there are but a few references to the Metropolitanate’s canonical dependence on the Patriarchate of Constantinople.⁹ It seems to have had virtually no influence on Ruthenian Orthodox institutions and ecclesial ethos, on the discipline of the hierarchy and clergy, much less on the religious life of laity. The Patriarchate of Constantinople as well as other Eastern patriarchates, Greek Orthodox sees and monasteries in the Ottoman Empire sent dozens of clerics to Muscovy through the lands of the Kyivan Metropolitanate, yet their presence in Ukraine and Belarus’ left no lasting mark.

This limited interaction was not the result of alienation, conflicts, or any Ruthenian drive for independence. Neither was it a consequence of a concerted policy pursued by the authorities of the Polish Kingdom or

Lithuanian Grand Duchy to pry the Ruthenian Church away from the Constantinopolitan sphere of influence. One underlying reason for the loose bonds between Constantinople and Kyiv was that Eastern Christian ecclesiology never envisioned the kind of centralized ecclesiastical administration that developed progressively in the medieval and early modern West. Although after the fall of the Byzantine Empire the ecumenical patriarchate gradually acquired a preeminence in ecclesiastical affairs in the Ottoman-controlled Christian East, which Arab Christian critics compared to the papacy in the West, as a rule the Patriarchs of Constantinople did not seek direct jurisdiction in the internal ecclesiastical affairs of Orthodox East Slavs. Nevertheless, until the creation of the patriarchate of Moscow, Constantinople never abandoned its claim to jurisdiction over the Muscovite metropolitans. Throughout most of the sixteenth century the supremacy of Constantinopolitan patriarchs over Kyivan metropolitans remained unchallenged in theory.

In earlier chapters it has been shown that the ties between the Kyivan metropolitanate and the patriarchate of Constantinople weakened with the decline and fall of the Byzantine Empire and the establishment of the *Tourkokratia*. Ottoman overlordship and the attendant corruption in the Greek Orthodox community sapped the vigor of the patriarchate, causing internal institutional deterioration and impeding the patriarchate's effectiveness in distant ecclesiastical regions belonging to its jurisdiction. Furthermore, the circumstances of both Churches throughout much of the sixteenth century did not call for particularly close ties. The contacts between Moscow and Constantinople developed progressively throughout the sixteenth century because the relationship was mutually beneficial. The Muscovites could offer the impoverished Orthodox Greeks much needed material assistance. The Greeks provided the Muscovites with legitimization within the categories of traditional Orthodox political and ecclesiastical ideology, while supplying a regular flow of information about Ottoman political and military developments. Neither the structurally feeble Kyivan Church nor the Ruthenian princes, magnates, and nobles—increasingly absorbed in the western-oriented political and economic affairs and social life of nobiliary Lithuania and Poland—were inclined to direct their resources to support atrophied Orthodox institutions under Turkish rule. As long as the basic premises of Ruthenian religious institutions

and mores remained unquestioned, and as long as *de facto*, if imperfect, tolerance of the *fides graeca* (“Greek faith”) prevailed in the Lithuanian Grand Duchy and the Polish Kingdom, the Kyivan metropolitanate did not need more from Constantinople than the perfunctory confirmation of nominees to the metropolitan seat.

The patriarchate of Constantinople, beleaguered throughout the *Tourkokratia* by external and internal disturbances, was itself in no position to exert its canonical authority or pastoral responsibility in the Kyivan Church. The Ruthenian Orthodox demonstrated little concern for the role of the Patriarchs of Constantinople in the affairs of the Kyivan Church. No record of patriarchal confirmation survives for a number of sixteenth-century metropolitans of Kyiv, suggesting that, even if this sanction was sought and given, it was not a prominent factor in the identity of contemporary leaders of the Ruthenian Church.¹⁰ For the Ruthenian hierarchy, clergy, and laity, during most of the sixteenth century the patriarchate of Constantinople, on a practical level, was simply not an important ecclesiastical, cultural, or ideological point of reference. Thus, although communion in faith was preserved, for most of the sixteenth century the relationship between Kyiv and Constantinople withered because neither partner saw a need to foster it.

The Byzantine Greek legacy, however, was imbedded too deeply in Ruthenian religious life for its association with the Greek East to be extinguished. The sixteenth-century religious upheavals, beginning in Western Europe and extending throughout Christendom, affected not only the Churches of Constantinople and Kyiv individually but also stimulated closer contacts between them. Journeys to Muscovy brought Greek clerics into the orbit of Ruthenian ecclesiastical life, while issues such as the Gregorian calendar reform and the role of urban laity in religious affairs provoked direct involvement of Eastern patriarchs in the affairs of the Kyivan metropolitanate. Prince Ostrozkyi, in his Bible project and printing activity, through the curriculum of his school, and in his ecclesiastical-diplomatic relations, promoted the Byzantine Greek religious and cultural legacy and emphasized the role of the patriarchate of Constantinople for the Ruthenian Church. The confraternities, having received repeated signs of encouragement and confirmation, and even some practical assistance, from Greek Orthodox hierarchs, became enthusiastic advocates of closer Ruthenian ties

to the Greek East.¹¹ In the mid- and late 1580s, decrees of Constantinopolitan patriarchs served not only to spur the movement of revival amidst the Ruthenian laity but also to arouse the attention of the hierarchy to the critical state of Ruthenian ecclesiastical life. In a relatively short time the Patriarchate of Constantinople had become again a point of orientation for religious processes in the metropolitanate of Kyiv.

In the summer of 1588, the patriarch of Constantinople traveled through Ukraine and Belarus', stopping in Ruthenian centers, but also visiting the highest ranking lay representatives of Catholic society, including Jan Zamoyski. Patriarch Jeremiah's name and venerable reputation, his rejection of Lutheran theological positions, his tribulations on and off the Constantinopolitan throne, as well as his relatively conciliatory attitude towards the papacy became known and appreciated in certain political and ecclesiastical circles in the Commonwealth. Within the Commonwealth as well as within the Kyivan metropolitanate, the stature of Patriarch Jeremiah had grown throughout the 1580s and at the end of the decade was at its peak. Jeremiah's personal qualities and responses to contemporary religious issues dividing the confessions, as well as his first journey through the Commonwealth earned notice from representatives of the Catholic elite in Poland and Lithuania for the patriarchate of Constantinople as an institution. Thus, while confirming Jeremiah's authority in the Kyivan metropolitanate, Zygmunt's rescript in fact reflected a revitalization in the authority of the patriarchate of Constantinople that already had occurred.

Jeremiah's reception in the Commonwealth differed markedly from the treatment he endured as guest of the Muscovite tsar. In Muscovy, from the moment that the patriarch crossed the border, his itinerary, freedom of association, and ecclesiastical activity were carefully controlled and even programmed by Muscovite civil authorities. Through patient, systematic pressure the Muscovites succeeded in inducing the Greek hierarch to elevate the metropolitan of Moscow to patriarchal dignity, despite Jeremiah's evident unwillingness and the efforts of senior members of his suite to dissuade him from doing so. The honorary supreme dignity of the ecumenical patriarch, although formally recognized by the Muscovites, did not in their eyes carry with it sovereignty in Orthodox ecclesiastical matters, much less authority over the Muscovite Church. Given this experience, Jeremiah must have been

emboldened by Zygmunt's conspicuously promulgated declaration recognizing the patriarch's plenary powers in Ruthenian religious affairs.

Jeremiah's Reforms in the Kyivan Metropolitanate

During his second sojourn in the Kyivan metropolitanate on his way back from Moscow, Patriarch Jeremiah took full advantage of the royal endorsement of his authority by instituting a series of reforms, through which the supremacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople over the Kyivan Church was powerfully reiterated. These reforms largely consisted of an attempt to establish compliance with Eastern ecclesiastical law. The one canonical transgression in the Kyivan Church that most distressed Greek patriarchs, both Joachim in 1586 and Patriarch Jeremiah during his stay in Ukraine and Belarus, was the evidently widespread practice of ordaining to the priesthood, and even episcopacy, men married more than once and the apparent condoning of the concubinage of priests, widowed or otherwise. Jeremiah was aware that Joachim denounced not only the digamist (licitly twice-married) clergy but also of all who knowingly condoned or abetted it.¹² Quite possibly, during his first stay he himself had already reminded Ruthenian ecclesiastics of the need to address clerical noncompliance. On 21 July 1589 Jeremiah defrocked all twice- and thrice-married clergy and excommunicated the twice-married priest Ivan Mykol'skyi of Pinsk, who continued to celebrate the Divine Liturgy despite Jeremiah's prohibition. Jeremiah also reprimanded the bishop of Pinsk, Leontii (Pel'chytskyi; in some sources Pel'chyn'skyi, 1585–95; bishop of Kholm, 1577–85) for trying to conceal Ivan's irregular status.¹³

However, Jeremiah did not limit his housecleaning to the downstairs. Sometime after arriving in Vilnius, the patriarch deposed Metropolitan Onysyfor (Divochka; 1579–89) because he, too, had been married twice, presumably before becoming a monk.¹⁴ No concrete information has been preserved about the circumstances of Metropolitan Onysyfor's nomination.¹⁵ Some of the strongest charges leveled against him in the later polemics surrounding the Union of Brest, as well as in modern historiography, are exaggerated. Hrushev'skyi demythologizes the assumption, common amidst pre-revolutionary Orthodox scholars (Makarii [Bulgakov], Ivan Ignat'evich Malyshevskii, Orest Ivanovych Levytskyi, Petr Andreevich Gil'tebrandt), that he was

a morally degenerate and irresponsible hierarch, epitomizing all that was wrong in the Ruthenian Church,¹⁶ arguing convincingly that his name “Divochka” (“girl”) was a proper surname used in royal charters, not a pejorative nickname indicating that Onysyfor was a womanizer. The metropolitan’s previous marital status was surely not a matter of general scandal (as maintained by Makarii) because the ordination of digamist men was common in the Kyivan Metropolitanate and would have outraged only those initiated into the finer points of Eastern canon law. Hrushevs’kyi points out that there is absolutely no evidence that Onysyfor was not a properly tonsured hegumen of the Laūryshaŭ Monastery (where today the village Laūryshava is located) in the Navahrudak Palatinate or that, once metropolitan, he was guilty of concubinage. Both Makarii’s hypothesis that Onysyfor was a layman when raised to the metropolitanate and Malyshevskii’s opinion that the metropolitan was a secret sympathizer of semi-Judaizers are groundless. Jeremiah’s drastic act of deposition required ideological justification, especially when the Ruthenian hierarchy began to question the authority of the patriarchate and prepare for Union with Rome. Polemical motives gave rise to the categorically negative, and wrongful, portrayal of Onysyfor. Thus, on the eve of the Union, in a memorandum to the Diet of the Commonwealth the L’viv Brotherhood calumniously accused Onysyfor of having wavered in the faith and of having ordained thousands of twice- and thrice-married men.¹⁷

Earlier in his reign the metropolitan had been criticized by a group of nobles for not responding adequately to the attempt of Roman Catholic civil and ecclesiastical authorities to impose by force the Gregorian calendar on the Ruthenian faithful. However, aside from his being a digamist, the sources preserve no indication of unconscionable behavior or outstanding dereliction of ecclesiastical responsibilities. Rather, Onysyfor seems to have been in continuity with previous sixteenth-century Kyivan metropolitans, who showed little dynamism and failed to confront the internal crisis and external challenge facing the Ruthenian Church.¹⁸

On 27 July Zygmunt issued a rescript announcing that the Archimandrite of the Ascension Monastery in Mensk, Mykhail (Rahoza), had taken Onysyfor’s place as metropolitan of Kyiv. It stated that the Grand Ducal Council (*Pany rada*) and nobility (*rytserstvo*) “of Greek [religious] law and ecclesiastical obedience” had advanced the

candidacy of the native Mensk cleric of noble lineage, that Zygmunt had granted the Kyivan see to Mykhail, and that Patriarch Jeremiah had consecrated the nominee to the episcopacy. The document makes no mention of the Ruthenian hierarchy influencing the selection process, nor did it seem that Jeremiah had played a significant role in the choice.¹⁹ That same day the king signed a circular letter to the civil officials, princes and nobility, and Ruthenian clergy of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy and of “all the Ruthenian lands” (*kraiev Ruskykh*), [including those of] the Kyiv, Galicia, Volhynia, Podlachia, and others,” recommending the new metropolitan and urging all concerned to respect the metropolitan’s authority in “spiritual matters of the Greek law.”²⁰ Since the time of Jeremiah’s departure from Muscovy, delayed beyond all expectation, was not known in advance, and since the deposition of Onysyfor and the nomination and ordination of Mykhail occurred within three weeks of the patriarch’s arrival in Vilnius, not enough time had elapsed for all members of the Ruthenian hierarchy to receive notification of Jeremiah’s intentions and to take part in the proceedings.²¹ The patriarch and the new Catholic king, and possibly Ruthenian civil authorities, took the matters of the Ruthenian Church into their own hands in a rather precipitous fashion. A major upheaval thus took place in the Kyivan metropolitanate without the participation of all the Ruthenian bishops.

The manner of Onysyfor’s deposition was unprecedented. Although in the fourteenth century and the first quarter of the fifteenth century patriarchs of Constantinople generally rejected the appointees of Lithuanian grand dukes to the Kyivan see, they did so in order to preserve the unity of the ecclesiastical province under one metropolitan resident in Muscovy, not because of the personal unsuitability of the respective nominee.²² Since the division of the Kyivan metropolitanate in the mid-fifteenth century, the patriarchs of Constantinople had had virtually no influence in the selection of Kyivan metropolitans, much less the power to unseat them.

Canonically, Jeremiah’s actions were justified and proper. According to Orthodox theology of matrimony, the first marital bond has a unique character. When this bond is broken by death or divorce, a subsequent marriage is allowed as a concession to human weakness (the issue of third and fourth marriages was hotly debated in Byzantium). However, a second marriage constituted an impediment to

priestly ordination and even more so to episcopal consecration. The revitalization of ecclesiastical discipline in the Ruthenian Church required that the metropolitan and hierarchy comply with the canons of the Eastern Church. Nevertheless, the deposition of Metropolitan Onysyfor was a shocking development that betrayed little pastoral prudence or sensitivity to the mentality and mores of the Eastern Christians in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

There is no evidence that before Jeremiah's arrival in Ukraine and Belarus' Onysyfor's legitimacy had ever been questioned by Ruthenian bishops, clergy, or laity. If it was generally known that he had been married twice, it does not seem to have caused offense in the Ruthenian context. The Orthodox in Poland and Lithuania had lived side by side with Catholics for two centuries or more. According to Western canon law, widowers can remarry repeatedly, and the number of licit marriages is not a factor in determining a widower's eligibility for ordination. Catholic kings regularly appointed widowers to Roman Catholic ecclesiastical sees. When doing so for the Ruthenian Church, they hardly gave thought to the possibility that being twice-widowed made a man ineligible for ordination. Moreover, it seems that the Ruthenian hierarchy had unknowingly or perhaps even knowingly ordained digamists. In their eyes the Greek emphasis on this issue, although it concerned an explicit canonical principle, must have seemed analogous to the Greek insistence that the Slavic practice of blessing breads and meats in church at Easter be suppressed. In both cases the Greek adamancy must have been puzzling and probably caused consternation.

In Vilnius, during their encounters with the patriarch after the deposition of Onysyfor (in late July or early August), the Ruthenian hierarchy did get an opportunity to voice their concerns about the involvement of Greeks in Ruthenian ecclesiastical affairs. On 11/1 August, still in Vilnius, Jeremiah issued a letter to Metropolitan Mykhail ordering him not to allow charlatan hierarchs and clerics from the Greek East to celebrate liturgy, issue ecclesiastical directives, or otherwise exercise false authority. Presumably, the Ruthenian bishops had complained to the patriarch of unauthorized Greeks who came to the Kyivan Metropolitanate and illegitimately intruded into Ruthenian ecclesiastical affairs. The patriarch's decrees—ordering the hierarchs to ignore such intruders and threatening with excommunication those who violated the decrees—were oblique guarantees of Ruthenian

ecclesiastical sovereignty in the face of opportunistic vagrant clerics who profited from their Greek identity by posing as representatives of the patriarchate or other Eastern Orthodox institutions, in order to take advantage of the locals.²³

The patriarch and the Ruthenian bishops assembled in Vilnius must have departed from the capital of the Grand Duchy immediately after Jeremiah issued the letter to Metropolitan Mykhail, because five days later they were already in Brest, 190 miles to the south.²⁴ In Brest a synod of Ruthenian bishops was held under Jeremiah's presidency. Besides the new metropolitan, those present included Bishops Meletii (Bohuryns'kyi Khrebtovych; of Volodymyr), Leontii (Pel'chyts'kyi; of Pinsk), Dionysii (Zbyruis'kyi; of Kholm), Kyryll (Terlets'kyi; of Luts'k), and Hedeon (Balaban; of L'viv). Missing were Atanasii (Terlets'kyi; of Polatsk) and Arsenii (Brylyns'kyi; of Peremyshl').²⁵ On the feast of the Transfiguration (16/6 August), during a solemn pontifical liturgy, Jeremiah installed as his exarch Bishop Kyryll (Terlets'kyi), investing him with authority to oversee the rest of the bishops, including the metropolitan, and ordering the bishops to "recognize among themselves his dignity [to be] greater than our own [*sic*]."²⁶ According to the document of nomination, the patriarch appointed Kyryll so that he would prompt "lazy pastors" (*lenivye pastyrie*) to work more zealously and "grow accustomed to the good ecclesiastical order." Jeremiah in turn urged the Ruthenian hierarchs to cooperate with Kyryll to address the needs of the Kyivan Church.²⁷ To show that the new exarch was not beneath the new metropolitan, Jeremiah addressed to Kyryll a copy of the letter issued to the metropolitan in Vilnius, concerning unauthorized itinerant Greek clerics.²⁸

By appointing Kyryll exarch and granting him such broad powers, the patriarch was apparently seeking to establish a system of checks and balances in the Kyivan metropolitanate, while at the same time strengthening his own hand in Ruthenian ecclesiastical affairs. If he intended to bolster the structure of the Ruthenian Church through the reforms he was instituting during his trip through the Commonwealth, the creation of a patriarchal exarch in the Ruthenian hierarchy was a highly ambiguous step. Less than a month earlier Jeremiah had consecrated a new metropolitan for the province, investing him with the authority and primacy traditionally proper to the leaders of the Kyivan Church. He then proceeded to give the Bishop of Luts'k supreme au-



Кирилъ Терлецкій
Епископъ Луцкъ и Острій
и Патріархальній
Екзархъ

Illustration 12. Portrait of Bishop of Lutsk and Ostrih and Patriarchal Exarch Kyryll (Terlets'kyi) with signature from Pompei Nikolaevich Batiushkov, ed. *Kholm skaia Rus'. Istoricheskie sud'by russkogo Zabuzh'ia*. St. Petersburg, 1887, insert between pp. 120–21. The etching is based on a photograph of a portrait that was held in the portrait gallery of the Kholm bishop's residence.

thority in Ruthenian ecclesiastical affairs. Even if the patriarch had had some questions about Mykhail's capacity to govern the Kyivan Church during a time of crisis, as is alleged in the polemical treatise "Perestoroha,"²⁹ Jeremiah had consecrated him and the king had promulgated a decree summoning all Ruthenian Orthodox hierarchs, clergy, and laity to obey the new metropolitan. Jeremiah's appointment of Kyryll (Terlets'kyi) simply introduced further confusion into the institutional life and hierarchical due process of the Kyivan Metropolitanate. Given the general destabilization of the Kyivan Church, the unprecedented decision to nominate a Ruthenian bishop as patriarchal exarch was a poorly considered innovation.³⁰

From Brest Jeremiah went to Zamość, 110 miles to the south, a three-day journey. There, he was again hosted by Jan Zamoyski.³¹ It is notable that Jeremiah chose to stay at the estates of Zamoyski and remained there for a two-month period, apparently using Zamość as a base from which he made a number of side trips. A number of factors served to keep the patriarch at the estates of the Polish grand hetman and chancellor, including Zamoyski's interest in the Greek legacy and in Greek contacts fostered in Padua, the political and military circumstances in the Ottoman Empire, Jeremiah's willingness to encounter Western Christians, and Tatar raids in Podillia extending up to L'viv in the summer and early fall.³² Curiously, there is no evidence that during either of his trips through Ukraine, Jeremiah ever visited the estates of Prince Konstantyn Ostroz'kyi, who as the outstanding Ruthenian magnate had been touting the importance of the patriarchate of Constantinople for the Ruthenian ecclesiastical community over the previous decade. From the report of Hierotheos of Monemvasia it is evident that Zamoyski, "a man of much wisdom and kindness, [who] paid great honor to the patriarch," earned the respect of Jeremiah and his suite.³³

On his journey to Zamość Jeremiah had been accompanied by Bishops Kyryll, Hedeon, and Meletii (Khrybtovych). Presumably, the three had traveled with him all the way from Vilnius, where they had gathered with other Ruthenian bishops, as Jeremiah indicated, after the deposition of Onysyfor.³⁴ When Kyryll and Meletii had departed, Hedeon, who during the trip feigned cordial relations with Kyryll, sought to use the opportunity of his absence to malign him and induce the patriarch to sustain Hedeon's various claims against Kyryll.

Hedeon's overly transparent efforts, however, produced the opposite effect. On 24/14 August Jeremiah issued a circular decree in which he unceremoniously described Hedeon's insidious perfidy and warned all concerned of the falseness of any patriarchal letters detrimental to Kyryll.³⁵ Although the wording of the document is unclear, it seems that Jeremiah was revoking decrees that he had signed or possibly nullifying documents that Hedeon had falsified. In any case, Jeremiah characterized Bishop Kyryll in glowing terms and reiterated his appointment as patriarchal exarch, "as a sign of our patriarchal favor and blessing." Referring to the blessing he had given Kyryll in Brest, the patriarch stipulated that exarch was to enjoy "seniority over all bishops . . . the senior office in spiritual affairs, through which he is to discipline all bishops, and to maintain order and to admonish, and to depose the unworthy, as our vicar."³⁶ The effusive words for Kyryll seem to have been a reflection of Jeremiah's esteem, presenting in a different light a hierarch portrayed negatively in the historiography. It also may have been an attempt to chasten the Bishop of L'viv. However, the stark contrast drawn between Hedeon and Kyryll hardly contributed to the stability of the Ruthenian hierarchy.

On 24/14 August, another enigmatic decree was purportedly issued by the patriarch. Despite Jeremiah's vigilance concerning Hedeon's schemes, or possibly before the patriarch caught on to Hedeon's *modus operandi*, the L'viv bishop succeeded in extracting from Jeremiah, or fabricating, a patriarchal decree anathematizing members of the L'viv brotherhood whom the bishop had earlier anathematized.³⁷ It is not clear whether Hedeon's collaborator, the Protopresbyter Hryhorko, induced the patriarch to sign and seal a Church Slavonic letter condemning the L'viv brothers without Jeremiah being aware of the text or whether the signature was simply forged.³⁸ In any case, soon thereafter the patriarch issued a corrective: On 5 September/26 August, in Krasnystaw, he lifted Hedeon's excommunication of the confraternity members, indicating that he planned to come to L'viv and to settle the conflicting claims personally *in loco*.³⁹ In fact, Jeremiah did not travel to L'viv because of rumors that a contagion (*tēn noson*) was spreading there.⁴⁰ And although he subsequently sided with the confraternity, the contradictory decrees issued in his name again only increased the confusion within the Ruthenian religious community.

Krasnystaw is only twenty miles north of Zamość. It is likely that Jeremiah, who confirmed the Krasnystaw confraternity on 30/20 September, made more than one trip to that town from Zamość, where he stayed most of September and October. On 16/6 October, probably from Zamość, the patriarch issued a letter confirming the Rohatyn confraternity, newly configured according to the L'viv statutes and granted it the right to choose and dismiss its own priest with the approval of the bishop of L'viv.⁴²

Sometime in late October or early November Jeremiah set out southwards for his journey back to Constantinople. As we have seen, he bypassed L'viv, and on 10 November/31 October was already in Ternopil', where he presided over an ecclesiastical tribunal adjudicating various disputes. Cases continued to be presented to the patriarch as he traveled to Moldova, the last one known from the sources being heard on 23/13 November in Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi,⁴³ when he recognized the stauropegial status of the St. Onuphrius Monastery in L'viv, removing it from the authority of the local bishop and placing it under the jurisdiction of the Kyivan metropolitan.⁴⁴ In November Jeremiah also issued an exhortation to the metropolitan to suppress folk customs such as the blessing of breads at Easter and the bringing of baked goods to church after Christmas (apparently commemorating Mary's afterbirth, and thereby denying the Virgin Birth of Christ). Jeremiah also condemned the keeping of Friday as the Sabbath Holy Day (as opposed to Sunday, the commemoration of the Resurrection). Those violating the Christian traditions upheld by the patriarch's decree were anathematized and condemned to eternal perdition.⁴⁵ In November Jeremiah issued an appeal to the Orthodox laity to support the efforts of the L'viv confraternity to build its church and pay off the debt on Fedorov's printing press and offered an expanded explanation of his guidelines for the L'viv confraternity, which he had chosen not to visit because of disease there.⁴⁶ He reiterated some of the points of the statutes and granted the confraternity a monopoly on the education of Ruthenians, forbidding the establishment of another school in L'viv.⁴⁷

Jeremiah also addressed the need for individual spiritual guidance through the sacrament of confession, charging the bishops to designate specific priests, of impeccable character, to act as confessors. Priests not given this jurisdiction from their bishop were not to hear confessions, under pain of deposition. The patriarch pronounced an anathema

on any bishop who appointed such confessors not on the basis of spiritual merit but on the basis of gifts received. He exhorted priests to prepare their faithful for Communion by encouraging them to attend services for three days before making their confession. The patriarch stressed the importance of doing penance, "not according to one's own desires but according to the rules of the Apostles and Holy Fathers."⁴⁸ At the end of his stay in Ukraine, Jeremiah returned to the issue of digamist clergy, issuing a strongly-worded condemnation of this abuse.⁴⁹ According to Hierotheos of Monemvasia, Jeremiah traveled from Zamość to Kam'ianets', whence he left the Commonwealth escorted by a force of two hundred men provided by Zamoyski.⁵⁰

In the Wake of Jeremiah's Visit

All these measures instituted by Jeremiah were intended to address concrete problems. By deposing the metropolitan, charging the hierarchy to work together, confirming numerous confraternities, and admonishing the Ruthenian clergy to be more diligent in fulfilling their pastoral responsibilities Jeremiah was promoting reform. However, these reforms were so contradictory and were instituted so impulsively and unsystematically, that they served to upset traditional ecclesiastical order.⁵¹ The patriarch's appointment of Kyryll as exarch undermined the status of the newly ordained metropolitan. His deposition of Onysyfor and sharp rebukes of Hedeon, although they addressed real problems, served to create an atmosphere of uncertainty, apprehension, and divisiveness among the Ruthenian bishops. The strong endorsement of the liberties of the confraternities compromised the canonical prerogatives of the local hierarchs.

Given Jeremiah's domestic trials during the decade preceding his second journey through the Commonwealth and his ordeal in Muscovy, the patriarch found himself in novel circumstances in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He had left the Ottoman Empire at a time when the Greek Orthodox Church was in crisis, exasperated by a new aggressiveness towards the patriarchate demonstrated by the Ottoman authorities. Jeremiah's dignity and patriarchal authority was being institutionally assailed by the Turks and questioned by the fractious Orthodox in Constantinople. Having traveled to Muscovy in search of material support, the patriarch was detained in house arrest for six

months and forced against his inclination to raise the metropolitan of Moscow to patriarchal dignity. Even after he had succumbed to Muscovite pressure, Jeremiah, despite repeated requests, was not allowed to depart from Muscovy for another five months. Although the Muscovites endowed him with money and gifts, the dignity of the ecumenical patriarchate, recognized formally by the Muscovites, had in fact been injured by the manner in which he had been thoroughly manipulated.

From Muscovy Jeremiah traveled to the Commonwealth where the civil authorities not only gave him freedom of movement but also recognized his authority in all matters concerning the Kyivan metropolitanate. As mentioned earlier, upon the patriarch's arrival in Vilnius, Zygmunt III solemnly granted him the power to conduct reforms in the Ruthenian Church; he was treated with great respect—and maintained in comfort—by the leading Polish magnate, Jan Zamoyski. That Jeremiah received better treatment from the civil authorities in Poland and Lithuania than he did in Muscovy is reflected in the recollections of one of the members of his suite. In his account of the patriarch's journey, Metropolitan Hierotheos of Monemvasia, while mentioning the Muscovites threat to throw him "into the river," Jeremiah's "cruel" keepers in Moscow, and the "cunning" Boris Godunov, writes of the "illustrious Lord Jan Zamoyski," "a man of much wisdom and kindness."⁵² Among members of the Polish Catholic elite and the Ruthenian Orthodox subject to him, Jeremiah had the opportunity to reassert patriarchal power and reclaim patriarchal dignity. In the Commonwealth, supported by a royal edict, he could and did exert his authority.

Jeremiah's reforms did contribute to the growth of a reform consciousness among the Ruthenian bishops. The deposition of Metropolitan Onysyfor put the Ruthenian hierarchs on notice that canonical abuses were to be subject to real sanctions and that the patriarchate could hold them accountable for the manner in which they fulfilled their responsibilities. The bishops had hitherto shown only a vague awareness of the need for reform and contributed little to Ruthenian lay initiatives to consolidate the Orthodox community in the Commonwealth. Jeremiah aroused the hierarchy and at the same time confirmed the incipient lay movement for reform represented by the confraternities. Throughout the 1580s it had been the laity that fostered ties with the patriarchate. Jeremiah's presence in the Ruthenian lands and his

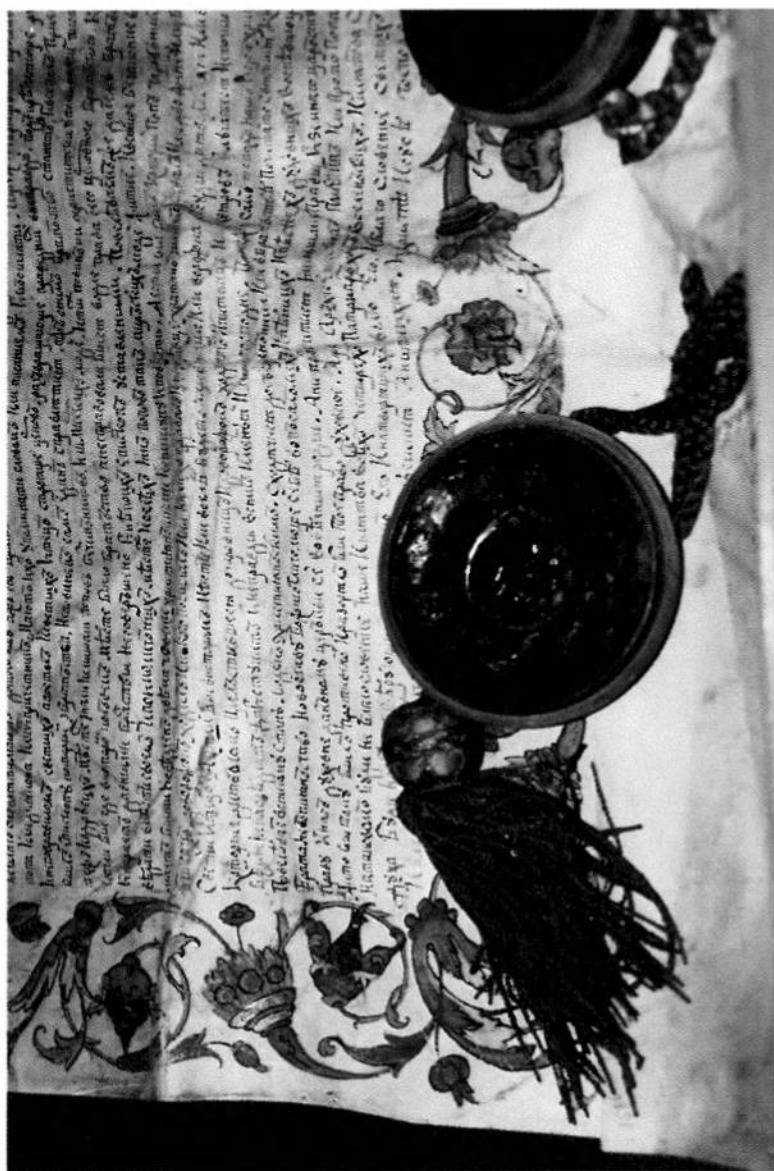


Illustration 13. Charter of Patriarch Joachim of Antioch confirming the right to establish a confraternity at the Church of the Dormition, L'viv (1 January 1586). *Reproduced with the kind permission of the Central State Historical Archive of the city of L'viv, Ukraine.*



Illustration 14. Charter of Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople confirming the right of the Dormition Confraternity to a press and school (2 December 1587). *Reproduced with the kind permission of the Central State Historical Archive of the city of L'viv, Ukraine.*

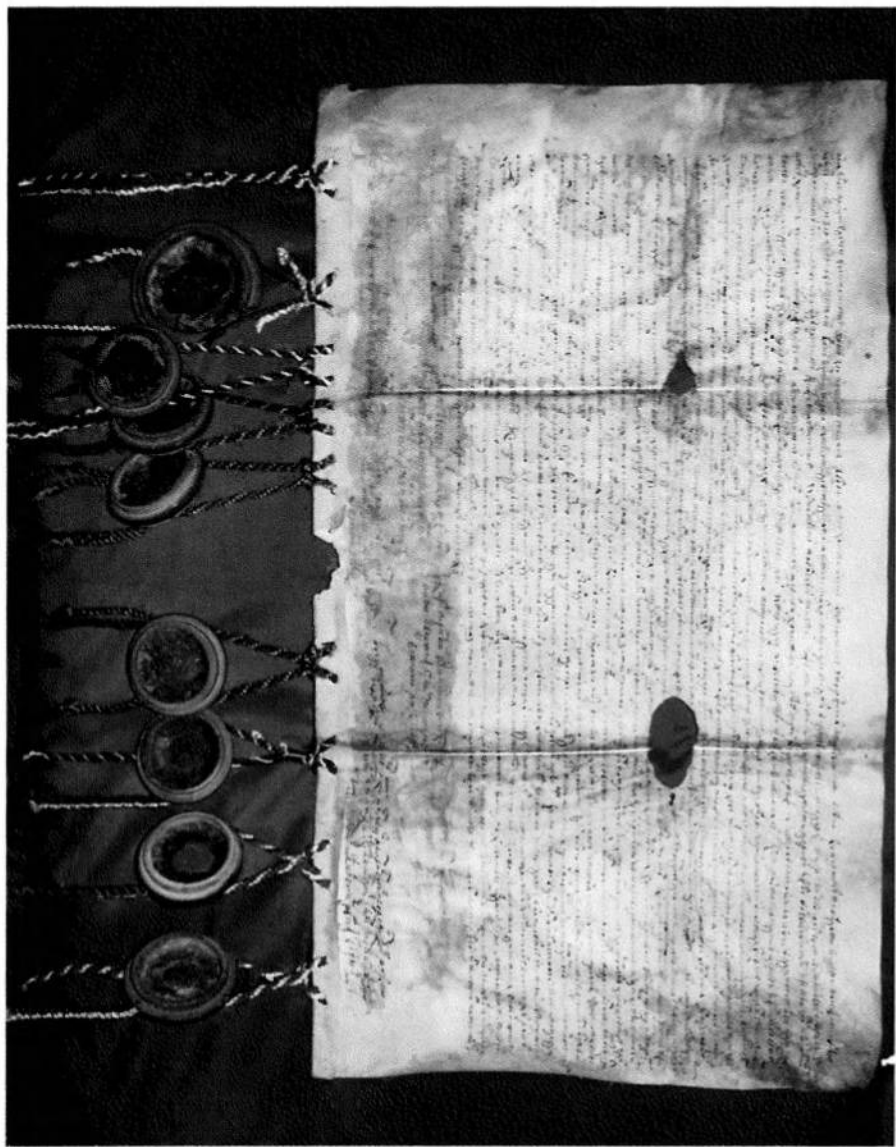


Illustration 16. Charter of the Union of Brest, with signatures and seals. *Reproduced with the kind permission of the Central State Historical Archive of the city of L'viv, Ukraine.*

defense of lay initiatives made the patriarchate increasingly a point of reference for Ruthenian laity. His approach to the hierarchy, however, evinced little tact, and although the bishops initially acquiesced to the patriarchal ordinances, in the end, his treatment of them sowed seeds of resentment.

There can be little doubt that Jeremiah also solicited financial assistance during his stay in the Commonwealth, although the sources do not speak of specific grants or explicit requests.⁵³ After the patriarch's departure, however, Metropolitan Mykhail was confronted by a demand to cover the costs of the patriarch's stay.⁵⁴ The claim for restitution was conveyed by Metropolitan Dionysios of Tŭrnovo, earlier an associate of the Ostrih circle, who in 1591 had been sent by the Eastern patriarchs to Muscovy to convey news of the recognition of the patriarchate of Moscow by the Constantinopolitan synod.⁵⁵ The metropolitan found the request for payment to be unacceptable. He considered that it was Dionysios' invention, charging that Dionysios had had a patriarchal stamp made for himself in Vilnius. Mykhail intended to write to Patriarch Jeremiah to verify Dionysios' claims,⁵⁶ but there is no indication that he actually did nor is there record of any response. Mykhail suspected Dionysios of acting on his own accord, both in Vilnius and later in L'viv, where the Greek hierarch supported the claims and charges of Bishop Hedeon against the L'viv confraternity and against Metropolitan Mykhail, who had defended the lay organization. Yet at the same time the Kyivan metropolitan worried that if the metropolitan of Tŭrnovo was acting on behalf of the patriarchate, it was a sign that the patriarchate was not just poor, but also unreliable.⁵⁸

Dionysios very well may have overstepped his prerogatives both in the financial demand placed on Metropolitan Mykhail and in his support of Bishop of L'viv Hedeon, and he may have misrepresented the position of the patriarch of Constantinople. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that he had been sent by Patriarch Jeremiah. Metropolitan Mykhail went to great lengths to be present in Vilnius for the arrival of Dionysios, and he treated the patriarchal envoy with utmost respect. The fact that a representative of the patriarchate was making what in the eyes of the Ruthenian hierarch was an unreasonable demand raised broader questions of the patriarchate's integrity and authentic concern for a proper relationship with the Kyivan metropolitanate.



Illustration 17. The Church of St. Nicholas in Brest (first mentioned in the sources in 1412), in which the Union synod was held and Union of Brest was declared. Detail of the illustration in an eighteenth-century Uniate manuscript register of visitations written in Polish and Latin, entitled *Liber visitationum Ecclesiae Cathedralis et Ecclesiarum Brestensium*. It was reproduced in Pompei Nikolaevich Batiushkov, ed. *Belorussia i Litva. Istoricheskie sud'by Severozapadnogo kraia*. St. Petersburg, 1890, p. 141.

The Kyivan Hierarchy, the Brest Synods, and Union with Rome

Throughout the 1580s, Ruthenian leaders such as Konstantyn Ostrozkyi considered different approaches to the problems confronting the Ruthenian religious community. The possibility of union with Rome, prominent in his discussions with representatives of the papacy in the early and mid-1580s, was embraced in the early 1590s by members of the Ruthenian hierarchy who awoke to the internal theological, intellectual, cultural and ideological muteness, as well as the administrative and political impotence of the Ruthenian Church. The dynamic and aggressive threats posed by the Protestant Reformation, in its various radical permutations, as well as a revitalized Counter-Reformational Polish Catholicism, became for the hierarchy pressing concerns. Receiving little, and in some cases misguided, assistance from Constantinople in bolstering the assailed Ruthenian Orthodox ecclesial identity and ethos, the Ruthenian bishops began to take tentative steps towards union with the Roman Church.

The bishops' initiative reflected broader trends in the Christian world. In response to the disintegration and differentiation proliferating in Christendom for most of the sixteenth century the notion of "union" was becoming a new ideal in contemporary Europe. For many European leaders it was clear that the ardent theological polemics, mutual moral recrimination, and not infrequent violent confessional confrontations were obviously at odds with central Christian tenets. Desperate, weak, and disoriented, and, ultimately, mindful of the biblical imperative of unity, the Ruthenian hierarchs began to pursue integration with one of the adversaries. The wavering path of the bishops towards union in the 1590s—beginning with the synod of 1590 and culminating in the ratification of the Union in Brest in 1596—which included negotiations between Ruthenian bishops and magnates, the Polish episcopate and

clergy, Polish civil authorities, and representatives of the papacy in the Commonwealth and in Rome, has been narrated in minute detail in both scholarly and popular literature.¹ Attention to its main moments will disclose the nature of the hierarchy's perception of its Mother Church as it considered and ultimately concluded a union with Rome.

Synods and Episcopal Initiatives

Jeremiah's stay in the Metropolitanate of Kyiv seems to have variously catalyzed the bishops' union initiative. Soon after he left, Bishop Hedeon (Balaban), who had been sternly castigated by the patriarch, intimated to Jan Dymitr Solikowski, the Roman Catholic archbishop of L'viv, that he was ready to recognize papal supremacy in order to be "freed from the Patriarchs of Constantinople."² Solikowski suggested that Hedeon work together with Bishop Kyryll (Terlets'kyi) of Luts'k. Hedeon's motives are the easiest to decipher. He was a strong personality, who among the bishops had been in the forefront of reforming activity by fostering the educational and publishing ventures of the L'viv brotherhood. After the union he would continue his efforts, not sparing financial resources, by establishing a press and translating team at Striatyn. Yet his relationship with the confraternity was a stormy one. The obstinately independent lay brothers would not bow before Hedeon's heavy-handedness. This led to disputes that transcended the local context. The bishop could not accept the fact that the patriarch solemnly sanctioned the insubordination of plebeian L'viv "cobblers and tailors," and the issue of the relationship of the hierarchy vis-à-vis the laity became a central topic of deliberations in synodal gatherings and, ultimately, in the declarations the bishops drafted regarding union with Rome. Hedeon's conflicts with the confraternity of L'viv led him to appreciate the comparative hegemony of hierarchs in the Catholic ecclesiastical polity and to initiate union discussions.

The synods of Ruthenian bishops convoked annually in the early 1590s served as a forum for discussing a possible union. The first of these synods was held in Brest in June 1590, some six months after Jeremiah's departure. Besides agreeing on a series of resolutions regarding ecclesiastical discipline, the assembled bishops decided to gather annually in Brest for synodal meetings on the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Forerunner (the Baptist), on 24 June (O.S.).³



Illustration 18. Portrait of Roman Catholic Archbishop of L'viv Jan Dymitr Solikowski (Archdiocesan Collection, Lubaczów, Poland).

Roused by the activity of the laity and the reforms of Patriarch Jeremiah, the hierarchs assessed the sorry state of Ruthenian Church life, the outside threats to the “Holy Eastern Church,” and especially the chaos reigning in ecclesiastical administration. The bishops moved to co-opt the confraternity agenda, one reflecting currents prevailing in the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Reform. The synodal document reveals their growing awareness of the need not only to bring order to church structures and discipline but also “to reflect on ecclesial matters, [to think about] schools, learning, hospices, and other good matters,” in order that all bishops and all civil “estates work to establish, strengthen and confirm [such institutions].”⁴

The resolution to convene in synod was a determined departure from the inertia that enveloped the hierarchy for most of the sixteenth century. The recovery of polity and an administrative approach was a prerequisite for a reform of the Kyivan Church according to traditional ecclesiological principles. In Eastern Church history a deviation from or impairment of synodal practice was often a cause or symptom of decline in other spheres of ecclesial life. At Brest, the bishops’ intentions to renew collegial administration were resolute: they agreed to impose a substantial fine on any of their own that would fail to attend a synod. The fine was to be paid into a synodal coffer—with “no excuses” accepted for an absence.⁵ The document elaborates on this point of discipline:

If any one of us were to try to excuse himself by [claiming] illness and did not come because of illness, then having arrived the following year, before assuming his place [at the synodal gathering], he must first swear that he truly was ill. And if the following year any one of us does not come and refuses to take an oath, such a [bishop] shall be deposed without mercy, except in the case that he were to provide a manifest reason for his absence. No other excuses or justifications will pass for any one of us.⁶

The very creation of a joint treasury indicates that the synod planned to sustain its pious plans with concrete financial allocations. Subsequent developments show that the bishops took to heart the decision to revive collegial ecclesiastical stewardship. Over the following years a series of solemnly convened synods was held, and the participation of the hierarchs, with few exceptions, was regular.

The resolutions of the first of the Brest councils reveal the reforming priorities of the hierarchy. The bishops were to ensure the participation of all archimandrites, hegumens, and protopresbyters—that is, the leading diocesan and monastic clergy. Laity are mentioned only in connection with a prohibition of the lay administration of monasteries. Aware of the belatedness of their response to the crisis in Ruthenian Orthodoxy, and hoping to avoid further conflicts between hierarchs and laity, the bishops mapped out a hierarchical approach to ecclesiastical renewal. With this in mind, it was essential first to bring an end to the mutual undermining that was occurring among them through jurisdictional interference in each others' dioceses.⁷

The first episcopal assembly after Jeremiah's visit is associated with the initial declaration of preparedness for union drafted by Ruthenian bishops. After the synod Hedeon and Kyrill, along with Bishops Leontii (Pel'chytskyi) of Pinsk and Dionysii (Zbyruis'kyi) of Kholm signed a statement indicating their readiness to recognize the supremacy of the pope. In return the hierarchs expected from the pope that he would safeguard the integrity of the entire Ruthenian "ecclesiastical order, maintained from long ago by [our] Holy Eastern Church." The bishops appealed to the king that he "guarantee and confirm" episcopal privileges, which the bishops planned to detail in a series of articles.⁸ The declaration is dated 24 June (O.S.), four days after the synodal resolutions. The four hierarchs apparently prepared the statement without the participation of the entire synod. The document was not signed by the metropolitan, Mykhail (Rahoza), and the bishop of Volodymyr and Brest, Meletii (Khrebtovych; who died later that year).⁹ The bishops' letter of intent was dispatched to King Zygmunt III, whose encouraging response, however, was issued only twenty-one months later, on 18 March 1592.¹⁰ Although Zygmunt would become a stalwart supporter of the union, it is clear that he can hardly be considered among its initiators. In general, it should be stated that union of the Ruthenians was apparently of no vital concern to the majority of the Polish civil and ecclesiastical elite, who much preferred outright Latinization of the Orthodox of the Commonwealth.¹¹ The prospects of a union were hardly clear to the bishops themselves. At the next synod, which was held with some delay (not in the summer, but in the fall of 1591) there were non-written statements concerning rapprochement with Rome.

The resolutions of the synod of 1591 indicate that the hierarchy's impetus for reform was taking on a programmatic quality. Moving beyond the general pronouncement of 1590, which emphasized discipline and was limited to a general expression of desiderata (with the exception of the provision for future convocations), the synod of 1591 elaborated a document introducing a series of concrete reforms. Besides the due process and order, the bishops discussed ecclesiastical administration, liturgical practice, popular religious customs, as well as publishing, education, and the financing of publications and schools. Besides the bishops and representatives of the clergy, representatives of the nobility were in attendance, most notably Adam Potii, the castellan of Brest. The first item in the resolutions concerned royal and, generally, lay influence on the selection of bishops. The hierarchs themselves decided that they would propose four candidates for a vacated see, from which the king would nominate one. This measure meant to impede the imposition of unworthy candidates on the Ruthenian Church by the king or lay nobility.

The synod subordinated the L'viv and Vilnius confraternities to episcopal authority, while granting the brotherhoods a monopoly on ecclesiastical publishing. It created a special commission that was to censor texts being prepared for publication. The members of this commission were Bishop Kyrill, Nykyfor (Tur; econome of the Kyivan Caves Monastery), and Nestor (the protopresbyter of Hrodna)—representatives of the hierarchy and monastic and married clergy. Kyrill was named treasurer of the project. The L'viv and Vilnius schools were singled out as being worthy of particular attention and probably were destined to receive concerted financial support. At the same time the assembly encouraged individual bishops to establish analogous institutions in their own dioceses.¹²

The hierarchs of the Kyivan metropolitanate had rather helplessly observed the state of affairs in its Church through the 1580s. Nonetheless, the agenda of the synod of 1591 shows that over a period of a few years they had recognized the problems at hand and had begun to address them. Some twenty-one separate points can be identified in the resolutions of the bishops.¹³ It is significant that the hierarchs not only outlined a list of what needed to be done but also began to develop a strategy and allocate resources: they distributed responsibility, created a commission, and discussed the financing of proposed projects. The

reforms of the 1591 synod are in continuity with the work of the previous convocation. The bishops sought first and foremost to confirm and consolidate episcopal administration in the Church. They aimed to safeguard the prerogatives of the hierarchy from undue influence on the part of the king, civil authorities, nobles and magnates, and organized lay burghers. While dismissing the patriarchal privileges granted to the brotherhoods, the hierarchs did not negate the importance and fruitfulness of their activity. Rather, having realized the potential significance of the brotherhoods, the synod co-opted them into its own program of reform and searched for resources to develop their work—but under hierarchical supervision. Having met in October, not in June as originally planned, and having elaborated such a broad agenda, the bishops decided to convene again not in 1592 but a year later.

The next Brest synod of the Kyivan metropolitanate was planned for June 1593. However, Zygmunt III departed on a journey to Sweden and no major assemblies could be held in the Commonwealth in the absence of the king; therefore the convocation was postponed. In the meantime, on 21 March 1593, having received tonsure and taken the monastic name Ipatii, the Castellan of Brest, Adam Potii (1541–1613), was consecrated to the see of Volodymyr and Brest, vacated by the death of bishop Meletii (Khrebtovych). The new hierarch was a well-educated representative of the Ruthenian elite with diverse experience in public service (at the royal court), military campaigns (against Muscovy in 1578–1579) and religious life. In fact, Potii had spent his adolescence at the estates of the leading Protestant magnate in Lithuania, Mikołaj Radziwiłł “the Black,” under whose influence he had become a Calvinist at the high point of the Reformational tide in the Grand Duchy. Possibly under the sway of his wife, he had returned to the Church of the “Greek laws” approximately in 1574. Besought by Prince Ostrozkyi, the widowed Potii forsook a planned second marriage and resigned his castellanship and senatorial seat to accept a royal nomination for the episcopacy. This nomination which, paradoxically, circumvented the procedures established by the 1591 synod, was destined to promote the process of reform in the metropolitanate of Kyiv.¹⁴ Potii (now Ipatii in religion) quickly assumed a preeminent position in the Ruthenian hierarchy, giving new impetus to the movement for union.¹⁵



Illustration 19. Portrait and signature of Bishop of Volodymyr and Brest Ipatii (Potii) from Pompei Nikolaevich Batiushkov, ed. *Kholmskaia Rus'. Istoricheskie sud'by russkogo Zabuzh'ia*. St. Petersburg, 1887, p. 115. The seal in this composite photograph does not appear in Batiushkov; it is the metropolitan's seal from after 1600 (when Ipatii became metropolitan of Kyiv).

Ostroz'kyi and Ipatii

The developing disposition in favor of reform was heightening expectations for major progress or a breakthrough for the besieged Ruthenian Orthodox community. At the same time the tenor of the inter-confessional discord was not abating. The second edition of Piotr Skarga's fiery and inflammatory summons to Ruthenians to repent and convert, *On the Unity of the Church*, appeared in 1590. The consciousness of change and the need for renewal induced leading members of Ruthenian society to consider various options. Knowing well Ipatii's endowments, authentic motivation, passion, broad experience, and interest in promoting reconciliation with the "lords of the Latin Church," Prince Ostroz'kyi had high hopes for the new bishop with whom he shared sentiments about the need for renewal in Ruthenian church life, reminiscent of those deeply held religious concerns that had been expressed by the first printers:

Next to achieving salvation, every human being should endeavor to enhance and cherish God's glory . . . Out of my Christian duty I have long held a desire, until now unextinguished—nay, rather bursting now to flame—to meditate, ponder, and contemplate amidst the decline, devastation, and abandonment of our Mother, the Holy Universal Apostolic Eastern Church, how to seek and find a way, a principle, and an approach by which the Church of Christ, the most excellent of all Churches, might return to its initial station, direction, and order, and to remain there.¹⁶

Ostroz'kyi hoped that Ipatii and the other bishops would not shirk responsibility and would lead the Ruthenian community out of its crisis:

It is evident to all of Your Graces that the people of our religion have become demoralized . . . that not only do they fail to observe their Christian duty and to defend the Church of God and their ancient faith, but many of them deride and desert it and take refuge in the various sects. If Your Graces fail to prevent this and to show concern for it, Your Graces yourselves know well who will have to account and answer for it, for it is said, "I will require their blood of your hand." [2 Samuel 4:11] You, after all, are the leaders, teachers, and shepherds of the flock of Christ. Laziness, sluggishness, and desertion have multiplied among the people for no other reason than that teachers and preachers of the Word of God have ceased to teach and preach. What resulted was the dissolution and diminution of the glory

of God and His Church, hunger for the Word of God, and, finally, desertion from the Faith and the Law.

The renewal of synodal activity created a new sense of purpose in the Kyivan metropolitanate that extended beyond the clerical sphere. Ostrozkyi's lamenting missive ends hopefully, encouraging the bishops to rejoin their efforts:

Everything has turned upside down and collapsed; there is oppression, grief, and misfortune all around us, and if we continue to be indifferent, God knows what end awaits us! I, for my part, implore you a second and a third time: for God's sake, while you are there [in Brest], try, Your Graces, out of your sense of pastoral duty and even more out of fear of God's retribution to accomplish something good, to bring about stability, and to make a good start.

Returning to notions he had broached a decade earlier, the prince also shared with Bishop Ipatii his own general reflections on and designs for union between the Eastern and the Western Church. Ostrozkyi's concept of union presumed that the Metropolitanate of Kyiv was a Church *sui iuris*, a local Church with its own discrete territory as well as liturgical and canonical tradition. It could and should reestablish communion with the Church of Rome with which the Kyivan Church had no outstanding dogmatic difficulties. The prince stressed the centrality of safeguarding the integrity of the Ruthenian ecclesiastical tradition, of ensuring the equal social status of the Ruthenian hierarchy and clergy, and of securing the allegiance of members of a Church reconciled with Rome to their Eastern Church. Ostroz'kyi urged Ipatii and the rest of the hierarchs of the Metropolitanate of Kyiv to take the initiative regarding church union without delay. According to the prince's plan for union, the metropolitanate was to come to agreement with the Eastern patriarchs and with the Muscovite and Moldovan Churches regarding a joint accord with the Church of Rome.¹⁷

One of Ostroz'kyi's proposals alarmed Ipatii and, undoubtedly, other hierarchs. The prince insisted on a reform of certain aspects of Ruthenian church life including "the Sacraments and other human inventions."¹⁸ Although he bemoaned the proliferation of Protestant "sects" it is clear that he was significantly influenced by Reformational rhetoric. The denial of the divine origin and content of the sacraments as administered by both the Orthodox and Catholic Churches was a

leitmotiv of radical Protestant currents that found refuge and flourished in the Commonwealth. In light of the fact that Ostrozkyi was insisting on faithfulness to Sacred Tradition, his proposal indicates that he either did not understand what he was saying or that he was in fact inconsistent and was willing to alter the most sacred and central expressions of Orthodoxy. In the eyes of the bishops such inclinations made the magnate a questionable spokesman for Ruthenian ecclesiastical concerns. Furthermore, for those like Ipatii who had a sanguine appreciation of Muscovite attitudes towards the Christian West, in general, and towards the papacy, in particular, who were mindful of the fate of Metropolitan Isidore and of the limited success of the Florentine Union, and who were aware of the narrowly circumscribed possibilities for Greek patriarchates to enter into discussions with the Latin Church, the prince's plan for universal union was hardly a realistic one.

Further Plans for Union

Representatives of the Kyivan hierarchy had in any case already begun mapping out a different course. From the middle of 1593 and for the next two years the Ruthenian bishops, individually and jointly, elaborated plans for union and presented them before hierarchs of the Roman Church and representatives of the civil authorities in the Commonwealth. Not all of the initiatives were sanctioned by all of the bishops. For example, it seems that Ipatii was not aware of some of the steps regarding union taken in 1594 by Kyrill.¹⁹ In the end, however, these initiatives came to coincide and were articulated in a series of declarations which took on an evermore comprehensive form.

On 27 March 1594 at Sokal', during a gathering of Ruthenian bishops, Kyrill, Hedeon, Dionysii, and Mykhail (Kopystenskyi) signed a pro-union declaration to which subsequently all but one of the Ruthenian bishops subscribed.²⁰ A few months later another declaration, dated 2/12 December, was prepared in Torchyn (near Luts'k) by Ipatii and Kyrill in consultation with Bishop Bernard Maciejowski, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Luts'k, who would continue to facilitate communication between the Ruthenian bishops and Catholic ecclesiastical and civil authorities. The Torchyn document, drafted over a three-day period, recognizes the threats facing the Ruthenian Church "especially in these our unhappy times in which many and varied heresies

lurk among men, on account of which many fall away from the true and Orthodox Christian faith, abandon our flock, and separate themselves from the Church of God and from His true worship in the Trinity, which occurs for no other reason than our disagreement with the Roman Lords [i.e., bishops].”²¹ The rise of the Protestant threat in the Ruthenian context is attributed to “our discord with the Lord Romans” and to the discontinuity in obedience to salvation. The bishops call for a renewed recognition of the primacy of “His Holiness the Pope of Rome” which characterized the position “of our ancestors.” This past ideal is contrasted to the present baneful multiplication of “superiors” (i.e., patriarchs) who cause countless “disagreements and schisms.” While expressing their “sincere and ready will [to enter] into union and concord with the Roman Church,” the bishops note that any hope for patriarchal initiatives to this end “grows smaller day by day,” because the patriarchs are “oppressed by pagan [i.e., Turkish] servitude” and “can do nothing even if they desired” to promote church union.

A memorandum drafted at about the same time, in December 1594 in Navahrudak, served as working guidelines for the representatives of the Kyivan synod who were to discuss union with Zygmunt III. Signed by Ipatii, Kyryll, Mykhail (Kopystenskyi), Hedeon, and Dionysii, the document spells out the bishops grievances against the Eastern patriarchs and articulates their desire to enter into communion with the Roman Church. It is worth quoting the hierarchs’ own words at length:

First, whereas we bishops see in our superiors, Their Graces the Patriarchs, great disorder and indifference concerning the Church of God and sacred order as well as their own bondage, and whereas eight patriarchs have been created out of four (of whom earlier there had never been that many, only four), and whereas we see how they conduct their lives in their sees, how they buy each other’s positions through bribes, and how they have squandered [the resources of] the catholic [*sobornye*] sees of the Church of God; and when they come to our parts they conduct no disputations with the Heterodox [i.e., Protestants], nor do they want to give them answers from the Divine Scriptures, even if someone asks for such answers. They are concerned only with securing from us [things for] their own benefit, rather than with [our] salvation. And having procured treasures from whomever they can, they buy each other’s offices there in the pagan land, and only in these [activities] do they pass their lives (not to mention their other failings). For this reason, not wanting to remain further in such disorder and under such pastoral care, having agreed unanimously, given certain conditions—if His Royal Majesty as our

Christian Sovereign and Anointed by God, will deign to desire to spread the glorification of God under one pastorage and to admit and preserve such liberties as enjoyed by Their Graces the Lords, the Roman Clergy, for us, together with our bishoprics, churches, monasteries, and all of the clergy—we desire, with God’s help, to embark on the unification of faith and to recognize as our pastor that one Preeminent Pastor, the Most Holy Pope of Rome, to whom that [position] was entrusted by our Savior Himself. We only ask that His Royal Majesty, Sovereign deign to assure us together with our bishoprics with a privilege of His Royal Majesty and to confirm and fortify the articles described below for eternity.²²

The Ruthenian bishops proceeded to stipulate a series of conditions on which union could be concluded. They requested that the king guarantee the integrity of Ruthenian churches and bishoprics, liturgical life and traditions, including the Julian calendar, so “that they endure as they are now with their ceremonies till the end of the world.” According to the memorandum, Ruthenian bishoprics, churches, monasteries, holdings, benefices, and clergy should be subject to the authority and jurisdiction of the Ruthenian bishops, according to ancient tradition. In this regard the hierarchs claimed the right to grant ecclesiastical offices and benefices. To achieve social parity with Roman Catholic hierarchs the Ruthenian bishops requested that they be granted seats in the Senate.

Since the hierarchs expressed great concern about the reaction of Greek ecclesiastical authorities, they requested freedom for themselves, their clergy, and for their successors from all legal or canonical repercussions stemming from any possible condemnation coming from the patriarch of Constantinople. In the Navahrudak document the Ruthenian bishops’ resentment of itinerant Greek clerics is expressed more forcefully and categorically than in any of the previous or subsequent union declarations:

Concerning Greek monks who have gotten used to travel here, whom we can safely call “spies” (for as soon as they extract and purloin not only money but also books, icons, [and] anything that pleases them, they ship [their acquisitions] to the Turkish land, two or three times each year, and they turn them over to the hands of the pagan Turk, through which he becomes more powerful against the Christians), that they not have any more authority over us here in the realm of His Royal Majesty and not cause us any difficulties now and ever in the future.²³

Besides hoping to prevent future interference of Greek ecclesiastical authorities in affairs of the Kyivan Metropolitanate, the bishops assembled in Navahrudak sought annulment of privileges granted by Eastern patriarchs in the past to the confraternities. Evidently, Bishop Hedeon was not alone in taking offense at the patriarchal decrees granting laity the right to monitor the morals of the episcopate.²⁴ The recent patriarchal involvement in Ruthenian ecclesiastic life prompted the bishops' demands concerning the selection of new hierarchs. The prelates expressed their wish that episcopal replacements be ordained according to the ancient traditions, by the metropolitan of Kyiv, presumably not by the patriarch. The hierarchs requested that in the future the metropolitan and bishops be ordained with the blessing of the pope but without the payment of any fees.

Since the Ruthenian hierarchy had a second-class status in the Commonwealth in comparison to the Catholic episcopate and since traditional prerogatives of the hierarchs regarding the internal life of the Ruthenian ecclesiastical community had been restricted in recent years by Eastern patriarchs, the Ruthenian bishops were most concerned about preserving and expanding their rights and privileges. Personal motives may have led them to seek assurance of their episcopal dignity on par with that of their Roman Catholic counterparts in the Commonwealth. Even so, for the Ruthenian Church as an institution the social and political status of its leadership was a crucial matter. The Kyivan hierarchs sought from the king all the liberties enjoyed by Latin archbishops, bishops, prelates, and clergy in Crown Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Finally, they requested that the king secure for them papal guarantees of all of the above points.

It is interesting to note that despite devoting so much attention to the dangers posed to Ruthenian church life by Eastern patriarchs, the memorandum nowhere mentions the newly established patriarchate of Moscow. The inference that many modern historians have made that fear of ecclesiastical encroachment by the new patriarchate was a prime factor that induced the hierarchy to pursue union with Rome is completely unsubstantiated by the sources. In none of the previous nor subsequent documents drafted by the bishops in preparing the union is the issue of the Moscow patriarchate raised. Since the bishops were immersed in the religious and cultural storms raging in the Commonwealth, Muscovy was the least of their concerns. The patriarchate of Moscow was not an

evident threat. Neither was it a prospective source of concrete assistance for the bishops in responding to the crisis of the Ruthenian Church. In fact, it is remarkable how little interaction there was between the Kyivan metropolitanate and Muscovy at the time. The few contacts of Konstantyn Ostrozkyi or the L'viv brotherhoods with Moscow are exceptions that prove the general rule that for Ruthenian society at the end of the sixteenth century Muscovy, itself on the verge of the period of great political and social instability, was a backwater that was beyond the immediate horizons of Ruthenian church leaders and their pressing problems. The specter of a looming Muscovite menace is an anachronistic transposition from the seventeenth century, especially its second half, when Muscovy came to play a decisive role in Ukrainian political and ecclesiastical life. The low level of interest was mutual. There is no evidence that the Muscovite authorities or the patriarchate of Moscow had any designs for the Kyivan metropolitanate. Furthermore, the reaction of Muscovy and its Church to late-sixteenth century Ruthenian unionistic developments was far from immediate. A local polemic against the Ruthenian union developed only in the wake of the Polish-Catholic incursion into Muscovy during the Times of Troubles. The first explicit mention of the union in official Muscovite documentation is in 1613, in the decisions of a Muscovite church council. It is only the council of 1620 that issued a distinct and unambiguous condemnation of the Ruthenian union with Rome.²⁵

After the establishment of a consensus among the bishops at the end of 1594, Hedeon, the bishop who in 1590 initiated the first call for a union with Rome, sought to generate wider support for reconciliation with the Roman Church. On 7 February/28 January 1595, along with archimandrites, hegumens, hieromonks, protopresbyters, and priests from various palatinates gathered in L'viv he "promised and swore" obedience to the "Most Holy First See of Rome" from which "the Patriarchs unwisely departed after the Florentine Council." The L'viv declaration enjoins the metropolitan and the bishops to "consummate the union with the Roman see without delay."²⁶ It is ironic that just a few months later Hedeon and Bishop Mykhail (Kopystens'kyi), another initiator, withdrew their support while Metropolitan Mykhail (Rahoza), whose unionistic stance seemed to be the weakest of all the bishops in the synod and who as late as August 1595 was still wavering, in fact, became a firm advocate of the union after it was concluded.²⁷

One of the causes of a growing opposition to the union was the secrecy with which the bishops had been preparing it. They essentially excluded the Ruthenian magnates, including Prince Ostrozkyi, from the negotiations with the Catholic party.²⁸ Judging by the direction of the reforms that they were instituting and by the texts of their unionistic declarations, the hierarchs wanted not only to free themselves of the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople but also from the strong influences of the lay nobles and magnates. The bishops were working with the assumption, one that would soon prove to be false, that the flock would quietly follow their shepherds. Since the preeminent representative of the Ruthenian elite, Prince Ostrozkyi, was nursing a highly unrealistic hope for universal union, unachievable in the foreseeable future, the bishops paid little heed to his proposals.

Ipatii went to great extremes to win over to the episcopal union design the aging magnate, one of the wealthiest and most powerful in the whole of Europe. Although in this effort he among all the bishops was the most forthcoming and direct with Ostrozkyi, the prince felt slighted. At issue were the degree of sovereignty the hierarchy had in determining ecclesiastical policy as well as the Protestant-influenced lay expectations for a more democratic church polity. In 1594 Ipatii may indeed have been uninformed about some of the steps taken by other bishops when he pleaded ignorance of the hierarchy's circumvention of the prince. But in December of that year and in January 1595, when all of the bishops had signed onto the unionistic agenda,²⁹ Ipatii did not disclose all of its details to Ostrozkyi.³⁰ Furthermore, Ipatii, Ostrozkyi's hand-chosen candidate, admonished the prince about some of the Protestantizing tendencies evident in his letters and alliances with Protestant movements in the Commonwealth.³¹ When the bishop of Volodymyr briefed the magnate on the final draft of the hierarch's conditions for union in June 1595, relations between the hierarch and the prince were definitively ruptured.³² Although in the following years Ipatii tried to convince Ostrozkyi concerning the correctness of the path taken by the bishops—once on his knees tearful beseeching the grand old man³³—the prince remained a vehement and fierce opponent of the union, thereby greatly affecting its reception by nobles, burghers, and laity.

The Articles

As the bishops pushed forward with their intention to make concrete progress in reconciliation with the Roman Catholics, their concerns were further detailed in the thirty-three “Articles Pertaining to Union with the Roman Church” dated 11 June 1595. This declaration constitutes not only a compendium of the hierarchy’s demands and petitions as outlined in previous documents, but also reflects the whole process of the bishops’ awakening to the needs for reform and the program through which they hoped to carry it out. Bearing the subtitle “Articles for which we need a guarantee from the Roman Lords before we enter into union with the Roman Church,” the document was the culmination of the hierarchy’s reflection on the prospects of union and its fullest formulation of what union with the Latin Church could and should entail for the Ruthenian Orthodox community at the close of the sixteenth century.³⁴

At a synod held in Brest later in June with the participation of numerous nobles concerned with the state and status of the Orthodox Church—in the words of the nuncio “Catholics, heretics [Protestants] and Ruthenians”—the issue of union was hotly debated.³⁵ It was here that the “Articles” were endorsed by all the bishops (see illustration no. 14, following p. 202). All eight hierarchs of the metropolitanate along with the Archimandrite Iona (Hohol’), a bishop-nominee, signed a letter to the pope declaring their intent to consummate the union process without waiting for the Eastern patriarchs who “being under the heavy yoke of the cruel tyrant and Mohammedan pagan, can in no way do this.” The synod delegated Bishops Ipatii and Kyrill to carry the hierarchy’s “Articles” to Rome and, once these conditions were accepted, to profess obedience to the pope in the name of the “archbishop, bishops, our entire clergy, and our sheep entrusted to us by God.”³⁶

Besides recognizing papal primacy and the Catholic teaching on purgatory (5) and affirming the consensus of the Florentine council on the procession of the Holy Spirit (1), the “Articles” express a clear and passionate resolve to defend and fortify the ecclesial identity of the Kyivan Church. Lest there be any questions regarding their points of concern, the hierarchs itemize very concrete, practical, and outwardly visible markers of the Ruthenian Orthodox way of life. Individual

articles call for the safeguarding of all liturgical traditions and ritual practices, including the Divine Office; the Eucharistic Liturgies of Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, and Epiphanius [*sic*] (2); the forms of the sacraments, particularly the Eucharist (under two species) and baptism (3, 4); the nature and timing of the feasts of the liturgical year (6); and the solemn processional rites including the visitation of the sick with the Eucharist (23, 24). The document rejects any ceremony being imposed on the Ruthenian Church (referred to in the document as among the churches of the “Greek law”) by Roman Catholics, such as Corpus Christi processions (7), the use of wooden clackers instead of bells during Holy Week, or the blessing of the Paschal Fire (i.e., candle) (8, 22). It is evident that during the various discussions over the previous years, the hierarchs carefully discriminated between what they considered essential and what might be open to change. Thus, despite the ardor of the Ruthenian old-calendarist reaction to the thuggish Latin imposition of the new calendar that had generated so much bad blood in cities and towns like L’viv, they were willing to accept the Gregorian calendar reform if it was deemed necessary (6). The bishops insisted on the preservation of optional clerical celibacy, namely, the tradition of ordaining (once-) married candidates into the priesthood (9).

Central to the concerns of the hierarchy, first formulated during the synod of 1591 was the confirmation of its administrative prerogatives, which, ultimately, were of primary ecclesiological significance. The metropolitan, bishops, and other clerics were necessarily to be selected by due process “from the Ruthenian or Greek nation or religion”: the metropolitan and bishops should be nominated by the king from four candidates selected by the Ruthenian synod (10) with only the metropolitan’s appointment requiring papal confirmation (11). Abbots and monastic communities (19) as well as lay associations and confraternities (26) were to be subject to episcopal supervision. Lay lords and civil officials should respect and enforce sanctions issued by bishops against clergy ministering on their estates or within their jurisdiction (28). This point had an ecclesiastical analog according to which the bishops stressed the importance of the Western and Eastern hierarchies’ respect of each others’ censure and excommunication of clergy (30). Lay noble sponsorship of church foundation should not come at the expense of the episcopate’s right to administrate cathedrals and parish churches (29). The Church’s hold on ecclesiastical estates and

endowments should be secured particularly from appropriation by relatives of deceased hierarchs and abbots seeking to inherit ecclesiastical property (17,18). Following the lead of the confraternities and reiterating earlier reforming resolutions, the bishops demanded freedom for the development of ecclesiastical schools, seminaries, and publishing houses, which were to be under episcopal supervision to avoid the dissemination of Protestant “heresy” (27). The bishops’ self-assertion must be seen as a reaction to the practical and theoretical undermining of their authority by both the proliferation of Protestant ideas on ecclesial polity and by the measures the Eastern patriarchs had applied to the Ruthenian Church.

Considering the diatribes that had been directed by Catholic polemicists against the Eastern Church, its inferior image in Polish-Lithuanian noble society, and the subtle or blatant discrimination against the Orthodox community in the Commonwealth, it is not surprising that a number of articles are devoted to interecclesial relations and parity: The Ruthenian bishops expect that intermarriage between “Romans and Rus” should be free but should not lead to a forcible passage to the Latin Church (16). Even if Ruthenians were to seek to renounce their own traditions, the bishops demand that such faithful not be accepted into the Latin rite (15). The synod requests that the Ruthenian Church be represented in the state tribunals by two clerics, as the Roman Church is represented (20) and that its clergy have the same rights as the Roman clerical estate: exemption from taxation and from the authority of lay lords (21). One demand, found also in a number of the hierarchy’s earlier declarations—taken by some scholars as evidence for the self-serving nature of the bishops’ move to union—is the hierarchs’ aspiration for seats in the Senate (12). In general, it would be naive to discount personal and human motives in the episcopate’s initiative, yet it would be simplistic and misleading to explain it exclusively in these terms. In a highly stratified pre-modern society, characterized by nobiliary privileges, the interweaving of church and state concerns, and diverse signs of status such as titles and coats of arms, and the social and political position of the Ruthenian ecclesiastical elite had great bearing on the *dignitas* of the entire Church and community of the “Greek law.” It was natural and even essential for the Ruthenian prelates to demand that which was a matter of course for the bishops of the Roman Church.

Two of the articles reflect recent relations of the Kyivan metropolitanate with the patriarchate of Constantinople. Sensing the difficulties forthcoming in the promulgation of a possible union with Rome and the potentially obstructive role—from their point of view—that the Greek patriarchates could play, the Ruthenian bishops petition that itinerant Greek ecclesiastics be stopped at the border of the Commonwealth and prohibited from promulgating any sanctions or letters of excommunication against the Kyivan hierarchy which might spark a destructive “civil war” (14). Furthermore, any Ruthenians who might go to Greek Orthodox lands to receive ordination and mandates to minister in the jurisdiction of the metropolitanate of Kyiv should be barred from reentering the realm (32).

The break with Constantinople was not one the bishops were making with ease. Over the previous two decades various notions of East-West ecclesiastical reconciliation had been entertained. Projects of universal union like that of Ostroz'kyi followed the Florentine model and did not replace one communion with another. The bishops themselves had implicit misgivings about cutting the lifeline to the Mother Church that for centuries had been a source for the Ruthenian ecclesiastical and spiritual legacy, even if in more recent times it seemed to be running dry. These misgivings and a certain hopefulness that the imminent interruption of communion with the Eastern Churches would not be permanent is expressed in two poignant articles the first of which (13) reads:

And if with time God deigns to grant that the remainder of our brethren of the Greek nation and religion join this holy unity, that it not be deemed a fault of ours that we preceded them in this unity, for we had to do this because of certain and rightful reasons for harmony in the Christian Commonwealth [thereby] preventing further unrest and discord.³⁷

If such a general reconciliation was ever to be imminent and if “due order” and liturgical discipline and decorum were reestablished in the Greek Church, “may we too participate in this since we are people of one religion” (31).³⁸ The declaration of commonality is rather at odds with the previous anti-Greek articles; it represents a profound intuition and foreshadows an enduring dilemma of the Eastern Churches in union with Rome.

In the context of the “silence” of the Ruthenian hierarchy throughout most of the sixteenth century, the “Articles” appear as a remarkable document. Over a period of a few years the bishops had assessed particular internal and external challenges faced by their Church and articulated the preconditions of a reform process. With no pretensions to theological sophistication, the hierarchs expressed a stalwart desire to lead the Ruthenian Church and to help it meet the spiritual, cultural, and social needs of the Ruthenian nation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The fact that the synod of bishops considered itself the voice of the Kyivan metropolitanate, the authoritative representative of an Eastern Church is manifest. Having experienced a process of awakening, the hierarchs entered into negotiations on behalf of an ecclesial community, the identity of which had been the central concern of the Ruthenian reform movement for more than a decade. If it would become increasingly evident that Roman authorities regarded the Ruthenian accord with Rome as a “reduction to union of schismatics” or as an un-ecclesial absorption of individual Ruthenian Orthodox by the Roman Church, such an understanding was clearly contrary to the consciousness of the late-sixteenth century Ruthenian protagonists. Their drafting of conditions or “articles requiring guarantees” indicates that they were acting with a sense of the ecclesial dignity of the Ruthenian Church, considering it a *bona fide* partner, albeit a subordinate one, in the union negotiations with the papacy.

The preponderance of very specific liturgical demands in the “Articles” may at first sight suggest the absence of a more comprehensive theological vision. The articles are not a model of theological profundity or finesse, but neither are they an expression of a narrow ritualism. Since liturgy is the language of the Church and since liturgical life is at the heart and constitutes the fullest expression of the Eastern theological legacy, the bishops insistence on individual ritual points should, in fact, be understood as a defense of the Ruthenian Orthodox ethos in general. Having deliberated extensively over available options, the bishops decided to act boldly. The remaining open-ended formulations and their ongoing discussions with emerging opponents of union indicate that they were not closed to other possibilities. Yet they would wait no longer, and modifications of the general orientation would have to be made along the way. Their resolve to break with the past by aligning their Church with Rome was accompanied by a determination

to be true to their own and to universal Christian traditions. The lasting polemic around this antinomy has produced opposing confessional appraisals of their intentions and logic. It should not, however, hide the fact that the bishops passionately and courageously sought to reform their Church and to remain true to its traditions.

Being a compendium of resolutions generated by five years of discussions, the document serves a number of purposes and is addressed to a diverse readership. The drafting of the document, in which Ipatii probably played a leading role, was an occasion for establishing consensus among the Ruthenian bishops themselves. Accused of departure from tradition by the nascent anti-union polemic, the bishops sought to document clearly their intention to remain faithful to the Ruthenian ethos. If earlier their deliberations were secret, thereby contributing to vacillation within the hierarchy and generating suspicion in the Ruthenian community at large, now the bishops' positions were clarified and eventually could be made public, or at least explained to key figures like Prince Ostrozkyi. As the subtitle indicates, the primary audience for the articles was the Roman Catholic establishment in Rome and in the Commonwealth, both ecclesiastical and civil. In July separate edited lists of articles were copied to be sent to the Holy See through Germanico Malaspina, the nuncio in Warsaw (1592–1598), and to the Polish-Lithuanian monarch.³⁹ The former redaction encompasses twenty of the thirty-three articles. Fourteen of the articles—about the nomination of hierarchs, Senate seats, ecclesiastical estates, equal rights for the Ruthenian clergy, establishment of schools and presses, and sanctions against itinerant clerics from Greek Orthodox patriarchates (10, 12, 14, 17–21, 25–29, 32)—were addressed to the king since they required state endorsement to be effective. The nuncio and the king responded promptly and positively on 1 and 2 August to the petitions addressed to them respectively. The request for Senate seats, however, remained unacknowledged.⁴⁰

Union in Rome

The achievement of consensus in the thirty-three articles was a high point in the union movement. Breaks in the episcopal ranks ensued when in the following months Hedeon (Balaban), the initiator of the secret union plans, and Mykhail (Kopystenskyi), a signatory of most of

the unionist declaration, revoked their support. In the late summer and fall of 1595 Prince Ostrozkyi mobilized his resources against the episcopal initiative. On 26 September, after overcoming doubts about the advisability of proceeding with the union because of the prince's opposition and threats, and having received funding from Zygmunt III and the nuncio, Bishops Ipatii and Kyryll set out for Rome to declare the Kyivan metropolitanate's recognition of papal supremacy.⁴¹ On 15 November, the day of their arrival, Clement VIII received them and directed that they be granted hospitality in a residence close to St. Peter's Basilica as his guests.⁴² The bishops made their profession of faith and obedience in a solemn ceremony on 23 December, in the Hall of Constantine in the Vatican—Ipatii in Latin, the less lettered Kyryll in Ruthenian.⁴³ The bishops recited the creed with the *Filioque* clause and accepted the normative quality of the Roman position on papal primacy, purgatory, and other issues of contention between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches. In so doing they followed the procedure prescribed by the Congregation for the Greeks for Christians of the Byzantine rite who were accepting papal supremacy.⁴⁴ On that day Clement VIII promulgated the constitution *Magnus Dominus*, which reflected the Roman understanding of the new union.⁴⁵

The difference between the Roman view and the Ruthenian hierarchy's understanding of the union was significant. The bishops' articles are permeated by a sense of a veritable ecclesial identity. While they saw their act as a reunification with the Roman see of a local Church, the metropolitanate of Kyiv, the papacy considered the union to be a conversion and incorporation of a schismatic body of individual bishops, clergy and faithful, which because of their broken communion with Rome could not be considered "Members of the Body of Christ" nor could they enjoy the "influx of spiritual life."⁴⁶ Although, in a reference to the Florentine council, *Magnus Dominus* mentions the union between "the Western and Eastern Greek Churches,"⁴⁷ in nine pages of text (in the modern edition) it never refers to the Ruthenian Church as such, in effect denying it any ecclesial status prior to the consummation of the union.

The bishops' articles of union were carefully examined in Rome by a commission of cardinals, reporting directly to the pope, and by a theological expert, the Spanish Dominican Juan Saragoza de Heredia. Clement, ailing at the time, examined the petition of the Ruthenian

bishops in the presence of members of the Holy Office, who were summoned to his bedside on 13 December. In the end, the pope neither rejected nor explicitly affirmed the articles in an official manner. Saragoza had argued that since the Church is a necessary and exclusive means for salvation, adherence to it must be unqualified and unconditional. Stipulating demands as prerequisites to union with the one true Church was simply nonsense.⁴⁸ In light of the post-Tridentine exclusivist ecclesiology and soteriology expressed in Saragoza's critical *votum*—according to which salvation was possible only in and through the Roman Catholic Church—the omission of any negative reference to the bishops' conditions in the official Roman documents was, in fact, a diplomatic compromise on the part of the papacy. The curia's critique of the "Articles" did not preclude papal assurances regarding basic traditions of the Ruthenian Church. The constitution *Magnus Dominus*, as well as subsequent documents, guaranteed the right to maintain "all of the sacred rites and ceremonies used by the Ruthenian bishops and clergy as instituted by the Holy Greek Fathers" as long as these traditions did not "contradict the truth and doctrines of the Catholic faith and exclude union with the Roman Church." The guarantees issued to the bishops were not at all contractual and were presented as a sovereign concession, as a "greater sign of our love for them." The pope "benignly permits, concedes, and grants (*indulgemus*)" the right to maintain the Ruthenian liturgical tradition.⁴⁹ The hierarchs were not forced to renounce formally any of their positions or beliefs, but they were absolved of any and all "excommunications, suspensions, interdicts, and other ecclesiastical sentences, censure, and penalties to which they became subject in any way because of the mentioned schisms, heresies, and errors to which they may have adhered."⁵⁰ Rome's understanding of the union as a reception into the Church of a lost and sinful flock is consistent in all of the documents issued in the wake of the bishops' profession of faith.

The Roman Experience

What was the mindset of the Ruthenian representative while in Rome? This intriguing question, generally ignored in the literature, can be answered only hypothetically because of the silence of the sources. Careful deductions and inferences can supply insight into experiences

veiled by the limited extant documentation, thus, rendering more vivid the bishops' Roman sojourn that otherwise might appear as a lifeless sequence of formal events abstracted from the human condition. Attention to the *Sitz im Leben* in Rome serves to explain why despite fierce opposition at home, the Ruthenian hierarchy proceeded with the plan of union and after its ratification defended the accord with Rome tenaciously.

It would seem that having arrived *ad limina apostolorum* Ipatii and Kyryll were forced to make significant compromises in proceeding with the union despite not receiving explicit guarantees of synodally formulated "conditions." They were obliged to pay requisite obeisances to an exalted supreme pontiff and endured theological scrutiny while having to dispel notions of Ruthenian "schism and heresy." While in Rome it must have become clear to them that the papacy's conception of "reduction to union" of Eastern Christians was hardly identical with the notions of ecclesiastical unification that prevailed at home in the Ruthenian lands, be they those of the bishops themselves or those of Konstantyn Ostroz'kyi. Although the precedent of Florence was mentioned in the union documentation, it was the spirit of reformed Tridentine Catholicism with its Counter-Reformational, Rome-centered ecclesiology and church polity that permeated the rites and formulations through which the Ruthenians were received into papal obedience. Today's ecumenical ecclesiology of Sister Churches, in light of which Catholics and Orthodox recognize each other as salvific ecclesial communities—albeit marked by the scandal of Christian division—deplores the stance taken by the papacy and the compromises made by the Ruthenian prelates. And yet there is every indication that four centuries ago the bishops left Rome satisfied. Why?

Throughout their stay in Rome Ipatii and Kyryll were warmly welcomed and treated with utmost personal respect, recognized as bishops in liturgical solemnities in St. Peter's and other Roman churches, and given credible assurances that the papacy would support the realization of the basic intentions of the hierarchy in reforming Ruthenian church life—restoring episcopal authority and due canonical process, quelling ecclesial chaos, confronting the threat of the Protestant currents, and establishing ecclesiastical and social equality with the Latin Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Furthermore, the prospects of association with Rome were promising. The papacy's newfound capac-

ity to respond to early-modern challenges was palpable in the ecclesial and social atmosphere surrounding the See of Peter in the 1590s. The bishops came to a Rome that was on the rise.⁵¹ Reforming popes had begun to restore the ecclesial and spiritual dimensions of the papacy's mission. The discovery of the Roman catacombs in 1578 bolstered the papacy's claim to ancient, foundational privileges against reformers who questioned its traditions. The Roman understanding of Petrine primacy came to be supported by scholarship, particularly that of the prodigious and systematic apologist Roberto Bellarmino (1542–1621) and the indefatigable, meticulous, and engaged historian Cesare Baronio (1538–1606), who served as Clement VIII's confessor.⁵² The city's population had recovered from a low of forty thousand after the sack of 1527 to over one-hundred thousand at the end of the century.⁵³ The completion of the dome of St. Peter's Basilica in 1590 metaphorically crowned the stabilization of the Catholic ecclesiastical polity shaken by the Reformation and the onset of modern times.

Emerging from a troubled environment in a backwards corner of Europe, searching for a point of reference to bolster a failing ecclesiastical identity, the bishops must have been impressed by the invigorated post-Tridentine papacy, the Borromeo model of episcopal solicitude, the nascent colleges and seminaries, effervescent expressions of religious life evident in the churches, confraternities, religious orders and communities in northern Italy and Rome, the omnipresent sign of historical continuity and tradition, and the breathtaking cultural richness of Italy and, especially, the Eternal City.⁵⁴ Today, a tourist is awestruck by the monuments of Rome. Four centuries ago, at a time when St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kyiv was a decrepit church amidst grazing cattle, when the Eastern patriarchs were forced to embark on mendicant missions to underwrite the rebuilding of their cathedrals, and when the, by modern standards diminutive, brotherhood Church of the Dormition being rebuilt in Lviv was the biggest Eastern house of worship in the largest Ukrainian town—the specter of St. Peter's and all that it represented must have engaged Ipatii and Kyryll. At a time when a complete contemporary collection of all printed Ruthenian editions—numbering less than seventy volumes—hardly filled a bookshelf⁵⁵ the bishops had opportunity to see that Catholic cathedrals, schools, and prominent churchmen assembled entire libraries of published religious literature

on various facets of the human experience, religious and otherwise, answering the urgent questions of a new age.

In the bishops' eyes the comparative richness must have transcended monumental, material, or even cultural and intellectual categories. At a time when a single urban confraternity represented the leaven of spiritual and ecclesial revival in a Ruthenian town, Italian cities on the bishops' route boasted twenty, fifty, or even more corporate religious associations of dedicated laity who maintained a discipline of personal and communal prayer and organized hospitals, orphanages, almshouses, schools and hospices for the homeless and hapless of the world. While in Italy, besides Machiavellian geopolitics, venal personal maneuvering, and sensual worldliness ever-present in the Church, the bishops were able to see also the best of an *Ecclesia universalis* whose new sense of mission led committed, spiritually-centered, and talented men and women to dedicate their lives to the evangelic counsels and virtues. Ipatii and Kyrill undoubtedly came to hear of the already legendary archbishop of Milan, Carlo Borromeo (1536–1584), who incarnated the reforms of Trent directed at a degenerate Renaissance episcopate by leading an exemplary personal life of devotion, reorganizing his archdiocese, tirelessly conducting parochial visitations, summoning six provincial councils and eleven diocesan synods, opening seminaries and universities, and developing a Confraternity of Christian Doctrine for teaching the fundamentals of the faith.⁵⁶ In 1595 this Confraternity had over 20,000 pupils.⁵⁷ If Borromeo had created a new model for the Catholic bishop and redefined notions of episcopal ministry the exigent, yet gentle and joyful, Filippo Neri (1515–1595), known as the "Apostle to Rome," invented new modalities of popular exploration of the faith. The Oratory which he founded in the heart of Rome, a point midway on the urban thoroughfare between St. Peter's and the bustling Jesuit headquarters at the Church of the Gesù, was open to clergy and laity and was characterized by fellowship and personalistic reflection on and open discussion about the spiritual life. The resultant movement attracted and served to convert to piety many powerful churchmen and churchwomen in the Roman decastries who were inspired by Neri's catechetical gifts, devotional and ascetic practices, administration of confession, and zeal in prayer and preaching.

Ipatii and Kyrill represented a hierarchy seeking direction and guidance and, presumably, were predisposed to observe, experience, and

learn new things. Their journey through the lands of the Christian West on their way to Rome—both an odyssey and pilgrimage—was undoubtedly intense and animating, humbling and galvanizing. Bombarded by the religious culture of a nascent Baroque, removed from their usual circumstances and rhythms, and immersed in an ecclesiastical context that had been the object of their imaginations for the previous years, the bishops had much to ponder.

The two bishops were sent to represent the affairs of their entire Church. They came to Rome on a unionistic mission reflecting a comprehensive desire to renew the Ruthenian Church and reform the life of its hierarchy and faithful. Yet, one imagines, they could hardly have remained unaffected on a personal level. From the sources we know that both Ipatii, Ostroz'kyi's hope for the Ruthenian Church, and Kyryll—chosen by Jeremiah as exarch, appointed to head the synodal publishing commission, and delegated by the other bishops to go with Ipatii to Rome—were passionate, dynamic personalities who in life fought many battles and, at least in the case of Ipatii, underwent deliberate, reflected conversions of heart, mind, and spirit. Ipatii was refined and sophisticated. Kyryll's legacy in the highly fragmentary extant sources and his image in the often tendentious historiography are notorious for his legal and armed struggles for ecclesiastical estates in the 1580s. Yet time and again, despite his violent reputation—during Jeremiah's trip, at the synod in 1590 and in the summer of 1595—he was chosen by his peers and superiors to positions of leadership and representation. Having lived lives of ferment, Ipatii and Kyryll can hardly be expected to have spent their months in Rome in an impassive, idle, or indifferent manner. For the two bishops, each outstanding in his own right, the multifaceted stay in Rome must have been a time of exploration and discovery and may have been the occasion for a personal spiritual renewal and a recommitment to episcopal ministry.

We can only conjecture about the nature of Ipatii and Kyryll's Roman sojourn. Without great hazard, one might infer that it was unlike Patriarch Jeremiah's six-month nightmare in the gilded cage of Moscow. Full of energy and initiative, the two travelers hardly sat still. During their almost four months in Rome the Ruthenian bishops had ample opportunity to come to know the vigor of the city's newfound religious life. They met leading personalities and were introduced to the latest, creative pastoral methods being developed there. Their pres-

ence in Rome was noted widely. Baronio, who was a personal disciple of Filippo Neri and became his successor as superior of the Oratory in 1593, recorded the Ruthenian union prominently in a special appendix in his *Annales Ecclesiastici* even though in 1596 in his survey of general church history he was treating only the first half of the sixth century.⁵⁸ The pastoral exploits of Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, Carlo Borromeo, and Neri, the last of whom had died in May of 1595, were surely impressed upon them in conversation and through visits to the new churches of the city. While visiting the shrines of the Apostles and Martyrs during the weeks of Advent the bishops may have seen and heard, if not understood, some of the best preachers of the Roman Catholic Reform. It is not impossible that in the weeks before their departure in March Ipatii and Kyryll may have participated in a gathering of the Oratorians at the Chiesa Nuova or even experienced the incisiveness and inspiration of the Ignatian spiritual exercises just down the street at the brand-new Gesù. In a word—Rome offered what the bishops were looking for, and more. It is no surprise that they departed from the city on March 1596 with a great zeal to prepare the ratification of the union by the rest of the Ruthenian synod.⁵⁹

Ipatii and Kyryll carried with them the papal bull *Decet Romanum Pontificem* addressed to Metropolitan Mykhail (Rahoza) and dated 23 February. The bull reiterated guarantees of respect for Ruthenian liturgical tradition. More importantly, it established a new procedure for episcopal succession in the metropolitanate of Kyiv designed to prevent appointment by secular authorities of unworthy candidates to ecclesiastical offices. Clement VIII granted Metropolitan Mykhail and his successors the prerogative to confirm the nomination of any candidate to an episcopal see and to preside over his ordination which was to be conducted with two or three other bishops in union with Rome. Henceforth, a nominee for the metropolitan's seat was to be approved by the pope. The new procedure reflects desires expressed in the "conditions" for union drafted by the bishops. These provisions are presented as a concession by the Roman see to the "Ruthenian province that is located a long distance from the Roman Curia" to facilitate the process of filling vacant sees and to avoid undue travel expenses (*eorum commodis et indemnitati*).⁶⁰ Although *Decet Romanum Pontificem* did not explicitly replace royal appointment with synodal election, it did, in fact, usher in this reform, which soon took effect and

was of great consequence for the Uniate Church in the seventeenth century.⁶¹ As a parting gift, the bishops received an endowment for a seminary to be founded in the Ruthenian province. Other central concerns of the Ruthenian hierarchy were addressed by Clement VIII in some sixteen letters sent to the king and other leading civil and ecclesiastical figures in the Commonwealth urging them to use their offices in support of the Ruthenian union.⁶² From the outset after the Roman union and for the subsequent decades the papacy quite consistently defended the prerogatives of the Ruthenian Church in union with Rome even in the face of rather ambivalent attitudes that came to prevail within the Polish-Lithuanian political elite. Despite the fact that in the letters the pope stressed the importance of granting the Ruthenian bishops Senate seats this demand remained unfulfilled for the better part of two centuries. In 1793, on the eve of the last partition of the Commonwealth, the Ruthenian metropolitan alone was admitted to sit behind the Latin hierarchs in the Warsaw Senate.

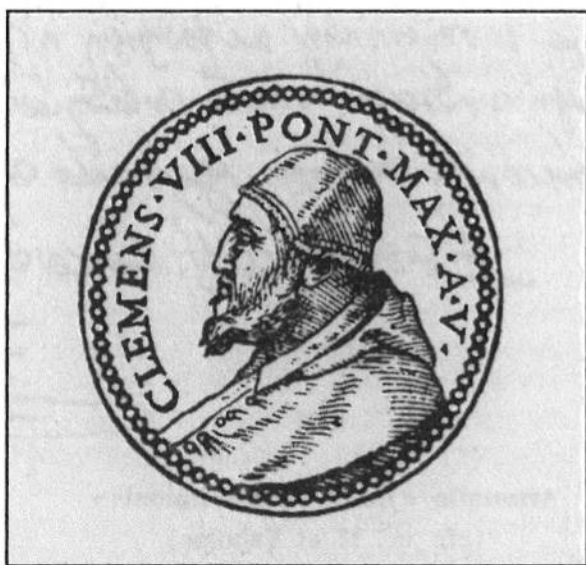


Illustration 20. Portrait of Pope Clement VIII. From *Documenta Unionis*, p. 405. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Order of Saint Basil the Great, Rome.

Synods in Brest

Throughout the summer and early fall of 1596, in the wake of the profession of union in Rome, the lines between its supporters and opponents became clearly drawn. The battle came to a head in Brest from 6/16 to 10/20 October 1596, where a synod was convoked by the metropolitan for the purposes of formally ratifying the union.⁶³ In response to Mykhail's summons, in fact, two separate assemblies convened there. The pro-union synod met in Ipatii's cathedral while the opposition gathered at the other end of town, in the home of an Antitrinitarian nobleman. Over the course of the first days representatives of the polarized camps went back and forth across town in vain attempts to bring the other side to their own position. The two parties could not be reconciled since neither came to Brest with any intent to compromise. The heated debates did not generate any new arguments. Rather, they reiterated platforms that had been articulated during the discussions over union in previous years. The central issue thus became the question of the respective ecclesiastical and civil legitimacy and validity of the two assemblies and of their declarations.

The pro-union assembly included the metropolitan, Mykhail, Ipatii, Kyryll, who still could and did claim the title of patriarchal exarch, and the bishops of Polatsk, Kholm and Pinsk, as well as the archimandrites of the Bratslaŭ, Laŭryshava, and Mensk monasteries (all in Belarus).⁶⁴ It is difficult to determine the representation of diocesan lower ("white") clergy and laity at the union synod since the main synodal document is signed by higher clergy only. Three senators, leading officials of the Grand Duchy—Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, the grand marshal of Lithuania and palatine of Trakai, Lev Sopiha [Lew Sapieha], the Crown grand chancellor, and Dymitr Chalecki, the grand treasurer of Lithuania and starosta of Brest—represented the king, by now a strong proponent of a Ruthenian union. Their armed units ensured the safety of the Ruthenian bishops who had been threatened by Ostroz'kyi as the union debate escalated. The pope was represented by three Latin hierarchs—Jan Dymitr Solikowski, the archbishop of L'viv, Bernard Maciejowski of Luts'k, and Stanisław Gomoliński of Kholm. Present and active during the deliberations and discussion were two Jesuits, Piotr Skarga and Justyn Rab, and a Greek theologian, the first doctor graduated from the College of St. Athanasius in Rome, Peter Arcudius (Petros Arkoudios).

The main force behind the anti-union gathering was Prince Ostrozkyi. In its formulations, his vision of universal union was contrasted with the regional union to which the hierarchy had committed itself. Ostrozkyi brought to Brest a sizable military detachment which, however, saw no action. Besides the prince, the assembly included some twenty-two Ruthenian Orthodox and Protestant nobles, including Reformers and Antitrinitarians, and thirty-five burghers from sixteen towns representing numerous confraternities. The Ruthenian higher clergy was represented by Hedeon, Mykhail (Kopystens'kyi), and nine archimandrites, including Nykyfor (Tur) of the Kyivan Caves Monastery, who like the bishops had supported union in previous declarations but in the last months had become an influential opponent. At least twenty-five members of the Ruthenian lower clergy were present. The leading ecclesiastic in the anti-union camp proved to be a representative of the patriarchate of Constantinople.⁶⁵

In fact, Kyrill was not the only patriarchal exarch in Brest. The anti-union synod had as its president the Greek cleric Nikephoros, who in 1592 had been designated patriarchal protosynkellos (chancellor) and exarch (vicar) by Jeremiah II, despite not being a presbyter.⁶⁶ In Brest, his mandate as exarch granted by a patriarch who had died a year earlier came into question. Since Nikephoros was not a priest, much less a bishop, his authority to preside over and promulgate sanctions against Ruthenian bishops was considered suspect even by participants of the counter-synod.⁶⁷ Another Greek in Brest was the future six-time patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Loukaris, who represented the patriarch of Alexandria, Meletios Pegas. Before and after the decisive encounter in Brest he was a constant supporter of those Ruthenians who rejected union with Rome. Appealing to the authority of the patriarchate of Constantinople the counter-synod made its stand.

The composition of the counter-synod surely strengthened the resolve of the bishops to consummate the union accord. Viewed from their perspective, the anti-union assembly was characterized by factors the hierarchy had repeatedly enumerated as sources for Ruthenian ecclesiastical troubles: the domination of lay magnates in ecclesiastical affairs, insubordination of confraternities, interference of Greeks of dubious standing in the governing of the Kyivan metropolitanate, and the nefarious influence of Protestant, including Antitrinitarian currents. On 8/18 October the pro-union synod issued a document ratifying the

union as it had been professed in Rome.⁶⁸ The narration of the evolution of the bishops' orientation towards Rome is concise and to the point. The signatories declare that the successors of St. Peter had "always" been the ultimate authority in the Church and that separation from Rome is the main cause of the dysfunction and simony at Constantinople, disorder in Ruthenian Church life, and proliferation of Protestant "heresies" in the Ruthenian lands. In Rome in the name of other bishops Ipatii and Kyrill had asked "to be received into the obedience of the Pope the Supreme Pastor of the universal Catholic Church and to be freed and absolved of the authority of the patriarchs of Constantinople." Clement VIII did not "change anything in our churches" and summoned the bishops to gather in synod to make a profession of faith and pronounce obedience to the Roman see and "this we have done today at the synod" having as witnesses delegates of both pope and king.

The opposition had accepted Nikephoros as a legitimate authority on the basis of a document signed by patriarch Jeremiah produced by the exarch.⁶⁹ Under his leadership the counter-synod proceeded to draft a reaction to the imminent proclamation of the union synod. The bishops were accused not only of insubordination to the patriarchate of Constantinople but of neglect of the canons of the second, fourth, and sixth ecumenical councils which regulated the relationship between patriarchal sees, none of which, according to Eastern Christians, had any direct administrative authority over another. Furthermore, according to the antisynod, the pro-union bishops had capitulated by accepting the Western position on issues dividing the Latin and Greek Churches.⁷⁰

Given the shared underlying aspirations of the protagonists of the two Ruthenian parties meeting in Brest—Christian unity, equality with the Latins, and reform of Ruthenian Church life—it is quite remarkable how different the outlook of the two synods actually had become. Today, a sympathetic reader of the documentation cannot but be pained by the mutual excommunication and anathemas issued in a context that was meant to give birth to reconciliation, concord, and unity. However, in an age of growing confessionalism and hot religious polemic it was inevitable that having come to Brest with predetermined and conflicting positions as well as having failed to reach agreement, the opposing sides would condemn each other. The mutual excommunications as well as a unity

with Rome are a lasting and contradictory legacy of the stormy October days that passed in what presently is a minor border town near the meeting point of Belarusian, Ukrainian, and Polish territory.⁷¹



That confessional positions were being petrified in the last decades of the sixteenth century has been shown in earlier chapters. At the same time it also has been illustrated that throughout most of this period a certain latitude existed regarding many controversial matters that would persist into the seventeenth century—at least on the level of notions and hopes.⁷² Union of the Eastern Churches with Rome is one of the issues that repeatedly challenged the hardening boundaries. There are indications that the impetus for the Ruthenian bishops to consider unification with the Church of Rome as an antidote for the crisis in Eastern Christendom may have come from a most unlikely source—the patriarch of Constantinople himself. An anonymous Italian memorandum written in Padua in 1595 suggests that during his stay in the Ruthenian lands Patriarch Jeremiah encouraged local bishops to consider the possibility of seeking union with the Roman Catholic Church.⁷³ In the midst of reflections about the union of Eastern Christians with the Latin Church, the author of the memorandum relates his encounter in Padua with two Ruthenian bishops (Ipatii and Kyrill) traveling to Rome to deliver the hierarchy's readiness to submit to papal authority. The author reports what the two bishops disclosed to him about their discussion on the contemporary plight of the Eastern Church with a patriarch of Constantinople while he was in the Ruthenian lands. Although the chronology is not exact—the memorandum has the patriarch in Ukrainian-Belarusian territories two years earlier, that is in 1593—the circumstances described coincide with Jeremiah's sojourn in the Commonwealth. According to the report, the bishops en route to Rome related that the patriarch of Constantinople

. . . came to visit Ruthenia, and lamenting with them [i.e., the local bishops] the miseries that the Christians suffered under Turkish tyranny, with the disturbances and abuses that arose because of [this tyranny], it not being possible to expect the elimination of those [miseries], with proper ecclesiastical liberty some [of those present]

responded that to remedy this [situation] a true union with the Latin Church should be attempted in order to have assistance from it [i.e., the Latin Church] as needed. To this the patriarch replied that the thought was most holy and those to whom it was not forbidden to pursue it [i.e., true union] should consider themselves fortunate. However it was not permissible to do so for those who were subject to the Turks, due to various dangers encountered by those [e.g., the patriarch] who come as if to teach the Ruthenians not to fail to provide for their salvation. From this discussion there began to mature the suggestion that in the end resulted in their [i.e., the bishops'] coming to Rome . . . ⁷⁴

Although the information in the memorandum is not corroborated by any other documentary evidence, the report certainly does not strike one as incredible. Jeremiah had expressed a willingness to seek common ground with the papacy before in different contexts. In Constantinople in the early and mid-1580s, when Gregory XIII was preparing and then promulgating his calendar reform, the patriarch had maintained contacts with the papacy, despite hard-line opposition to such relations within the Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical establishment. It seems that he did so, knowingly risking his see, which in fact he soon lost. En route to Moscow in 1588 he visited the estates of Jan Zamoyski and left the Crown chancellor with the impression that he was not “averse” to discussing the possibility of union. When returning from Muscovy, the patriarch received a cordial welcome from Catholic officials of the Commonwealth. In Vilnius, he observed the new vitality of Catholic religious life at a point when currents of the Catholic Reform were fresh, dynamic, and captivating. During his extended stay at the court of Zamoyski he had occasion to see the strengths of contemporary Western culture. There he could meet individuals who appreciated the Greek cultural legacy and his own recent theological refutation of Protestant positions.

Knowing well the circumstances of the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire and perceiving the persisting threat of Radical Protestant teachings in the Commonwealth, the patriarch of Constantinople may very well have counseled Ruthenian bishops to seek assistance from the Western Church and to examine the possibility of union. However, the Ruthenian bishops must have understood that such utterances, perhaps casual or unguarded, did not reflect the basic convictions and confessional outlook of the patriarchate of Constantinople. That Jeremiah may have allowed himself this liberty to speculate about

Ruthenian prospects of union with Rome does not mean that he was ready to accept the conditions that the post-Tridentine Roman Church would impose in negotiating such an accord. If the patriarch spoke in general terms about union with Rome, the Ruthenian bishops quickly formulated specific intentions that would have startled the aging Jeremiah.

The synods of the early 1590s served as a forum for the development of the hierarchs' vision for the future of their Church. In the last decades of the sixteenth century the Ruthenian Church was losing its elite, its capacity to meet the changing needs of its faithful, and its ability to articulate the Eastern Sacred Tradition in a way that addressed the issues of an age of reform. At the synods, the bishops assessed the grave deficiencies in the life of their ecclesial community. Spurred by the mounting challenges from the West, the hierarchs fundamentally reevaluated the position of the Kyivan metropolitanate in the context of contemporary Christendom. They contrasted the stability, order, missionary zeal, and vitality of the post-Tridentine Roman ecclesial polity with the disarray at the patriarchate of Constantinople and with the weak response of the Orthodox world to the questions raised by the dawning of the modern age. Jeremiah's conception of union with Rome, like that of Ostrozkyi, undoubtedly hearkened back to models examined at the Council of Florence or to circumstances that prevailed in the first Christian millennium. The bishops of the metropolitanate of Kyiv were hard-pressed for practical solutions to administrative, pastoral, and cultural problems. They saw many of these solutions in a union with Rome. The ideal of a universal union and the antinomic prospects of communion with both Constantinople and Rome were not viable options that responded to the exigencies of their Church. Thus, they opted for a bold step, the corollary of which was hardly what Jeremiah could have intended. For the majority of the Ruthenian hierarchy, union with Rome was a parting of ways with Constantinople—at least until the dawn of the day that allowed for more perfect answers.

CONCLUSION

The Union of Brest and the Greek East

The Union of Brest, by which Ruthenian hierarchs removed themselves from Constantinopolitan obedience and submitted to papal authority, marks a fundamental divide in the history of the Church of Kyiv, with repercussions extending deep into the religious, cultural, and political life of Eastern Europe and with enduring consequences for Christian inter-confessional relations. In its presentation of the union most of the voluminous historiography has taken these repercussions and consequences as an explicit or implicit point of departure and has been evaluative and confessional, often tendentiously and polemically so. It has generally expressed itself in terms of praise or blame, attributing glory or infamy to the different sides of the union divide based on the confessional allegiances or predilections of respective authors sometimes even before or without trying to determine what happened and why. Facile causalities (Polish and Jesuit manipulation, episcopal self-seeking, Ostrozkyi's offended pride), anachronisms (fear of the Moscow patriarchate, defense before Russian expansionism), teleological argumentation ("the Ruthenians were destined to join the One True Church"), overwhelmingly detailed narration of events without proper historical contextualization and/or assessment, and the impositions of evaluative criteria formulated in later periods (polemical, imperial, positivist, anti-religious or anti-ecclesial, national, and even modern ecumenical) have not served the history of the union well. One is hard pressed to find a balanced, non-biased treatment that explains the Union of Brest. It remains one of the most controversial topics in Eastern ecclesiastical and Slavic historiography. Along with the legacy of other unions of Eastern communities with Rome, that of the Union of Brest is considered the most intractable problem by many participants in the contemporary Catholic-Orthodox ecumenical discourse. Four centuries after the event there is little consensus regarding the union. This was my impression a decade ago when I first began reading its vast bibliography. Religious and political developments in the wake of the collapse of

the Soviet Union have added new layers of passion and obfuscation. The purpose of this study has been to explain the genesis of the union—why and how it happened—by closely examining its broader context with particular emphasis not on the Ruthenian relationship with Latin Christianity—obviously a principal theme in the history of the Union of Brest—but on the relationship of the metropolitanate of Kyiv with its Mother Church, the patriarchate of Constantinople. To this end it has been necessary to abstain from premature judgment, confine the treatment to the circumstances, mindsets, and events predating or leading up to the Union, and maintain a sympathetic attitude towards the main protagonists—ultimately divided by the union into two camps—so as to understand their motives and actions.

Why would the Ruthenian bishops trade Constantinopolitan for Roman allegiance? The creation of the metropolitanate of Kyiv at the end of the tenth century under Byzantine tutelage constituted the central element of the entry of Kyivan Rus' into Christendom. From its beginning, the Kyivan metropolitan see, encompassing all of the East Slavic lands, belonged to the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople. It remained so for almost half a millennium. Despite numerous attempts in the fourteenth century by Lithuanian rulers to establish a separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Grand Duchy, the metropolitanate of Kyiv endured undivided and subject to its Mother Church until the middle of the fifteenth century, when part of the Kyivan see broke away from Constantinopolitan jurisdiction. After the establishment of the *de facto* autocephaly of the metropolitanate of Moscow in 1448, the territory of the Kyivan metropolitanate came to coincide with the East Slavic (Ruthenian—or Ukrainian and Belarussian) lands within the borders of the dynastically-united Lithuanian and Polish states.

The bond of the Kyivan Church with Constantinople was not merely jurisdictional. One might with good reason propose that Rus' Christendom is unimaginable without Byzantium. The Byzantines transmitted the Christian Gospel message to the Slavs through a writing system, the sacraments and liturgical services, scriptural and other sacred texts, a calendar with its cycle of feasts sanctifying time, a chronology and a sense of salvation history, modes of prayer and spiritual life, models of monasticism, comprehensive codes of morality and canon law, architectural and artistic styles, social and political

ideology, as well as an ecclesiastical hierarchy all of which served as a basis for the development of a new Christian culture among the Rus'. The gift of faith, in the Byzantine incarnation, was foundational for subsequent East Slavic history, giving it new meaning, substance, and form.

At the same time, one might say that the Greek endowment to the barbarian Slavs was somehow incomplete. In fact, the bequest of the Byzantine legacy was selective, filtered through the medium of the Church Slavonic language, the textual repertoire of which was limited. It did not include the full range of Greek (as well as Syriac and Coptic) patristic theology and for the most part excluded Greek and Latin classical, late antique, and medieval philosophical and literary texts as well as the Latin patristic corpus. The Christianization of Rus', over the first centuries after Volodimer's baptism, resulted in significant original synthesizing of Byzantine Christianity and Slavic folklore, authentic inculturation, and lasting spiritual and cultural achievements. For basic theological insight, ecclesiological orientation, and ecclesiastical policy, however, the Kyivan Church, headed mostly by Greek metropolitans sent from Byzantium, was largely dependent on guidance or impulses received from Constantinople or other spiritual centers of the Greek Orthodox world such as Mount Athos. Greek guardianship kept the Rus' Church from creating a fully autonomous and autochthonous theological tradition and ecclesiastical polity, while the option for the Byzantine Slavonic rite served to isolate the Rus' from subsequent medieval Latin theological and philosophical developments. Nevertheless, the Byzantine benefaction was sufficiently generous to give birth to and sustain the life of Kyivan Christianity for a period of centuries.

As a daughter of the patriarchate of Constantinople, the Kyivan Church, situated on the border between the Greek and Latin ecclesiastical domains, over time also received from the Byzantines as well as from Catholic Polish, Lithuanian, and Teutonic neighbors the reality of alienation between Old and New Rome. This reality, however, remained a mediated experience, and the Greek-Latin theological, ecclesiastical, and cultural dialectic was strongly felt but not always understood or assimilated in Rus' fully. The limited medieval sources do not answer many of the questions posed by later ages and probably will never allow us to gain penetrating and comprehensive insight into the religious mentality(ies) of medieval Rus'. Rus' Christianity, if only for

chronological reasons, cannot be readily categorized according to the Catholic-Orthodox dichotomy as it came to be articulated in post-Reformational, post-Tridentine, and modern terms. Thus, in medieval times both metropolitans and princes of Rus' on occasion entered into contact with the Church of Rome, recognizing its primacy and seeking to establish ties despite the Latin-Greek alienation. But such efforts were only episodic. For the East Slavic Christian community the pre-eminent ecclesiastical and cultural point of reference remained Constantinople. The metropolitanate of Kyiv abided in the jurisdiction of the Great Church. The difficulty of situating the Kyivan Church exclusively on the Greek side of the Roman-Constantinopolitan opposition becomes more evident in the fifteenth century. In the aftermath of the Union of Florence, the creation of a separate Muscovite metropolitanate, and the fall of the Byzantine Empire, when a pope nominated a Kyivan metropolitan and a unionist patriarch of Constantinople resided in Rome, the jurisdictional status of the metropolitanate of Kyiv became ambiguous for a number of decades. In the second half of the fifteenth century, metropolitans of Kyiv seem not to have recognized categorical confessional distinctions, even though in the eyes of both Rome and Constantinople the ecclesiastical rapprochement between Eastern and Western Christendom achieved at the Union of Florence had lapsed. Through the beginning of the sixteenth century, without ever breaking ties with Constantinople, Kyivan metropolitans sought to maintain or reestablish relations with the papacy. This pattern of Ruthenian initiatives came to an end in the early sixteenth century, when it became evident to Ruthenians that the papacy—and even more so the Catholic establishment in Lithuania and Poland—considered the Florentine Union defunct.

Because of the progressive institutional decline of the patriarchate of Constantinople under Ottoman rule and an analogous organizational deterioration in the sixteenth-century Kyivan metropolitanate, the relations between the patriarchate and the Ruthenian Church diminished to a formal minimum. Paradoxically, the crisis of Greek Orthodoxy under the *Tourkokratia* indirectly occasioned a revitalization of interaction between Greeks and East Slavs. Throughout the sixteenth century the increasing dependence of destitute Greek Orthodox institutions on Muscovite financial assistance brought numerous representatives of the Eastern patriarchates into Ukraine and Belarus' as they traveled to

request alms from the Muscovite grand princes and tsars. In the last decades of the sixteenth century the onset of a movement for spiritual, ecclesiastical, and cultural revitalization in the Ruthenian lands led activists to rediscover the central role of the Greek legacy in the religious and cultural identity of the Ruthenian nation. At the same time the patriarchate of Constantinople began demonstrating a new solicitude for the ecclesial well-being of the Orthodox in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Although unable to generate any sustained revival in their own lands, Eastern patriarchs began supporting movements for reform in the Kyivan metropolitanate, escalating expectations of lay leaders regarding the prospects of Greek Orthodox aid for the Ruthenian religious and cultural cause. The renewed involvement of the patriarchate of Constantinople in the affairs of the metropolitanate of Kyiv culminated in the four-month sojourn of Patriarch Jeremiah in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1589. Thus, as we have seen, in the 1580s the relationship between the Ruthenian Church and the patriarchate of Constantinople, tenuous throughout most of the sixteenth century, underwent a dramatic transformation.

In 1589, on a return journey from Moscow, where he had been detained against his will and forced to elevate the Muscovite metropolitan to patriarchal dignity, Jeremiah conducted a program of reform in the Kyivan metropolitanate. His measures constituted an important impulse towards the revitalization of the demoralized Ruthenian Church. They had a second unintended effect, however. The Orthodox bishops came to resent the patriarch's involvement in the affairs of their province. They perceived the nomination of an exarch and, particularly, the broad powers granted to the confraternities as a threat to their prerogatives as bishops. Furthermore, the encounter with the leading hierarch of the Greek Orthodox world, who during his stay spent more time with eminent Roman Catholic officials of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth than he did with his Ruthenian Orthodox subjects, revealed the weakness of the Mother Church and served to dispel any idealized notions of authentic and effective solidarity between the Greek and Ruthenian hierarchies. The Ruthenian bishops faced monetary demands from the patriarchate with few prospects of receiving from the Greeks concrete, practical aid for the Kyivan Church's quest to meet the spiritual and cultural needs of the faithful and for its struggle against radical Reformational currents, the galva-

nized Catholic Church, and threats to Ruthenian cultural identity in the Commonwealth.

Developments in sixteenth-century Western Christendom variously contributed to the dramatic decision by the Ruthenian hierarchy to exchange Constantinopolitan for Roman obedience. A new religious personalism, a scripturally-oriented theology, and an increased lay responsibility for and active participation in religious life characterized Western Catholic as well as Protestant reform movements, which attracted numerous and prominent converts from within the Ruthenian nobility. The prerequisites, nature, and modality of the Christian life were all being reconsidered, thus provoking critical questions and generating compelling answers. This new discourse conducted in sophisticated as well as popular idioms could not be ignored. The vigor of the Protestant Reformation, the Counter-Reformation, and the Catholic Reform confronted the Ruthenian community with the full richness of the Western theological, institutional, and pastoral legacy to which the Kyivan Church had remained largely oblivious for six centuries. The revolution in communications caused by the explosion of the printed word brought the message home in no uncertain terms. So did prominent conversions. Thus, by the mid-1580s two of the three sons of the leader of the Orthodox Ruthenian nation, Konstantyn Ostrozkyi, had become Catholics, while his two daughters followed their mother in the Catholic faith. By 1592 all of Ostrozkyi's children had married Catholics, Calvinists, or Antitrinitarians. There was no escape from dealing with the new world at-large bursting through the barriers that delineated the traditional faith communities and served to isolate their way of life. Individual Ruthenian magnates and burgher confraternities were the first to react. The hierarchs followed but took a different course. Challenged and provoked by the vitality in the Christian West, the Ruthenian bishops gradually came to see in the West models and means for satiating the spiritual hunger of their flock, reforming the life of their Church, and consolidating and defending the Ruthenian religious and national identity. On the level of underlying cultural and ideological premises, the radical upheavals in Western Christendom raised with unprecedented power the very notion of reform and the possibility of fundamental change in religious and social structures. Throughout Christian Europe in the sixteenth century basic assumptions about theology, Christian society, and ecclesiastical order were

questioned and overturned. Reformers not only sought to adjust received religious categories and institutions to fit new needs or respond to awakened desires, but also energetically dislodged traditional beliefs, religious practices, and patterns of ecclesiastical administration. At issue was not fine-tuning but revolution. The crumbling of the ostensibly monolithic Christian West produced a great variety of religious experience and ecclesial organization. Claiming to be restoring original, Apostolic Christianity, reformers, in fact, departed radically from precedents in Christian history. They innovated with a vengeance. This atmosphere of reform and change permeated the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and came to affect even those who sought to resist it most.

Ironically, the patriarch of Constantinople contributed to the legitimization of the notion of fundamental change in the Ruthenian Orthodox context. At a time of organizational instability in the Kyivan metropolitanate, Patriarch Jeremiah initiated reforms that countered not only prevailing patterns in the sixteenth-century Ruthenian ecclesial community, but also traditional premises of Eastern Christian ecclesiastical order. His reforms put into question the role of the metropolitan in the Ruthenian hierarchy and the prerogatives of the hierarchs within the Ruthenian Church. Hoping to foster the revival of the metropolitanate of Kyiv, the patriarch instead undermined some of its central institutions.

Beset by challenges from a Protestant and Catholic environment, recognizing critical deficiencies in the institutional structure and spiritual vitality of their Church, and, finally, disoriented by the conflicting directives from the traditional point of reference—the patriarchate of Constantinople—the Ruthenian bishops did what many other Christian leaders had done throughout the sixteenth century: they opted for change. In an earlier age a break with the Mother Church would have been inconceivable. During a time of great religious flux, however, the decision of the majority of the Ruthenian bishops to reject Constantinopolitan authority can be viewed as yet another example of early modern repudiations of received assumptions. As I have striven to show, the initiative and decision of the bishops and their supporters to pursue union with Rome, like most major events in history, was conditioned by diverse factors and influences. One of these, generally ignored in the historiography, is the intensification of spiritual concerns

among Ruthenians in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Throughout Europe religious reformers dwelt passionately on the relationship between God and the human person in the here and now and in the hereafter. Eschatological perspectives on life and death and speculation about the nature and means of redemption and salvation of fallen humanity captivated the contemporary imagination. The intense, explicitly and repeatedly expressed, religious convictions and sentiments of Konstantyn Ostrozkyi and Ivan Fedorov were not an isolated phenomenon. Personal piety, the rectitude of religious belief, private and public morality, and anxiety over the state of the Church were important considerations in the hearts and minds of early modern Ruthenians. This is not to say that the religious motivations were always pure or profound. Nevertheless, spiritual motives were central to the activity of the leaders of the Ruthenian revival which was articulated first and foremost in religious categories.

It is in this context that ecclesiastical unification came to be considered. Concern about the discord among Christian Churches and the hopes for unity between Eastern and Western Christians grew in response to the spiritual turmoil and social unrest generated by the increasingly numerous and contentious confessions. By the 1580s the problem of division and intolerance came to be raised by representatives of different religious communities in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The nation of the ethnically Polish, Lithuanian, and Ruthenian nobility in the Commonwealth constituted and united by a set of legal privileges, consolidated by a common code of noble dignity, identified by a shared universe of economic, political, social and cultural concerns, and intimately interrelated through marriage, in the last decades of the sixteenth century came to be increasingly and passionately divided along confessional lines. For many magnates and nobles the religious antagonisms were not only an economic, social, or political problem but a source of deeply felt religious scandal. Ruthenian leaders like Ostrozkyi and later the bishops recognized Christian disunity as a primary cause of the woes of the Ruthenian nation and as a threat to the salvation of human souls. The synods of the 1590s show that in the hierarchy the idea of union with Rome, as a means of overcoming religious discord in the Commonwealth even at the expense of (temporary) separation from the patriarchate of Constantinople, developed gradually along with the bishops' growing

awareness of the crisis in the Ruthenian community and the need for reform in and spiritual revitalization of the "Church of the Greek law."

In moving resolutely to address the crisis in the Kyivan metropolitanate and the dilemma of Christian disunity the bishops went forward, despite not getting all of their desired guarantees. Faint echoes of the Union of Florence can be heard throughout the story of the Union of Brest. Inasmuch as they had learned about the council at which Isidore of Kyiv was a principal participant, it is likely that the Ruthenian hierarchs hoped that their union would be a renewal of the spirit of Florence on a local level. For them it was obvious that given the circumstances prevailing in the greater Orthodox world Ostrozkyi's vision of a universal union was impracticable. The bishops along with their flock had experienced the contempt for the Ruthenian faith and cultural tradition characterizing the new militant Polish-Lithuanian Catholicism so clearly articulated by Skarga, vividly exemplified by archbishop Solikowski's violent attempts at imposing the new calendar in L'viv, and embodied in the discriminatory practices towards Orthodox clergy and burghers throughout the Ruthenian lands. Yet they hardly realized how far Roman views on ecclesiastical unification had departed from those inspiring the Florentine accord or what would be the future consequences of post-Tridentine theology and papal ecclesiastical and political policy in Eastern Europe. In fact, it seems that this was not the first of their concerns. As pastors, they were pressed by the crisis at hand within the Commonwealth. They saw in Rome not only the primacial Apostolic See, separation from which was simply wrong and spiritually detrimental to their flock, but also a Church on the move that was effectively reading the signs of the times. They hoped that communion with Rome would result in parity of the Churches in the Commonwealth sharing one faith and one supreme pontiff. They hoped that submitting to the pope recognized by the dominant Catholics in the Commonwealth would safeguard the dignity, tranquillity, liberty, and, hence, vitality of their own besieged Church. On this basis they made their fateful decision.

Although the hierarchs were threatened and otherwise forewarned of the opposition to their intentions, they never suspected that the union would occasion a lasting division in the Kyivan Church. Two of the bishops who had been among the initiators of the union efforts in 1590 and who as late as August 1595 endorsed the main Ruthenian union

formulations broke with the majority of the synod. They contested the decision of their brethren in the episcopate, as did a wide representation of the monastics and of the laity, especially those, such as Konstantyn Ostrozkyi and members of the urban confraternities, who had previously fostered closer ties with the patriarchate of Constantinople, rediscovered the importance of the Greek legacy for Ruthenian religious and cultural life, or benefited from patriarchal recognition or confirmation. Spurred by the conclusion of the Union of Brest, this segment of the Ruthenian religious community turned increasingly to Greek authorities for guidance and encouragement during the polemical struggles that followed. Paradoxically, their focus on the Greek legacy was eventually replaced by an intellectual, pedagogical, and theological orientation towards the West like that of their brethren in union with Rome. However, Ruthenians who rejected the union adopted the ways of the West without severing jurisdictional ties with the patriarchate of Constantinople.



Did union bring for the Ruthenian Church what the bishops had hoped for? A new answer to this question requires a book—or perhaps many—different than one written to explain the genesis of the Union of Brest. If the bishops were asked today to respond from their eternal abode, the answer would surely be mixed. Those of us who cannot yet hear them must hope for the work of diligent, critical, and spiritually sensitive students up to a task this author did not put before himself. A primary answer would come from a history of the spiritual and pastoral life of the Kyivan Church in the last four centuries that dares to assess the degree to which the union contributed to or detracted from the religious experience of the faithful. Other perspectives would be provided by multi-faceted histories treating not only the divisive yet fruitful Catholic-Orthodox Ruthenian polemic of the seventeenth century and the Polonization and Latinization of the Uniate Church in the eighteenth century, but also the role in the Ukrainian national revival of the well-educated Greco-Catholic clergy in the nineteenth and the singular Christian witness of fortitude and opposition to totalitarianism of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church in the twentieth. All of these phenomena are part of the legacy of the Ruthenian union with Rome

and communion with the Catholic world. It is from the perspective of these later developments that much of the literature on the Union of Brest is written. Since such evaluations are many and multiform, if often unsatisfying, I thought it better not to add to them but to address an evident lacuna in the union historiography by trying to answer a question that enlightens or is fundamental to the historical and theological analysis of the different legacies of the unification of Eastern Churches with Rome.



Illustration 21. The Royal Doors from a 16th-century Galician Iconostasis. From Sviatoslav Hordynsky, *The Ukrainian Icon of the XIIth to XVIIIth Centuries*. Trans. Walter Dushnyck (Philadelphia, 1973), p. 141. *Reproduced with the kind permission of the Providence Association, Philadelphia.*

Historiography and Source Base for the Patriarchate of Constantinople under Ottoman Rule in the Late Sixteenth Century

The drama of sixteenth-century Orthodoxy, and more specifically the history of the patriarchate of Constantinople, can be reconstructed only schematically. As has been outlined by Steven Runciman, whose history of the patriarchate of Constantinople under Turkish rule is still, despite its inadequacies, the standard survey,¹ there is very little extant documentary evidence for much of the history of the patriarchate during the *Tourkokratia*.² In fact, for the first decades after the fall of Constantinople apparently no Greek or Ottoman sources have survived.³ The end of the sixteenth century is also poorly represented in Greek material.⁴ Ruinous fires in the middle of the sixteenth century, in the eighteenth, two in the nineteenth, and finally in 1941, together with other acts of destruction, all contributed to the loss of many patriarchal records and books for the second half of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.⁵ The sorry story of patriarchal facilities was also a significant factor. Mehmed II annexed the church of St. Sophia, the patriarchal palace and offices when he conquered Constantinople. The second church of the city, the Holy Apostles, briefly housed the patriarchate, but it was in poor condition and surrounded by hostile Turkish settlements, leading Patriarch Gennadios to move the patriarchate to the Pammakaristos Church (Most Blessed Church of the Mother of God), located in a Greek district. Precisely at a time most pertinent to our inquiry, in 1586, Murad III confiscated the church and turned it into a mosque. Patriarch Jeremiah II went to Muscovy to find the funds needed for constructing a new *patriarchēon*, but it is not clear where patriarchal records were kept before the completion of the Church of St. George in 1614.⁶

The external and internal difficulties faced by Greek institutions and Greek Orthodoxy in the Ottoman Empire led to a decline in education

among Greeks, thwarted the development of printing, and generally retarded the cultural life of the Greek Church, resulting in a neglect of history writing and disregard for manuscripts and historical records. Nomikos M. Vaporis' comments about a seventeenth-century manuscript containing patriarchal decrees are telling: "Twenty-four pages are marred with doodling and other irreverent drawings of sorts, often over the text. One gets the strong impression that the scribes, probably deacons, anticipating their future promotion, used many pages of the MS, even where there is a text, to practice writing intricate episcopal signatures and patriarchal *menologēmata* [that is, elaborate inscriptions of the date, month and indiction, used on patriarchal documents]."7 In the eighteenth and nineteenth century some materials on the verge of decay and mostly dealing with the Byzantine period were brought by Western travelers to European libraries. Destruction of materials documenting Greek ecclesiastical history in Asia Minor has occurred even in rather recent times, notably in 1922–23, when the last Greeks were expelled from Anatolia.

From the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, the patriarch of Alexandria generally also resided in Constantinople; thus, for our period, the records of that see shared a fate similar to that of Constantinople.⁸ The condition of the library of the Antiochian see is not encouraging for the researcher of early-modern Orthodox church history. Located in Damascus since the time of the Crusades, the patriarchate of Antioch was the poorest of the Eastern patriarchates throughout the *Tourkokratia*.⁹ Runciman, who had visited the Syrian patriarchate before he began his research on the Orthodox Church under the Greeks but was denied access in the midst of his work, reported his impression that the poverty of that institution was also characteristic of its archival collection. Unlike the holdings of the Antiochian patriarchate's library, those of Jerusalem are rich. Here, the work of nineteenth-century Greek, Russian, and Ukrainian scholars such as Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Aleksei Afanas'evich Dmitrievskii, Archimandrite Porfirii Uspenskii, and Ivan Ignat'evich Malyshevskii in describing and publishing materials seems to have been quite thorough and, according to Runciman, it is unlikely that much material from this library for our period remains unknown.

The significant Greek Orthodox community in Italy and its legacy of sources have been the subject of considerable scholarly attention in

recent decades. The manuscript collection of the Greek Institute of Venice generally reflects the activity of Greeks there. It is not, however, rich in sixteenth-century material and does not shed any light on the question of Constantinopolitan-Ruthenian interaction. Despite the rather intensive research conducted in other Italian manuscript depositories or archives, it is possible that they may still yield sources more or less pertinent to the subject at hand.¹⁰ More descriptive work needs to be done in Romania and on Mount Athos as well as in ex-Soviet, and particularly Russian, archives to complete an exhaustive search for sources reflecting late sixteenth-century Greek-Ruthenian ecclesiastical relations.¹¹ There is very little literature on the history of the Greek Church in the sixteenth century written on the basis of Turkish sources.¹² This fact alone indicates the deficiencies in the present knowledge of Orthodoxy under the Turks. Ottoman archives may some day provide significant information, but in this regard work is yet to begin.¹³

The Greek sources reflecting the state of the patriarchate of Constantinople in the 1580s and 1590s are limited. The most important evidence consists of three brief narrative accounts: the last pages of the *Historia Patriarchica*, the memorandum of Leontios Eustratios, and the last twenty-odd pages of the Pseudo-Dorotheos chronicle.¹⁴ Letters and official documents written or issued by hierarchs, churchmen, or lay theologians also provide details about the patriarchate but they are not very numerous. Both types of sources are dominated by the accessions and depositions of the patriarchs (from November 1579 to April 1598, the occupancy of the patriarchal throne changed eleven times; in the 1579–89, five times). The circumstances of these fluctuations are not presented systematically. From the rather anecdotal narration and highly subjective description of events or causes of depositions (the greed of the Ottomans, the corruption of individual or parties of Greek clerics, the vengeance of individual Greek layman), it is impossible to extract an understanding of the mechanisms of Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical politics, the fluctuations that lead to the repeated elections and depositions, much less to explain the mentalities of individuals or groups guiding or involved in these dynamics. Because the sources are so few it is difficult to corroborate reports. Little is known about the points of view of their authors. For historians of Constantinopolitan relations with the East Slavs, the Greek sources are hardly comprehensive, omitting events that seem to the modern historian to be of monu-

mental significance. For example, Leontios Eustratios, in the memorandum written in Tübingen at the request of Crusius at the end of 1589, mentions Jeremiah's trip to Muscovy but does not refer to the creation of the patriarchate, even though he could report that Jeremiah had already returned to Constantinople.¹⁵

APPENDIX 2

Pseudo-Dorotheos on Jeremiah's Stay in Muscovy and the Creation of the Patriarchate of Moscow¹

I write in detail concerning Muscovy. In the place where they [the Muscovites] held Jeremiah they would not let anyone from the local people come to see him, nor would they allow him to go out. Only the monks [in Jeremiah's suite], when they so desired, would go out with the people of the Tsar into the marketplace and the Muscovites guarded the monks until they returned to their quarters. The Muscovites announced to Patriarch Jeremiah that they wanted him to create a patriarchate for them. First, Jeremiah said that this could not be done; he would only install an archbishop, as in Ohrid.² And when they were one on one, the metropolitan of Monemvasia [Hierotheos] said to the Patriarch: "My Lord, this cannot be done, because Constantine the Great created the patriarchates together with an ecumenical council. And Justinian the Great together with the Fifth Ecumenical Council made Ohrid an archbishopric and Jerusalem a patriarchate, on account of the venerable sufferings of Christ.³ There are only three of us here. ([This is so] because one, the Archbishop of Elassona Arsenios, who did not have a see of his own, joined up with us in Poland and came to Muscovy with the Patriarch.) [My] Lord, we came to the Tsar for alms and on account of the debts incurred in our days." And he [Jeremiah] answered: "Neither do I want this. But if they wish, I will dwell [here] as patriarch." And the Metropolitan of Monemvasia said to him: "Blessed Lord, this is impossible, for you speak a different language, you are not used to the place, they have different ordinances and customs, and they do not want you. Don't embarrass yourself!" But he did not want to listen at all. He had mischievous and cruel men on his

heels, and everything that they heard they passed on to the interpreters, who in turn told the Tsar. Then cunningly the Muscovites devised a scheme and said: "My Lord, if you determine to stay here, we will have you." But these words were said to them neither by the Tsar nor by any of the boyars of the palace, but only by those who guarded them. Jeremiah thoughtlessly and without sizing things up, and without the advice of anyone said: "I am staying." And he had this habit, that he never listened to good advice from anyone, even from those subject to him. And for this reason both he and the Church were ruined in his days.⁴

Then the Muscovites, seeing that he was not about to ordain [someone else as patriarch], and that he wanted to remain, told him: "Because, my Lord, you want to stay, we want this as well; however, since the ancient Rus' throne is in Vladimir, take pains to stay there." And that was a place worse than Koukousos.⁵ Then with the assistance of certain Christians⁶ [presumably Hierotheos of Monemvasia and the other Greeks who counselled Jeremiah], the Patriarch said: "Do not tell such a story [about going to Vladimir]. I will not do this." Then they said to him: "The Tsar's order is that you should create a patriarchate for us." Then Jeremiah responded in a different tone: "Unless he was a double {twofold} bishop it would not be canonical." {or maybe: Then Jeremiah responded "[I will ordain] another one. For this one is a double bishop and it would not be canonical."}⁷ Finally, he unwillingly ordained the {or him} patriarch of Rus'. And they brought a large, exceedingly wide parchment document written in Bulgarian letters. And the Patriarch signed it. But the Metropolitan of Monemvasia asked: "What is written here? [When you tell me] then I will sign." And the first one [i.e., the overseer], Andrei Tzalkanos [Shchelkalov]⁸ by name, answered: "It is written how you installed the patriarch and how you came here. And the Metropolitan of Monemvasia said: "It should have been written in Greek, not in Russian." But they did not listen to him. The patriarch's hieromonks signed as well, as did the Archbishop of Elassona. But the Metropolitan of Monemvasia was completely against this, lest the Church should be divided and another head and a great schism be created. He was in danger of being thrown into the river, until the Patriarch took an oath that the Metropolitan of Monemvasia had said nothing. Tsar Fedor was a peaceful man, in all things similar to Theodosios the Younger, simple, quiet.⁹ But the

Tsar's brother-in-law, Boris by name, was in all things skillful, wise, and cunning. It was he who did everything and to whom everyone listened. The Tsarina [Irina] was good, but she was still childless, and her brother was Boris, she summoned the Patriarch and the Metropolitan of Monemvasia, and he blessed her. And she said: "Beseech God that I may have a child and [she said] many other things. And the Tsar gave the Patriarch thirty thousand silver pieces when he came [to Moscow], and another thirty thousand when he left to go back to the City [Constantinople].¹⁰ And he gave the Metropolitan of Monemvasia first five [thousand] and five more afterwards. [He gave] cups, gowns, and sables to the Patriarch of Rus', Iov by name on January 26, in the year 7097 [1589], in the second indiction. And Lord Jeremiah and all of them departed and with much exertion arrived in Poland. There were wars between the Tatars and the Poles. Jan Zamoyski, a man of much wisdom and kindness, paid great honor to the Patriarch and gave [him a retinue of] two hundred men and brought him to Kam'ianets', because the illustrious Sir Jan Zamoyski was the lawkeeper [Grand Chancellor] and protector [Grand Hetman] of Poland.

And at that time, that is, in the year 1589,¹¹ Jeremiah went from Muscovy to Moldova, and Voevoda¹² Peter received him again marvelously, and he found a *chavush*¹³ who met him to take him [to Constantinople] because the sultan had decided that he again should take his see in Constantinople, because the unstable Nikephoros had caused so much instability and made countless and senseless expenditures, and everyone great and small hated him. They talked to the Sultan, and he gave the patriarchate to Jeremiah, who was eager for the first place, and he paid the two thousand florins.¹⁴ And the most prudent Peter gave him the offering. And thus it happened and Jeremiah went to Constantinople.

Articles for Which We Need Guarantees from the Lord Romans before We Enter into Unity with the Roman Church¹

1. Firstly, since among the Romans and the Greeks there is a dispute as to the procession of the H(oly) Spirit, which is a considerable obstacle to unification and which probably endures for no other reason than that we do not want to understand each other, we, therefore, request that we not be constrained to a different confession [of faith], but that we remain with the one that we find expressed in the S(acred) Scriptures, in the Gospels, and also in the writings of the H(oly) Greek Doctors [i.e. Church Fathers], namely that the H(oly) Spirit does not have two origins, nor a double procession, but that He proceeds from one origin, as from a source—from the Father through the Son.

2. That the praise of God and all prayers—those of morning, evening, and night—remain for us intact according to the ancient custom of the Oriental Church, namely: the D(ivine) Liturgies, of which there are thrèe—those of Basil, Chrysostom, and Epiphanius, which is celebrated during Great Lent with the Presanctified Gifts—as well as all other ceremonies and rites of our Church, which we have maintained until now, since they are preserved as well in Rome under obedience to the Supreme Pontiff; and that they be [celebrated] in our language.

3. That the most holy Sacraments of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be preserved for us intact, as we have celebrated them until now, under both species—bread and wine; that this be preserved in perpetuity, completely and without violation.

4. That the Sacrament of H(oly) Baptism and its form be preserved intact, without any additions, as we have celebrated it until now.

5. We do not enter into dispute about purgatory, but we are ready to be instructed [concerning it] by the H(oly) Church.

6. We will adopt the new calendar if the old one cannot be used, however without violating the computation of Easter and our feasts, as it was in the time of concord; for we have certain special feasts of our own, which the lord Romans do not have: that is on the sixth day of January, when the Baptism of the Lord Christ and the first revelation of God, one in the Trinity, is commemorated, which in our parts is called Theophany. On that day we have a special ceremony for the blessing of the waters.

7. That we not be forced to conduct processions on the day of the Corpus Christi feast, and that we also be allowed to process with our Sacraments, for we have a different practice regarding the Sacraments.

8. That [we not be compelled] on the eve of Easter to bless the fire, [use] clackers,² and also [conduct] other ceremonies, which we did not have in our Church until now, but that we remain safeguarded in our ceremonies according to the order and rule of our Church.

9. That the marriages of priests remain intact, with the exception of digamists [those married a second time].

*10.³ That the metropolitanate, bishoprics, and other high clerical dignities of our rite not be given to anyone other than to persons of the Ruthenian or Greek people who are of our religion. And since in our canons it states that those such as the metropolitan or the bishops, should be worthy individuals, first chosen by the clergy, we request that His Roy(al) M(ajesty) allow us free elections, with His Roy(al) M(ajesty's) authority to grant [church offices] as he pleases remaining intact. This means that shortly after the death of a deceased [hierarchy] we should choose four candidates, and His Roy(al) M(ajesty) would be free to grant [the office] to one from their midst as he pleases. This is above all [to ensure] that worthy and educated persons be chosen for such high offices; since His Roy(al) M(ajesty), being of another religion, cannot know who is worthy for these [offices]. For earlier there were ignoramuses [serving as bishops], some of whom could hardly

read. If His Roy(al) M(ajesty) of his accord deigns, nevertheless, to give a clerical office to a lay person, then this person should be ordained to the clerical state within three months, under pain of losing his office in case of delay, this according to [the provisions of] the Diet of Hrodna and the articles of King Zygmunt August, of blessed memory, which were confirmed by the present Roy(al) M(ajesty). For now there are some who have held clerical office for ten to twenty years and have not received ordination into the clerical state, defending themselves with dubious exceptions granted by the king. We request that in the future this be no more.

11. That our bishops not be sent to Rome [to receive] their *litterae sacrae* [papal documents sanctioning ordination] but if His Roy(al) M(ajesty) deigns to grant a given bishopric then according to ancient custom the archbishop-metropolitan should ordain every such [candidate]. However, the metropolitan himself who is succeeding to the metropolitan office should apply to the Father, the Pope, for the *litterae sacrae*; after the *litterae sacrae* are brought from Rome, he should be ordained in due order by bishops, at least two, according to our custom. But if one of the bishops accedes to the metropolitanate he should not apply for the *litterae sacrae*, for he was already ordained to the episcopacy earlier; he can merely declare his obedience to the Supreme Pontiff before the Reverend Archbishop of Gniezno, but not as before an archbishop but as before the primate.

*12. That we have greater authority and that our sheep respect and honor us more we ask that our metropolitan and bishops be granted seats in the senate of His Roy(al) M(ajesty) on account of many rightful reasons: for we have the same episcopal office and dignity as their g(races) the lord Romans. And most of all because if one of us were taking the senate oath he could at the same time also swear obedience to the Supreme Pontiff, to prevent a split such as occurred after the death of Isidore, metropolitan of Kyiv, when the bishops who were not bound by any oath and who lived in remote areas easily abandoned the unity established at the Council of Florence. If [a bishop] will be bound by the senatorial oath then it will be difficult for him to consider disunity. That letters announcing the convocation of the diet and dietines be sent to us.

13. And if with time God deigns to grant that the remainder of our brethren of the Greek nation and religion join this holy unity, that it not be deemed a fault of ours that we preceded them in this unity, for we had to do this because of certain and rightful reasons for harmony in the Christian Commonwealth [thereby] preventing further unrest and discord.

*14. That [emissaries] from Greece not be allowed to foment turmoil, to enter the state with letters of excommunication and to tear asunder the accord, provoking unrest among the people. For among the people there are not a few recalcitrants who at the slightest opportunity are likely to bring the people to unrest. And in general those who create turmoil and come to this state with letters of excommunication should be punished, for their activity could lead to internicine war amidst the people. And most vigilant guard must be maintained so that in our dioceses priests of our religion—archimandrites, hegumens, presbyters, and others of the clerical order who do not want to submit to us—dare not to carry out clerical functions. And especially that foreigners—bishops and monks who come from Greece—dare not to carry out clerical functions. For if this is allowed no trace of our accord will remain.

15. If in the future someone of our religion demonstrating contempt for his own religion and ceremonies, desires to take on the Roman ceremonies—that he not be received since he neglects ceremonies of the one Church of God; for abiding already in one Church we will have one Pope.

16. That marriages between Romans and Rus' finally be allowed, without compulsion in religion, for [both are] of one Church.

*17. Because a considerable number of our ecclesiastical estates turn out to be illegitimately mortgaged by our predecessors who being temporary possessors could mortgage them only for the extent of their lifetimes, we humbly request that that they be returned to the churches. Because of the impoverishment of our sees we not only cannot meet the needs of the Church of God but do not ourselves have security from destitution. And if someone was granted the right to administer ecclesi-

astical properties to his death may [that person] pay the Church at least some rent for those lands, and after his death that these [properties] return to the Church; and that no one be allowed to claim them without the consent of the bishop and his chapter [*krylos*]. All of those grants that the Church now administers and that are recorded in the Gospel book—even if there were no documents [issued] concerning them, yet they are [the Church's] property from long ago—that they remain [as property of the Church] and that the Church have the right to reclaim those that long ago were taken away.

*18. That after the death of the metropolitan or bishops neither the *starostas*, nor the treasurers should interfere in the affairs of the ecclesiastical estates; rather they should be under the authority of the chapter until [the selection of] a new bishop as is the practice in the Roman Church. Regarding the property and private estates of the bishop himself, that the subordinates and relatives of the deceased [hierarchy] not be wronged, but that everything occur as it does after the death of the lord clergy of the Roman Church. We already have a privilege for this, but [we request] that it become part of the constitution.

*19. That archimandrites, hegumens, monks and their monasteries continue, as in the past, to be under obedience to their diocesan bishops, for we have only one monastic rule which is followed by the bishops as well. We do not have provincials.

*20. That we have in the tribunal among the lord Roman clergy two of our own to defend the rights of our churches.

*21. That our archimandrites, hegumens, priests, archdeacons and deacons, and other clergy be honored as is the Roman lord clergy; and that they enjoy the ancient liberties granted to them by King Władysław; and that they be free from paying various personal taxes and [taxes] on ecclesiastical property (wrongly levied upon them heretofore); except in the case that someone has private estates; then he should pay taxes like others do but not [taxes imposed] on his person and on the church. And those clergy and priests holding grants in the lands of lords and nobles should recognize their own fealty and pay obedience to their lords, [especially] regarding their lands and grants, not appealing to

other authorities and not summoning their lords to court, but fully respecting their lords' right of patronage. However, given their person and the clerical office which they exercise no one has the right to punish them besides their own bishop based on complaints of their lords. This pertains especially to those [clergy] who are personal subjects and worthy sons of their lords. And in this way neither canon nor civil law, nor the noble liberties of either side will be violated.

22. That the lord Romans not prohibit us from ringing the bells on Good Friday in our churches in towns and elsewhere.

23. That we not be prohibited from publicly carrying [in procession] with candles and vestments the Most Holy Sacrament to the sick.

24. That we be permitted to process without any hindrance according to our custom on feast days whenever the need arises.

*25. That our Ruthenian monasteries and churches not be turned into [Latin] churches. And, in general, if a [Latin rite] Catholic damages [Eastern] churches on his estates he should repair them for his subjects of the Ruthenian nation, or build new ones, or refurbish old ones.

*26. If the spiritual church confraternities—newly established by the patriarchs and already confirmed by His Roy(al) M(ajesty), for example those in L'viv, Brest, Vilnius, and elsewhere, from which the Church of God has great benefit and thanks to which the praise of God is multiplied—want to abide in this unity let them remain intact under obedience to their own (metropolitan) bishops [depending on] the diocese in which they are found, and to which they belong.

*27. That we be permitted to establish Greek and Slavonic language schools, seminaries in those places where it will be most opportune, and also that publishing houses be allowed, but under obedience to the metropolitan and bishops and with their knowledge; and may nothing be printed without the bishops' knowledge and permission, in order that the spread of various heresies be prevented.

*28. Since on lands of His Roy(al) M(ajesty) as well as on those those of magnates and nobles we suffer great losses and disobedience of our priests who sometimes under the protection of their officials and lords cause great losses and licentiousness [by granting] divorces to spouses; and sometimes on account of a certain income that usually is paid for divorces the lord starostas themselves and some of their officials defend their priests, keeping them from appearing before their bishops at synods and prevent us, the bishops, from punishing the profligate. They spread calumny and infamy about our visitators and beat [them]. We ask that an end be put to this in order that we be able to punish the profligate and oversee the [maintanance] of order. And if a bishop were to excommunicate someone for disobedience or some abuse that the officials and lords, having learned about it from his bishops and visitators, not permit such [a priest] to conduct clerical functions nor to serve in churches until he justifies himself before his pastors. This pertains to the archimandrites, the hegumens, and other clerical persons who are subordinate to the bishops and their authority.

*29. That in the main towns and everywhere in the state of His Roy(al) M(ajesty) cathedrals [*sobory*] and parish churches, independent of their jurisdiction and subordination—be it royal, burgher, or noble patronage—remain under the power and authority of their bishops; and may lay people not rule over them. For there are those who demonstrate disobedience to their bishops and themselves administrate them [the churches] according to their own judgment, not wanting to subordinate themselves to their bishops. Therefore, that in the future this be no more.

30. And if someone were excommunicated by his bishops on account of some misdeed that he not be received into the Roman Church, rather that he be anathemised; then we too will do the same with those who are excommunicated from the Roman Church, for it is our common cause.

31. And if the Lord God of His H(oly) Will and Grace were to deign [for us] to live to see the rest of our brethren of the Oriental Church of the Greek rite join the holy unity with the Western Church, and if after a common unification and a consensus of the entire Church reform to

the ceremonies and due order of the Greek Church were to be instituted—that we too participate in this since we are people of one religion.

*32. Knowing that some [individuals] have gone to Greece in order to acquire for themselves certain ecclesiastical mandates and having returned here want to rule and subordinate clergy and extend over us their jurisdiction—to avoid a great tempest amidst the people we request that His Roy(al) M(ajesty) deign to order the lord starostas to watch the borders so as to keep all with such jurisdictions and excommunications from entering the state of His Roy(al) M(ajesty) for [otherwise] they would create considerable unrest among the pastors and sheep of the Church of God.

33. Therefore, we the persons named below, desiring this holy accord for the praise of God's name and for peace in the Holy Christian Church, for greater authenticity [credibility], have presented these articles, which we consider necessary for our Church, and the conditions, for which we need the guarantees of the H(oly) Father the Pope and from our graceful lord His Roy(al) M(ajesty), in this our instruction for our most venerable brothers in God Father Ipatii Potii, Protothronos, Bishop of Volodymyr and Brest and Father Kyryll Terlets'kyi, Exarch and Bishop of Luts'k and Ostrih, that they in our and their own name ask the most holy Father the Pope as well as our graceful lord His Roy(al) M(ajesty) to confirm and guarantee beforehand all of these articles that we have presented in writing. That we—secure about the [preservation] of our faith, Sacraments, and ceremonies without violation of our consciences and those of the sheep of Christ entrusted to us—approach this holy concord with the holy Roman Church; that later others, who still waver, having seen that everything has been preserved for us intact also as soon as possible follow us and enter into this h(oly) unity. Given in the year of God 1595, June 1 according to the old calendar.

Mykhail, Metropolitan of Kyiv and Galicia, by his own hand. Ipatii, Bishop of Volodymyr and Brest, by his own hand. Kyryll Terlets'kyi, by the grace of God Exarch, Bishop of Luts'k and Ostrih, by his own hand. Leotnii Peľ'chys'tkyi, by the grace of God Bishop of Pinsk and

Turaü, by his own hand. [Eight seals, among which are those of the Bishop of L'viv Hedeon (Balaban) and Bishop of Kholm Dionizii (Zbiruis'kyi); on folio 7^r is the signature of Iona Hohol': Iona Archimandrite of the Church of the Holy Savior in Kobryn, signed in his own hand. All of the signatures are in Cyrillic. See illustration no. 14, following p. 202.]

APPENDIX 4

Chronologies (ca. 1300–1600)

Popes

Boniface VIII	1294–1303
Benedict XI	1303–1304
Clement V	1305–1314
John XXII	1316–1334
Benedict XII	1334–1342
Clement VI	1342–1352
Innocent VI	1352–1362
Urban V	1362–1370
Gregory XI	1370–1378
Urban VI	1378–1389
Boniface IX	1389–1404
Innocent VII	1404–1406
Gregory XII	1406–1415
Martin V	1417–1431
Eugene IV	1431–1447
Nicholas V	1447–1455
Calixtus III	1455–1458
Pius II	1458–1464
Paul II	1464–1471
Sixtus IV	1471–1484
Innocent VIII	1484–1492
Alexander VI	1492–1503
Pius III	1503
Julius II	1503–1513
Leo X	1513–1521

Hadrian VI	1522–1523
Clement VII	1523–1534
Paul III	1534–1549
Julius III	1550–1555
Marcellus II	1555
Paul IV	1555–1559
Pius IV	1559–1565
Pius V	1566–1572
Gregory XIII	1572–1585
Sixtus V	1585–1590
Urban VII	1590
Gregory XIV	1590–1591
Innocent IX	1591
Clement VIII	1592–1605

Patriarchs of Constantinople

John XII Kosmas	1294–1303
Athanasios I	1303–1310
Niphon	1310–1314
John XIII Glykys	1315–1319
Gerasimos I	1320–1321
Isaiah	1323–1334
John XIV Kalekas	1334–1347
Isidore I	1347–1350
Kallistos I	1350–1353
Philotheos Kokkinos	1353–1354
Kallistos I	1355–1363
Philotheos Kokkinos	1364–1376
Makarios	1376–1379
Neilos	1379–1388
Anthony IV	1389–1390
Makarios	1390–1391
Anthony IV	1391–1397
Kallistos II Xanthopoulos	1397
Matthew I	1397–1410

Euthymios II	1410–1416
Joseph II	1416–1439
Metrophanes II	1440–1443
Gregory III Mamme	1443–1451
Athanasios II	1450
Gennadios II Scholarios	1454–1456
Isidore II Xanthopoulos	1456–1462
Ioasaph I Kokkas	1462–1463
Gennadios II Scholarios	1463
Sophronios I Syzopoulos	1463–1464
Gennadios II Scholarios	1464–1465
Symeon I of Trebizond	1465
Mark II Xylokarabes	1466–1486
Dionysios I	1466–1471
Symeon I of Trebizond	1471–1475
Raphael I	1475–1476
Maximos III Christonymos	1476–1482
Symeon I of Trebizond	1482–1486
Niphon II	1486–1488
Dionysios I	1488–1490
Maximos IV	1491–1497
Niphon II	1497–1498
Joachim I	1498–1502
Niphon II	1502
Pachomios I	1503–1504
Joachim I	1504
Pachomios I	1504–1513
Theoleptos I	1513–1522
Jeremiah I	1522–1546
Ioannikios I	1524–1525
Dionysios II	1546–1556
Ioasaph II	1556–1565
Metrophanes III	1565–1572
Jeremiah II Tranos	1572–1579
Metrophanes III	1579–1580
Jeremiah II Tranos	1580–1584

Pachomios II	1584–1585
Theoleptos II	1585–1586
Jeremiah II Tranos	1587–1595
Matthew II	1596
Gabriel I	1596
Theophanes I Karykes	1597
Meletios Pegas	1597–1598
Matthew II	1598–1601

Orthodox (Melkite) Patriarchs of Alexandria

Philotheos	1435(?)–1459(?)
Mark VI	1459–1484(?)
Gregory V	1484–1486(?)
Joachim	1487–1565/67(?)
Sylvester (resigned 1588; term completed by successor)	1569–1590
Meletios I Pegas	1590–1601

Orthodox (Melkite) Patriarchs of Antioch

Dorotheos I	1434/5–1451
Michael III	1451–1456(?)
Mark III	1456(?)–1457/8
Joachim II	1458–1459
Michael IV	ca. 1470–before 1484
Dorotheos II	before 1484–after 1500
Michael V	ca. 1523/4–1529
Dorotheos III	?–1530/31
Joachim III	1530/31–1534
Michael VI	1534–1542/3
Joachim IV	1542/3–1575
Makarios II	1543?–1550?
Michael VII	1576–1593
Joachim V	ca. 1581–1592
Joachim VI	1593–1604

Patriarchs of Jerusalem

Joachim	before 1437–after 1464
Theophanes II	before 1450–?
Athanasios IV	1452–1460(?)
Abraham	?–1468
Iakovos II	?–1482
Gregory III	?–1493(?)
Mark III	ca. 1505
Dorotheos II	1506–1543
Germanos	1543–1579
Sophronios IV	1579–?

Metropolitans of Kyiv

Maximos	1283–1305
Peter	1308–1326
Theophilos (in Lithuania)	?–1329/30
Theognostos	1328–1353
Theodoretos (in Lithuania)	1352–?
Roman (in Lithuania)	1354–1362
Alexios	1354–1377
Kyprian	1375–1406
Mykhail III Mitiai	1377–1379
Pimen	1382–1385
Dionisii	1384–1385
Fotii (Photios)	1410–1431
Gregory (Tsamblak; in Lithuania)	1415–1419
Herasym of Smolensk	1433–1435
Isidore	1436–1458
Gregory the Bulgarian	1458–1472
Mysail	1475–1480
Spriridon	1476–?
Symeon	1481–1488
Iona (Hlezna)	1489–1494
Makar'ii I	1495–1497
Iosyf I (Bolharynovych)	1498–1501

Iona II	1502–1507
Iosyf II (Soltan)	1507–1521
Iosyf III	1522–1534
Makarii II	1534–1556
Syl'vestr (Bil'kevych)	1556–1567
Iona III (Protasovych)	1568–1577
Illia (Kucha)	1577–1579
Onysyfor (Divochka)	1579–1589
Mykhail (Rahoza)	1589–1596

Uniate Metropolitans of Kyiv

Mykhail (Rahoza)	1596–1599
Ipatii (Potii)	1600–1613

Metropolitans of Halych

Nifont	1302–1305
Havriil	?–?
Teodor	?–1347
Antonii	1371–1389?

Metropolitans of Moscow

Iona	1448–1461
Feodosii	1461–1464
Filipp I	1464–1473
Gerontii	1473–1489
Zosima	1490–1494
Simon	1495–1511
Varlaam	1511–1521
Daniil	1521–1539
Ioasaf	1539–1542
Makarii	1542–1568
Afanasii	1564–1566
German	1566
Filipp II	1566–1568
Kirill	1568–1572

Antonii	1572–1581
Dionisii	1581–1587
Iov	1586–1589

Patriarchs of Moscow

Iov	1589–1605
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Papal Nuncios to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Camillo Mentovati	1558–1560
Berardo Bongiovanni	1560–1563
Giovanni Francesco Commendone	1563–1565
Giulio Ruggiero	1566–1567
Vincenzo Portico	1568–1573
Vincenzo Laureo	1573–1578
Giovanni Andrea Caligari	1578–1581
Alberto Bolognetti	1581–1584
Girolamo de' Buoi	1584–1586
Annibale di Capua	1586–1591
Niccolò Mascardi	1591
Germanico Malaspina	1592–1598
Claudio Rangone	1599–1606

Emperors of Byzantium

Andronikos II Palaiologos	1282–1328
Andronikos III Palaiologos	1328–1341
John V Palaiologos	1341–1391
John VI Kantakouzenos	1347–1354
Andronikos IV Palaiologos	1376–1379
Manuel II Palaiologos	1391–1425
John VIII Palaiologos	1425–1448
Constantine XII Palaiologos	1449–1453

Ottoman Rulers and Sultans of the Ottoman Empire

Osman	–1326
Orkhan	1326–1362

Murad I	1362–1389
Bayezid I	1389–1402
Suleiman	1402–1410
Musa	1411–1413
Mehmed I	1413–1421
Murad II	1421–1444
Mehmed II	1444–1446
Murad II	1446–1451
Mehmed II	1451–1481
Bayezid II	1481–1512
Selim I	1512–1520
Suleiman the Magnificent	1520–1566
Selim II	1566–1574
Murad III	1574–1595
Mehmed III	1595–1603

Kings of Poland

Władysław I Łokietyk	1306–1333
Kazimierz III the Great	1333–1370
Ludwik I	1370–1382
Jadwiga	1384–1399
Władysław II Jagiełło (Jogaila)	1386–1434
Władysław III Warneńczyk	1434–1444
Kazimierz IV Jagiełłończyk	1446–1492
Jan Olbracht	1492–1501
Aleksander	1501–1506

Grand Dukes of Lithuania

Gediminas	1316–1341
Jaunutis (Ivan)	1341–1345
Algirdas	1345–1377
Kęstutis of Trakai	1377–1378
Jogaila (Władysław Jagiełło)	1378–1401
Vytautas (Witold)	1401–1430
Švitrigaila	1430–1432

Sigismund Keštutaitis	1432–1440
Casimir IV (Kazimierz IV Jagiełłończyk)	1440–1492
Alexander (Aleksander)	1492–1506

Kings of Poland and Grand Dukes of Lithuania

Zygmunt I Stary	1506–1548
Zygmunt II August	1548–1572
Henri de Valois (Henryk Walezy)	1572–1574
Stefan Batory	1576–1586
Zygmunt III Vasa	1587–1632

Grand Princes of Muscovy (From the Time of Moscow's Preeminence in Northern Rus')

Dmitrii Donskoi	1359–1389
Vasilii I	1389–1425
Vasilii II, the Blind	1425–1462
Ivan III	1462–1505
Vasilii III	1505–1533
Ivan IV	1533–1547

Muscovite Tsars

Ivan IV, the Terrible	1547–1584
Fedor I	1584–1598
Boris Godunov	1598–1605

List of Abbreviations

<i>Akty IuZR</i>	<i>Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Iuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoiu komissieiu</i> , 15 vols. St. Petersburg, 1863–1892.
<i>AOSBM</i>	<i>Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni</i> .
<i>Arkhiv IuZR</i>	<i>Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii, izdavaemyi Vremennoi komissieiu dlia razbora drevnikh aktov, vysochaishe uchrezhdennoi pri Kievskom voennom, Podol'skom i Volynskom general-gubernatore</i> , 8 parts, 34 vols. Kyiv, 1859–1914.
<i>AZR</i>	<i>Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Zapadnoi Rossii, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoiu kommissieiu</i> , 5 vols. St. Petersburg, 1846–53.
<i>Chodynicki, Kościół</i>	<i>Chodynicki, Kazimierz. Kościół prawostawny a Rzeczpospolita Polska. Zarys historyczny 1370–1632</i> . Warsaw, 1934.
<i>Diplomata Statutaria</i>	<i>Diplomata Statutaria a Patriarchis orientalibus Confraternitati Staupigiana Leopoliensi a. 1586–1592 data, cum aliis litteris coaevis et appendice</i> , vol. 2. L'viv, 1895.
<i>Dmitrievskii, Arkhiepiskop elassonskii</i>	<i>Arkhiepiskop elassonskii Arsenii i memuary ego iz russkoi istorii po rukopisi trapezuntskogo Sumeliiskogo monastyria</i> . Kyiv, 1899.
<i>Documenta Pontificum</i>	<i>Documenta Pontificum Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia</i> , AOSBM, ser. II, sec. III. Ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj [Atanasii H. Velykyi], 2 vols. Rome, 1953–54.
<i>Documenta Unionis</i>	<i>Documenta Unionis Berestensis eiusque auctorum (1590–1600)</i> , Analecta OSBM, series II, section III. Ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj [Atanasii H. Velykyi]. Rome, 1970.

- Halecki, *From Florence to Brest* Halecki, Oscar. *From Florence to Brest (1439–1596)*. Rome, *Sacrum Poloniae Millennium* 5 (1958): 1–444 and New York, 1959.
- Hrushevs'kyi Hrushevs'kyi, Mykhailo. *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, 10 vols. New York, 1954–57.
- HLEUL Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature.
- HUS *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*.
- Isaievych, *Bratstva* Isaievych, Iaroslav Dmytrovych. *Bratstva ta ikh rol' v rozvytku ukraïns'koi kul'tury XVI–XVIII st.* Kyiv, 1966.
- Iubileinoe izdanie* *Iubileinoe izdanie v pamiat' 300-lëtniaho osnovaniia l'vovskoho Stavropihiiskoho bratstva*, vol. 1. L'viv, 1886.
- Lebedev, *Istoriia* Lebedev, Aleksei Petrovich. *Istoriia Greko-vostochnoi tserkvi pod vlast'iu turok*, 2d ed., *Sobranie tserkovno-istoricheskikh sochinenii*, 8. St. Petersburg, 1903 (1904 appears on the cover).
- Litterae nuntiorum* *Litterae nuntiorum apostolicorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes*. Ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj [Atanasii H. Velykyi], AOSBM, ser. II, sec. III, vol. 1 (1550–1593) and vol. 2 (1594–1608). Rome, 1959.
- Makarii, *Istorii* Makarii (Bulgakov). *Istoriia Russkoi tserkvi*, 12 vols. St. Petersburg, 1877–91.
- Malyshevskii, *Pegas* Malyshevskii, Ivan Ignat'evich [Ivan Ihnatovych Malyshevskiy]. *Aleksandriiskii Patriarkh Meletii Pegas i ego uchastie v delakh Russkoi tserkvi*, 2 vols. Kyiv, 1872.
- Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* Meyendorff, John. *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia. A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century*. Cambridge, 1981.
- Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism* Mončak, Ihor. *Florentine Ecumenism in the Kyivan Church*. Rome, 1987 [=Opera Graeco-Catholicae Academiae Theologicae, 53–54].
- Mon. Confr.* Milkowicz, Wladimirus, ed. *Monumenta Confraternitatis Stauropigianae Leopoliensis*, 2 vols. (consecutive pagination). L'viv, 1895–96.

- MPV* *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, 7 vols. Cracow, 1913–48.
- MUH* *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica*. Comp. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi et al. 14 vols. Rome, 1964–77.
- Myts'ko, *Ostroz'ka akademiia* Myts'ko, Ihor Zinoviiiovych. *Ostroz'ka slov'iano-hreko-latyns'ka akademiia (1576–1636)*. Kyiv, 1990.
- OCA* *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*.
- OCP* *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*.
- ODB* *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. Ed. Alexander Kazhdan. New York–Oxford, 1991.
- Pavel (Vil'khovskii) Pavel (Vil'khovskii). “Patriarkh konstantinopol'skii Ieremiia II. Istoricheskii ocherk ego zhizni i trudov na pol'zu Sv. Tserkvi,” thesis defended in 1905 at the Kyiv Theological Academy, pt. 1 (116 handwritten folios), held in the Instytut rukopysiv of the Tsentral'na naukova biblioteka im. V. Vernads'koho, Kyiv, fond no. 314: Dissertations of the Kyiv Theological Academy, sprava no. 1887.
- Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie* Podskalsky, Gerhard. *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453–1821). Die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens*. Munich, 1988.
- Posol'skaia kniga* *Posol'skaia kniga po sviaziam Rossii s Gretsiei (pravoslavnyimi ierarkhami i monastyriami) 1588–1594 gg.*, ed. V. I. Bugarov, M. P. Lukichev, and N. M. Rogozhin, Moscow, 1988.
- PSRL* *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*, vols. 1–24. St. Petersburg/Petrograd 1846–1921. vols. 25–37 Moscow-Leningrad, 1949–82.
- RIB* *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka*, pub. by the Arkheograficheskaiia komissiia, 39 vols. St. Petersburg, 1872–1927.
- Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity* Runciman, Steven. *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence*. London, 1968.

- Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma* Sathas, Konstantinos N. *Biographikon schediasma peri patriarchou Ieremiou II' (1572–1594)*. Athens, 1870; reprt., Thessalonica, 1979.
- Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i Tserkov', I, II, Prolozheniia, pt. 1, 2* Shpakov, Aleksei Iakovlevich. *Gosudarstvo i Tserkov' v ikh vzaimnykh otnosheniakh v Moskovskom gosudarstve ot Florentiiskoi unii do uchrezhdeniia patriarshestva*. vol. 1, *Kniazhenie Vasiliia Vasil'e- vicha Temnogo*, vol. 2, *Tsarstvovanie Feodora Ivanovicha. Uchrezhdenie patriarshestva v Rossii. Prilozheniia*, parts I and II, appended to vol. 2. Odesa, 1904–12.
- SEER *The Slavonic and East European Review.*
- Snosheniia [Murav'ev, Andrei Nikolaevich] *Snosheniia Rossii s Vostokom po delam tserkovnym*, vol. 1. St. Petersburg, 1858.
- Sribnyi, "Studii" Sribnyi, Fedir. "Studii nad organizatsiieiu I'vivskoi Stavropigii vid kintsia XVI do polov. XVII st.," *ZNTSh* (1911), vol. 106, pp. 25–40; (1912), vol. 108, pp. 5–38; vol. 111, pp. 5–24; vol. 112, pp. 59–73; (1913), vol. 114, pp. 25–56; vol. 115, pp. 29–76.
- Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta* Theiner, Augustin, ed. *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae Gentiumque Finitimarum historiam Illustrantia*, 4 vols. Rome, 1860–1864.
- TKDA *Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii.*
- Turcograecia Crusius, Martin. *Turcograecia, libri octo*. Basel, 1584; reprt., Modena, 1972.
- ZNTSh *Zapsky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeni Shevchenka.*

Notes to the Text

Notes to the Introduction

¹ For consistency the designation “Kyivan metropolitanate” will predominate in the discussion of the medieval background of sixteenth-century developments, despite the fact that for the early history of the Church in Ukraine and Belarus’ the Byzantine sources generally refer to the ecclesiastical province as the “Rus’ metropolitanate”; see John Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 75.

The title “Metropolitan of Kyiv and All Rus’” was first used in September 1347 by Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos regarding Metropolitan Theognostos: “μητροπολίτης Κυζέβου, ὑπέρτιμος καὶ ἔξαρχος πασῆς Ῥωσίας,” Franz Miklosich and Iwan Müller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1860), no. 117, p. 261; no. 119, p. 265. In 1380 the synod in Constantinople decreed that the title of the Rus’ metropolitan should begin with the name of his cathedral seat, in keeping with general ecclesiastical tradition, *ibid.*, vol. 2 (Vienna, 1862), no. 337, p. 17. This title became standard at the time of Metropolitan Kyprian (1390–1408). For a discussion of the evolution of the metropolitan’s title, see Andrei Ivanovich Pliguzov, “On the Title ‘Metropolitan of Kiev and All Rus’,” *HUS* 15(3/4) 1991: 340–53, cf. Omeljan Pritsak, “Kiev and All of Rus’: The Fate of a Sacral Idea,” *HUS* 10(3/4) 1986: 279–300.

For a survey of the history of the Kyivan metropolitanate from the late medieval period to the Union of Brest, see Vladimir Petrovich Rybinskii, *Kievskaiia mitropolich’ia kafedra s poloviny XIII do kontsa XVI veka* (Kyiv, 1891); for an analysis from the point of view of canon law, see Isidorus I. Patrylo, *Archiepiscopi-Metropolitani Kievo-Halicienses (attentis praescriptis M. P. “Cleri sanctitati”)* (Rome, 1962), pp. 14–38 [=AOSBM, ser. II, sec. 1, 16]; and P. P. Lozovei, *De Metropolitanarum Kioviensium potestate (988–1596)* (Rome, 1962) [=AOSBM ser. II, sec. 1, 15].

² Attempts to demonstrate the autocephaly of the Kyivan Church in the tenth and eleventh centuries have been unconvincing. Concerning the hierarchical status of the Kyivan metropolitan province, see Sophia Senyk, *A History of the Church in Ukraine*, vol. 1, *To the End of the Thirteenth Century* (Rome, 1993), pp. 82–97 [=OCA, 243].

³ For general discussions of the contacts between Rus’ and Byzantium, see Ihor Ševčenko, “Byzantium and the Slavs,” *HUS* 8(3/4) 1984: 289–303; *idem*, “Russo-Byzantine Relations after the Eleventh Century,” *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 5–10 September*

1966, ed. Joan M. Hussey, Dmitri Obolensky, and Steven Runciman (London, 1967), pp. 93–104; idem, “Remarks on the Diffusion of Byzantine Scientific and Pseudo-Scientific Literature among the Orthodox Slavs,” *SEER* 59 (1981): 321–45, all three reprinted in his *Byzantium and the Slavs in Letters and Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 3–15, 267–83, 585–615; idem., *Ukraine Between East and West: Essays on Cultural History to the Early Eighteenth Century* (Edmonton, 1996); Francis J. Thompson, “The Nature of the Reception of Christian Byzantine Culture in Russia in the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries and Its Implications for Russian Culture,” *Slavica Gandensia* 5 (1978): 107–39; idem., “‘Made in Russia’: A Survey of the Translations Allegedly Made in Kievan Russia,” in *Millennium Russiae Christianae: Tausend Jahre Christliches Russlands 988–1988*, ed. Gerhard Birkfeller (Cologne–Weimar–Vienna, 1993), pp. 295–354; as well as Filipp Alekseevich Ternovskii, *Izuchenie vizantiiskoi istorii i ee tendentsioznoe prilozhenie v drevnei Rusi* (Kyiv, 1876); Mitrofan Vasil’evich Levchenko, *Ocherki po istorii russko-vizantiiskikh otnoshenii* (Moscow, 1956). Consult also George P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984) [=Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 19].

⁴ To establish consistency and allow for chronological comparisons across the late-sixteenth-century calendrical chasm between Eastern and Western Christendom, the Gregorian or “new style” dating system promulgated by Pope Gregory XIII (1572–85) will be used for all dates after 1582. “Old-style” (Julian) dates in the sources will be given following the Gregorian version, separated by a virgule. From 15/5 October 1582 to 28/18 February 1700 the difference between the two calendars was ten days. On 1 March/19 February 1700 when, according to the new calendar, the additional day at the end of February of a leap year was omitted, the difference became eleven days. Following this principle it has subsequently increased by a day on 1 March/18 February, 1800 and 1 March/17 February 1900 and now stands at thirteen days, where it will remain until 1 March/16 February 2100. For discussions of the calendar, see *Gregorian Reform of the Calendar. Proceedings of the Vatican Conference to Commemorate Its 400th Anniversary 1582–1982*, ed. Catherine V. Coyne, Michael A. Hoskin, and Olaf Pederson (Vatican City, 1983).

⁵ The dates for the metropolitans of Rus’ (988–1281) are given according to Andrzej Poppe, “Die Metropolitent und Fürsten der Kiever Rus’,” an appendix in Gerhard Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus’ (988–1237)* (Munich, 1982), 282–301. For evidence concerning the beginning and end of subsequent tenures, see Dmytro Blažejowskyj, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church (861–1990)* (Rome: Editiones Universitatis Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, 1990) [=Sacrum Ucrainae Millennium, 3]. For general information on Ilarion and Klym Smoliatych and their elections, see Senyk, *History of the Church*, pp. 98–105; 108–16.

⁶ For the ecclesiastical relationship between the Rus’ Church and Constantinople, see Timofei Vasil’evich Barsov, *Konstantinopol’skii patriarkh*

i ego vlast' nad Russkoiu tserkov'iu (St. Petersburg, 1878); cf. Patrylo, *Archiepiscopi-Metropolitani Kievo-Halicienses*, pp. 30–35. The Rus' and the Kyivan metropolitanate had many contacts with Western Christendom, including the papacy. For a vigorously stated account of Rus' relations with Rome, see Stefan Tomashivskyyi, "Vstup do istorii Tserkvy na Ukraini," *AOSBM* 4 (1931): 1–160. Given the lack of sources from this period, it is impossible to reconstruct the ecclesiological consciousness in Rus' to satisfy and fit the categories of inter-denominational polemics, as often has been done in East Slavic ecclesiastical historiography. Although Rus' was under the strong and direct influence of Byzantium, the view of the East-West axis from the perspective of the Kyivan Church was at times ambiguous. It undoubtedly had characteristics distinguishing it from the conception current in Byzantium, notwithstanding the fact that during the first half-millennium of the Kyivan metropolitanate a great number of the metropolitans were Greeks sent from Byzantium.

⁷ Ivan Dujčev, "Byzance après Byzance et les Slaves," in his *Medioevo Bizantino-Slavo*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1968), pp. 287–311 [=Storia e letteratura. Raccolta di studi e testi, 113]. Ihor Ševčenko, "Byzantium and the Eastern Slavs after 1453," *HUS* 1(1) 1978: 5–25.

⁸ This generalization does not include the southwestern-most territories of Kyivan Rus'. Moldova and Bessarabia, which in the tenth century came to be dominated by Rus' and from 1200 to 1340 were ruled by the Galician-Volhynian principality, gradually came under the influence of Vlachs from Wallachia after the Tatar invasion of 1241 diminished Galician influence there. The patriarchate of Constantinople confirmed a separate Moldovan metropolitanate at Suceava in 1401. By the sixteenth century both Moldova and Bessarabia were under Ottoman domination. Ruthenian was not supplanted fully by Romanian as the language of state in Moldova until the mid-seventeenth century, and ecclesiastical and cultural ties between Moldova and Ukraine remained strong through the century's end. The Church in Moldova used Church Slavonic in the liturgy until modern times.

⁹ The study of the period from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century in Ukrainian and Belarusian history is plagued by a dearth of source material; Hrushevskyyi's classic study has not been surpassed (for various aspects, see Hrushevskyyi, vols. 3–4). The fate of the Kyivan lands after the advent of the Mongols, the history of the Galician-Volhynian principality, and the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century absorption and administration of East Slavic lands by the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland are analyzed in Hrushevskyyi, vol. 3, pp. 1–191; vol. 4, pp. 3–179. For synthetic comments relating these processes to later developments, see Omeljan Pritsak, "Kievan Rus' and Sixteenth-Century Ukraine," *Rethinking Ukrainian History*, ed. Ivan L. Rudnytsky (Edmonton, 1981), pp. 1–28.

¹⁰ The chronicles report Maximos' move *sub anno* 6807, that is, between 1 March 1299 and 28 February 1300; see for example *PSRL* vol. 15, pt. 1, col. 407; cf. (2nd ed.) vol. 1, col. 485; vol. 18, p. 84; and vol. 33, p. 77.

¹¹ At the Council of Lyons, in 1245, when the mission to the Mongols of the Franciscan friar Giovanni da Pian del Carpine had been sent out but had not yet returned, the West received timely information concerning the Mongols' origin, faith, way of life, customs and ritual, military prowess, and diplomatic practices from an *archiepiscopus ruthenus*, Peter. Peter, apparently the metropolitan of Kyiv in the period 1242–1246, concelebrated with the pope and other bishops and warned the West that the Tatars intended to subjugate the “entire world” in thirty-nine years, see Stefan Tomashiv'skyi, “Predtecha Isydora: Petro Akerovych, neznanyi mytropolyt Rus'kyi,” *AOSBM* 2 (1927): 221–313. In the wake of the Mongol advance, seeking succor from Western Christendom, Princes Danylo and Vasylko of the principality of Galicia and Volhynia recognized the supremacy of the see of Rome. In 1253 Danylo was crowned king of Rus' by papal envoys, a move that enrolled him as a monarch in the Western medieval monarchical order. The prince's conception of papal supremacy was undoubtedly at variance with contemporary Western understanding. For the Rus' princes, for whom the East-West schism was not a thoroughly received phenomenon, recognizing papal preeminence probably did not imply a break with Constantinople. For a general discussion, see Senyk, *History of the Church*, pp. 432–39.

¹² See Donald Ostrowski, “Why Did the Metropolitan Move from Kiev to Vladimir in the Thirteenth Century?” *California Slavic Studies* 16 (1993): 83–101. Ostrowski proposes that behind the transfer was the desire to have one place of residence for “the head of the Rus' Church, the metropolitan, and the nominal Christian ruler of Rus', the grand prince . . . just as the Patriarch of Constantinople resided in the same city as the Byzantine Emperor.” Theoretically Vladimir was the residence of the grand prince from the advent of the Mongols to 1326, while Galicia was separated from the majority of Rus' lands by the pagan Lithuanian realm. In addition, Byzantium fostered a policy of constructive coexistence with the Tatars and would not have encouraged a move to Galicia, where opposition to them could more easily be generated. The proximate catalyst for the move, according to Ostrowski's hypothesis, was the breakdown in the Tatar khan's protection of the Rus' Church caused by a civil war waged in the Ukrainian steppe in 1299–1300 between the Mongol leaders Nogai and Tokhta.

¹³ In 1308 Peter returned from Constantinople, where he had been ordained metropolitan, to Kyiv. In the following year he went to Vladimir. In 1326 Peter died in Moscow and was buried in the Church of the Mother of God, the construction of which he had initiated, *PSRL*, vol. 25, pp. 159, 167–68; cf. *PSRL* vol. 18, p. 87

¹⁴ Among the likely reasons for the patriarchate's inclination towards Muscovy was that, until the late fourteenth century, the Lithuanian grand princes were pagans and, in addition, Grand Duke Algirdas (1345–77) was threatening to convert the Church in his realm to Roman Catholicism. See Ševčenko, “Russo-Byzantine Relations after the Eleventh Century,” p. 280; Meyendorff,

Byzantium and the Rise of Russia, pp. 271–72. Algirdas' son Jogaila and son-in-law Vytautas did in fact adopt Catholicism in 1386 and 1383 respectively.

¹⁵ For a recent discussion of the hierarchical complexities in the Ruthenian lands arising from the contending and shifting policies of Constantinople, Lithuania, Poland, and Muscovy, consult Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, (cf., however, the critical review by Sophia Senyk, *OCP* 47 [1981]: 513–16). About the displacement of the Rus' elite, see Oswald P. Backus, *Motives of West Russian Nobles in Deserting Lithuania for Moscow, 1377–1514* (Lawrence, Kan., 1957).

¹⁶ Concerning the titulature, see Ševčenko, “Russo-Byzantine Relations after the Eleventh Century,” pp. 277–79.

¹⁷ See Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 200–41. See also the text and commentary of the “Journey to Constantinople” by Ignatii of Smolensk, who accompanied Pimen during his third trip to Constantinople in 1389, in Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 388–407. The reconstruction of events relies on a very narrow source base. The explanation of motives for the parties involved in the hierarchical mayhem, who included the Genoese, Tatars, Turks, and Greeks, is necessarily hypothetical, but for our purposes it clearly shows that the Ruthenian bishops, encouraged as they were by Lithuanian authorities, had ample cause for forcefully expressing frustration (see below) at the instability of patriarchal policy and the impotence of Constantinople, plagued as it was by corruption and constantly shifting internal and external political and diplomatic currents.

¹⁸ About the status of the archbishopric of Novgorod in the Kyivan metropolitanate, see Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, especially pp. 83–85, 165–67, 245–48.

¹⁹ For references to literature on the fourteenth-century Galician metropolitanate, see Hrushevsky, vol. 3, pp. 539–45 and Chodyncki, *Kościół*, pp. 3–7. See also Irynei Nazarko, “Halyts'ka Mytropoliia,” *AOSBM* ser. II, sec. II, (1958): 173–89; Ivan Rudovych, *Korotka istoriia Halyts'ko-L'vivs'koï ieparkhii. Na osnovi hrets'kykh zherel i inshykh novishykh pidruchnykiv* (Zhovkva, 1902) [reprinted from the 1902 *Shematyzm* of the L'viv archeparchy].

²⁰ *AZR*, vol. 1, no. 24, 25, pp. 33–37.

²¹ “Ибо святыи вселенскый патріархъ и божественный соборъ священный Костянтина-града по правиломъ поставити митрополита не могутъ, но кого царь повелитъ; и отсельъ купуется и продается даръ святаго Духа, якоже и отецъ его сътвори на Кіевскую церковь, въ днехъ нашихъ, о Квпріянѣ митрополитѣ, и о Пиминѣ, и о Діонисьи и о иныхъ многихъ, и не смотряше на честь церковную, но смотряше на злато и сребро много. Отсюду быша долги велики, и проторы мнози, и молвы и смущенія, а мятежи, убійства, и еже всѣхъ лютѣйше, безчестіе церкви Кіевской и всеи Руси. Сего ради смотряхомъ, и разсудихомъ, яко

неправедно есть приимати намъ таковыя митрополиты, иже куплею поставлени бывають отъ царя, мірянина будуща челоувѣка, а не по воли патриарховѣ и по прѣданію сущаго сбора апостольскаго. Тѣмъ же снисдохомся мы, и, по благодати даннѣй намъ отъ сятаго Духа, поставихомъ достойна митрополита Руской церкви” (AZR, vol. 1, no. 24, p. 35) quoted in part by Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 265–66. Dissatisfaction with the patriarchate is also reflected in the letter of Vytautas whose role in determining the actions of the hierarchy was undoubtedly central (see AZR, 1, no. 25, pp. 35–37). Concerning the tutelage, see Ševčenko, “Russo-Byzantine Relations after the Eleventh Century,” pp. 277–79.

²² Gill, *Council of Florence*, pp. 25–26.

Notes to Chapter 1

¹ An introduction to the Ottoman Empire and the source for the general observations found in this section is Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600*, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (London, 1973; reprint, 1975); see especially the outline of Ottoman history on pp. 3–52. See also Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1481* (Istanbul, 1990).

² For a panoramic account of the end of the Byzantine Empire, see Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (Cambridge, 1965). The death throes of the Byzantine capital are described in the convenient collections of sources, *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, ed. Agostino Pertusi, 2 vols. (Verona, 1976) (texts and Italian translation) and *The Siege of Constantinople, 1453: Seven Contemporary Accounts*, trans. J. R. Melville Jones (Amsterdam, 1972).

³ See Donald M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (London, 1972), and Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971; reprint, 1986).

⁴ Halil Inalcik, “Ottoman Methods of Conquest,” *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954): 112–29.

⁵ Western popular opinion notwithstanding, the Turks showed remarkable sensitivity with regard to the Great Church. The icons were destroyed because of Islamic strictures against the worship of images and the representation of human figures, especially in mosques. While the icons were smashed, the great mosaics depicting Christ, the Virgin, the saints and the angels were neither damaged nor covered completely with whitewash, and were regarded with awe and admiration. In 1675, two hundred and twenty-two years after the conversion of St. Sophia into a mosque, many mosaics were still visible. In that year the French traveler Guillaume Joseph B. Grelot described many of the mosaics, including the Virgin and Child in the eastern apse directly above

the mihrab, the prayer niche. See Emerson Howland Swift, *Hagia Sophia* (New York, 1940), pp. 14–15.

⁶ Doukas, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks: An Annotated Translation of "Historia Turco-Byzantina,"* trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit, 1975), p. 235. For a discussion of the massacre and the pillaging of Constantinople, see Runciman, *Fall of Constantinople*, pp. 145–59.

⁷ About the relationship of Church and state in the Byzantine Empire, especially in the last centuries, see Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, pp. 55–74. “The Emperor, though he was under the law, was also the only source of law. He could and did legislate on all subjects, including ecclesiastical. He alone could give the decisions of church Councils the force of law; and, though the church could make its own rules, these were not legally binding unless he endorsed them” (ibid., p. 62). Just as the Byzantines disliked hard-and-fast doctrinal pronouncements unless a need arose or a tradition was challenged, so they avoided a precise ruling on the relations between church and state. These were decided by a mixture of tradition, of popular sentiment and the personalities of the protagonists. There was a limit neither ought to overstep (p. 63).

⁸ Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, pp. 58, 166.

⁹ The formulation is from a letter of Patriarch Anthony IV to Grand Prince Vasiliï I of Moscow written in 1393. The patriarch not only defended his own jurisdiction over the Rus’ Church but argued for the universal sovereignty of the Byzantine ruler, castigating Vasiliï for failing to recognize the emperor: “You say that ‘We have a Church, but we have neither an emperor nor do we reckon one.’ These things are not good. The holy emperor holds a great position in the Church, for the emperor is not thus also as are the other rulers and sovereigns of localities, since from the beginning the emperors have confirmed and established their piety in all the inhabited world. The emperors brought together the ecumenical synods. And they themselves established and enacted to be ratified the matters concerning the correct dogmas and the matters concerning the polity of the Christians that the sacred and sanctified canons now say. Many times did they contend against heresies; and imperial regulations, with the synods, formed the chief sees of the hierarchs and the divisions of their provinces and the partition of their territories. For which reasons they hold great honor and position in the Church. For even if, with the acquiescence of God, the Gentiles have encircled the realm and the land of the emperor, yet, up to this day, the emperor has had the same election by the Church and the same position and is prayed for in the same way, and with the same great chrism is he anointed and is he elected emperor and *autokratōr* of the Romans, that is, of all Christians . . . It is not possible among Christians to have a Church and not to have an emperor. For the emperor and the Church have great unity and commonality, and it is not possible to separate them.” The Greek text is published in Franz Miklosich and Iwan Müller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, (Vienna, 1862), vol. 2, pp. 188–92; the

English translation with slight modifications is taken from John W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1969), pp. 107–108. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, discusses the context for this letter on pp. 254–58.

¹⁰ By the end of the sixteenth century the Greeks were composing chronicles of world history that bolstered their identity as heirs of the Byzantine Empire and yet included chronologies of the Ottoman sultans, as well as those of the Byzantine emperors, see Irina Nikolaevna Lebedeva, *Pozdnie grecheskii khroniki i ikh russkie i vostochnye perevody* (Leningrad, 1968) [=Palestinskii sbornik 18(81)].

¹¹ The 15 November 1575 letter in which Zygomas counsels the Germans to respect their emperor is recorded in *Turcograecia*, p. 437, quoted by Malyshevskii, *Pegas*, p. 53 (who gives the wrong page reference); Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, p. 47. See also an analogous opinion concerning the empire, in the 1547 letter written in Venice by Antonios Eparchos commending Melanchthon to respect the “king” (undoubtedly the Greek manuscript uses the term *Basileus*, i.e., Charles V) and asking for solidarity among Western Christians so that they may in unison oppose Sultan Suleiman; see Andreas Tillyrides, “A Historic Document: The Epistle of Antonios Eparchos (1491–1571) to Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560),” *The Patristic and Byzantine Review* 3 (1984): 108–12 [English translation of letter].

¹² See the discussion of the historiography and source base concerning the patriarchate of Constantinople under Ottoman rule in the late sixteenth century in the Appendix 1. For examples of positive predispositions towards Christians by leading members of Sufi orders at the end of the fourteenth and in the first half of the fifteenth century, see Evgenii Mikhailovich Lomize, “K voprosu o ranneosmanskoii religioznoi politike v otnoshenii khristian na zavoevannykh zemliakh,” *Slaviane i ikh sosedi*, vol. 4, *Osmanskaia imperiia i narody Tsentral'noi, Vostochnoi, Iugo-Vostochnoi Evropy i Kavkaza v XV–XVIII vekakh*, ed. Boris Nikolaevich Floria et al. (Moscow, 1992), pp. 11–20. The ensuing discussion of Ottoman policy towards the Orthodox Church and its faithful is informed by the works listed in Appendix 1, note 1, especially Lebedev, *Istoriia*, pp. 91–164, and Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, pp. 186–207.

¹³ Robert Mantran, “Foreign Merchants and the Minorities in Istanbul during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, 2 vols. (New York-London, 1982), vol. 1, pp. 127–37; see also Karl Binswanger, *Untersuchungen zum Status der Nichtmuslime im Osmanischen Reich des 16. Jahrhunderts; mit einer Neuederfinition des Begriffes “Dimma”* (Munich, 1977) [=Beiträge zur Kenntnis Südosteuropas und des Nahen Orients, 23] and Bernard Lewis, “Some Reflections on the Decline of the Ottoman Empire,” *Studia Islamica* 9 (1958): 122–23, 126; Lewis’ article is reprinted with some additions as the second chapter of his *Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 2nd ed. (London–New York, 1961), pp. 21–39.

¹⁴ Cf. the rather different perspectives of Runciman, *Fall of Constantinople*, pp. 153–59, 202–204; and Halil Inalcik, “The Policy of Mehmed II towards the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23–24 (1969–70): 231–49; idem, “Ottoman Methods of Conquest,” pp. 112–29; idem, “Istanbul: An Islamic City,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1 (1990): 1–23.

¹⁵ It is unclear when the population of Byzantine Constantinople reached its peak. The estimates for the maximum figure range from 250,000 to 1,000,000; see *ODB*, s.v. “Constantinople,” vol. 1, pp. 508, 512.

¹⁶ Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, p. 180. For comments on the population of Ottoman Constantinople in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Nicolae Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance, Continuation de l’Histoire de la vie byzantine* (Bucharest, 1935), pp. 45–52.

¹⁷ About the institutional and financial aspects of the patriarchate of Constantinople in the Byzantine period, see Louis Bréhier, *Le monde byzantin*, vol. 2, *Institutions de l’Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1949), here pp. 518–23; Maxime de Sardes [Maximos, Metropolitan of Sardis], *Le Patriarcat oecuménique dans l’Église orthodoxe. Étude historique et canonique* (trans. from the Creole, Jacques Toraille) (Paris, 1975) [=Théologie historique, 32], pp. 53–95, 334–47; Joan M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 297–325. For additional characterization of the politico-religious jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire, see Nikolaos J. Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law in the Balkan Peninsula during the Ottoman Rule* (Thessaloniki, 1967), pp. 8–19.

¹⁸ Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, p. 37.

¹⁹ For a history of the union, see Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959; rev. ed., 1982). Discussions of the reception of the union in the Christian East can be found on pp. 349–88; Ihor Ševčenko, “The Intellectual Repercussions of the Council of Florence,” *Church History* 25 (1955): 291–323; Jan-Louis van Dieten, “Der Streit in Byzanz um die Rezeption der Unio Florentina,” *Ostkirchliche Studien* 39 (1990): 160–80. For a sociological analysis of the Union of Florence, see Josef Macha, *Ecclesiastical Unification: A Theoretical Framework together with Case Studies from the History of Latin-Byzantine Relations* (Rome, 1974) [=Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 198], pp. 79–143; for further references, see Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, pp. 30–32. Concerning the repudiation of Florence by the synod in Constantinople, see Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, p. 228. Twenty-nine articles and essays some by leading historians and theologians reassessing the Florentine council on its 500th anniversary can be found in Giuseppe Alberigo, ed., *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438/39–1989* (Louvain, 1991) [=Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, 97].

²⁰ For a perceptive discussion of Gennadios’ investiture, see Evgenii Mikhailovich Lomize, “Stanovlenie politiki Mekhmeda II v otnoshenii

khristian (pravoslavnykh i katolikov) posle padeniia Konstantinopolia (1453)," *Slaviane i ikh sosedi*. vol. 4, *Osmanskaia imperiia i narody Tsentral'noi, Vostochnoi, Iugo-Vostochnoi Evropy i Kavkaza v XV–XVIII vekakh*, ed. Boris Nikolaevich Floria et al. (Moscow, 1992), pp. 20–30. The dates for the reigns of the patriarchs of Constantinople are generally given according to Venance Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), pp. 434–41 [=Bibliothèque byzantine. Traité d'études byzantines, 1]. Grumel's list for the Ottoman period is reproduced by Podskalsky, with some modifications for late-sixteenth-century patriarchs. Podskalsky also provides lists for the patriarchates of Alexandria and Jerusalem, and for the metropolitanate of Philadelphia with residence in Venice (*Griechische Theologie*, pp. 396–402); these chronologies form part of the basis for Appendix 4. Concerning the date of Gregory's abandonment of Constantinople, see Gill, *Council of Florence*, p. 376n3. Benjamin Braude argues that Mehmed briefly experimented with a lay administration of the conquered Greeks before appointing Gennadios patriarch. He also raises perceptive questions concerning the account of Mehmed's interest in and benevolence towards the Greeks and other subject peoples. Departing from the remarkable parallels in the "foundation myths of the Greek, Armenian, and Jewish communities within the Ottoman Empire," Braude maintains that, while possibly containing information about Mehmed's pacification of non-Muslim subjects, the accounts are especially valuable as a reflection of the mentalities of these communities, who subsequently used these accounts to defend their interests before Ottoman authorities. See his "Foundation Myths of the Millet System," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1, pp. 74–79. Contemporary or late, factual or legendary, the description of Mehmed's relations with Gennadios is the sixteenth-century Church's version of the events and as such is pertinent to our understanding of the Ottoman-Orthodox interaction at that time.

²¹ See Aristeides Papadakis, "Gennadius II and Mehmet the Conqueror," *Byzantion* 42 (1972): 88–106 (includes an English translation of the synopsis, pp. 100–106). For references to the literature, see Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, pp. 20, 82. The sultan's fascination with things Christian went beyond treatises. See Gülru Necipoglu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York, 1991), p. 285n63: "On the basis of a report by Gentile Bellini, some sources record that the sultan [Mehmed II] venerated the relics [of St. John the Baptist, stored in the Topkapi treasury] and lit candles in front of a Madonna painting." Of course, both John and the Virgin are also esteemed in Islamic doctrine.

²² For an introduction to Gennadios' theological positions and for a dating of the death of Eugenikos, see Joseph Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 79–94, 222–32. Cf. Gill's characterization of Eugenikos with that of Constantine N. Tsirpanlis, *Mark Eugenicus and the Council of Florence: A Historical Re-Evaluation of His Personality*, (New York, 1979). For a balanced and insightful evaluation of both Gill's and Tsirpanlis' characterization, see Basilio Petrà, "Kata to

phronêma tôn paterôn: La coerenza teologica di Marco d’Efeso al Concilio di Firenze,” in *Firenze e il Concilio del 1439. Convegno di Studi. Firenze, 29 novembre–2 dicembre 1989*, ed. Paolo Viti (Florence, 1994), pp. 873–900.

²³ According to the *Chronicon maius*, an enlarged version of the chronicle of Georgios Sphrantzes [Phrantzes], probably compiled by Makarios Melissenos between 1573 and 1575, the sultan granted Gennadios written ordinances, testimonials bearing the imperial signature, that no one was to trouble him. He was to enjoy exemption from all taxes and personal inviolability. See Georgios Sphrantzes [Phrantzes], *Memorii 1401–1477, în anexă Pseudo-Phrantzes: Macaire Melissenos Cronica. 1258–1481*, ed. Vasile Grecu (Bucharest, 1966), p. 556 [=Scriptores Byzantini, 5]. For the English translation, see *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire: A Chronicle By George Sphrantzes, 1401–1477*, trans. Marios Philippides (Amherst, Mass., 1980), p. 136. Cf. *ODB* s.v. “Sphrantzes, George” and “Melissenos, Makarios” and Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, p. 170.

²⁴ As early as 1519–1520 the *ferman* could not be produced by the Greeks. In the absence of documentary evidence the defense of the Church’s privileges by Patriarch Theoleptos I (1514–20) before Selim I allegedly succeeded on the basis of the testimony of three ancient janissaries who vouched for the fact that Mehmed had indeed issued a *ferman* prohibiting the conversion of churches to mosques. Theodore H. Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 4–5. In fact, under Selim a number of closed churches again began to function. For the narrative, see *Turcograecia*, pp. 156–63. For comments on the doubtful veracity of this account, see Lebedev, *Istoriia*, pp. 297–305; Braude, “Foundation Myths of the Millet System,” pp. 77–79. This version came to be accepted in the historiography of the Ottoman Empire; see the account by the father of the eighteenth-century Romanian humanism, Dimitrie Cantemir [Dimitrii Kantemir], *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire*, (2 vols. in 1), trans. Nicolas Tindal, (London, 1734–35), pp. 102–105n17; *Demitrie Cantemir. Historian of South East European and Oriental Civilizations. Extracts from the “History of the Ottoman Empire,”* ed. Alexandru Dutu and Paul Cernovodeanu (Bucharest, 1973), pp. 116–22. Cf. Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, pp. 170, 189–90; Gunnar Hering, “Das islamische Recht und die Investitur des Gennadios Scholarios (1454),” *Balkan Studies*, vol. 2 (Thessaloniki, 1961), pp. 231–256; Inalcik, “Policy of Mehmed II towards the Greek Population,” pp. 231–49; idem, “The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans,” *Turcica: Revue d’études turques* 21–23 (1991): 407–436; C. G. Papadopoulos, *Les Privilèges du Patriarcat oecuménique (Communauté Grecque Orthodoxe) dans l’Empire ottoman* (Paris, 1924); Cono. G. Papadopoulos, *Les privilèges du patriarcat oecuménique (communauté grecque orthodoxe) dans l’Empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1924).

²⁵ Braude, “Foundation Myths of the Millet System,” pp. 69–88; Amnon Cohen, “On the Realities of the Millet System: Jerusalem in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 2, pp. 7–18.

²⁶ The classification of Ottoman subjects was predicated on confessional rather than racial, ethnic, or geographical distinctions. Orthodox, be they Greek, Slav, or Arab, were viewed as members of the same religious group. Armenian Orthodox Christians, Roman Catholics, and Jews constituted separate religious communities, but there is no indication that the Porte developed an administrative policy based on this classification. Originally the term *millet* meant “religion, confession, rite” (e.g., *Millat Ibrahim*, the religion of Abraham), most often referring to Islam. It was also used in reference to “[sovereign] nations, peoples” (e.g., Serbs, Transylvanians). Apparently, the designation *millet* with the connotation “religious community” came to be used in the administrative language of the central Ottoman bureaucracy rather late, but clearly by the end of the seventeenth century. As a designation of empire-wide corporations, it is attested very late—for Armenians (*millet-i Ermeniyân*) in 1746, for Orthodox (*millet-i Rum*) in 1757, and for Jews (*Yahud milleti*) and Catholics (*Katolik milleti*) not until 1839; see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. “Millet,” article by Michael O. H. Ursinus. The assumption that the term *millet* was used throughout the Ottoman period grew out of nineteenth-century European historiography, which relied heavily on Ottoman diplomatic correspondence where the term was often used to refer to Christians outside the empire. By the nineteenth century, under the influence of European usage, the designation *millet* for the *dhimmi* communities in the empire gained some currency in Ottoman domestic documents. The nineteenth-century use of the term was then projected by historians to describe the Porte’s administration of Greek Orthodox over the entire *Tourkokratia* period. This is an example of the chronological telescoping and extrapolation that characterizes much of the historiography on post-Byzantine Orthodox institutions in the absence of detailed and sophisticated diachronic analysis of administrative, social, and economic structures in the Ottoman Empire and in the Orthodox Church. See Braude, “Foundation Myths of the *Millet* System,” vol. 1, pp. 69–88. Cf. Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law*, especially pp. 23–27, 43–44.

²⁷ For the administrative rights and responsibilities of the patriarchs of Constantinople, see Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 27–39.

²⁸ Although Ottoman officials regularly impinged on Orthodox administrative affairs, unlike some Byzantine emperors, they never interfered with the doctrinal life of the Church; Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, p. 10.

²⁹ From the end of the fifteenth century the patriarchs of Constantinople were chosen exclusively from the episcopate; in Byzantine times, monks, deacons, priests, and even laymen were often elected to the patriarchal throne (Lebedev, *Istoriia*, p. 254). According to early Christian tradition, once a bishop was consecrated to the episcopacy for a particular see, transfer to another was considered irregular. Although in the middle of the sixteenth century a decree was issued mandating the participation of hierarchs from all of the eparchies of the patriarchate in the election of patriarchs, many hierarchs ignored the summons to attend election synods. Contact with the ecclesiastical center

strengthened the center's authority over the provinces, thus making it easier for Constantinople to collect ecclesiastical taxes from dioceses in its jurisdiction; Pavel [Viľkhovs'kyi], fols. 44–45. See *Turcograecia*, p. 165, for reference to sanctions against non-complying hierarchs.

³⁰ On the fiscal prerogatives and responsibilities of the patriarchs and metropolitans under the Ottomans, see Inalcik, "Status of the Patriarch," pp. 421–31.

³¹ Concerning the Constantinopolitan synod and structure of the patriarchal administration after 1453, see Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 39–85.

³² Georgiades-Arnakis, "The Greek Church of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire," pp. 241–43.

³³ For a listing and discussion of the most important officials in the nine pentads, see Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 61–78.

³⁴ See Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 41–60, 78–85; Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, pp. 173–76; for a general discussion of the role of the major officials of the Great Church in Byzantine times, see Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 314–18.

³⁵ See n. 24 above.

³⁶ Lewis, "Some Reflections on the Decline of the Ottoman Empire," p. 117.

³⁷ See, for example, the discussion of the weakening of discipline and the rise of bribery and corruption in the ranks of the janissaries at the end of the sixteenth century in the early-seventeenth-century treatise on the history and organization of the corps, *Mebde-i kanun-i ienicheri odzhagy tarikhi. (Istoriia proiskhozhdeniia zakonov ianycharskogo korpusa.) Izdanie teksta, perevod s turetskogo, vvedenie, kommentarii i ukazateli*, trans. and ed. Irina Evgen'evna Petrosian (Moscow, 1987) [=Pamiatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka, 7]; also the introduction, pp. 31–39.

³⁸ Jeremiah's trip is described in chapters 10, 11, and 12. Concerning the reigns of sultans from Mehmed II to Mehmed III and the predicament of the Greeks, see Inalcik, *Ottoman Empire*, pp. 30, 33–52, 57, 177–78, 181; Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, pp. 186–91.

³⁹ For the clear scriptural prohibition of forced conversion to Islam, see the following verses in the Koran (Marmaduke W. Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran: an explanatory translation* [New York, 1992]). The *locus classicus* is provided by surah 2:256, "There is no compulsion in religion." The proper approach to conversion is set forth in surah 16:125: "Call unto the way of thy Lord with wisdom and fair exhortation and reason with them in the better way. Lo! thy Lord is best aware of him who strayeth from His way and He is best aware of those who go aright."

⁴⁰ Various aspects of the status and history of non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire are examined in the collection *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman*

Empire, cited above, fn. 13; see especially the editors' introduction, vol. 1, pp. 1–34; also Lebedev, *Istoriia*, pp. 163–64.

⁴¹ See Lebedev, *Istoriia*, pp. 156–57; *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1, p. 6.

⁴² For general information and bibliography on the recruitment of janissaries (literally a “gathering” of youths), see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. “Devshirme,” article by Victor L. Ménage, vol. 2, pp. 210–13. See also Lebedev, *Istoriia*, pp. 158–61.

⁴³ *Turcograecia*, p. 193.

⁴⁴ *Türkisches Tagebuch aus seinem eigenhändig aufgesetzten und nachlassen Schriften, herfürgegeben durch seinen Enkel M. Samuel Gerlach*. (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1674), pp. 257, 314; inaccessible to me, cited in Lebedev, *Istoriia*, p. 160.

⁴⁵ Forcible conscription into the janissary corps was curtailed under Murad IV (1623–40), and definitively outlawed in 1685 (see Lebedev, *Istoriia*, p. 162). For a general discussion of the janissary corps, see the introduction in *Mebde-i kanun-i jenicheri odzhagy tarikhi*, pp. 27–40. See also *Pamiętniki Janczara, czyli, Kronika turecka Konstantego z Ostrowicy, napisana między r. 1496 a 1501*, ed. Jan Łoś (Cracow, 1912) [=Biblioteka Pisarzy Polskich, 63]. For a continuing bibliography on janissaries as well as on other aspects of Turkish studies, see *Türkologischer Anzeiger*, the annual journal published in Vienna.

⁴⁶ Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, p. 179.

⁴⁷ Georgiades-Arnakis, “The Greek Church of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire,” p. 247. Concerning the tax burden on the Orthodox population under the Ottomans, see Inalcik, “Status of the Patriarch,” p. 426.

⁴⁸ See Halil Inalcik, “Ottoman Archival Materials on *Millets*,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1, pp. 437–49; Lebedev, *Istoriia*, pp. 276–80; Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, 193–94, 198–202.

⁴⁹ Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, pp. 396–400, provides a table for the chronology of the patriarchs of Constantinople for the years 1453–1821. See also Appendix 4.

⁵⁰ The Greek ecclesiastical difficulties became a cause of scandal among Ruthenians and fuel for anti-Orthodox polemics before and after the Union of Brest. In his *Defense of Church Unity* published in 1617 the Vilnius Uniate archimandrite Lev Krevza attributed the dissolute status of the Greek hierarchy to divine retribution for its rejection of papal supremacy: “What are we to say about the fact that there is such confusion regarding the very heads of the Church [of Constantinople]? Anyone who comes in contact with citizens of those lands can hear plenty about it. Once simony took root soon after the capture of Constantinople, few duly elected men have assumed the patriarchal see: they buy it from each other, depose one another, three or four patriarchs exist at one time, all of them while still living. So which of them is patriarch?”

Certainly not the one who acceded to the see by accursed simony or by purchasing high office, having ousted the other man while he still lives. And yet he consecrates and blesses. How will that be valid if he himself is not what he claims to be? . . . How can the Lord God not be extremely angry at such clergy and, consequently, at the lay community subject to them?" *Lev Krevza's A Defense of Church Unity and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, pt. 1, trans. and with a foreword by Bohdan Strumiński (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), pp. 63–64 [=HLEUL, 3(1)].

⁵¹ Gunnar Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und europäische Politik, 1620–1638* (Wiesbaden, 1968), pp. 146–49 [=Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte in Mainz, 45], discusses the reasons for the decline of Greek education. A contributing factor was the anti-intellectual bent of the hesychastic movement that took root in the late-Byzantine period and continued after the fall of Constantinople, see Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, p. 47n168. For a survey of Palamite hesychasm during the Ottoman period, see *ibid.*, pp. 36–46.

⁵² For general overviews of Orthodox education during the *Tourkokratia*, see Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, pp. 46–62 (including bibliography) and Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, pp. 208–25. Lebedev, *Istoriia*, has separate chapters on intellectual life (pp. 221–51), and schools (pp. 377–501) in the patriarchate of Constantinople. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Krevza focused in his apology for union on the weakness of contemporary Greek intellectual life in the Ottoman Empire: "A great punishment by God also visited the Greek lands in the sphere of learning, for the sake of which people had previously traveled there from all parts of the world. In recent times, especially after the fall of Constantinople, it so completely ceased that, seeing what is occurring there now, one can hardly believe that there had ever been learned people in those parts. If there is any scholarship in Greece, they have borrowed it from Western countries." *A Defense of Church Unity*, trans. Bohdan Stumiński, p. 63. Although Krevza's views are conditioned by interconfessional polemics after the Union of Brest, they remain relevant to the period preceding the Union.

⁵³ Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, pp. 79–162. Among notable Greek scholars was Cyril Loukaris who was to be present at the Brest synod in 1596. Like many of the leading Orthodox intellectuals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Loukaris received most of his education in the West. As a boy in Venice he was under the tutelage of Maximos Margounios and later he earned a *laurea* at the University of Padua. Few promising Orthodox clerics in the Ottoman Empire had the patronage enjoyed by the likes of Loukaris. The opportunity for an elite education was distant—for most unattainable.

⁵⁴ *Turcograecia*, p. 205.

⁵⁵ For an outline of the history of and references to the literature on Greek publishing 1471–1821, see Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, pp. 62–67.

⁵⁶ Gunnar Hering, "Die Anfänge des Buchdrucks im Osmanischen Reich," in *Bericht über den sechsten österreichischen Historikertag in Salzburg, veranstaltet vom Verband Österreichischer Geschichtsvereine im der Zeit vom 20. bis 23. September 1960* (Vienna, 1961), pp. 140–45 (Resumé) [=Veröffentlichungen des Verbandes Österreichischer Geschichtsvereine, 14], cited in idem, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und europäische Politik*, p. 161.

⁵⁷ For a discussion of how at the end of the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth the ecclesiastical issue of union between East and West came to be transformed into a political tool for diplomacy in the relations of European powers with the patriarchate of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire, see Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und europäische Politik*. Cf. Dorothy M. Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk: A Pattern of Alliances, 1350–1700* (Liverpool, 1954; reprint, New York, 1976).

⁵⁸ Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, p. 60.

⁵⁹ According to the preface to the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (VD 16), ed. Irmgard Bezzel, pt. 1, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1983), p. vii.

⁶⁰ Paul F. Grendler, "The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605," *Journal of Modern History* 47 (1975): 49; for slightly different estimates, see his monograph *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605* (Princeton, 1975), pp. 3–12.

⁶¹ About the Greek community in Venice and the role of Greeks in the Italian Renaissance, see Deno J. Geanakoplos *Greek Scholars in Venice: Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); idem, "The Greco-Byzantine Colony in Venice and Its Significance in the Renaissance," *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Studies in Ecclesiastical and Cultural History* (Oxford, 1966; reprint, Hamden, Conn., 1976), pp. 112–37. Many aspects of the Greek presence in sixteenth-century Italy have been studied extensively. A good introduction to the Venetian Greek community and pertinent literature is Manoussos I. Manoussacas, "The History of the Greek Confraternity (1498–1953) and the Activity of the Greek Institute of Venice (1966–1982)," *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 5 (1989): 321–94. See also his "La comunità greca di Venezia e gli arcivescovi di Filadelfia"; Giorgio Fedalto, *Ricerche storiche sulla posizione giuridica ed ecclesiastica dei greci a Venezia nei secoli XV e XVI* (Florence, 1967) [=Civiltà veneziana. Saggi, 17]; For a discussion of the most prominent late-sixteenth-century Greek Orthodox Venetian theologian Maximos Margounios, see Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, pp. 135–51 (with references to specialized studies). For additional literature about Greek ecclesiastical figures in Venice or Italy in general, see *ibid.*, especially pp. 14–15, 50–54.

⁶² Fedalto, *Ricerche storiche sulla posizione giuridica ed ecclesiastica dei greci a Venezia nei secoli XV e XVI*, pp. 44–53.

⁶³ Grendler, *Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605*, pp. 201–252.

⁶⁴ Deno J. Geanakoplos, “An Overlooked Post-Byzantine Plan for Religious Union with Rome: Maximos Margounios the Cretan Humanist-Bishop and His Latin Library Bequeathed to Mount Athos,” in his *Byzantine East and Latin West*, p. 172. Geanakoplos points out (n. 14) that western Europeans often took Margounios, and Greeks in general, to be Uniates.

⁶⁵ See Vittorio Peri, “L’‘incredibile risguardo’ e l’‘incredibile destrezza.’ La resistenza di Venezia alle iniziative postridentine della Santa Sede per i greci dei suoi domini,” in *Venezia centro di mediazione tra Oriente ed Occidente (secoli XV–XVI). Aspetti e problemi*, ed. Hans-Georg Beck, Manoussos Manoussacas, Agostino Pertusi, (Florence, 1977), vol. 2, pp. 599–625 [=Civiltà veneziana. Studi, 52]; as well as Vittorio Peri, “L’unione della Chiesa Orientale con Roma. Il moderno regime canonico occidentale nel suo sviluppo storico,” *Aevum* 58 (1984): 439–98, here 441–44; reprinted in his *Orientalis Varietas. Roma e le Chiese d’Oriente—Storia e diritto canonico*. (Rome, 1994), pp. 51–141 [=Kanonika, 4]. According to Peri, the Venetians viewed the union as a reality to be nurtured to maturity: “La Serenissima, con realismo, non valutava l’unione delle due Chiese come avvenimento definitivo e concluso, ma piuttosto come un processo *in fieri*, da sostenere e da sviluppare con prudenza nella sua dinamica, tenuto conto che la proclamata riunificazione incontrava molti ostacoli.” This attitude was a conscious one, as is reflected in numerous documents issued by the Venetian authorities, *ibid.*, pp. 459–60.

⁶⁶ The idea of launching a crusade was the immediate effect of the crushing defeat of the Ottomans by an allied Christian fleet at the Battle of Lepanto (1571). The internal problems of the Ottoman political and administrative structures and the unrest of the Balkan peoples encouraged messianic schemes in Europe. When in subsequent years the resilience of the Turkish empire became clear and lack of enthusiasm for a crusade could not be overcome, the European states came to terms with the reality of Ottoman power and began increasingly to foster diplomatic relations with the Porte. By the end of the sixteenth century they were trying to maintain a balance of European power through alliances with the Porte and even diplomatic, economic, or military assistance to the Ottomans. For an introduction to European diplomatic contacts with the patriarchate of Constantinople and the Ottoman Porte in the early-modern period, see Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und europäische Politik*, here p. 7. During the last decades of the sixteenth century and in the first half of the seventeenth, the papacy was alone in consistently laboring for the consolidation of a Christian anti-Ottoman coalition, making the Turks very suspicious of subjects, such as Orthodox clergymen, who had contacts with the Holy See. See also Domenico Caccamo, “La diplomazia della Controriforma e la crociata: dai piani del Possevino alla ‘lunga guerra’ di Clemente VIII,” *Archivio Storico Italiano* 128 (1970): 255–81, and Ludwik Boratyński, “Stefan Batory i plan ligi przeciw Turkom,” *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filologiczny* 44 (1903): 197–347.

⁶⁷ Vittorio Peri, "Chiesa Latina e Chiesa greca nell'Italia Postridentina (1564–1596)," in *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall'VII al XVI secolo*. *Atti del Convegno storico interecclesiale*. (Bari, 30 Apr.– 4 Magg. 1969), 2 vols. (Padua, 1973), vol. 1, pp. 271–469 [=Italia Sacra. Studi e Documenti di Storia Ecclesiastica, 20].

⁶⁸ Peri, "La Congregazione dei Greci (1573) e i suoi primi documenti," p. 176.

⁶⁹ Vittorio Peri, *Chiesa Romana e "rito" greco*. G. A. Santoro e la *Congregazione dei Greci (1566–1596)* (Brescia, 1975) [=Testi e ricerche di scienze religiose, 9]; idem, "La Congregazione dei Greci," in *Studia Gratiana* 13 (1967): 129–256 [=Collectanea Stephan Kuttner, 3]. Peri observes that although the main task of the Congregation was to enforce papal authority, its constitution reflected an implicit concession to the principle that central church authority should take into consideration the pastoral needs of local churches, and that they deserve protection; *ibid.*, p. 193. See also Jan Krajcar, *Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro and the Christian East: Santoro's Audiences and Consistorial Acts* (Rome, 1966) [=Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 177].

⁷⁰ Antonis Fyrgios, *Il Collegio greco di Roma. Ricerche sugli alunni, la direzione, l'attività* (Rome, 1983) [=Analecta Collegii Graecorum, 1]; Zacharias N. Tspirpanles, *To Hellēniko kollegio tēs Rōmēs kai hoi mathētes tou (1576–1700)*. *Symbolē stē meletē tēs morphōtikēs politikēs tou Vatikanou* (Thessalonica, 1980) [=Analekta Blatadon, 32]; Vittorio Peri, "Inizi e finalità ecumeniche del Collegio greco in Roma," *Aevum* 44 (1970): 1–71; Jan Krajcar, "The Greek College under the Jesuits for the First Time (1591–1604)," *OCP* 31 (1965): 85–118; Cirillo Korolevskij [J. F. J. Charon], "Les premiers temps de l'histoire du Collège Grec de Rome (1576–1622)," *Stoudion. Bollettino delle Chiese di Rito Bizantino* 3 (1926): 33–39, 80–89; 4 (1927): 81–97, 137–51; 6 (1929–30): 40–64. For information on students in the college from the Kyivan metropolitanate, see Dmytro Blažejovskij, *Byzantine Kyivan Rite Students in Pontifical Colleges and in Seminaries, Universities and Institutes of Central and Western Europe (1576–1983)* (Rome, 1984) [=AOSBM, ser. II, sec. I, 43], pp. 82–91. Patriarch Jeremiah II praised the foundation of the Greek college in letters written to Pope Gregory and Cardinal Sirleto in August 1583, Georg Hofmann, *Griechische Patriarchen und römische Päpste. Untersuchungen und Texte*. II, 4, "Patriarch Ieremias II," Rome, 1932, nos. 7, 8, pp. 244–46 [=Orientalia Christiana 25–2, no. 76].

⁷¹ Hermann Wendel, *Der Kampf der Südslaven um Freiheit und Einheit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1925), p. 44.

⁷² For a discussion, see Vittorio Peri, *Ricerche sull'Editio Princeps degli Atti greci del Concilio di Firenze* (Vatican City, 1975) [=Studi e Testi, 275]. The prefatory chapters, comprising a pro-union apology, attributed in the edition to the outstanding Greek hierarch Gennadios Scholarios, were actually written sometime after 1455 by Ioannes Plousiadenos (ca. 1429–1500), a Cretan convert to the pro-union position, who after 1483 served as bishop of Methone, in the southwest corner of the Peloponnesos (*ibid.*, 28–38; Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, p. 84).

⁷³ Peri, *Ricerche sull'Editio Princeps*, pp. 7–8. It remains to be established whether this edition was used as a source by the anonymous Cleric of Ostrih and other late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century East Slavic authors of polemical histories of the Florentine council. A Polish translation of the Pseudo-Scholarian edition was used by Zakhariia Kopystens'kyi (nephew of Bishop Mykhail Kopystens'kyi) in his *Palinodiia*, a response to Lev Krevza's *Obrona iedności*.

⁷⁴ For a masterful characterization of the beginnings of the Society of Jesus (and of various aspects of mid-sixteenth-century Roman Catholicism), see John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993).

⁷⁵ After the failure to sway the Muscovites, Possevino turned his attention to religious reform and the conversion of the Orthodox in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He was instrumental in fostering the development of Jesuit schools and raised the issue of union with prominent Ruthenians, including Prince Konstantyn Ostroz'kyi.

⁷⁶ For Jesuit activity in Constantinople at the end of the sixteenth and the first part of the seventeenth centuries, see Henri Fouqueray, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France des origines à la suppression (1528–1762)*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1922), pp. 200–215, 606–35; vol. 4 (Paris, 1925), pp. 315–34; Georges Goyau, “Les jésuites sur le Bosphore (1583–1640),” *En terre d'Islam* 9 (1934): 7–19; 86–103, based largely on Fouqueray. See, Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und europäische Politik*, pp. 150–51. About the establishment of the society in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, see Stanisław Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, 5 vols. (L'viv, 1900), vol. 1, pp. 150–58. For references to literature on late-sixteenth-century activity of the Jesuits in East Slavic lands, see below, p. 329n10.

⁷⁷ In addition to the Slavic and Greek Orthodox Churches, the papacy also addressed the non-Chalcedonian Oriental Orthodox Churches (so-called Monophysite) of the Middle East and northern Africa. For a discussion of Gregory's relations with those in Syria, Egypt, and Ethiopia, see Giorgio Levi Della Vida, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni delle chiese orientali con la S. Sede durante il pontificato di Gregorio XIII* (Vatican City, 1948) [=Studi e Testi, 143].

Notes to Chapter 2

¹ Lebedev's economic analysis is based on extrapolation from information on the fiscal life of the patriarchate in the late Byzantine period and on data from the second half of the seventeenth century (*Istoriia*, pp. 345–76); he argues that the patriarchate generated considerable revenues from fees and taxes collected from the metropolitanates and dioceses in its jurisdiction, but does not provide information on its late-sixteenth-century fiscal status.

² For a discussion of the sources for Jeremiah II's stay in Muscovy, see Borys A. Gudziak, "The Sixteenth-Century Muscovite Church and Patriarch Jeremiah II's Journey to Muscovy, 1588–1589: Some Comments Concerning the Historiography and Sources," *HUS* 19 (1995): 200–225.

³ For a chronological table of the patriarchs, see Appendix 4 above.

⁴ *Snosheniia*, p. 108. The school was directed by Ioannes Zygomalas, see Pavel [Vil'khov's'kyi], fols. 99^v–100^v.

⁵ For Pseudo-Dorotheos on Ioasaph, see Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 7–8. See also *Thrēskeutikē kai ēthikē egkyklopaideia*, vol. 17, cd. 76, s.v. "Iōasaph II," by Tasos Ath. Gritsopoulos; Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, p. 198; and Malyshevskii, *Pegas*, pp. 319–20. Lebedev says that Gerlach reported that in Constantinople in the 1580s Ioasaph was considered to have been guilty of simony, specifically of receiving payment for appointments to bishoprics. He was defended by Zygomalas, whose father had been Ioasaph's preceptor (*Istoriia*, pp. 261–62). About the ineffectual attempts of the 1565 synod to stem simoniacal practices and Ioasaph's condemnation, see *ibid.*, pp. 272–74. The synod mandated the deposition of any hierarch receiving payment for ordinations, but allowed the collection of the *embatikion*, the fee paid by a bishop or priest to his superior for appointment to a see or parish. Since such an appointment immediately followed ordination, the *embatikion* constituted remuneration for what was in essence a package deal (*Turcograecia*, pp. 174–75). Kantakouzenos, who had close relations with Grand Vizier Mehmed Sokollü, received monopoly rights from the sultan for fur trade with Muscovy. His immense wealth generated resentment; he was arrested on a pretext when the grand vizier fell from power and was executed by the Ottomans in 1578. For a characterization of Kantakouzenos and his meddling in church affairs, see Lebedev, *Istoriia*, pp. 138, 265–66, 286–91; Nicolae Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, 3 vols. (Gotha, 1910), vol. 3, pp. 211–13; Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, pp. 197–98. Pavel [Vil'khov's'kyi] defends Ioasaph on the grounds that in collecting fees for ordinations, he was only continuing a practice established earlier, probably under Jeremiah I, who, according to Pseudo-Dorotheos, "opened the doors to simony in the time of the Turks" (Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, p. 4). According to Pavel's interpretation, both Jeremiah I and Ioasaph, as good stewards of the Church, demanded these payments because they needed them to finance and safeguard the central ecclesiastical infrastructure. Thus the chronic simony plaguing the patriarchate grew to some extent out of what initially were good intentions (Pavel [Vil'khov's'kyi], fols. 42^v–45^r).

⁶ Charles de Clercq, "Le patriarche de Constantinople, Métrophane III (†1580), et ses sympathies unionistes," in *Mélanges offerts à Jean Dauvillier* (Toulouse, 1979), pp. 193–206. See also the report of the Jesuit Mancelli published by Pietro Pirri, "Lo stato della Chiesa Ortodossa di Costantinopoli e le sue tendenze verso Roma in una memoria del P. Giulio Mancelli S. I.," in *Miscellanea Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1947), pp. 79–103.

⁷ For the vituperative testimony of the Pseudo-Dorotheos chronicle concerning Metrophanes, see Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 5–10; contrast *Turcograecia*, p. 212, and Pirri, “Lo stato della Chiesa Ortodossa,” pp. 87, 89. Gerlach reported to Crusius in a letter of 29 December 1577 that Jeremiah had changed his plans to make pastoral visitations in Greece because of the return of Metrophanes to Constantinople, (*Turcograecia*, p. 211 and Pirri, “Lo stato della Chiesa Ortodossa,” p. 88; for another reference to the threat Metrophanes posed to Jeremiah, *Turcograecia* p. 501). Pavel [Vil'khov'skyi] follows Pseudo-Dorotheos in evaluating Metrophanes' reign. For his characterization of Metrophanes and discussion of his undermining of Jeremiah, see fols. 32^r–37^r, 84^v–86^v, 107^v–110^v, 112^v–114^v. Runciman seems to discount completely the witness of Pseudo-Dorotheos, thereby arriving at the conclusion that Metrophanes was a “saintly” man (Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, pp. 200, 230); cf. Lebedev's comments on Pseudo-Dorotheos, *Istoriia*, pp. 286–87n1, and the critique of Lebedev's remarks, Pavel [Vil'khov'skyi], fols. 12^v–13^f. According to de Clercq, Metrophanes was a model pastor and as patriarch did not have direct relations with the papacy, “Le patriarche de Constantinople, Métrophane III,” p. 200. Cf. Malyshevskii, *Pegas*, pp. 244–45 and *Thrēskēutikē kai ēthikē Egkyklopaideia*, s.v. “Mētrophanēs III,” by Ioannes Ch. Konstantinides. The disparity in the characterization of Metrophanes not only reflects the opposing confessional views of his respective evaluators, but is an indication of the embryonic stage of historiography on post-Byzantine Orthodoxy. For Lebedev's comments on the level of education among sixteenth-century patriarchs, see *Istoriia*, pp. 226–30.

⁸ For Eustratios' characterization of Pachomios, see the text (Kresten, *Das Patriarchat*, pp. 40, 46, 48, 50) and commentary (pp. 69–72), where Eustratios' report is compared with that of Pseudo-Dorotheos and the information contained in the document announcing Pachomios' deposition (published by Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 136–42). Kresten discusses the circumstances and chronology of Pachomios' usurpation, *ibid.*, pp. 75–77. See also Pavel [Vil'khov'skyi], fols. 87^r–87^v and Malyshevskii, *Pegas*, pp. 245–52.

⁹ See the report of Eustratios and commentary in Kresten, *Das Patriarchat*, pp. 45, 64–67; including a corroborating quotation (about the question of arms) from the report of the Latin archbishop of Kerkyra-Corfu, Matteo Venier, originally published by Eugenio Albèri, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al senato*, ser. III^a (*Le Relazioni degli Stati Ottomani*), vol. 2 (Florence, 1844), p. 299.

¹⁰ On 23 June 1584, based on letters from Constantinople written 25 May and shown him by Adam Dietrichstein von Nikolsburg, a close counselor of Emperor Rudolph II, Antonio Possevino reported from Prague to the Vatican secretary of state that “il patriarca Gieremia è stato dal Turco relegato in Rodi, con sommo dispiachere de'Greci i quali non volevano dar alcuna limosina a

chi [Pachomios] è stato surrogato in luogo di Gieremia: laonde pensavano che colui pe'l donativo che haveva fatto al Turco, sarebbe costretto per i debiti contratti di vender gli argenti delle chiese etc. et che un Giudeo offeriva al Turco 12000 scudi l'anno, se voleva dargli il carico di sforzare i Greci a pagare al patriarca qualche danaro, già di volontaria limosina" (MPV, vol. 7, p. 318).

¹¹ Kresten, who cites and discusses the limited and somewhat conflicting information about Theoleptos, is inclined towards the negative opinions of Pseudo-Dorotheos concerning Theoleptos, *Das Patriarchat*, pp. 78–81. Pseudo-Dorotheos reports that Theoleptos traveling from Georgia met Jeremiah in Moldova, when the latter was returning from Muscovy and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. A reconciliation occurred, they concelebrated, and Jeremiah even gave Theoleptos certain juridical prerogatives. According to the Pseudo-Dorotheos chronicle, however, its possible compiler, Hierotheos of Monemvasia, would not serve at the altar with Theoleptos; see Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, p. 25.

¹² For a most positive, rhetorical assessment of Jeremiah's character made early in his patriarchal career, see *Turcograecia*, pp. 176–78. Pseudo-Dorotheos was less enthusiastic: "Jeremiah comes from good parentage, was active, although was sometimes crude; he was not endowed with an inclination to a strict monastic life, although he was abstinent [was a good faster?]" (Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, p. 9; cf. Lebedev, *Istoriia*, pp. 258–59).

¹³ The lack of a complete modern biography of Jeremiah is a major lacuna in the historiography of post-Byzantine Orthodoxy. The standard nineteenth-century study (published in 1870) is by Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*; it consists of ninety pages of biographical essays with extensive quotations from documentary material mainly concerned with Jeremiah's discussions with the Tübingen Protestants and Rome concerning the Gregorian calendar reform. The volume includes a 218-page appendix of sources, but in the essays, the author unfortunately does not take into account all of the information he publishes in this appendix. See also Manouel I. Gedeon, *Patriarchikoi pinakes. Eidēseis Historikai Viographikai peri tōn patriarchōn Kōnstantinoupoleōs apo Andreou tou Prōtoklētou mechri Iōakeīm III tou apo Thessalonikēs. 36–1884* (Istanbul, 1889), pp. 518–25; Louis Petit, "Jérémie II Tranos," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. 8, pt. 1 (Paris, 1947), cols. 886–94; Constantine N. Tsirpanlis, "A Prosopography of Jeremias Tranos (1536–1595) and His Place in the History of the Eastern Church," *The Patristic and Byzantine Review* 4 (1985): 155–73. The last is an uncritical compilation delivering less than the title promises. Useful but unpublished is Pavel [Vilkhovs'kyi], "Patriarkh Konstantinopol'skii Ieremiia II" (for full citation, see Appendix 1, note 1). The author deals only with Jeremiah's early life and his ecclesiastical activity up to and including the first patriarchate (1572–79), leaving subsequent developments for part 2, of which, however, no trace

has been found and which may not ever have been written. Pavel [Vil'khov'skyi] provides a historiographical essay and discussion of sources, fols. 9^r–21^r. For the theological import of Jeremiah's patriarchal tenure, see Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, especially pp. 103–117.

¹⁴ Crusius (*Turcograecia*, p. 491) writes that in 1578 Jeremiah was approximately forty-two years old. For the information provided by Pseudo-Dorotheos, see Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, p. 9. Trifon Korobeinikov reports that he delivered twenty gold pieces from Tsar Fedor “в патриархово Иеремеево пострижение, в монастырь Ивана Предтечи, что на Черном море, от Царягорода 170 миль царегородских, блиско города Сизаполя.” The monastery had a fair community of monks: “А братья в том монастыре, сказал патриарх Иеремея, 130 старцов” (*Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 156). The monastery also had a library and apparently a school (Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, “Hē en tō nēsiō Sōzopoleōs monē Ioannou tou Prodromou kai hē tyche tes bibliothekēs autēs,” *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 7 [1900]: 661–95). In 1565 Neophytos, whose signature appears on the decree announcing the deposition of Patriarch Ioasaph, was still metropolitan of Larissa. About the school in Trikke, see Dmitrievskii, *Arkhiepiskop Elassonskii*, pp. 6–7. Since 1539 Trikke had been the residence of the metropolitans of Larissa; see Porfirii Uspenskii, *Puteshestvie v Meteorskie i Olimpiiskie monastyri v Fessalii* (St. Petersburg, 1896), p. 384. The above information is cited by Pavel [Vil'khov'skyi] who narrates Jeremiah's early years and tenure as metropolitan of Larissa, fols. 24^r–32^r.

¹⁵ *Turcograecia*, pp. 178–80; Pavel [Vil'khov'skyi], fols. 87^v–89^r.

¹⁶ The letter is published in Vasileios Mystakides, *Maximos Margounios* (Athens, 1892), pp. 39–46, which is inaccessible to me; cited by Pavel [Vil'khov'skyi], fol. 95^r.

¹⁷ *Turcograecia*, p. 509; Pavel [Vil'khov'skyi], fols. 91^r–95^v. About the discontent that Jeremiah's policies and appointments to ecclesiastical offices may have generated, see *ibid.*, fols. 110^v–14^v.

¹⁸ *Turcograecia*, pp. 185, 189–90, where an engraving of the patriarchal complex is provided; reproduced above as illustration no. 1, p. 28.

¹⁹ For a discussion of Jeremiah as ecclesiastical arbitrator and administrator during the first patriarchate, see Pavel [Vil'khov'skyi] fols. 63^v–72^v. About his decisive adjudication in the dispute between the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Alexandria concerning jurisdiction over the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, see *ibid.*, fols. 73^r–84^r. For discussions of the historical development of the conflict over the monastery, see Malyshevskii, *Pegas*, vol. 1, pp. 150–57, 173–81, 188–95; A. Voronov, “Sinaiskoe delo,” *TKDA* 1871 (5): 330–401; 1872 (2): 273–315; 1872 (7): 594–668.

²⁰ Concerning the visitation and the duration of Jeremiah's absence from Constantinople, see *Turcograecia*, pp. 487–88; for a contemporary description of Jeremiah's construction achievements, *ibid.*, pp. 180–83. For comments

about the itinerary, the scope of the visitation and building project, and the sending of exarchs, see Pavel [Vil'khovskiy], fols. 49^r–55^v.

²¹ Crusius comments, based on the account of Gerlach, that “Patriarca Hieremias vir est humanissimus et veritatis studiosissimus: perpetue in lectione Patrum et aliorum bonorum auctorum, quantum ei per negotia ecclesiastica et politica conceditur” (*Turcograecia*, p. 205). About Jeremiah’s preaching, auditing of lectures, and reliance on abridged translations of Western liberal-arts manuals, see *ibid.*, pp. 180, 197, 205, 507; cited by Pavel [Vil'khovskiy], fols. 59^r–59^v.

²² “Episcopi et clerus Graecorum: indocti plerique sunt: et adversati Patriarchae Hieremiae, quando voluit ante plureis [sic] annos Scholas et eruditionem in Graeciam introducere, ac Typographiam. Metuunt enim sibi, ne postea removeantur ipsi propter ruditatem,” *Annales Suevici*, vol. 2, p. 830; cf. Otto Kresten, “Ein Empfehlungsschreiben des Erzbischofs Gabriel von Achrida für Leontios Eustratios Philoponos an Martin Crusius (Vind. Suppl. Gr. 142),” *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. 6/7 (1969–70): 105–106; and Pavel [Vil'khovskiy], fols. 104^v–105^v.

²³ “Патриарх Иеремия решил создать иную школу иерархов, подготавливаемых специальным образованием и тщательным учением, священнослужителей Церкви, успевших приобрести и усвоить себе истинную идею этого звания, чрез что надеялся затем распространить свет науки и образования, к духовной пользе верующим, и по всем епархиям своей патриаршей области. Правда, исторические данные свидетельствующие и подтверждающие это, очень скудны” (Pavel [Vil'khovskiy], fols. 97^v–98^r).

²⁴ Late-sixteenth-century Venetian Greek Orthodox intellectual life was active only in a relative sense: in Venice there were a few such intellectuals while in Constantinople there were almost none. Constantinople was naturally Jeremiah’s first priority, and in 1577 he unsuccessfully sought to attract Maximos Margounios there. Margounios’ Greek colleague from the University of Padua, Gabriel Severos, had answered the call as early as 1575; see Geanakoplos, “An Overlooked Post-Byzantine Plan for Religious Union with Rome: Maximos Margounios the Cretan Humanist-Bishop,” p. 167; Pavel [Vil'khovskiy], fols. 101^v–103^v. About Severos, see Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, pp. 118–24. For Margounios’ response to the summons, see Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 99–101. In 1577 Jeremiah appointed Severos to be metropolitan of Philadelphia resident in Venice, beginning a regular succession of Greek hierarchs for the Greek community there (Manoussacas, “La comunità greca di Venezia e gli arcivescovi di Filadelfia,” p. 57).

²⁵ For references to the abundant literature on Orthodox-Lutheran contacts in the sixteenth century, see Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, pp. 21–24. The most notable recent contribution is Dorothea Wendebourg, *Reformation und Orthodoxie. Der ökumenische Briefwechsel zwischen der Leitung der*

Württembergischen Kirche und Patriarch Jeremias II. von Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1573–1581 (Göttingen, 1986) [=Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, 37].

²⁶ For Luther's views on Orthodoxy, see Ernst Benz, *Die Ostkirche im Lichte der Protestantischen Geschichtsschreibung von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1952), pp. 9–16. For a discussion of the Greek translation of the Augsburg Confession, see his "Die griechische Übersetzung der Confessio Augustana aus dem Jahre 1559," in *Kyrios* 5(1/2) 1940–41: 25–65, as well as his *Wittenberg und Byzanz. Zur Begegnung und Auseinandersetzung der Reformation und der östlich-orthodoxen Kirche* (Marburg, 1949), pp. 94–128. The first Greek version of the Augsburg Confession was published in Basel in 1559. Like this first edition, the second edition published in 1587 appeared without the Latin original. The Greek text was reprinted in the *Acta et Scripta Theologorum Wirtembergensium* in 1584 (see below, note 30). The fact that the text used by the translator was not the official 1530 text of the *Confession*, that the translation is a rather free adaptation of the original as well as the nature of the adaptations themselves, all suggest that the Lutheran divines were trying to present their theological platform in a formulation that would be acceptable to the Orthodox Greeks. Benz's conclusions are reviewed by Georges Florovsky, "The Greek Version of the Augsburg Confession," *Lutheran World* 6(2) 1959: 153–55, reprinted in *Christianity and Culture* (Belmont, Mass., 1974), pp. 157–60 [=Collected Works of Georges Florovsky, 2]. Florovsky (p. 160) notes that Catholic polemicists overlooked the peculiarity of the Greek version and failed to exploit it to discredit Lutherans in Orthodox eyes.

²⁷ About Jeremiah's response, signed on 15 May 1576, Georges Florovsky writes: "A modern reader is tempted to style it as evasive and non-committal. In fact, one may feel that the most important points of divergence were touched upon rather slightly: the doctrine of the Church and Ministry, and even the doctrine of Justification." See his "Patriarch Jeremiah II and the Lutheran Divines," *Christianity and Culture*, p. 152.

²⁸ *Augsburg and Constantinople*, p. 306 (for full reference, see note 30 below).

²⁹ *Censura Orientalis Ecclesiae de praecipuis nostri saeculi haeticorum dogmatibus* (Cracow, 1582). See the monograph on Sokolowski by Henryk Cichowski, *Ks. Stanisław Sokolowski a Kościół Wschodni. Studium z dziejów teologii w Polsce w w. XVI* (L'viv, 1929).

³⁰ *Acta et Scripta Theologorum Wirtembergensium et Patriarchae Constantinopolitani D. Hieremiae: quae utriusque ab Anno MDLXXVI usque ad Annum MDLXXXI de Augustana Confessione inter se miserunt: Graece & Latine ab iisdem Theologis edita* (Wittenberg, 1584), translated into English by George Mastrantonis, *Augsburg and Constantinople: The Correspondence between the Tübingen Theologians and Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople on the Augsburg Confession* (Brookline, Mass., 1982) [=The Archbishop Iakovos Library of Ecclesiastical and Historical Sources, 7].

Jeremiah's first response was also translated by Constantine N. Tsirpanlis [Tsirpanles], *The Historical and Ecumenical Significance of Jeremias II's Correspondence with the Lutherans (1573–1581)*, vol. 1 (Kingston, New York, 1982), pp. 30–83.

³¹ The next compendium by an Orthodox patriarch subsequent to Jeremiah's responses to the Lutheran divines was, in fact, the *Confessio Fidei* of Patriarch of Constantinople Cyril Loukaris, published in Geneva in 1631. It was, however, condemned by Orthodox synods, first in 1638. Mohyla's *Confessio* received the approval, albeit qualified, of most of the Orthodox world in the seventeenth century. For a brief discussion of the theological writings of Loukaris and Mohyla and references to the specialized literature, see Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, pp. 26, 162–80, 229–36.

³² Concerning the relations between Jeremiah and Pope Gregory XIII, see Hofmann, *Griechische Patriarchen*, pp. 225–48, and especially Vittorio Peri, *Due date, un'unica Pasqua. Le origini della moderna disparità liturgica in una trattativa ecumenica tra Roma e Costantinopoli (1582–1584)* (Milan, 1967), especially pp. 3–79.

³³ Concerning the introduction of the reform in government institutions in Ukrainian lands in the sixteenth century, see Oleh Kupchynskyi, "Pershi datuvannia dokumentiv za hryhorians'kym kalendarem u derzhavnykh ustanovakh Ukraïny XVI st.," *ZNTSh* 222 (*Pratsi istoryko-filosofsk'koï sektsii*) 1991: 256–69.

³⁴ For a survey of the various aspects of the calendar reform including its reception, see Coyne, George V., Michael A. Hoskin, and Olaf Pederson, ed. *Gregorian Reform of the Calendar. Proceedings of the Vatican Conference to Commemorate Its 400th Anniversary, 1582–1982* (Vatican City, 1983).

³⁵ On 8 March 1583 the Venetian bailo reported to the doge that one "calogero Candioto [from Candia], . . . il qual pratica assai con questo Patriarca et pare homo di molto negotio, mi ha detto che, se inanzi la publicatione della reforma si fusse trattato con il sudetto Patriarca et che si havesse mostrato di far conto di lui et della Chiesa Greca, affettando d'intender la sua risposta, che se haveria potuto sperar di far qualche accordo; ma che al presente lo giudica impossibile" (Peri, *Due date*, p. 234).

³⁶ The letters to Onysyfor (Divochka) and the Vilnius burghers are dated 11 January 1583 and 1583, respectively. The fate of the Greek version of these missives is unknown. A 25 June 1583 report from Nuncio Bolognetti to the Vatican secretary of state mentions that Ostrozkyi had already received his letter, see *MPV*, vol. 6, p. 366. Its Greek version remains unpublished. The Greek version of the letter to the Armenians, dated November 1583, was printed a number of times, most recently in Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 28–32. Italian translations of the letters to Ostrozkyi and to the Armenians appear in Peri, *Due date*, pp. 203–217, who provides information concerning the manuscript copies of the Greek versions. For a Church

Slavonic translation of the letter to Ostroz'kyi, see Malyshevskii, *Pegas*, *ibid.*, pp. 93–98.

³⁷ For the text of the bailo's report, see Peri, *Due date*, pp. 231–35. In discussing previous scholarship concerning the calendar reform, it escaped Peri that Malyshevskii acknowledged Jeremiah's temporary support of the new calendar, although he rejected the possibility that a letter to this effect could have been written (see Malyshevskii, *Pegas*, pp. 236–40).

³⁸ For the Greek text of the letter (the original is extant), see Hofmann, *Griechische Patriarchen*, pp. 242–44. Peri discusses the letter and provides an Italian translation, *Due date*, pp. 56–65, 245–48.

³⁹ About Jeremiah's deposition, see Peri, *Due date*, pp. 67–70.

⁴⁰ See Kresten, *Das Patriarchat*, pp. 81, 86; Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 25. About the antagonistic relationship between Theoleptos and Nikephoros, see Theoleptos' letter of 7 June/27 May 1585, to Tsar Fedor Ivanovich in which he refers to a synodal condemnation of Nikephoros and characterizes him as an "evil man," *Snosheniia*, p. 154.

⁴¹ Eustratios suppressed the information concerning Jeremiah's connection to Pachomios' consecration because he was trying to portray Jeremiah as an irreproachable hierarch, unbending under the political duress plaguing the patriarchate in Constantinople; Kresten, *Das Patriarchat*, p. 71. Pavel [Vil'khovskiy], argues that astuteness in selecting collaborators and church hierarchs was one of Jeremiah's great virtues, fols. 56^r–58^r. However, Jeremiah was criticized by some contemporaries as being rash, superficial, defiant, stubborn, see Maximos Margounios' letter to Jeremiah in Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 125–26, or Theoleptos' letter to Jeremiah, *ibid.*, pp. 152–56.

⁴² *Turcograecia*, p. 502; cf. Pavel [Vil'khovskiy], fols. 112^v–13^v.

⁴³ "Τὸν μικρὸν τοῦτον σπινθῆρα τῆς τάξεως ἡμῶν." The phrase appears in Jeremiah's letters to Greek hierarchs, for example, Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 161 and 164; quoted by Pavel [Vil'khovskiy], fol. 47^r.

Notes to Chapter 3

¹ For general information about Isidore, consult Joseph Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 65–78, and Iosyf Slipyi, "Tvorche oblychchia i hrib Kyiv'skoho Mytropolyta i Tsarhorods'koho Patriarkha Kard. Isydora," *Bohosloviia* 25–28 (1964): 1–23.

² For the text, a translation, and discussion, see Joseph Gill, "Isidore's Encyclical Letter from Buda," *AOSBM* ser. 2, sec. 2, 4 (1963), pp. 1–8 [first published in *PSRL*, vol. 6 (St. Petersburg, 1851), pp. 159–60].

³ *Akty istoricheskie* vol. 1, no. 259, p. 488. For the scant information on the Ruthenian reception of Isidore, see Anatol Lewicki, “Unia florencka w Polsce,” *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny* 38 [ser. 2, 13] (Cracow, 1899), pp. 205–274, especially 242–43; Bohdan Buchynskyi, “Studii z istorii tserkovnoi unii,” *ZNTSh* 85 (1908): 21–42; 86 (1908): 5–30.

⁴ Adolf Ziegler, *Die Union des Konzils von Florenz in der russischen Kirche* (Würzburg, 1938), p. 131.

⁵ The text of the charter can be deduced from its 1504 confirmation by King Alexander; see *Akta Aleksandra, króla polskiego, wielkiego księcia litewskiego i t. d. (1501–1506)*, ed. Fryderyk Papée (Cracow, 1927), no. 233, pp. 390–93; other versions of the text have been published, based on later confirmations or without a clear indication of the source (Chodynicki, *Kościół*, p. 95n1).

⁶ The most recent major contribution on the reception and legacy of the Union of Florence in the Ruthenian Church is Ihor Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism in the Kyivan Church* (Rome, 1987) [=Opera Graeco-Catholicae Academiae Theologicae, 53–54]; for appreciative and critical comment, see my review article “How Long Did the Union of Florence Survive in the Kievan Metropolitanate? Reflections on a Recent Argument,” *HUS* 17(1/2) 1993: 138–48. For narrative accounts of developments in the Ruthenian Church after the Florentine union, see Chodynicki, *Kościół*, pp. 49–72; and Oscar [Oskar] Halecki, *From Florence to Brest (1439–1596) in Sacrum Poloniae Millennium* 5 (Rome, 1958): 1–444, and separately (Hamden, Conn., 1968), pp. 33–140; (cf., however, Ihor Ševčenko’s critical comments regarding Halecki’s study in *Slavic Review* 20 [1961]: 523–27). Concerning the commemoration of the unionist Patriarch Gregory Mammas in Ruthenian liturgical texts, see Mykhailo Vavryk [Michael Wawryk], “Florentiis’ki uniini tradytsii v Kyiivs’kii Mytropolii 1450–60 rr.,” *AOSBM* ser. 2, sec. 2, 4 (1963): 329–62. For the reaction in Moldova, see A. Auner, “La Moldavie au Concile de Florence,” *Échos d’Orient* 7 (1904): 321–28; 8 (1905): 5–12, 72–77, 129–37.

⁷ For Muscovy’s reaction to the Union of Florence, see Ziegler, *Die Union des Konzils von Florenz*; Jan Krajcar, “Simeon of Suzdal’s Account of the Council of Florence,” *OCF* 39 (1979): 103–30; Michael Cherniavsky, “The Reception of the Council of Florence in Muscovy,” *Church History* 25 (1955): 347–59; and Gustave Alef, “Muscovy and the Council of Florence,” *Slavic Review* 20 (1962): 389–401.

⁸ During one of his Ruthenian sojourns, Isidore ordained to the episcopal see of Volodymyr and Brest a certain Danyil in 1451. Danyil went to Moscow where he repudiated the profession of faith as expressed before Isidore, denounced the Florentine council, and pledged to maintain allegiance to Iona the metropolitan in Moscow upon returning to his own diocese; see *Russkii feodal’nyi arkhiv: XIV–pervoi treti XVI veka*, 5 vols. in 4, ed. Andrei Ivanovich Pliguzov et al. (Moscow, 1988), vol. 3, no. 36, pp. 685–88. Danyil promised not to administer the sacrament of matrimony to any Orthodox who married Latin

or Armenian partners. According to his oath Roman Catholics and Armenians would not be acceptable by Orthodox as godparents. Danyil's further fate is unknown.

⁹ Based on a comparison of six extant charters issued by Iona between December 1448 and December 1450, Pliguzov hypothesizes that initially the metropolitan preferred using the short title "Metropolitan of Rus" without the name of his cathedral see, until he was recognized in Kyivan lands by King Kazimierz in 1450. He cites the example in *RIB*, vol. 6, no. 65, col. 548. However, in a 1448 circular letter informing the "princes, nobles, boiars, namistnyks, voevodas" in the Lithuanian Grand Duchy of his assumption of the metropolitanate, Iona does use the title "Metropolitan of Kyiv and All Rus," *RIB*, vol. 6, no. 64, cols. 539–42. Cf. no. 66, cols. 543–56; no. 68, cols. 566–70. See Andrei Pliguzov, "On the Title 'Metropolitan of Kiev and All Rus,'" *HUS* 15(3/4) 1991: 344 and note 20.

¹⁰ Kazimierz did not, however, grant Iona jurisdiction in the "Galician metropolitanate"; cf. *RIB* vol. 6, no. 67, cols. 563–66, and no. 68, col. 70. Iona's request (in the latter document, dated 1451) for jurisdiction in the Galician metropolitanate is a rare reference to the tradition of this institution. For speculation as to Kazimierz's motivation, see Hrushevs'kyi, vol. 5, pp. 406–408.

¹¹ Mykola Chubatyi, *Istoriia khrystyanstva na Rusy-Ukraini*, 2 vols. (Rome–New York, 1965–76), vol. 2, pp. 221–50; *Documenta Pontificum*, vol. 1, no. 80, pp. 138–39.

¹² Halecki argues plausibly that Isidore played a leading role in the nomination of a separate metropolitan for Ukrainian and Belarusian lands and adduces this putative advocacy as further indication that Isidore was well received in Lithuania and Poland, and therefore did not later, when he went to Rome, ignore the concerns of the Kyivan metropolitanate, Oskar [Oscar] Halecki, "The Ecclesiastical Separation of Kiev from Moscow in 1458," *Studien zur älteren Geschichte Osteuropas* 1 (1956): 21. See also Michael Wawryk, "Quaedam nova de provisione metropoliae Kioviensis et Moscoviensis ann. 1458–9," *AOSBM* ser. 2, sec. 1, 4 (1963): 9–26; and Bohdan Buchynskyi, "Studii z istorii tserkovnoi unii (Mytropolyt Hryhorii)" *ZNTSh* 88 (1909): 5–22. For the papal documents concerning the nomination, see *Documenta Pontificum*, vol. 1, no. 82–86, pp. 145–51. The papal documents use the title "archbishop" in designating the head of the Kyivan Church ("ecclesia Chieuiensis [*sic*]," p. 149) or Ruthenian "metropolitan Church" ("ecclesi[a] metropolitan[a]," p. 146).

¹³ In a subsequent letter of recommendation Pius refers to Gregory as "Archbishop of Kyiv and All Rus" (*Archiepiscopus[s] Chiennens[is] et totius Russie*), *Documenta Pontificum*, vol. 1, no. 93, p. 157.

¹⁴ The papal document, names the diocesan seats: Briansk, Smolensk, Polatsk, Turaŭ, Luts'k, Volodymyr, Peremyshl', Kholm, and Halych (*Documenta Pontificum*, vol. 1, no. 82, p. 146).

¹⁵ *RIB*, vol. 6, no. 89, cols. 671–74.

¹⁶ See Ludomir Bieńkowski, “Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce,” *Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 2, *Wiek XVI–XVIII* (Cracow, 1969), pp. 796–97. Consult also Ivan Mikhaïlovich Pokrovskii, *Russkie eparkhii v XVI–XVII vv. Ikh otkrytie, sostav i predely. Opyt tserkovno-istoricheskogo, statisticheskogo i geograficheskogo issledovaniia* (Kazan’, 1897), vol. 1, pp. 28–41, 388–407, which includes maps and a table of the historical development of eparchies. See also Blažejowskyj, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church*. For discussions of individual dioceses, see Leonid Sonevyts’kyi, *Ukrains’kyi iepyskopat Peremys’koï i Kholms’koï eparkhii v XV–XVI st.* (Rome, 1955) (AOSBM ser. 2, sec. 1, 6); Antonii Dobrians’kyi, *Istoriia iepyskopov trekh soiedynennykh ieparkhii, Peremys’koi, Sambors’koi y Sanots’koi, od naidavniishykh vremen do 1794 h.*, vol. 1 (L’viv, 1893).

¹⁷ *Documenta Pontificum*, vol. 1, no. 91, pp. 155–56.

¹⁸ See *RIB*, vol. 6, nos. 80, 81, 84, 85, 87, 88; cols. 615–26, 631–40, 645–70.

¹⁹ *RIB*, vol. 6, no. 95, col. 689. Pliguzov surmises that Iona had adopted the title Metropolitan of Kyiv and All Rus’, when he was recognized by Kazimierz, and continued to use it, along with the short title (see *RIB*, vol. 6, cols. 683–84, where in a 1461 document Gennadii, bishop of Tver’, uses the short form repeatedly in reference to the deceased Iona), until 1461, the year of his death; see Pliguzov, “On the Title ‘Metropolitan of Kiev and All Rus’,” pp. 343–44.

²⁰ Iaroslav Nikolaevich Shchapov, ed. *Vostochnoslavianskii i iuzhnoslavianskii rukopisnye knigi v sobraniakh Pol’skoi Narodnoi Respubliki* (Moscow, 1976), vol. 2, Appendix, no. 52, pp. 145–47.

²¹ Concerning the late (i.e., modern) development of the restrictive, mutually exclusive connotation of the terms “Catholic” and “Orthodox,” see Vittorio Peri, “Le vocabulaire des relations entre les Église d’Occident et d’Orient jusqu’au XVI^e siècle,” *Irenikon* 65 (1992): 194–99.

²² For a survey of Greek Orthodox theological concerns and emphases for the years 1453–1629, see Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, pp. 79–180. Podskalsky has outlined the relationship between the theology of Kyivan Rus’ and Byzantium in the medieval period; see his *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus’ (988–1237)* (Munich, 1982).

²³ For a discussion of Rus’ polemical literature, see Andrei Nikolaevich Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnyi obzor drevnerusskikh polemicheskikh sochinenii protiv latinian (XI–XV v.)* (Moscow, 1875; reprint, London, 1972), and the monographic review of Popov’s book by Aleksei Stepanovich Pavlov, *Kriticheskie opyty po istorii drevneishei greko-russkoi polemiki protiv latinian* (St. Petersburg, 1878); see also Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus’ (988–1237)*, pp. 170–85. For a general discussion of the relations between Kyivan Rus’ and Latin Christendom, see Senyk, *History of the Church*, pp. 298–326.

²⁴ These factors have yet to be systematically (and dispassionately) explored. Such a study entailing a comprehensive interpretation of Ukrainian history in a very broad context perhaps can be undertaken now that formerly Soviet repositories of sources are accessible and methodological sharing between scholars from East and West is possible.

²⁵ See Cherniavsky, "Reception of the Council of Florence," pp. 350–57; Ševčenko, "Intellectual Repercussions," pp. 306–309, 319n8.

²⁶ See, for example, Georges Florovsky's *Puti russkogo bogosloviia* (Paris, 1937); English translation *Ways of Russian Theology*, 2 vols. (Belmont, Mass., 1979–1987) [=Collected Works of Georges Florovsky, vols. 5–6] in which the author using the Greek patristic period as a model, considers most of East Slavic history theologically fruitless or counterproductive, discounts the Rus' period almost completely, and generally disparages the dynamic but "pseudomorphous" early-modern (especially seventeenth-century) ecclesiastical and theological developments in Ukraine and Belarus. For a critique of Florovsky, see Francis J. Thomson, "Peter Mogila's Ecclesiastical Reforms and the Ukrainian Contribution to Russian Culture. A Critique of Georges Florovsky's Theory of the 'Pseudomorphosis of Orthodoxy,'" *Slavica Gandensia* 20 (1993): 67–119; Frank E. Sysyn, "Peter Mohyla and the Kiev Academy in Recent Western Works: Divergent Views on Seventeenth-Century Ukrainian Culture," *The Kiev Mohyla Academy. Commemorating the 350th Anniversary of Its Founding (1632)*, *HUS* 8(1/2) 1984: 160–70.

²⁷ There are, for example, no original charters from the metropolitans of Kyiv extant from before the late sixteenth century; see Pliguzov, "On the Title 'Metropolitan of Kiev and All Rus,'" p. 342. For a general discussion of the sources for the history of the patriarchate of Constantinople after the Ottoman conquest and of the contemporary Kyivan metropolitanate, see Appendix 1.

²⁸ For a critique of the dubious identification of Archimandrite Makarii with the later Metropolitan Makarii (1495–97), see Makarii, vol. 9, p. 82. Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism*, pp. 225, 245n, follows Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, pp. 108, 111, in positing that they are one and the same. Halecki, however, does not in any way substantiate this identification.

²⁹ The letter was first published in 1605 by Ipatii (Potii), then Uniate metropolitan of Kyiv, and subsequently *inter alia* by Stepan Timofeevich Golubev in *Arkhiv IuZR*, vol. 7, pt. 1 (Kyiv, 1887), pp. 197–231, text and commentary. Its most recent publication is in *MUH*, vol. 9–10, no. 4, pp. 5–55, where the two manuscript versions in the Vatican Library are compared with Golubev's edition. An early-seventeenth-century Latin translation, also from the Vatican Library, is supplemented. Concerning the letter's signatories, see Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, pp. 101–102, 111. The letter's authenticity was questioned by Orthodox polemicists soon after its publication. For references to nineteenth-century scholarly views concerning the authenticity of Mysail's letter, see Hrushevskyi, vol. 5, p. 532; and Chodynicki, *Kościół*, p. 66n3. Bohdan Buchynskyi disputes the idea that Mysail was ever nominated metro-

politan, questions the authenticity of other signatures, and argues that the letter we have today was falsified at the beginning of the seventeenth century, probably by Ipatii, on the basis of a document composed in 1500, in Metropolitan Iosyf's time. In a review of Kazimierz Lewicki, *Księżę Konstanty Ostrogski a unia brzeska 1596 r.* (L'viv, 1933) [=Archiwum Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie, sec. 2, vol. 11, fasc. 1], in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 48 (1934): 962, Chodynicki reverses his view on the authenticity (from for to against) following Jan Fijałek. Fijałek's "Los unii florenckiej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim za Kazimierza Jagiellończyka," *Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności* 33 (1934): 21–25, is, however, only a resume of a presentation that does not relate the argument fully. A more recent voice concerning the authenticity of the letter is that of Ihor Ševčenko: "on p. 227 [Golubev's edition; p. 27 in *MUH*] its signatories declared their hope 'always standing on these eight holy and blessed steps [i.e., adhering to the decisions of the eight Ecumenical Councils, including that of Florence] to partake of the blessed expectance of the future eighth millennium.' Such a relatively obscure simile can hardly be imputed to a late-sixteenth-century falsifier. On the contrary the meaning of the eighth millennium was familiar to people living shortly before the crucial year 7000 (A.D. 1492), the date of the anticipated end of the world"; see "Intellectual Repercussions," p. 318n74. That the document could not have been a seventeenth-century forgery and that it must be considered authentic emerges from the identification of an early-sixteenth-century codex that includes a copy of it. The manuscript was found in the Smolensk Regional Museum (Kraevedcheskii). See the discription of the codex by Gennadii Vladimirovich Semenchenko, "Neopublikovannye gramoty sbornika SOKM 9907," *Russkii feodal'nyi arkhiv* vol. 3, pp. 626–30. Concerning the contents of the letter, see Petro B. T. Bilaniuk, "The Five-Hundredth Anniversary of the Letter of Misael, Metropolitan-Elect of Kiev, to Pope Sixtus IV (1476–1976)," and his "A Theological Analysis of the Letter of Misael, Metropolitan-Elect of Kiev, to Pope Sixtus IV (1476–1976) on Its Five-Hundredth Anniversary," in his *Studies in Eastern Christianity* (Munich-Toronto, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 129–41, 145–56 [=Ukrainian Free University, Monographs, no. 25].

³⁰ *MUH*, vol. 9–10, p. 8. According to Mončak (*Florentine Ecumenism*, p. 203), "Vicar of Christ" is among the titles in the extended litany with which the letter addresses Sixtus. The Church Slavonic-Middle Ruthenian reads: "... блаженному Сиксту, святягя вселенскія соборньгя апостольскія церкви, викарію найдостоинѣйшому во перьвых, священннхъ чыноначалія свѣтлосіяшущему просвъщеніемъ . . .," *ibid.*, p. 8. However, it is only the Latin translation that makes the nature of the vicariate more specific: "... beato Sixto, sanctae universalis Ecclesiae Christi Vicario. Qui a sanctissimo et summo omnium lumine altissima intelligentia . . . illustratus" (p. 31).

³¹ "И от него истекают чотыре реки напаяющи всяку тварь . . . чрезъ чотыре вселенскія патріарьхи утверженьхъ святягя столпы восточныя церкви. От нихъ же рек . . . мы вси напояхомся, сущіи zde на стране

северной прилежающей къ востокомъ, имущи въ ней всякъ доволъ изъобиль во всѣмъ къ насыщенію душамъ нашимъ . . . от нея [i.e., the water] еюже омываемся и крещеніемъ святымъ очищаемся. И освещаемся и просвещаемся . . . Еяже воды еще измлада суще обыкохомъ пити во вся дни живота нашего, и мы и отцы наши и отцы отцовъ нашихъ, даже и до днешнего дня. А прочихъ иныхъ водъ не обыкохомъ вкушати сумнящся к ней, яко противна суть естествомъ нашимъ. Сего ради молимъ тя о владико ону воду первую, пошли намъ четвероструйныхъ сихъ быстрынь” (*MUH*, vol. 9–10, pp. 21–22), in part quoted by Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism*, pp. 203–204 from *Arkhiv IuZR*, vol. 7, pt. 1, pp. 219–20.

³² “Нѣсть бо разньствія о Христе грекомъ и рымлянномъ, и намъ сущимъ російскимъ славяномъ, вси едино тожъ суть. В немъ же кто званъ бысть, в томъ да пребываетъ, каждо во своемъ чыну, всимъ же намъ начатокъ Христосъ” (*MUH*, pp. 9–10, p. 12). Elsewhere harmony is argued on the basis of a common fallen state: “Нѣсть бо разньства, вси бо согрѣшаемъ и лишаемся славы Божья” (*ibid.*, p. 17).

³³ “Мы бо вси вѣруемъ и исповѣдуемъ быти тебѣ всенасвятѣйшаго пастыра и вселенскаго всеначалиѣйшаго, старѣйшину всимъ сущимъ священнымъ отцемъ, и православнымъ патриархомъ верховнаго праотца, и подкланяемъ главы наша со всякимъ послушаніемъ благовоннымъ, не от нужда, ни от скорби, но от вѣры” (*MUH*, vol. 9–10, p. 13).

³⁴ “Тако вѣруемъ, тако исповѣдуемъ . . . Духа же святаго равна купно исходяща от Отца прежде, таже и Сына единомъ духовеніемъ . . .” (*MUH*, vol. 9–10, p. 18). About Florence, pp. 15, 19, 27.

³⁵ *MUH*, vol. 9–10, p. 19.

³⁶ Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism*, p. 206.

³⁷ The letter filled sixty-two pages in the Vatican Library manuscript, BAV, Vat. Slav. 12 fols. 23^r–54^v; *MUH*, vol. 9–10, p. 5.

³⁸ *PSRL*, vol. 24, p. 195; vol. 6, p. 233. In Constantinople in the 1460s and 1470s the pattern of contention and payment for patriarchal enthronement became firmly established. Bidding wars among rival Greek candidates escalated the amount of the fee. Raphael, of Serbian origin, upped the ante by volunteering an *annual* payment of two thousand gold pieces. The metropolitan of Herakleia (Thrace), traditionally responsible for ordaining or consecrating newly appointed patriarchs of Constantinople, declined to install Raphael, who in the end was consecrated by the metropolitan of Ankyra (mod. Ankara). However, many Greek bishops did not acknowledge him as patriarch, and misgivings concerning the lawfulness of his accession to the throne persisted. Raphael also encountered difficulty in meeting payments to the sultan, who solved the problem by deposing Raphael after a one-year incumbency. Concerning the instability in the patriarchate from the mid-1460s to the mid-1480s and the circumstances surrounding Raphael’s enthronement, see *Turco-*

graecia, pp. 24–25, 33–34, 124–38; cf. Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, pp. 193–95.

³⁹ See the episcopal oath in use under Metropolitan Simeon of Moscow (1495–1511) in which the ordinand disavows Isidore, Gregory, and “Spiridon, called Satan, who solicited ordination in Constantinople, in the region of the godless Turks from the pagan emperor [sultan] . . . and any other metropolitan after him who happens to be ordained by the Latin[s] or in the region of the Turkish [sultan],” *Russkii feodal'nyi arkhiv*, vol. 3, no. 38, p. 690. It seems that Spiridon was being rejected as a Turkish agent. About Spiridon, see Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i Tserkov'*, vol. 1, pp. 229–44; Hrushevskiy, vol. 5, pp. 410–11; and Makarii, vol. 9, pp. 63–68.

⁴⁰ There remains the case of a Metropolitan Galaktion, nominated after Mysail's death by Patriarch Maximos III (1476–82) but not accepted by King Kazimierz, who, in turn, put forth Symeon, a candidate apparently selected by the Ruthenian synod. Concerning the ephemeral Galaktion, absent from most lists of Kyivan metropolitans, see Buchynskiy, “Studii z istorii tserkovnoi unii,” 90 (1909): 22; Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, p. 106.

⁴¹ Given the paucity of sources for this period, the dates are approximate; see Blażejowskyj, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church*, pp. 180–81. A recent survey provides brief compendia on Kyivan metropolitans from 1458 to 1596. See Vasyľ Iryrnarkhovych Ul'ianovskiy, *Istoriia tserkvy ta relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini. U tr'okh knyzhakh*, vol. 1, *Seredyna XV—kinets' XVI stolittia*. (Kyiv, 1994), pp. 43–78. The confirmation of Symeon by Patriarch Maximos III is mentioned by Zakhariia Kopystenskyi in his *Palinodiia*; see *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednošci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, intro. by Omeljan Pritsak and Bohdan Struminsky (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp. 515–16 [=HLEUL, Texts, 3]. For the text and discussion of the synod's letter requesting patriarchal confirmation of Iona, see Varvara Pavlovna Peretts, “Chelobitnaia o blagoslovenii na Kievskuiu i vseia Rusi mitropoliuu arkhiepiskopa Polotskogo Iony Glezny,” *Universitetskie izvestiia* (Kyiv) 44 (1904) 10: 1–6. The evidence for Makarii's election by synod is circumstantial, rather than direct. For Patriarch Nephon's confirmation of Makarii issued in response to a request from the metropolitan and from Grand Duke Aleksander delivered to Constantinople by a monk named Dionysii, see *Russkii feodal'nyi arkhiv*, vol. 3, no. 20, pp. 633–35. Iosyf was appointed by Aleksander, *Suprasl'skaia rukopis' soderzhashchaia Novgorodskuiu i Kievskuiu sokrashchennye letopisi*, ed. Mikhail Andreevich Obolenskii (Moscow, 1836), p. 146; see, Hrushevskiy, vol. 5, pp. 411–14; Chodynicky, *Kościół*, pp. 68–72.

⁴² *Suprasl'skaia rukopis'*, pp. 142–43. Constantinopolitan dissatisfaction with the manner in which Makarii was seated, although not explicit in the patriarch's letter of confirmation, can be inferred from the emphatic “joy” expressed at the request for confirmation which should precede every installation of a metropolitan.

⁴³ See *Suprasl'skaia rukopis'*, pp. 141–43. Even if the specifics of the incident as reported in the chronicle are not necessarily reliable, the report faithfully reflects a contemporary Ruthenian sense of ecclesiastical responsibility to Constantinople; see Chodynicki, *Kościół*, p. 70.

⁴⁴ See Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism*, pp. 210–11. Patriarchal recognition of nominees was becoming virtually automatic in this period, see Patrylo, *Archiepiscopi-Metropolitani Kievo-Halicienses*, pp. 32–33. The examples of Mysail, who as metropolitan-elect wrote to Rome in the name of the Ruthenian Church, and of Makarii and, later, Iosyf Bolharynovych, who performed juridical acts before receiving patriarchal confirmation (Bohdan Buchynskyi, “Zmahannia do unii ruskoï tserkvy z Rymom v rokakh 1498–1506,” *Zapysky Ukraïns'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva v Kyïvi [sic]* [1909], bk. 4, p. 114; bk. 6, p. 8) indicate that Constantinopolitan sanction of elected or nominated metropolitans was taken for granted; cited after Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism*, p. 222n238.

⁴⁵ Makarii, vol. 9, pp. 69–70. Boris Nikolaevich Floria informs me that the authenticity of Maximos' letter in its extant redaction is questionable.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of the complex ecclesiastical-political relationships at the beginning of the sixteenth century involving Lithuania, the Kyivan metropolitanate, Muscovy, Constantinople, and Rome, see Buchynskyi, “Zmahannia do unii,” bk. 4, pp. 100–36; bk. 5, pp. 61–87; bk. 6, pp. 5–53, and Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, pp. 108–122.

⁴⁷ The evidence for Iosyf's letter is Niphon's response, the authenticity of which has been questioned; e. g., Buchynskyi, “Hramota Misaiïla' i 'hramota Nifonta',” pp. 39–44. For references to other opinions, see Chodynicki, *Kościół*, p. 71n4, and Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism*, pp. 210–11, 213n. Niphon's letter, dated 5 April 1498, encourages Iosyf to pursue union, but to preserve all Eastern traditions, citing the example of Greeks in Venetian-controlled territories. Niphon's response, the original of which is lost, was first published in Polish translation by Krevza, *Obrona jedności cerkiewney* (Vilnius, 1617), pp. 91–93 [see facsimile reprint in HLEUL, Texts, 3] and in Polish and Latin translation in a supplemented collection of Ipatii's works, *Prawa y Przywileie od Naiasniejszych Królów Ich Mościów Polskich y W. X. L. nadane Obywatelom Korony Polskiej, y Wielkiego X. L. Religiey Greckiey, w Jedności z Ś. Kościołem Rzymskim będącym* (Vilnius, 1632), pp. 16–17. For the Latin text, see *MUH* vol. 1, no. 7, pp. 6–7, where there is reference to the original letter in Greek that was available to Krevza in the archives of the Monastery of the Holy Trinity in Vilnius; for a Russian translation, see Makarii, vol. 9, pp. 91–93.

⁴⁸ *Suprasl'skaia rukopis'*, p. 146.

⁴⁹ *Suprasl'skaia rukopis'*, p. 147; see also Ciro Giannelli, “À propos de la confirmation du métropolitain de Kiev Joseph Bolharynovych par le patriarche oecuménique Joachim I,” *OCF* 9 (1943): 450–59. The Church Slavonic ver-

sion of Joachim's document of confirmation (dated 1 September 1499) is published in *Russkii feodal'nyi arkhiv*, vol. 3, no. 21, pp. 636–38.

⁵⁰ Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, p. 112. Halecki argues that “the policies of the Patriarchate were . . . dictated by reasons of expediency: under Turkish rule no contact with the Holy See was possible, but Eastern Churches in free Catholic countries could make an agreement with the First Rome without necessarily breaking with the Second one which continued to exist as [a] religious center under the Mohammedan Sultans, though in very precarious conditions.”

⁵¹ *PSRL*, vol. 8, pp. 238–39. Buchyn'skyi argues that, up to this point, Aleksander had not tried to force his wife to convert to Catholicism as one Shestakov, a Muscovite agent at the court of the Lithuanian grand duke, maintained in his report to Ivan III; see “Zmahannia do unii,” pp. 84–85.

⁵² For general data on Muscovy in this period, including its conflicts with Poland and Lithuania and the defection of nobility from Poland and Lithuania, see Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Zimin, *Rossiiia na poroge novogo vremeni. (Ocherki politicheskoi istorii Rossii pervoi tretii XVI v.)* (Moscow, 1972); also Oswald P. Backus, *Motives of West Russian Nobles in Deserting Lithuania for Moscow, 1377–1514* (Lawrence, Kans., 1957).

⁵³ The prescript was framed as a general confirmation of a putative eleventh-century document issued by Grand Prince Iaroslav, which had been presented to the grand duke: *AZR*, vol. 1, no. 166, pp. 189–92. About the late (fifteenth-century?) origin of the *svytok* of Iaroslav, see Makarii, vol. 9, p. 127; cf. Buchyn'skyi, “Zmahannia do unii,” bk. 5, pp. 70–72.

⁵⁴ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, vol. 2, no. 296, pp. 267–68. Regarding Iosyf's letter and the mission to Rome, see Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism*, pp. 207–26; 252–70. Mončak proposes that Ciołek in fact subverted the mission by cautioning the pope concerning the unreliability of the Ruthenians' adherence to a Catholic faith; *ibid.*, pp. 213–14, 262.

⁵⁵ About Ciołek and his role in mitigating any enthusiasm in Rome for direct papal contacts with the Ruthenians (without Polish intermediaries), see Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism*, pp. 212–15, and Petro B. T. Bilaniuk, *The Fifth Lateran Council (1512–1517) and the Eastern Churches* (Toronto, 1975), pp. 33–34.

⁵⁶ *Documenta Pontificum*, vol. 1, no. 102, pp. 175–78; no. 104, pp. 180–82. For a discussion of Pope Alexander VI's response to Iosyf's initiative, particularly to these two letters, see *Florentine Ecumenism*, pp. 252–70. By pointing out textual similarities, Mončak develops the thesis, first proposed indirectly by Józef Tretiak, *Piotr Skarga w dziejach i literaturze unii brzeskiej* (Cracow, 1912), pp. 21–22, that the pope was influenced by the *Elucidarius* in formulating his responses, *Florentine Ecumenism*, pp. 255–56, 260, 263, 265–66.

⁵⁷ “Curandum nobis est, ne ecclesie congregatio constupretur dogmatum varietate . . . Consultum tunc magis . . . ovile sanum et immaculatum, prout tenuimus, custodire, quam labe aliqua heresis aut alio morbo infidelitatis pollutas oves admittendo incolumitatem ovilis nostri corrumpere,” *Documenta Pontificum*, vol. 1, no. 102, p. 176.

⁵⁸ For a list of papally appointed patriarchs and vicars of Constantinople, see Appendix 4 and *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, s.v. “Constantinople. Église catholique,” vol. 13, p. 746.

⁵⁹ “. . . nec possumus eidem tanquam Metropolitano de huiusmodi petitionibus morem gerere, nisi provisionem de Metropoli predicta, renuntiatio per eum provisioni vel perfectioni, quam aliunde habuisset a nobis et sede apostolica acceperit” (*Documenta Pontificum*, p. 177); see also no. 104, p. 180.

⁶⁰ *Documenta Pontificum*, vol. 1, no. 105, p. 182–83.

⁶¹ *Documenta Pontificum*, vol. 1, no. 106, pp. 183–85 (cited phrase on p. 184) and no. 107, pp. 185–86 (8 June 1501); no. 109, pp. 188–89 (26 November 1501).

⁶² In fact in the first letter to Grand Duke Aleksander the pope expresses disillusion with the Florentine model of “reduction” to union: “. . . huiusmodi reductio iuxta diffinitionem predicti concilii Florentini sepius tentata, et . . . interrupta extitit . . .” (*Documenta Pontificum*, vol. 1, no. 104, p. 180).

⁶³ Throughout the better part of the sixteenth century the papacy considered the Florentine model of ecclesiastical unity viable for Eastern Christians in Italy. Successive popes sought to protect the rights of Eastern Christians from abuses of Latin clergy. As late as July 1562, Pius IV issued a papal brief to the Greek bishop Timotheos of Grevena (within the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Ohrid; today located in Greece), later apparently metropolitan of Agrigento, guaranteeing the concessions, immunities, and liberties granted by Popes Leo X (1513–21), Paul III (1534–49), Julius III (1550–55), and “other papal predecessors” to Greek and Albanian hierarchs; see Vittorio Peri, “I metropolitani orientali di Agrigento,” *Bisanzio e l'Italia. Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi* (Milan, 1982), pp. 274–321; text of the brief, p. 319. The sixteenth-century fate of the Florentine tradition in Italian lands is outlined by Peri, “L’unione della Chiesa orientale con Roma.”

⁶⁴ *Documenta Pontificum*, vol. 1, no. 114, pp. 201–204; for the earlier decree, see above, pp. 24 and 296n62.

⁶⁵ Although there is no reference to Ruthenians or to the Ruthenian Church, Mončak considers that this bull embraces those preserving Florentine union in the Kyivan metropolitanate, *Florentine Ecumenism*, p. 294.

⁶⁶ For Slutskiy’s letter and Clement’s response, see *MUH*, vol. 1, no. 8, pp. 7–8 (15 January 1529); *Documenta Pontificum*, vol. 1, no. 117, pp. 208–10 (27 November 1531).

⁶⁷ This point is argued convincingly by Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism*, pp. 226–308.

⁶⁸ Sacranus (the name is derived from a Latinized version of his birthplace, Oświęcim) studied in Cracow (1459–69) and in Italy (1470–75), mostly in Rome. When he returned to Cracow, he taught at the Faculty of Arts in the academy and was twice dean before moving permanently to the Faculty of Theology. About Sacranus, see “Jan z Oświęcimia (1443–1527),” article by Hieronim Eugeniusz Wyczawski, *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich* (Warsaw, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 142–43; *Polski słownik biograficzny*, “Jan z Oświęcimia,” article by Henryk Barycz, vol. 10, pp. 467–68.

⁶⁹ *Elucidarius errorum ritus Ruthenici* (n.p., n.d.) The *Elucidarius* was reprinted several times in the sixteenth century. It was republished in 1507 or 1508 as *Errores atrocissimorum Ruthenorum* (n.p., n.d.); see Buchynskyi, “Zmahannia do uniï,” bk. 6, p. 51. The list of errors in the *Elucidarius* was substantially reproduced by the Polish primate, Archbishop of Gniezno Jan Łaski (or by someone in his suite), in a memorandum on the errors of the Ruthenians intended for, but probably never submitted to, the Fifth Lateran Council; published by Aleksandr Ivanovich Turgenev, *Historica Russiae Monumenta*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1841), pp. 123–27. Bilaniuk devotes considerable space to the discussion of Łaski’s report, including commentary on each of the listed errors. He provides an English translation of Łaski’s text and compares the original Latin with the *Elucidarius*; see his *Fifth Lateran Council (1512–517) and the Eastern Churches*, pp. 87–154. See also Jan Krajcar, “A Report on the Ruthenians and Their Errors, Prepared for the Fifth Lateran Council,” *OCP* 29 (1963): 79–94. The list of errors along with other sections of the *Elucidarius* were published again by Jan Łasicki, *De Russorum, Moscovitarum, et Tartarorum religione, sacrificiis, nuptiarum, funerum ritu e diversis scriptoribus* (Spira, 1582), pp. 184–219; see Eugeniusz Jarra, “Twórczość prawna duchowieństwa polskiego (966–1800),” *Sacrum Poloniae Millennium*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1954), p. 281n1. The *Elucidarius* was reproduced in Alexander Gwagnin, *Rerum Polonicarum tomi tres* (Frankfurt, 1584); cited in *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, vol. 2, p. 143 (here the *post quem* date of the *Errores atrocissimorum* edition is given as 1527). For discussions of the contents and impact of the *Elucidarius*, see Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism*, pp. 235–82.

⁷⁰ “. . . Alberto dei gratia Episcopo Vilneñ . . . , qui in Lithuania Vilneñ. sedi vigilantissime presidens, tumultuante turba Ruthenorum, tue Romaneeque ecclesie infensissimorum hostium circumseptus, velud agnus inter rapaces lupos, a viris doctis salutare semper presidium queris et expectas. Qui . . . hortatus es me, . . . ut in scripturis Canonicis et sacre Theologie Magistrorum determinationibus requirerem quid de abusu ritus Ruthenorum et eorum erroribus iure foret sciendum; quorundam audacia provocatus, qui (abs tua exempti obedientia) liberali voce in patulo concionantes, in urbe et loco sedis tue Catholicarum et Ruthenici ritus plebium astante corona Ritum et Sacramenta eorum esse vera atque legitima asseverare ausi essent in

confirmationem immo verius pertinacem obstinationem eorum in errore et destationem ritus Romane Ecclesie scandalum denique iacturamque communem fidei orthodoxe,” quoted after Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism*, pp. 236–37; translation modified from that in his appendix, p. 345.

⁷¹ Mončak argues perceptively that the more favorable view of the Greeks reveals that the work was written, not to draw a readership in Poland and Lithuania away from a Greek orientation, but rather to demonstrate to an audience familiar with the Greeks that the Ruthenians compared negatively with them, and therefore could not be part of the Roman communion. Such an audience could be found in Rome; see *Florentine Ecumenism*, pp. 239–41, 245–46.

⁷² Krajcar, “A Report of the Ruthenians,” p. 91.

⁷³ Concerning the views among the Latin clergy in Poland and Lithuania that Ruthenians converting to the Roman Church or entering into Roman obedience should be rebaptized, see Albert M. Ammann, “Zur Geschichte der Geltung der Florentiner Konzilsentscheidungen in Polen-Lithauen. Der Streit über die Gültigkeit der ‘Griechentaufe,’” *OCP* 8 (1942): 289–316; Lewicki, “Unia florencka w Polsce,” p. 236.

⁷⁴ Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism*, p. 219.

⁷⁵ About the theme of the Council of Florence in the polemical literature at the end of the sixteenth century, see Aleksander Brückner, “Spory o unię w dawnej literaturze,” *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 10 (1896): 578–644; see also B. Waczyński, “Nachklänge der Florentiner Union in der polemischer Literatur zur Zeit der Wiedervereinigung der Ruthenen,” *OCP* 4 (1938): 441–72. Concerning late-sixteenth-century Ruthenian use of Muscovite sources in the composition of a polemical history of the union, see Bohdan Buchyns’kyi, “Slidy velykorus’kykh literaturnykh tvoriv pro f’lorentiis’ku uniu ta uriadovoho aktu moskovs’koho pravytel’sтва v ‘Istorii f’lorentiis’koho soboru’ 1598 roku,” *ZNTSh* 115 (1913): 23–28.

Notes to Chapter 4

¹ Concerning the genesis of the Lithuanian state, its thirteenth-century structure, social composition, and economic life, see Henryk Łowmiański, *Studia nad początkami społeczeństwa i państwa litewskiego*, 2 vols. (Vilnius, 1931–32) and Lev Okinshevich, *The Law of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: Background and Bibliography* (New York, 1953). About the early history of the Lithuanian state and the pressure of the Teutonic Order, see Łowmiański’s studies reprinted in *Prusy–Litwa–Krzyżacy* ed. Marcei Kosman (Warsaw, 1989), including his “Agresja zakonu krzyżackiego na Litwę w wiekach XII–XV,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 45 (1954): 338–71; and “Początki i rola polityczna zakonów rycerskich nad Bałtykiem w wieku XIII i XIV,” in *Polska w okresie rozdrobienia feudalnego* (Wrocław, 1973), pp. 233–95. The last two are also reprinted in his *Studia nad dziejami Słowiańszczyzny, Polski i Rusi w wiekach*

średnich (Poznań, 1986), pp. 499–582 [=Seria Historia. Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, 113]. Concerning the annexation of Rus' lands by Poland and Lithuania, the decline of Rus' institutions in Ukraine and Belarus', and Polish and Lithuanian administration of the Ruthenian lands up to the beginning of the sixteenth century, see Hrushevskyi, vol. 4, pp. 3–337. For a general discussion of the unions between Poland and Lithuania, see Oskar [Oscar] Halecki, *Dzieje unii jagiellońskiej*, 2 vols. (Cracow, 1919–20); Juliusz Bardach, "L'Union de Lublin. Ses origines et son rôle historique." *Acta Poloniae Historica* 21 (1970): 69–92; Harry E. Dembowski, *The Union of Lublin: Polish Federalism in the Golden Age* (Boulder, Colo., 1982) [=East European Monographs, 116]. Concerning the Union of Lublin and contemporary Ruthenian society, see Hrushevskyi, vol. 4, pp. 386–423; Jaroslaw Pelenski, "The Incorporation of the Ukrainian Lands of Old Rus' into Crown Poland (1569). (Socio-Material Interest and Ideology—A Reexamination)," *American Contributions to the Seventh International Congress of Slavists, Warsaw, August 21–27, 1973*, vol. 3, *History*, ed. Anna Cienciala (Paris, 1973), pp. 19–52 (with extensive bibliography of earlier literature); Oskar [Oscar] Halecki, *Przylączenie Podlasia, Wołynia i Kijowszczyzny do Korony w roku 1569* (Cracow, 1915). See also Boris Nikolaevich Floria, *Rusko-pol'skie otnošeniia i političeskoe razvitie Vostochnoi Evropy vo vtoroi polovine XVI-nachale XVII v.* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 11–31. Frank E. Sysyn discusses a number of central questions concerning the late-sixteenth-century Ruthenian elite in the context of political and cultural developments in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth after the Union of Lublin, "The Problem of Nobilities in the Ukrainian Past: The Polish Period, 1569–1648," *Rethinking Ukrainian History*, ed. Ivan L. Rudnytsky (Edmonton, 1981), pp. 29–102. See also the introductory chapter in his *Between Poland and the Ukraine: The Dilemma of Adam Kysil, 1600–1653* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985). A major contribution to the understanding of the formation of a Ukrainian nobility in the late medieval and early-modern period is Natalia Mykolaïvna Iakovenko, *Ukraïns'ka shliakhta z kintsia XIV do seredyny XVII st.—Volyn' i tsentral'na Ukraïna*. Kyïv, 1993. (See its review by Frank Sysyn in the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 21[1–2] 1996: 274–80.) For a discussion of the conversion of Ruthenian families to Roman Catholicism, see P. Viktorovskii, *Zapadno-russkie dvoriainskie familii, otpavshie ot pravoslaviia v kontse XVI i v XVII vv.* (Kyïv, 1912); reprinted from *TKDA* 1908–1911. Following Antoine Martel, *La langue polonaise dans les pays ruthenes—Ukraine et Russie Blanche, 1569–1667* (Lille, 1938), p. 289 [=Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille. Nouvelle Serie: Droit et Lettre, 20], Henryk Litwin asserts that conversion to Catholicism was a result, not a cause, of social and cultural Polonization. The Polonization processes in the sixteenth century affected primarily the magnates; most of the Ruthenian middle nobility maintained its cultural and religious allegiances through the middle of the seventeenth century. See his "Catholicization among the Ruthenian Nobility and Assimilation Processes in the Ukraine during the Years 1569–1648," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 55 (1987): 57–83. Concerning the demand of Ukrainian nobility that the Ruthenian language be used in official

documents, see Władysław Semkowicz, “Po wcieleniu Wołynia. (Nielegalny zjazd w Łucku 1569 i sprawa językowa na Wołyniu),” *Ateneum Wileńskie* 2, no. 5–6 (1924): 183–90. In his doctoral dissertation, Litwin argues that the Union of Lublin in itself did not precipitate Polish colonization of Ukraine. Rather, planned colonization began in the 1580s and 1590s, spurred by economic processes and the administrative needs of Ruthenian magnates in Volhynia, “Napływ szlachty polskiej na Ukrainę w latach 1569–1648,” Ph.D. dissertation, Warsaw, Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences (Warsaw, 1987).

² See Mikhail Flegontovich Vladimirskii-Budanov’s introduction to the documents concerning sixteenth-century ecclesiastical benefices in Ukraine, “Tserkovnye imushchestva v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii XVI veka,” *Arkhiv IuZR*, vol. 4, pt. 8 (Kyiv, 1907), pp. 3–224; cf. Kazimierz Chodynicki, “T.z. prawo ‘podawania’ w Cerkwi prawosławnej na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej w XV i XVI w.,” *Sprawozdania Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk* 5 (1931): 44–49. Chodynicki argues that the terms “podawanie, podawca” do not reflect the strictly canonical sense of the Latin terms “*ius collationis*, *collator*” which referred to the granting of ecclesiastical office by proper ecclesiastical authority. Rather, the term came to designate secular patronage over ecclesiastical offices, and was used with this connotation in the royal documents issued to appointees to offices in the Orthodox Church (see *ibid.*, p. 45). The most recent study of civil patronage over the Ruthenian Church presented in a broad comparative context can be found in Boris Nikolaevich Floria, *Otnosheniia gosudarstva i tserkvi u vostochnykh i zapadnykh slavian. (Épokha srednevekov’ia)* (Moscow, 1992).

³ Wacław Zajkin [Viacheslav Zaikyn], *Zarys dziejów ustroju Kościoła wschodnio-słowiańskiego*, pt. 1, *Podział na okresy* (L’viv, 1939), p. 74 [=Archiwum Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie, sec. 2, vol. 24, bk. 1].

⁴ This argument was put forth by Vladimirskii-Budanov, “Tserkovnye imushchestva,” and following him, by Chodynicki; see, for example, “Geneza równouprawnienia schyzmatyków w W. Ks. Litewskim. Stosunek Zygmunta Augusta do wyznania grecko-wschodniego,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 22 (1919–20): 68–69. Floria argues that the abuses in the sixteenth century that increasingly characterized appointment to ecclesiastical office by civil authorities was a function of the decline of governmental institutions in Poland and Lithuania (see his *Otnosheniia gosudarstva*).

⁵ About the military conflict in the 1560s between the two rivals, Ivan Borzobohatyi-Krasenskyi and Feodosii Lazovskyyi, for the Volodymyr and Brest bishopric, see *Arkhiv IuZR*, vol. 1, pt. 1, nos. 4–6, pp. 7–17; Dmitrii Levitskii, “Izvlacheniiia iz dokumentov, otnosiashchikhsia ko vremeni episkopov Vladimiro-Volynskikh Ioanna Borzobogatogo-Krasenskogo i Feodosiia Lazovskogo (1563–1565 g.),” *Volynskiiie eparkhial’nye vedomosti. Neofitsial’naia chast’* 1872 (6): 195–204; 1872 (7): 232–41.

⁶ Orest Ivanovich Levitskii [Levytskyi], “Iuzhno-russkie arkhieri XVI i XVII st.,” *Kievskaiia starina* 1(1) 1882: 49–100 (consists mainly of a negative

portrait of Kyryll [Terlets'kyi], bishop of Luts'k): G. Markevych, "Vybornoe nachalo v dukhovenstve v Drevnerusskoi, preimushchestvenno iugo-zapadnoi tserkvi do reformy Petra I," *TKDA* 1871 (8): 225–73; 1871 (9): 484–550; Antonii Stepanovych Petrushevykh, "O sposobi izbraniia y postavlenniia iepyskopa," *Bohoslovs'kyi vistnyk* (L'viv, 1900), pt. 3, pp. 9–17 (155–65); Fedor [Khvedir] Titov, "Postavlenie vo d'iakona i sviashchennika i izbranie episkopa v drevnei Zapadno-Russkoi tserkvi, ili Kievskoi mitropolii," *TKDA* 1902 (5): 134–45. For a portrait of a sixteenth-century Ruthenian clergyman-bishop, see Evgenii Shpakovskii, "Meletii Khrebtovich-Litavorovich Bogurinskii, arkhimandrit Kievo-Pecherskoi lavry, Vladimirskaia i Brestskaia episkop (XVI veka)," *TKDA* 1875 (8): 169–206; 1875 (9): 436–62; 1875 (10): 108–23. For a discussion of the sixteenth-century bishops of Kholm, see Venedikt Mikhailovich Ploshchanskii, *Proshloe Kholmsskoi Rusi po arkhivnym dokumentam XV–XVIII v. i drugim istochnikam. Dukhovenstvo*, vol. 1 (Vilnius, 1899), pp. 102–206.

⁷ For a succinct discussion of the sixteenth-century Ruthenian priesthood and parish organization (including parish size, number of parishes in a given area, and economic life), see Bienkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego," pp. 813–28. See also Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, "Storinka do istorii sil'skoho dukhovenstva (po sambirskym aktam XVI v.," *ZNTSh* 34 (1900): 1–82, and his *Istoriia*, vol. 5, pp. 261–87, 502–504; as well as Antonii Stepanovych Petrushevykh, "O sposobi izbraniia i postavlenniia v d'iakons'kyi i sviashchenyehes'kyi chyn iz myrs'kykh lyts' v XVI stolitii na Iuzhnoi Rusi," *Bohoslovs'kyi vistnyk*, pt. 2 (L'viv, 1900), pp. 1–8 (81–88). For a discussion of the low level of education throughout the sixteenth century in the Kholm diocese, see Ploshchanskii, *Proshloe Kholmsskoi Rusi*, vol. 1, pp. 10 ff. Concerning patterns of landholding by lower clergy in the pre-Brest period, see Isydor Sharanevych's posthumously compiled and chaotic, but informative, *Cherty iz istorii tserkovnykh benefitsii mirskogo dukhovenstva v Galitskoi Rusi* (L'viv, 1897), pp. 48–89. Ploshchanskii enumerates the occasions and amounts of royal levies from Orthodox clergy in times of national emergency (*ibid.*, p. 34). For comments on late-sixteenth-century Ruthenian preaching, see Iwan Korowicki [Ivan Korovytskyi], "Stan kaznodziejstwa prawoslawnego na przelomie ww. XVI–XVII w państwie litewsko-polskim," *Elpis* 9 (1935): 241–80.

⁸ Zajkin, *Zarys dziejów*, p. 74. See also Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Papkov, *Drevnerusskii prikhod, kratkii ocherk tserkovno-prikhodskoi zhizni v vostochnoi Rossii do XVIII veka i v zapadnoi Rossii do XVII veka* (Sergiev Posad, 1897); cf. Oleksander Lotots'kyi, "Suspil'ne stanovyshche biloho dukhovenstva (svits'koho) na Ukraïni i Rosii v XVIII v.," *ZNTSh* 21 (1898): 1–46. About Ruthenian cathedral chapters, see Lotots'kyi's "Soborni krylosy na Ukraïni i Bilii Rusy v XV–XVI vikakh," *ZNTSh* 9 (1896): 1–34.

⁹ Orest Levytskyi analyzes the state of the Ruthenian Church at the end of the sixteenth century in his "Vnutrishnii stan zakhidno-ruskoï tserkvy v Pol'sko-Lytovskii derzhavi v kintsi XVI st. ta Unii," in *Rozvidky pro tserkovni vidnosyny na Ukraïni-Rusy* (L'viv, 1900), pp. 1–80 [=Rus'ka

istorychna biblioteka, 8]; originally published in Russian as part of the introduction to *Arkhiv IuZR*, vol. 6, pt. 1 (Kyiv, 1893). Consult also the surveys in Makarii, vol. 9; Chodynicky, *Kościół*; Ivan Vlasov'skyi, *Narys istorii Ukraïns'koï pravoslavnoi tserkvy*, 4 vols. in 5 books, vol. 1: 988–1596 (New York, 1955); Athanasius H. Velykyi's popular radio lectures which include extensive quotations from documentary materials, *Z litopysu Khrystyians'koï Ukraïny*, vol. 3: XIV–XV–XVI st. (Rome, 1969). See also Hryhor Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukraïns'ka Tserkva mizh Skhodom a Zakhodom* (Philadelphia, 1954). For a brief, but well-informed, synchronic presentation of the Ruthenian ecclesiastical structure in the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, see Waclaw Zajkin [Viacheslav Zaïkyn], "Ustrój wewnętrzny Kościoła ruskiego w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XV–XVI w., do unii lubelskiej," *Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie* 10(3) 1930: 132–37.

¹⁰ *PSRL*, vol. 26, pp. 274–75; vol. 6, p. 234; vol. 20, p. 349; cf. Jaroslaw Pelenski, "The Sack of Kiev of 1482 in Contemporary Muscovite Chronicle Writing," *HUS* 3–4 (1979–80): 638–49; cf. his "The Origins of the Official Muscovite Claims to the 'Kievan Inheritance,'" *HUS* 1(1) 1977: 29–52; and "The Emergence of the Muscovite Claims to the Byzantine-Kievan 'Imperial Inheritance,'" *HUS* 7(3/4) (1983): 520–31.

¹¹ *Suprasl'skaia rukopis'*, p. 145; Makarii, vol. 9, pp. 83–84.

¹² "... który [kościół grecki, nazwany z grecka *Sophiae*] teraz, ach niestetyż, jest nietyło przez bydło, szkapy, psy a świnie barłogi sprofanowany, wespokę i z ozdobą kościelną niepomału naruszony, która od dżdżów niszczeje przez złe pobicie, ale i na poły przez zły dozór mitropolitów kijowskich, a przez oziębłość panów greckich, temi czasy począł się nabardziej walić"; see the 1595 report of Józef Wereszczyński, Roman Catholic bishop of Kyiv, "Sposób osady nowego Kijowa . . ." in *Pisma polityczne ks. Józefa Wereszczyńskiego, biskupa kijowskiego, opata benedyktyńskiego w Sieciechowie*, ed. Kazimierz J. Turowski (Cracow, 1858), p. 37 [=Biblioteka polska, 124–26]. Cf. the description of St. Sophia, the Caves Monastery, and ruins in Kyiv made in his diary by Erich Lassota von Steblau, the Habsburg emissary to the Zaporozhian Host, who spent 7–9 May 1594 in Kyiv, *Tagebuch des Erich Lassota von Steblau*, ed., annot., and introd. Reinhold Schottin (Halle, 1866), pp. 203–206; for English translation, see *Habsburgs and Zaporozhian Cossacks: The Diary of Erich Lassota von Steblau 1594*, ed. and intro. Lubomyr R. Wynar, trans. Orest Subtelny (Littleton, Colo., 1975), pp. 74–78.

¹³ About patriarchal influence in Ruthenian ecclesiastical matters in the sixteenth century and particularly regarding the question of the selection of metropolitans, see Hrushev'skyi, vol. 5, pp. 412–22; Chodynicky, *Kościół*, pp. 120–27. For a detailed discussion of the relationship between the Ruthenian Church and the Polish and Lithuanian states, see Chodynicky, *Kościół*, especially pp. 76–172. The development of civil legislation regarding the Ruthenian Church and its faithful is surveyed by Vasilii A. Bednov [Vasyl' O. Bidnov], *Pravoslavnaia tserkov' v Pol'she i Litve po "Volumina legum"* (Ekaterinoslav, 1908).

¹⁴ Sopiha, who had personally recognized papal supremacy and had gone to Rome with the delegation that took Metropolitan Iosyf's letter to the pope, had in 1501 received from Pope Alexander VI permission to construct a church on his lands that would be used by both Latins and Eastern Christians in union with Rome, *Documenta Pontificum*, vol. 1, no. 103, pp. 178–79.

¹⁵ *Suprasl'skaia rukopis'*, p. 146; Hrushevs'kyi, vol. 5, pp. 413–14.

¹⁶ Krevza, according to whom union of the Ruthenian Church with Rome was in effect “beginning with Gregory Tsamblak . . . up to Iosyf Soltan,” states that “the schism began to advance with the arrival of Queen Elena of Moscow, who brought clergy with her from Moscow and helped them become superiors in our parts. Iona first became archimandrite of the monastery in Mensk newly founded by her, then he became metropolitan” (*Obrona iedności*, p. 90). Concerning sources for the dates of the metropolitanates of Iona II and his sixteenth-century successors, see Blažejowskyj, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church*, pp. 177–85. In some cases Blažejowskyj's dating is revised.

¹⁷ For Iona's letter of confirmation, see *Russkii feodal'nyi arkhiv*, vol. 3, no. 22, pp. 638–39. The letter exhorts the Ruthenian hierarchy to lead its faithful away from “латынских челоуеков” (*Akty, izdavaemye Vilenskoiu Komissieiu, vysochaishe uchrezhdennoiu dlia razbora drevnikh aktov v Vil'ne*, vol. 1, no. 10, p. 39; Makarii, vol. 9, p. 166n159). Already in January 1507 the Lithuanian council addressed a letter to Metropolitan Iosyf, *AZR*, vol. 2, no. 10, p. 7. There is no indication that he ever had any relations with Rome during his tenure; see Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, p. 111.

¹⁸ Makarii, vol. 9, pp. 209–210.

¹⁹ For the text of the charter and discussion, see Makarii, vol. 9, pp. 234–36.

²⁰ Hrushevs'kyi, vol. 5, p. 415.

²¹ About Syl'vestr (Biłkevych), see Makarii, vol. 9, pp. 329–36; Chodynicki, *Kościół*, pp. 127–28. Evgenii (Bolkhovitinov), referring to an unnamed document, indicates that Zygmunt II August, king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania, sent his representative to Constantinople requesting the patriarch's blessing for Syl'vestr's ordination, *Opisanie Kievosofijskogo sobora i kievskoi ierarkhii* (Kyiv, 1825), p. 118.

²² See Stanisław Kot, “La reforme dans le Grand Duché de Lithuanie,” *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 12 (1952), p. 211 [=Pagkarpeia. *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*].

²³ For references to literature on the Reformation in Poland and Lithuania, see p. 329n2. Hrushevs'kyi provides a list of Protestant congregations in Ukraine, *Istoriia*, vol. 5, pp. 624–28.

²⁴ See the letter of Zygmunt II, in which the king refers to the “efforts” of the metropolitan to convene a synod, in *Arkheograficheskii sbornik dokumentov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Severo-Zapadnoi Rusi*, vol. 9, no. 21, p. 5.

²⁵ *AZR*, vol. 3, no. 71, pp. 196–97.

²⁶ *AZR*, vol. 3, no. 80, p. 208; quoted in Hrushevs'kyi, vol. 5, pp. 416–17.

²⁷ Besides the metropolitan, the bishops of Volodymyr and Brest, Smolensk, Luts'k and Ostrih, Polatsk and Vitsebsk, Turaŭ and Pinsk, Peremyshl', and Kholm participated (*RIB*, vol. 4, cols. 5–18; Makarii, vol. 9, pp. 166–76). Mončak states that “in the desperate decisions of the Synod of Vilno, there was a complete lack of reference to the Patriarchate of Constantinople” (*Florentine Ecumenism*, p. 287). However, in condemning widowed priests who kept mistresses, the synod in fact invoked the discipline that the “Ecumenical Great Constantinopolitan Church preserves.”

²⁸ *AZR*, vol. 2, no. 65, pp. 81–83.

²⁹ Makarii, vol. 9, pp. 176–77, 309–310, 334–35; Aleksei Ivanovich Pokrovskii, “O soborakh Iugo-Zapadnoi Rusi XV–XVII vekov,” *Bogoslovskii vestnik* 1906 (9): 108–51.

³⁰ *AZR*, vol. 2, no. 15, pp. 67–68.

³¹ *AZR*, vol. 2, no. 15, pp. 67–68. For Hedeon's transgressions against monasteries and persons, see the discussion in chapter 9, pp. 146–47.

³² Chodyncki, *Kościół*, p. 92.

³³ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, vol. 1, no. 319, pp. 578–80.

³⁴ See Albert M. Ammann, *Abriss der ostslavischen Kirchengeschichte* (Vienna, 1950), pp. 106–110; Ivan Rudovych, *Korotka istoria Halys'ko-L'vivs'koï ieparkhii. Na osnovi hrets'kykh zherel i inshykh noviishykh pôdruchnykhôv* (Zhovkva, 1902), pp. 18–26. The vicar was settled in Krylos before 1413 possibly to avoid any competition that he may create for the Catholic archbishop who did not actually transfer residence from Halych to L'viv until 1414. There is little extant evidence about the activity of the fifteenth-century *namistnyky*.

³⁵ Zygmunt's privilege was granted “. . . [ut] ipsi Schismatici tanto facilius ad Religionem Christianam adducantur, et alliciantur, saltem in eorum erroribus emendantur,” quoted by Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism*, p. 276; for the decree, see Michael Harasiewicz de Neustern, *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae* (L'viv, 1862), pp. 93–94; cf. Chodyncki, *Kościół*, pp. 131–34. On 16 January 1458, half a year before Pius II divided the Kyivan metropolitanate, his predecessor Callistus III had nominated a bishop for the vacant diocese of Halych, *Documenta Pontificum*, vol. 1, nos. 78–79, pp. 138–40. However, the candidate, Makarios, a unionist monk from the monastery of St. Cyprian in Constantinople, did not reach his see; he never made it past the Hungarian Kingdom in his journey to Galicia (Myron Stasiw, *Metropolia Haliciensis [Eius historia et iuridica forma]*, 2nd ed. [Rome, 1960], p. 44 [=AOSBM, ser. 2, sec.1, 12]). For references to the fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century administrators of the Halych (L'viv) diocese, see Blažejowskyj, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church (861–1990)*, pp. 106–107, 186–89; Stasiw, *Metropolia Haliciensis*, pp. 39–49.

³⁶ Hrushevs'kyi, vol. 5, pp. 434–41. Tuchaps'kyi was ordained the following year: see his pre-ordination oath of obedience to Metropolitan Makarii given in Navahrudak, in the presence of the bishops Symeon of Polatsk, Vitsebsk, and Mstsislaŭ, Hennadii of Volodymyr and Brest, Arsenii of Luts'k and Ostrih, Vasiian of Turaŭ and Pinsk, Arsenii of Przemyśl and Sambir, Ivan of Kholm and Belz, and representatives of the nobility, *AZR*, vol. 2, no. 221, pp. 364–65. Tuchaps'kyi promised half of his income to the metropolitan. For an account of the effort of the Ruthenian burghers of L'viv, see *ibid.*, p. 359. For Zymunt's confirmation, dated 31 March 1540, see *Arkhiv IuZR*, vol. 10, pt. 1, no. 11, p. 21.

³⁷ Izydor Szaraniewicz [Izydor Sharanevych], *Rzut oka na beneficja Kościoła ruskiego za czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej pod względem historii, a przede wszystkim o stosunku świeckiego duchowieństwa w Galicji do ziemi w tym okresie* (L'viv, 1875), pp. 26–28, 32–35.

³⁸ Hrushevs'kyi, vol. 5, pp. 441–42.

³⁹ *MUH*, vol. 1, no. 9, p. 9; quoted by Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism*, p. 277.

⁴⁰ See the discussion below in chapter 6.

⁴¹ Harasiewicz, *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae*, pp. 61, 63. In the second case the religious discrimination on the part of the civil authorities could not have been more explicit: “justum arbitrati sumus, publica bona et quacumque Deo consecrata, templis Ruthenicis et monasteriis attributa, s. Romanae Ecclesiae catholicae ejusque sacerdotibus et templis omnia conferri . . .” quoted by Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism*, p. 281. See also Batory's rescript of 11 April 1584 granting the income from Ruthenian monasteries and churches to the Polatsk Jesuits, *AZR*, vol. 3, no. 143, pp. 284–86.

⁴² Szaraniewicz, *Rzut oka*, p. 27.

⁴³ “Ex Medika. Przemisliam Wladislaus Rex, habens in suo comitatu Strigoniensem archiepiscopum et Michaellem Kochmeister, processit, et sub eorum conspectu infamiae suae notam, iniuste sibi ab Almannis, quasi schismaticorum fautor et praecipuus receptator foret, iniustam purgaturus, ecclesiam cathedralem pulcherrimo opere ex petra quadrata fabricatam, in Przemisliensis castris medio sitam, ritu Graeco hactenus per pontificem Ruthenorum administrari et officari solitam, eiectis et extumulatis primum Ruthenorum cadaveribus et cineribus, consecrari in catholicam et Latini ritus ecclesiam ordinavit: quod ad singularem sui ritus contumeliam et opprobrium Ruthenorum sacerdotes et populus deputantes, amarum singultibus, vociferatione et fletibus eam prosequabantur. Qua progressu temporis, sub anno videlicet Domini Millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo, sub pontificatu Nicolai Przemisliensis episcopi, ruinata, singuli eius quadri lapides in fabricam cathedralis ecclesiae in civitate sitae, conversi positique sunt.” Recorded by the Polish historian Jan Długosz (1415–80), *Historiae Polonicae libri XII*, s. a. 1412, see *Joannis Dlugossii Senioris Canonici Cracoviensis Opera Omnia*, vol. 4 (Cracow, 1869), pp. 148–49.

⁴⁴ Chodynicki, *Kościół*, pp. 79–81, 93–94.

⁴⁵ Concerning the process of transformation of a Rus' boyar elite into a Ruthenian-Ukrainian nobility, see Iakovenko, *Ukrains'ka shliakhta*. For a discussion of the legal restrictions placed on Ruthenians in Poland and Lithuania, see Chodynicky, *Kościół*, pp. 76–107; also his “Geneza równouprawnienia,” pp. 54–135, especially pp. 113–35; cf. the review of this article by Oskar [Oscar] Halecki, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 25 (1921): 138–42. See also Bednov, *Pravoslavnaiia tserkov' v Pol'she i Litve*, and Wiktor Czermak, “Sprawa równouprawnienia schizmatyków i katolików na Litwie (1432–1563),” *Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie* 44 (1903): 348–405.

⁴⁶ Aleksander Łapiński, *Zygmunt Stary a Kościół prawosławny* (Warsaw, 1937), pp. 164–65 [=Rozprawy Historyczne Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego, vol. 19, fasc. 1]; Chodynicky provides a list of “schismatics” who attained high office in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, “Geneza równouprawnienia,” p. 135.

⁴⁷ For the decrees of 1572, 1574, and 1577, see *Mon. Confr.*, vol. 1, nos. 53, 54, pp. 57–64; nos. 56, 57, pp. 66–69; no. 60, pp. 72–73. In 1578 and 1580 Batory issued additional prescripts guaranteeing the privileges granted by his predecessors (*ibid.*, no. 63, 64, pp. 76–83). The rights enumerated in the royal charters are a good indication of the kinds of inequities suffered by the Ruthenians.

⁴⁸ For a discussion of the second-class status of Ruthenian burghers in L'viv and Kam'ianets', see Hrushevs'kyi, vol. 5, pp. 240–49; Chodynicky, *Kościół*, pp. 96–103. Cf. Ivan Kryp'iakevych, “L'vivs'ka Rus' v pershii polovyni XVI v.,” *ZNTSh* 77 (1907, bk. 3): 77–106; 78 (1907, bk. 4): 26–50; 79 (1907, bk. 5): 5–51.

⁴⁹ Described by Sribnyi, “Studii,” 115: 69–71.

⁵⁰ Chodynicky, “Geneza równouprawnienia,” pp. 128–31. See also Jan Ptaśnik, “Walka o demokratyzację Lwowa od XVI w. do XVIII w.” *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 39(2) 1925: 228–57.

⁵¹ See the report of Nuncio Alberto Bolognetti made from Vilnius on 7 December, *MPV*, vol. 6, p. 692.

⁵² See Chodynicky, *Kościół*, pp. 90–92. For a general discussion of urban life, see Jan Ptaśnik, *Miasta i mieszczaństwo w dawnej Polsce*, 2nd ed. (Warsaw, 1949).

⁵³ Cf. p. 307n3 above. Halecki believed (*From Florence to Brest*, pp. 123–24) that, although the 1443 decree originally referred only to dioceses under the Polish Crown, it eventually did have an effect in the Grand Duchy. Concerning the early-sixteenth-century situation under Aleksander, king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania, Halecki writes: “But all of the dioceses in the Eastern rite of both Jagellonian States, now again under one ruler, were under the Metropolitan of Kyiv, and it is impossible to discover any difference in their attitude towards the problem of reunion with Rome.” For Halecki, Władysław III's privileges acted as a “bill of rights for all followers of the Eastern rite in

the whole Polish-Lithuanian federation . . . in the course of the sixteenth century.” This hypothesis has no documentary support.

⁵⁴ In Red Ruthenia upon the death of an Orthodox priest the *starosta* (the keeper of the local castle or stronghold who had certain judicial and tax-collecting responsibilities) would often confiscate the estate of the deceased, according to a sort of *ius spoli*. Although this practice was forbidden earlier, a decree of Zygmunt August in 1553 against this custom indicates that it continued; Chodynicki, “Geneza równouprawnienia,” pp. 88–91; *Kościół*, pp. 156–58, 375–76.

⁵⁵ “. . . бовем на он час разность веры не чинила наймнейшой розности приятелской, для чого самого тамтот век золотым ми се видел от нинейшого веку, кгде юж и межи одной веры людьми облуда все аступила, а покготовю межи розными веры ани се пытай о милость, щирость и правдиве добре заховане, а навенцей межи свецкими станы. Помню бовем и недавно прешлых часов, когды дисейший папеж Клеменс еще кардиналом был у короля его милости Стефана в Вилне, сиделем у столу кнезя Балтромея Недызвицкого, каноника веленского, з преднейшими слугами (влохами) его, тые же се кгде довели, жем евангелик, дивовались барзо, яко ме смел кнезь каноник на обед свой звывати, а кгде им он преложил, же в нас з того жадна ненависть не быва и милуемосе яко з добрыми приятылы, хвалили то влохи, мовечи, же ту Бог живе; а ганили свои домовы права а роднини неснаски. О Бог бы то дал, абы и тераз ласкаваше веки наступить могли . . .” Ievlashevskyi was born into a petty noble Orthodox family near Navahrudak in western Belarus'. In 1566 he converted to Calvinism which he espoused to his death, although hardly in a dogmatic manner. He continued to have close ties with Catholics as well as Orthodox. His spouse was Orthodox, and there were apparently both Catholics and Antitrinitarians among their fourteen children. After his father was widowed, Ievlashevskyi assisted him in obtaining a nomination to the Pinsk Orthodox bishopric, to which he was ordained by Metropolitan Iona Protasevych on 15 January 1573. See “The Memoirs of Theodore Jeŭšaŭeŭski, Assessor of Navahrudak (1546–1604),” trans., annot. with introd. Alexander Nadson, in *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies* 1(4) 1968: 269–348. For the text and translation, here modified, of the quoted passage, see pp. 284–85.

⁵⁶ Admittedly there is very little documentary material for such analyses. Nevertheless, much insight into popular religion could be gained from a close study of sixteenth-century liturgical manuscripts and especially iconography, which in many ways is stunningly expressive. See for example the reproductions in Hryhorii Nykonovych Lohvyn et al., comp., *Ukrains'kyi seredn'ovichnyi zhyvopys* (Kyiv, 1976); Volodymyr Ovsiihuk, *Ukrains'ke mal'iarstvo X–XVIII stolit'. Problemy kol'oru* (L'viv, 1996); Iakym Prokhorovych Zapasko, *Pam'iatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva. Ukrains'ka rukopysna knyha* (L'viv, 1995); Given that the focus of this study is on the relationship between the Kyivan metropolitanate and the patriarchate of

Constantinople, which occurred mainly on a clerical level, the present section has emphasized the circumstances of the Ruthenian institutional Church. A detailed discussion of attitudinal positions and popular religion, although clearly not irrelevant, would require a separate monograph.

Notes to Chapter 5

¹ In a review of Chodynicki's *Kościół*, in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 48 (1934): 923–36; here p. 933, Wacław Zajkin [Viacheslav Zaïkyn] argued that the state of the Ruthenian clergy in the sixteenth century was not nearly as bad as historians using the polemical literature of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century have depicted it. According to Zajkin, polemical authors supported their arguments by citing shocking examples of clerical wantonness that were most likely exceptions rather than a reflection of the general situation. Demoralization in the Ruthenian Orthodox community, in fact, was not so general.

² For a survey of the recent historiography on early-modern ecclesiastical life in Poland and Lithuania, see Jerzy Kłoczowski, “Catholic Reform in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Poland, Lithuania, the Ukraine, Belarus),” *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guidebook to Research*, ed. John W. O’Malley (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1988), pp. 83–111 [=Reformation Guides to Research, 2]. Surprisingly, there has been little synthesizing work in Polish religious-history writing. For general discussions of Catholic and Protestant religious life in sixteenth-century Poland and Lithuania, see Ambroise Jobert, *De Luther à Mohila. La Pologne dans la crise de la chrétienté 1517–1648* (Paris, 1974), pp. 11–320 [=Collection Historique de l’Institut d’Études Slaves, 21]. Janusz Tazbir, *Historia kościoła katolickiego w Polsce—1460–1795* (Warsaw, 1966); Jerzy Kłoczowski, ed. *Chrześcijaństwo w Polsce* (Lublin, 1980) (with a bibliographical essay); expanded Italian version, *Storia del Cristianesimo in Polonia* (Bologna, 1980), pp. 175–218; further revised and supplemented French version, *Histoire religieuse de la Pologne* (Paris, 1987), pp. 173–220. Kłoczowski’s popular, richly illustrated *Dzieje chrześcijaństwa polskiego*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1987), is a new attempt at a synthesis, and, unlike the previous survey, devotes attention to Eastern Christian communities in Poland. The older study by Karl Völker, *Kirchengeschichte Polens* (Berlin, 1930) is out of date. For comments on placing Ukrainian-Belarusian ecclesiastical life in a broader context of European religious developments, see Borys A. Gudziak, “Zakhidna istoriografiiia i Beresteis’ka uniiia,” *Bohosloviia* 54 (1990): 123–36; and three articles by Mikhaïl Vladimirovich Dmitriev, “Religiozno-kul’turnaia i sotsial’naia programma greko-katolicheskoi tserkvi v Rechi Pospolitoi v kontse XVI–pervoi polovine XVII v.,” in *Slaviane i ikh sosedi*, vol. 3. *Katolitsizm i pravoslavie v srednie veka*, ed. Boris Nikolaevich Floria et al. (Moscow, 1991), pp. 76–95; and idem, “Tsentrobezhnye i tsentrostremitel’nye tendentsii v razvitii evropejskoho khristianstva v XVI–XVII vv.” and “Izmeneniia v ideinoi i

kuł'turnoi zhizni Rechi Pospolitoi v èpokhu Reformatsii i pravoslavnoe obshchestvo," in Mikhail V. Dmitriev, Boris N. Floria, Sergei G. Iakovenko. *Brestskaia uniia 1596 g. i obshchestvenno-politicheskaia bor'ba na Ukraine i v Belorusii v kontse XVI–nachale XVII v. Chast' I. Brestskaia uniia 1596 g. Istoricheskie prichiny* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 15–32 and 42–60, respectively.

³ There is no comprehensive treatment of the Reformation in the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania. For outlines or partial coverage of sixteenth-century developments, see Jobert, *De Luther à Mohila*; Janusz Tazbir, *Reformacja w Polsce* (Warsaw, 1991); idem, "Społeczeństwo wobec Reformacji," in *Polska w epoce Odrodzenia—państwo, społeczeństwo, kultura*, ed. Andrzej Wyczański (Warsaw, 1970), pp. 197–223, with bibliography on pp. 312–13; George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Kirksville, Mo., 1992), pp. 609–35, 991–1061, 1135–75; idem, "Protestants in the Ukraine," *HUS* 2(1) 1978: 41–72; 2(2) 1978: 184–210; Oskar Bartel, "Reformacja w Polsce 1518–1556," *Rocznik Teologiczny* 8 (1966): 13–45; Oskar Bartel and Janusz Narzyński, appendix (with references to the literature) to the Polish translation of Franz Lau, *Marcin Luter* (Warsaw, 1966), pp. 107–201 (only about Lutheranism); Antanas Musteikis, *The Reformation in Lithuania: Religious Fluctuations in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1988); Zenonas Ivinskis, "Die Entwicklung der Reformation in Litauen bis zum Erscheinen der Jesuiten (1569)," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 12 (1967): 7–45; Marceli Kosman, *Reformacja i kontrreformacja w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w swietle propagandy wyznaniowej* (Wrocław, 1973) (source for 1569 Catholic-Protestant statistics, p. 48; it is sparse on developments in the Ukrainian lands before the Union of Lublin); Stanisław Kot, "La réforme dans le Grand Duché de Lithuanie. Facteur d'occidentalization culturelle," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 12 (1953): 201–61; idem, *Socinianism in Poland: The Social and Political Ideas of the Polish Antitrinitarians in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. Earl Morse Wilbur (Boston, 1957). See also the journals *Reformacja w Polsce*, 12 vols. (1921–1956), and its successor *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* (1956–). The recent study by Mikhail Vladimirovich Dmitriev includes abundant references to previous literature about sixteenth-century Reformational movements in Ukraine and Belarus', *Pravoslavie i reformatsiia. Reformatsionnye dvizheniia v vostochnoslavianskikh zemliakh Rechi Pospolitoi vo vtoroi polovine XVI v.* (Moscow, 1990); see my review in the *Russian Review* 51 (1992): 584–85.

⁴ The new creed served in essence as a doctrinal manual for the resurgent Church. It had some thirty editions and was translated into Polish, German, French, Italian, English, Flemish, Czech, Arabic, and Armenian; see Stanisław Litak, "Le temps des Réformes et des luttes religieuses (XVI^e siècle–milieu du XVII^e)," in *Histoire religieuse de la Pologne*, p. 195.

⁵ Zahorovskiy's testament is published in *Arkhib IuZR*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 67–94. Cf. Mykhailo Vozniak, *Istoriia ukrains'koï literatury*, 3 vols. (L'viv, 1920–24), vol. 2, pp. 30–33.

⁶ See the literature mentioned above, p. 329n2–3. Recent historiography on new Catholic religious orders is surveyed in *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation*, ed. Richard L. DeMolen (New York, 1994).

⁷ For discussions of tolerance in early-modern Poland, see Ambroise Jobert, “La tolerance religieuse en Pologne au XVI^e siècle,” in *Studi in onore di Ettore Lo Gatto e Giovanni Maver* (Florence, 1962), pp. 337–43 [=Collana “Ricerche slavistiche,” 1]; Janusz Tazbir, *Państwo bez stosów. Szkice z dziejów tolerancji w Polsce XVI–XVII wieku* (Warsaw, 1967); Wiktor Weintraub, “Tolerancja i nietolerancja w dawnej Polsce,” *Twórczość* 28 (1972): 72–88. See also Mikhail Vladimirovich Dmitriev, “Kharakter pervykh kontaktov pravoslavnoho i katolicheskoho obshchestva v èpokhu Kontr-reformatsii,” in Mikhail V. Dmitriev, Boris N. Floria, Sergei G. Iakovenko. *Brestskaia uniia 1596 g. i obshchestvenno-politicheskaiia bor'ba na Ukraine i v Belorusii v kontse XVI–nachale XVII v. Chast' I. Brestskaia uniia 1596 g. Istoricheskie prichiny* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 61–84.

⁸ For the original Polish and Ruthenian (from a 1588 edition) texts drafted by the Confederation, see *Konfederacja warszawska 1573 roku—wielka karta polskiej tolerancji*, ed. Mirosław Korolko [Myroslav Korol'ko] and Janusz Tazbir (Warsaw, 1980); the quoted phrase is on p. 27. Concerning subsequent debate about and compliance with the principles of the Confederation, see Mirosław Korolko, *Klejnot swobodnego sumienia. Polemika wokół konfederacji warszawskiej w latach 1573–1658* (Warsaw, 1974).

⁹ The revival in the 1570s of union ideas and projects on the part of the papacy is a broad subject. Many details have been gathered in the literature about the Union of Brest. A long article by Ivan Choma (Khoma) discusses various facets of this aspect of the pre-history of Brest; see “Kyïvs'ka Mytropoliiia naperedodni Berestia,” *Bohosloviia* 40 (1976): 5–75; republished in his *Kyïvs'ka Mytropoliiia v Beresteis'komu periodi* (Rome, 1979). Concerning the late-sixteenth-century evolution of Roman concepts of union, see Vittorio Peri, “I precedenti storici ed ecclesiologici dell'unione di Brest,” in *Il battesimo delle terre russe. Bilancio di un millennio*, ed. Sante Graciotti (Florence, 1991), pp. 323–33 [=Civiltà Veneziana. *Studi*, 43]; reprinted in Vittorio Peri, *Lo scambio fraterno tra le Chiese. Componenti storiche della comunione* (Vatican City, 1993), pp. 395–404 [=Storia e attualità, 13]. For an expanded Ukrainian-language version of this article followed by discussion, see Vittorio Peri, “Beresteis'ka uniia v rym'skomu bachenni,” in Borys Gudziak, ed. and Oleh Turii, co-ed., *Istorychnyi kontekst, ukladennia Beresteis'koï unii ta pershe pouniine pokolinnia. Materialy Pershykh “Beresteis'kykh chytan'.” L'viv, Ivano-Frankivs'k, Kyïv, 1–6 zhovtnia 1994 r.* (L'viv, 1995), pp. 7–25 (with discussion, pp. 25–38).

¹⁰ Concerning the late-sixteenth-century activity of Jesuits in East Slavic lands, see Jan Krajcar, “Jesuits and the Genesis of the Union of Brest,” *OCF* 44 (1978): 131–53; Oleksander Sushko, “Iezuïty v zavedenii Unii na Rusy v doberesteis'kii dobi,” in *Al'manakh rus'ko-ukraïns'kykh bohosloviv*, ed.

Oleksander Sushko (L'viv, 1902), pp. 117–95 (also issued as a separate off-print); Stanisław Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, vol. 1 (L'viv, 1900); A. Dem'ianovich, "Iezuity v zapadnoi Rossii, 1569–1772 gg." *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia* 1871 (8): 181–236; 1871 (9): 1–46; 1871 (10): 250–79; 1871 (11): 40–86; 1871 (12): 181–231; Walter Delius, *Antonio Possevino SJ und Ivan Groznyi. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Union und der Gegenreformation des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1962) [=Beiheft zum Jahrbuch *Kirche im Osten*, 3]; Stanislas Polčín, *Une tentative d'Union au XVI-e siècle. La Mission religieuse du Père Antoine Possevin, S.J. en Moscovie (1581–1582)* (Rome, 1957) [=Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 150].

¹¹ Oleksander Sushko, "Predtecha tserkovnoï unii 1596 r. Benedykt Herbest," *ZNTSh* 53 (1903): 1–71; 55 (1903): 72–125; 61 (1904): 126–77 (discusses Herbest's activities before he became a Jesuit); cf. Kazimierz Mazurkiewicz, *Benedykt Herbest, pedagog-organizator szkoły polskiej XVI w., kaznodziejamijsjonarz doby reformacji* (Poznań, 1925). Herbest's tracts have been republished. For the text of "Wypisanie drogi," see *Pam'iatky polemichnoho pys'menstva*, ed. Kyrylo Studyns'kyi, vol. 1 (L'viv, 1906), pp. 1–12 [=Pam'iatky ukraińsko-rus'koï movy i literatury, 5]; for the text of "Wiary Kościoła Rzymskiego wywody y Greckiego niewolstwa Historia," see *RIB*, vol. 7, cols. 613–32 (the erroneous pagination indicates 581–600). The conclusion of the latter reads as follows: "Bog Żydy gdy w łasce karał, dawał im proroki; teraz iż w gniewie są Bożym, prorokow nie mają. Takżeć też Grekom, y Rusi naszey przy nich, Bog wszystko odiał. Nie mają ani pamięci, aby umieć Oycze nasz y Wieru w Boha; ani rozumu, aby zbawienne rzeczy baczyć; ani woli dobrej, żeby dobrze żyć. Z strony też sakramentow, dziełek małych dusze zabijają, nie mają biskupiego bierzmowania, ani wiedzą, co to jest porządne rozgrzeszenie, przy Ciele Pańskim dopuszczają się bałwochwalstwa, y małżeństwiewch dopuszczają iawnego cudzołóstwa, character co to jest, ani pytay, etc. Panie Boże! racz się zmiłować y odiać wodze ślepe. Amen" (ibid., col. 597).

¹² About Skarga, see Janusz Tazbir, *Piotr Skarga—szermierz kontrreformacji* (Warsaw, 1983); August Berga, *Un prédicateur de la cour de la Pologne sous Sigismond III. Pierre Skarga (1536–1612). Étude sur la Pologne du XVIe siècle et le protestantisme polonais* (Paris, 1916); Józef Tretiak, *Piotr Skarga w dziejach i literaturze unii brzeskiej* (Cracow, 1912); M. J. A. Rychcicki [pseud. for Maurycy Dzieduszycki], *Piotr Skarga i jego wiek*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Cracow, 1868–69).

¹³ See Jan Krajcar, "Konstantine Basil Ostrozkij and Rome in 1582–1584," *OCP* 35 (1969): 193–214; idem, "Jesuits and the Genesis of the Union of Brest."

¹⁴ *O iedności Kościoła Bożego pod iednym Pasterzem. Y o Greckim od tey iedności odstąpieniu. Z przestroga y upominanim do narodow Ruskich, przy Grekach stojących: Rzecz krotka, na trzy części rozdzielona, teraz prez*

k[siedza] Piotra Skargę, zebrania Pana Iezusowego, wydana (Vilnius, 1577). The text, including the variants and additions of the second (1590) edition, was reprinted in *Pamiętniki polemickiej literatury w zachodniej Rusi*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1882), cols. 223–580 [=RIB, 7]. A recent cursory comparison of the two editions can be found in Stanisław Obirek, “Teologiczne podstawy pojęcia jedności w dziele ks. Piotra Skargi *O jedności Kościoła Bożego*,” in *Unia brzeska—geneza, dzieje i konsekwencje w kulturze narodów słowiańskich*, ed. Ryszard Łużny, Franciszek Ziejka, and Andrej Kępiński (Cracow, 1994), pp. 183–99.

¹⁵ See the presentation of Skarga’s attitudes in Mikhail Vladimirovich Dmitriev, “Kontseptsii unii v tserkovnykh i derzhavnykh kolakh Rechi Pospolytoi kintsia XVI st.,” in Gudziak, ed. and Turii, co-ed., *Istorychnyi kontekst*, pp. 39–73 (with discussion, pp. 74–100).

¹⁶ Many insightful comments on the Ruthenian or Middle Ukrainian-Belarusian language in the sixteenth and seventeenth century were presented in Antoine Martel, *La langue polonaise dans les pays ruthènes: Ukraine et Russie Blanche 1569–1667* (Lille, 1933), especially in the chapter “La langue des écrivains ruthènes,” pp. 67–160. Martel (pp. 76–79, 89–97) views the preference for Church Slavonic and the rejection of the Ruthenian vernacular as a fatal error for the Ruthenians, leading to the predominance of Polish. Lately the Ruthenian-language question has attracted considerable interdisciplinary attention. Some of the recent historical and philological discussions on various aspects of the Ruthenian language in the early-modern period are Omeljan Pritsak, “A Historical Perspective on the Ukrainian Language Question,” *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, vol. 2, *East Slavic*, ed. Riccardo Picchio and Harvey Goldblatt (New Haven, 1984), pp. 1–8; Bohdan Struminsky, “The Language Question in the Ukrainian Lands before the Nineteenth Century,” *ibid.*, pp. 9–47; George Y. Shevelov, “Ukrainian,” *The Slavic Literary Languages: Formation and Development*, ed. Alexander M. Schenker, Edward Stankiewicz, and Micaela S. Iovine (New Haven, 1980), pp. 143–60; republished in *Rethinking Ukrainian History*, ed. Ivan L. Rudnytsky (Edmonton, 1981), pp. 216–31, but originally published in French, “L’ukrainien littéraire,” *Revue des études slaves* 33 (1956): 68–93; reprinted in George Y. Shevelov, *Teasers and Appeasers: Essays and Studies on Themes of Slavic Philology* (Munich, 1971), pp. 245–60; Arnold McMillin, “Belorussian,” *The Slavic Literary Languages: Formation and Development*, pp. 105–17; David A. Frick, “Meletij Smotryčkyi and the Ruthenian Language Question,” *HUS* 9(1/2) 1985: 25–52; *idem*, “Meletij Smotryčkyi and the Ruthenian Language Question in the Early Seventeenth Century,” *HUS* 8(3/4) 1984: 351–75; Harvey Goldblatt, “On the Language Beliefs of Ivan Vyšenskyj and the Counter-Reformation,” *HUS* 15(1/2) 1991: 7–34. For a survey of late-medieval and early-modern philology in Ukraine, see Vasyl’ Vasylovych Nimchuk, *Movoznavstvo na Ukraïni v XIV–XVII st.* (Kyiv, 1985). For an overview of the discussion in Soviet scholarship on early-modern language development, see the general comments in Iaroslav Dmytrovych

Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna Ivana Fedorova* (L'viv: Vyscha shkola, 1989), pp. 15–17. For a history of sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Polish Bible translations, including a discussion of contemporary Polish attitudes to Sacred Scripture and the vernacular, see David A. Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology in the Reformation* (Berkeley, 1989) [=University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 123].

¹⁷ The translation of this passage is provided by David A. Frick, “Meletij Smotryckyj and the Ruthenian Language Question,” pp. 29–30; the original Polish can be found in *Pamiatniki polemicheskoi literatury v zapadnoi Rusi*, vol. 2, cols. 485–86.

¹⁸ These are discussed in a recently published study; see Dmitriev, *Pravoslavie i reformatsiia*.

¹⁹ Concerning this lack of creativity or responsiveness of Ruthenian culture (“distinct pause in the development of Ukrainian literature”) from the end of the thirteenth to the end of the sixteenth centuries, see Dmytro Čyževskyj, *A History of Ukrainian Literature (From the 11th to the End of the 19th Century)*, trans. Dolly Ferguson, Doreen Gorsline, and Ulana Petyk, ed. George S. Luckyj (Littleton, Colo., 1975), pp. 226–35. For an attempt to understand the Orthodox Slavic “literary doctrine” and to explain the resulting “limited range of innovative trends” in Rus’ literature, see Riccardo Picchio, “The Impact of Ecclesiastical Culture on Old Russian Literary Techniques,” *Medieval Russian Culture*, ed. Henrik Birnbaum and Michael S. Flier (Berkeley, 1984), pp. 247–79. Georges Florovsky attributes the “intellectual silence” of Rus’ culture after the initial stage to the fact that “the Byzantine achievement had been accepted, but Byzantine inquisitiveness had not. For that reason the achievement could not be kept alive.” See his “The Problem of Old Russian Culture,” in *The Development of the USSR: An Exchange of Views*, ed. Donald Treadgold (Seattle, 1964), pp. 125–39; quote from p. 138.

²⁰ The discussion in the following paragraphs owes much to the lectures of John W. O’Malley on Western medieval and early-modern church history. The relevant ideas are presented in synoptic form in a number of insightful essays. Drawing on Erwin Panofsky, Crane Brinton, Ian Barbour, and Thomas Kuhn, and on the discussion spurred by their work, O’Malley presents the eleventh-century Gregorian Reform and the sixteenth-century Lutheran Reform (viewed as prototypical of other Protestant Reformations) as “reformations” or “self-consciously induced change in ecclesiastical life or consciousness that is based on principles that tend to dislodge old ones,” thereby involving a shift in the “frame of reference,” “universe of discourse,” or “paradigm.” See his “Developments, Reforms, and Two Great Reformations: Towards a Historical Assessment of Vatican II,” *Theological Studies* 44 (1983): 373–406; also “Reform, Historical Consciousness, and Vatican II’s Aggiornamento,” *Theological Studies* 32 (1971): 573–601; “Catholic Reform,” in *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research*, ed. Steven Ozment (St. Louis, 1982), pp. 297–319 [=Reformation Guides to Research, 1]; and “Was Ignatius of Loyola a Church Reformer? How

to Look at Early Modern Catholicism,” *Catholic Historical Review* 77 (1991): 177–93. Cf. the somewhat problematic study of William K. Medlin, “Cultural Crisis in Orthodox Rus’ in the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries as a Problem of Socio-Cultural Change,” in Andre Blane, ed., *The Religious World of Russian Culture*, vol. 2 (The Hague, 1975), pp. 173–88.

²¹ O’Malley, “Developments, Reforms, and Two Great Reformations,” p. 477.

²² *Pamiatniki polemicheskoi literatury v zapadnoi Rusi*, vol. 2, col. 529.

Notes to Chapter 6

¹ For general comments concerning seventeenth-century travelers to Muscovy who remained there for extended periods of time, see Nikolai Fedorovich Kapterev, *Kharakter otnosheniia Rossii k pravoslavnomu Vostoku v XVI i XVII stoletiiakh*, 2nd ed. (Sergiev Posad, 1914; reprint, The Hague, 1968), pp. 146–221 [=Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, 107].

² Joan M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986), p. 33 [=Oxford History of the Christian Church].

³ See the early-fifteenth-century complaint of the Ruthenian bishops concerning the exaction of “silver and gold” for the nomination of a metropolitan, quoted above, Introduction, pp. 5–6.

⁴ See the letter from Patriarch Matthaios I (1397–1410) to Metropolitan Kyprian, *Acta Patriarchatus*, vol. 2, pp. 359–61; reprinted with a Russian translation in *RIB*, vol. 6, Appendix, no. 46, cols. 311–16.

⁵ For a discussion of the *grecheskie posol'skie knigi*, see Borys A. Gudziak, “The Sixteenth-Century Muscovite Church and Patriarch Jeremiah II’s Journey to Muscovy 1588–1589: Some Comments Concerning the Historiography and Sources,” in *HUS* 19 (1995): 200–220.

⁶ Concerning the pattern of travel and reception of Greeks in Muscovy in the seventeenth century, see Kapterev, *Kharakter otnosheniia*, pp. 105–46.

⁷ For a general survey of the relations between Mount Athos and Russia, see Igor Smolitsch, “Le Mont Athos et la Russie,” *Le millénaire du Mont Athos 963–1963. Études et mélanges*, vol. 1 (Chevetogne, 1963), pp. 279–318. For an annotated enumeration of the *protoi* of the Holy Mountain (887–1593), see Jean Darrouzès, “Liste des prôtes de l’Athos,” *ibid.*, pp. 407–47. Volume 2 contains an indexed bibliography of some two thousand and six hundred publications concerning Mount Athos, pp. 337–495.

⁸ Possibly the result of an earlier trip that might be identified with the embassy from Mount Athos. Two monks from the St. Panteleimon Monastery requesting alms came to Moscow in November 1507 and departed in May 1508 (*PSRL*, vol. 8, p. 247).

⁹ [Andrei Nikolaevich Murav'ev], *Snosheniia Rossii s Vostokom po delam tserkovnym*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1858), pp. 12–24, provides extracts from the petitions as well as from Vasilii's responses. Vasilii sent two hundred sables and five thousand squirrels to both the St. Panteleimon Monastery and the protos of Mount Athos (for all of the other monasteries); a hundred and sixty sables and four thousand squirrels to Angelina; a hundred and twenty sables, three thousand squirrels, a silver dipper, and three *grivnias* in weight to the metropolitan; and forty sables and three hundred squirrels to the Holy Transfiguration Monastery (*ibid.*, p. 20).

¹⁰ *PSRL*, vol. 13, p. 28; *Snosheniia*, pp. 24–26; Nina Vasil'evna Sinitsyna, *Maksim Grek v Rossii* (Moscow, 1977), p. 61. Concerning the petition of the St. Panteleimon Monastery, see *Snosheniia*, p. 29–31.

¹¹ Maksim Grek, *Sochineniia*, vol. 3 (Kazan', 1862), p. 141. Concerning Maksim's journey to Muscovy and possible reasons for his sojourn in Crimea, see Jack V. Haney, *From Italy to Muscovy: The Life and Works of Maxim the Greek* (Munich, 1973), pp. 32–36. For a discussion of Michael Trivolis' activity in Italy and the identification of Trivolis with Maksim Grek, see Élie Denisoff, *Maxime le Grec et l'occident* (Paris, 1943). For surveys of Maksim's life and literary activity in Muscovy, see Vladimir Stepanovich Ikonnikov, *Maksim Grek i ego vremia*, 2nd ed. (Kyiv, 1915); and Sinitsyna, *Maksim Grek v Rossii*. The most comprehensive listing of Maksim's literary heritage is Aleksei Ivanovich Ivanov, *Literaturnoe nasledie Maksima Greka. Kharakteristika, atributsii, bibliografiia* (Leningrad, 1969).

¹² *Snosheniia*, pp. 33–37.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 39–42.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁵ Concerning the patriarchal petitions to Ivan IV on Maksim's behalf, see Sinitsyna, *Maksim Grek v Rossii*, p. 152; *Snosheniia*, vol. 1, pp. 43–49.

¹⁶ *Arkheograficheskie akty, sobrannye v bibliotekakh i arkhivakh Rossiiskoi Imperii Arkheograficheskoiu ekspeditsiei Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk*, vol. 1, (St. Petersburg, 1836), p. 545.

¹⁷ Maksim Grek composed a treatise, "O prishedshikh filosofakh," which he gave to his hosts as a guide for testing the aptitude of Greeks who came to Moscow and presented themselves as experts in philological matters. Unless it is held that Maksim composed the treatise simply to impress the Muscovite authorities, its existence would suggest that the Greeks were expected in Muscovy; Hugh M. Olmsted, "Studies in the Early Manuscript Tradition of Maksim Grek's Collected Works" Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, 1977, pp. 74–75. For the extant portion of the treatise, see Maksim Grek, *Sochineniia*, vol. 3, pp. 286–89; for references to other editions and manuscripts, see Ivanov, *Literaturnoe nasledie Maksima Greka*, p. 103. Many of the original documents sent to Muscovy by Greek ecclesiastic figures during the sixteenth century have been lost. Of the seven documents sent from Constantinople in

1557–60, in connection with the patriarch's confirmation of Ivan IV's imperial title, only four have survived in the original. Of the thirty Greek documents delivered to Moscow in the 1580s and early 1590s, only three originals are extant, but the others are preserved in copies; see Boris L'vovich Fonkich, "Grecheskie gramoty sovetskikh khranilishch," in *Problemy paleografii i kodekologii v SSSR* (Moscow, 1974), p. 243. It is therefore quite possible that some documentation has been lost altogether.

¹⁸ Concerning the juridical status of Mount Athos under the Ottomans, see Nicolas Antonopoulos, "La condition internationale du Mont Athos," in *Le millénaire du Mont Athos, 963–1963. Études et mélanges*, vol. 1, pp. 386–91.

¹⁹ *Snosheniia*, pp. 59–69. The grand prince extended his generosity to the two communities again a few years later. In 1554 he permitted a St. Panteleimon monk to collect alms in Muscovy. In 1556 Ivan granted the Hilandar monks use of a *dvor* in the Kitai-gorod district of Moscow. The monks representing both monasteries received bills of free passage, *Snosheniia*, pp. 69–71.

²⁰ Concerning the services rendered on behalf of Muscovite diplomacy or foreign policy by Greek clerics in Constantinople from the end of the sixteenth century onward, see Kapterev, *Kharakter otosheniia*, pp. 276–348.

²¹ Andrianos was possibly a relative of the historian Laonikos Chalkokondyles (ca. 1423/30–ca. 1490) who, in his description of the collapse of the Byzantine Empire, included lengthy asides about the East Slavs. For references to literature on Laonikos Chalkokondyles, see *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 407.

²² *Snosheniia*, pp. 53–55, 69, 112–13.

²³ Tsar Ivan's letters to Patriarch Theoleptos of Constantinople and Patriarch of Alexandria Sylvester refer to Greek merchants as to "брата нашего Мурат Султановы купцы гречаны Федор Ондреев да Иван Костянтинов Дзжемандер" (Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i Tserkov'*, vol. 2, *Prilozheniia*, pt. 1, pp. 31–34).

²⁴ The confinement of Patriarch Jeremiah is discussed below, in chapter 11.

²⁵ Dionysios was patriarch from April 1546 to July 1556. Without directly providing a date, Murav'ev implies that Metropolitan Ioasaph brought the patriarch's letter to Moscow in October 1557. However, in 1557 the new Patriarch Ioasaph II, formerly metropolitan of Adrianople (*Turk*. Edirne), was already writing to Ivan about Dionysios' death and his own ensuing election; see Wilhelm Regel, *Analecta Byzantino-Russica* (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. 72–75. It is not the case that Metropolitan Ioasaph of Euripos and Kyzikos was long en route and unaware of the events in Constantinople. Murav'ev (and others) quite consistently miscalculated in converting dates during the last four months of the year from the September-initial calendar to the January-initial calendar; Fonkich, "Grecheskie gramoty sovetskikh khranilishch," p. 247. Ioasaph's arrival in Moscow should be dated to October 1556.

²⁶ "Ныне же находимся въ тесноте, по причине ограды великой церкви Патриаршеской, ибо тутъ прежде была каменная стена, а теперь

огражденъ досками монастырь и въ раззореніи, и мы оттого всегда въ обиде у безбожнихъ. Не имеемъ мы ни келліи, ни даже масла деревяннаго для лампадъ, и если ты хочешь быть создателемъ великой Церкви, сотвори сіе по любви твоей, какъ восхочетъ святое твое царство” (*Snosheniia*, p. 72).

²⁷ Were he to receive a document recognizing the tsar’s title, Feodorit was to return as quickly as possible to Moscow, without stopping at Mount Athos. If he did not receive such a decree, he was to go to Mount Athos and compile a report on the situation there. In this latter case he had the tsar’s permission to go to Jerusalem as well (*Snosheniia*, pp. 74–86). About the order of the 1547 coronation, see David Miller, “The Coronation of Ivan IV of Moscow,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, n.s. 15 (1967): 559–74.

²⁸ *Snosheniia*, pp. 89–94.

²⁹ The tsar sent velvet and sable coats to the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and to the archbishop of Mount Sinai, Pharan and Rhaithou, who resided at St. Catherine’s Monastery. In addition the Muscovites sent Joachim of Alexandria gifts worth one thousand gold pieces and another thousand for St. Catherine’s Monastery; to Germanos of Jerusalem, the equivalent of four hundred gold pieces in kind, and an additional four hundred for the maintenance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; to Joachim of Antioch the equivalent of two hundred gold pieces; to the Hilandar Monastery three hundred rubles in coin, and to the Great Laura of St. Sabbas the Sanctified southeast of Jerusalem two hundred rubles (*Snosheniia*, pp. 95–98).

³⁰ *Snosheniia*, pp. 98–103.

³¹ *Snosheniia*, p. 101.

³² The document of the patriarchal synod confirming the imperial title of Ivan IV was published by Regel, *Analecta Byzantino-Russica*, pp. 75–79; for a contemporary Muscovite translation, see *Snosheniia*, pp. 104–107. Concerning the dating and authenticity of the document, see Fonkich, “Grecheskie gramoty sovetskikh khranilishch,” pp. 247–51. Fonkich corrects the mistaken dating of Regel and earlier scholars, including Murav’ev, from 1561 to 1560. He also confirms Regel’s observation that almost all of the thirty-seven signatures of hierarchs on the document were in fact made by two or three hands, but that the signatures of Patriarch Dionysios and Metropolitan Ioasaph of Euripos and Kyzikos are authentic. However, Fonkich disagrees with Regel’s conclusion that the document is not authentic, arguing that it was issued by the patriarch in the name of the synod. Fonkich draws a parallel with the 1590 synodal document confirming the creation of the patriarchate of Moscow on which the signatures of at least sixty-five hierarchs, probably at the time not in attendance in Constantinople, were forged by officials of the patriarchal chancery. Concerning the recognition of the imperial title, cf. Kapterev, *Kharakter otsheniia*, pp. 26–33.

³³ *Snosheniia*, pp. 107–112.

³⁴ It is not clear who sent Isaiia to Muscovy. Prince Konstantyn Ostrozkyi sought biblical manuscripts from Serbian, Bulgarian, Greek and Italian monasteries, but there is no direct evidence that he was involved in Isaiia's trip. For discussions of Isaiia's life and further reference to literature, see Mykhailo Vozniak, *Istoriia ukrains'koï literatury*, vol. 2, pp. 63–64, 117–19; Viktoriia Petrivna Kolosova, "Isaia z Kam'iantsia i Andrii Kurbs'kyi. Do polemiky z Edvardom Kinanom (SShA)," *Nauka i kul'tura. Ukraïna. Shchorichnyk*, vol. 24 (Kyiv, 1990), pp. 182–88 (maintains that Metropolitan Ioasaph joined Isaiia's entourage); and Edward L. Keenan, "Isaiah of Kamjanec'-Podol'sk: Learned Exile, Champion of Orthodoxy," *The Religious World of Russian Culture. Russia and Orthodoxy: Essays in Honor of Georges Florovsky*, ed. Andrew Blane, vol. 2 (The Hague–Paris, 1975), pp. 159–72, including Isaiia's autobiographical text (pp. 166–67) which is the source of the quotation: "испросити библию по нашему языку рускому словенскому на спис слово в слово, и в нашем государствѣ руском и княжествѣ литовском выдати тиснением печатным нашему народу христианскому рускому литовскому, да и рускому московскому, да и повсюду всѣм православным христианом, иже в болгарѣх и сербѣх в мултянѣх и волосѣх (here the "jats" have been restored); cf. *The Kurbskii-Groznyi Apocrypha: The Seventeenth-Century Genesis of the "Correspondence" Attributed to Prince A. M. Kurbskii and Tsar Ivan IV* (Cambridge, Mass. 1971), pp. 21–26.

³⁵ *Snosheniia*, pp. 104, 112.

³⁶ *Snosheniia*, pp. 112–18.

³⁷ Concerning Isaiia's charge and Ioasaph's counter indictment and questions about their exact nature, see Keenan, "Isaiah of Kamjanec'-Podol'sk," p. 160, especially note 2.

³⁸ The reason is not clear from the sources.

³⁹ For Ioasaph's departure from Moscow, see *Snosheniia*, pp. 118–19. The Muscovites sent the patriarch two hundred and seventy rubles, to five of his metropolitans fifty rubles each, to six others seventy rubles each, to twelve more metropolitans and archbishops thirty rubles each, and to three bishops twenty rubles each.

⁴⁰ *Snosheniia*, pp. 120–22.

⁴¹ The consecration of the Holy Chrism is performed on Holy Thursday, but not necessarily every year. Receiving chrism from the head of an autocephalous church is one of the canonical signs by which a local bishop demonstrates his jurisdictional subordination to a patriarch or an archbishop. The preparation of the oils takes a few days, and requires the presence of the bishops (synod) of a given jurisdiction. Although this rite does not always occur at regular intervals, a fifty-year gap between consecrations is unusual, since the chrism is used in the Sacrament of Chrismation (i.e., for Confirmation) in the initiation rite of every Christian in the Christian East, immediately following baptism, and a steady supply needs to be maintained. Concerning

the reservation to the patriarch of Constantinople of the consecration of the Holy Chrism (and challenges to this reservation) among Greeks, see Louis Petit, “Du pouvoir de consacrer le Saint Chrême,” *Échos d'Orient* 3(1) 1899: 1–7; for a description of the order of the consecration (with French translations of liturgical texts) and a listing of some fifty-seven ingredients used by the Constantinopolitan Church in modern times according to a ritual published in 1833, see Louis Petit, “Composition et consécration du Saint Chrême,” *Échos d'Orient* 3(3) 1900: 129–42. In the second half of the nineteenth century the consecration of the Holy Chrism at the patriarchate of Constantinople occurred four times, in 1856, 1865, 1879, and 1890 (see *ibid.*, p. 137). (In the Latin ritual of the pre-Vatican II Roman Church, olive oil and balm are the two essential ingredients.) The old Greek order was published by Jacques Goar, *Euchologion* (Paris, 1847).

⁴² *Snosheniia*, pp. 122–27.

⁴³ In addition to the states named because the Greek emissaries traveled to or through them, pertinent here was the Habsburg Empire. Seeking to extend its sphere of influence to the west bank of the Black Sea, it was also a persistent competitor in the Transdanubian arena.

⁴⁴ See the discussion in Demir Mironovich Dragnev et al., eds., *Ocherki vneshnepoliticheskoi istorii Moldavskogo kniazhestva. Posledniaia tret' XIV–nachalo XIX v.* (Chişinău, 1987), pp. 96–181, and L. E. Semenova, “Dunaiskie kniazhestva v kontekste mezhdunarodnykh otnoshenii v Iugo-Vostochnoi Evrope v kontse XVI–nachale XVII v.,” in *Slaviane i ikh sosedi*. Vol. 4, *Osmanskaia imperiia i narody Tsentral'noi, Vostochnoi, Iugo-Vostochnoi Evropy i Kavkaza v XV–XVIII vekakh*, ed. Boris Nikolaevich Floria et al. (Moscow, 1992), pp. 78–92. For a survey of ecclesiastical affairs in Wallachia and Moldova in the latter part of the sixteenth century, see Cesare Alzati, *Terra romana tra Oriente e Occidente. Chiese ed etnie nel tardo '500*, intro. Luigi Prodocimi (Milan, 1981), pp. 183–326 [=Di fronte e attraverso, 82. Storia].

⁴⁵ A direct but general accusation of espionage lodged against Greek clerics traveling through the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth can be found in a letter of Metropolitan Mykhail (Rahoza) written in December 1594 to Jan Zamoyski, Crown grand hetman and Crown grand chancellor, outlining the preconditions for the Ruthenian bishops' acceptance of the union. Asking for guarantees against patriarchal sanctions, the metropolitan wrote: “Чернцы тежъ зъ Кгрецыи абы большъ въ панствѣ его королевской милости не бывали, и до земли непрятельскоѣ московскоѣ жебы пропущаны не были. Съ пильностью у его милости пана гетмана обваровать, ижбы перехожихъ и переѣздчихъ зъ листами до насъ отъ патріарховъ не пуцано: бо тыхъ шпекгами розумѣемъ, съ певныхъ причинъ” (*Documenta Unionis*, no. 18, p. 36). The implication is that the Greek clerics spied for the Muscovites as well as for the Ottomans.

⁴⁶ The Ottomans continued to press the Safavids, waging protracted wars with them from 1578 to 1590; Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300–1600*, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (London, 1973; reprint, 1975), pp. 32–42; idem, “The Origin of the Ottoman-Russian Rivalry and the Don-Volga Canal,” *Annales de l’Université d’Ankara* 1 (1947): 47–110; Akdes N. Kurat, “The Turkish Expedition to Astrakhan’ in 1569 and the Problem of the Don-Volga Canal,” *SEER* 40 (1960): 7–23.

⁴⁷ Eugenio Albèri, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al senato*, ser. III^a (*Le Relazioni degli Stati Ottomani*), vol. 2 (Florence, 1844), p. 256; cited by William K. Medlin and Christos G. Patrinelis, *Renaissance Influences and Religious Reforms in Russia: Western and Post-Byzantine Impacts on Culture and Education (16th–17th Centuries)* (Geneva, 1971), p. 33 [=Études de philosophie et d’histoire, 18].

Notes to Chapter 7

¹ For general discussions of the cultural context, see Mykhailo Hrushevs’kyi, *Kul’turno-natsional’nyi rukh na Ukraïni v XVI-XVII vitsi*, 2nd ed. (n.p., 1919); his *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, vol. 5, pp. 222–87, 385–507; vol. 6, pp. 412–538; and A. Savych, *Narysy z istoriï kul’turnykh rukhiv na Ukraïni ta Bilorusi v XVI-XVII v.* (Kyiv, 1929) [=Zbirnyk Istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu Vseukraïns’koï Akademii Nauk, 90]. Despite terminological imprecision and a muddled understanding of the historical, cultural, and ethnic context, William K. Medlin and Christos G. Patrinelis offer some interesting insights while broaching the question of East Slavic contacts with the Greeks, *Renaissance Influences and Religious Reforms in Russia: Western and Post-Byzantine Impacts on Culture and Education (16th–17th Centuries)* (Geneva, 1971) [=Études de philosophie et d’histoire, 18]. Concerning the shortcomings of the study, see Frank E. Sysyn, “Peter Mohyla and the Kiev Academy in Recent Western Works: Divergent Views on Seventeenth-Century Ukrainian Culture,” *HUS* 8(1/2) 1984: 176–84 [=Special Issue. *The Kiev Mohyla Academy: Commemorating the 350th Anniversary of its Founding (1632)*]. Medlin recapitulates some of the main points made in the book about Ruthenian culture in his “Cultural Crisis in Orthodox Rus’ in the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries as a Problem of Socio-Cultural Change,” in *The Religious World of Russian Culture. Russia and Orthodoxy: Essays in Honor of Georges Florovsky*, ed. Andrew Blane, vol. 2 (The Hague, 1975), pp. 173–88.

² About schools the best study remains Konstantin Vasil’evich Kharlamovich, *Zapadnorusskie pravoslavnye shkoly XVI i nachala XVII veka, otnoshenie ikh k inoslavnym, religioznoe obuchenie v nikh i zaslugi ikh v dele zashchity pravoslavnoi very i Tserkvi* (Kazan’, 1898). Evgenii Nikolaevich Medynskii [Ievhen Mykolaiovych Medyns’kyi], *Bratskie shkoly Ukrainy i Belorusii XVI–XVII vv. i ikh rol’ v vossoedinenii Ukrainy s Rossiei* (Moscow, 1954) is unreliable. For a bibliographic note on Ruthenian schools, see “Shkil’nytstvo,” Hrushevs’kyi, vol. 6, p. 612.

³ Soviet scholarship devoted considerable attention to early East Slavic printing. About the beginnings of Cyrillic printing and the press of Schweipold Viol (Fiol), see Evgenii L'vovich Nemirovskii, *Nachalo slavianskogo knigopechataniia* (Moscow, 1971); idem, *Opisanie izdaniia tipografii Shvaipol'ta Fiolia* (Moscow, 1979) [=Opisanie staropechatnykh izdaniia kirillovskogo shrifta, 1]; and Szczepan K. Zimmer, *The Beginnings of Cyrillic Printing, Cracow, 1491: From the Orthodox Past in Poland*, ed. Ludwik Krzyżanowski and Irene Nagurski with the assistance of Krystyna M. Olszer (Boulder, Colo., 1983) [=East European Monographs, no. 136], with annotated bibliography. About the beginnings of Ruthenian printing, Evgenii L'vovich Nemirovskii, *Belorusskii prosvetitel' Frantsisk Skorina i nachalo knigopechataniia v Belorusii i Litve* (Moscow, 1979); idem, *Frantsisk Skorina—zhizn' i deiatel'nost' belorusskogo prosvetitelia* (Mensk, 1990). For the context of Skaryna's work, see Viacheslaŭ Antonavich Chamariytski, ed., *Skaryna i iaho epokha* (Mensk, 1990). For listings of literature on Skaryna, see Iaŭhen L'vovich Nemiroŭski [Evgenii L'vovich Nemirovskii] and L. A. Osipchuk, eds., *Frantsysk Skaryna, Zhytstse i dzieinast'. Pakazal'nik litaratury* (Mensk, 1990); and Vitaŭt Tumash, *Five Centuries of Skoriniana, XVI–XX* (New York, 1989) [=Byelorussian Academy of Arts and Sciences; Bibliographic Series, 3]. Concerning the work of Ivan Fedorov in Belarus' and Ukraine, see Iaroslav Dmytrovych Isaievych, ed., *Pershodrukar Ivan Fedorov ta ioho poslidovnyky na Ukraïni (XVI–persha polovyna XVII st.)*. *Zbirnyk dokumentiv* (Kyiv, 1975); Iaroslav Dmytrovych Isaievych, *Pershodrukar Ivan Fedorov i vyneknennia drukarstva na Ukraïni*, 2nd ed. (L'viv, 1983); Evgenii L'vovich Nemirovskii, *Nachalo knigopechataniia na Ukraine—Ivan Fedorov* (Moscow, 1974), including bibliography, pp. 180–213. Further references can be found in Evgenii L'vovich Nemirovskii, ed., *Nachalo knigopechataniia v Moskve i na Ukraine. Zhizn' i deiatel'nost' pervopechatnika Ivana Fedorova. Ukazatel' literatury 1574–1974* (Moscow, 1975); *Pervopechatnik Ivan Fedorov. Opisanie izdaniia i ukazatel' literatury o zhizni i deiatel'nosti*, ed. Iaroslav Dmytrovych Isaievych [Dmitrievich Isaevich], et al. (L'viv, 1983); and in the serial publication *Fedorovskie chteniia*, published in Moscow. Mieczysław Gebarowicz, "Iwan Fedorow i jego działalność na tle epoki," *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 13 (1969): 5–95, 393–481, is weak and outdated. For an analysis of the literary aspects of the initial printing endeavors, see Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna Ivana Fedorova* (L'viv, 1989). For a listing of sixteenth-century Ruthenian editions, see Vera Il'ničhna Luk'ianenko, *Katalog belorusskikh izdaniia kirillovskogo shrifta XVI–XVII v.*, vol. 1. 1523–1600 (Leningrad, 1973), gives forty-seven positions, and Iakym Prokhorovych Zapasko and Iaroslav Dmytrovych Isaievych, *Pam'iatky knyzhnoho mystetstva. Katalog starodrukiv, vydanykh na Ukraïni*, vol. 1. 1574–1700 (L'viv, 1981).

⁴ The study of Ruthenian manuscript production of the second half of the sixteenth century will be advanced by the completion of a comprehensive manuscript catalogue being prepared by Marta Bohdanivna Boianivska of the

Institute for Ukrainian Studies in L'viv. See her dissertation, "Ukraïnska rukopysna knyha v XV–pershii polovyni XVII st. Vyrobnnytstvo i poshyrennia." Instytut ukrainoznavstva im. I. Kryp'iakevycha, Natsional'na Akademiia Nauk Ukraïny (L'viv, 1994). For a recent analysis of Reformational currents in sixteenth-century Ruthenian manuscripts and references to earlier literature, see Dmitriev, *Pravoslavie i Reformatsiia. Reformatsionnye dvizheniia v vostochnoslavianskikh zemliakh Rechi Pospolitoi vo vtoroi polovine XVI v.* (Moscow, 1990), especially pp. 19–37.

⁵ Fedorov was responsible for the printing and in most cases editing of the following Ruthenian imprints: *Homiliary Gospels* and *Psalter with Horologion* (Office of the Hours; Zabłudów, 1569 and 1570, respectively), *Apostol* and *Primer* (L'viv, 1574), *Primer, New Testament, Knyzhka* of Tymotii Mykhailovych, and the *Ostrih Bible* (Ostrih, 1578, 1580, 1580, 1581, respectively). Between the mid-1560s and the completion of the Ostrih Bible in 1581, there were eight Ruthenian Cyrillic editions that did not issue from Fedorov's press(es). His junior partner in the Moscow and Zabłudów editions, Petr Mstyslavets', independently issued in Vilnius the Gospels (1575), a Psalter (1576), and a *Horologion* (1574–1576). Vasył Tiapyn'skyi issued the Gospels (1570s) (n.p., n.d.) apparently in Tsiapin, and Vasył Haraburda printed in Vilnius the Homiliary Gospels (ca. 1580) See Zapasko and Isaievych, *Pam'iatky knyzhnogo mystetstva: katalog starodrukiv, vydanykh na Ukraïni*, vol. 1, pp. 25–29; Luk'ianenko, *Katalog belorusskikh izdaniï kirillovskogo shrifta XVI–XVII vv.*, vol. 1, pp. 34–56.

⁶ For references to the statistics on Western printing, see above, chapter 1, pp. 23–24.

⁷ Concerning Budny's theology and references to the literature, see Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 3d ed. (Kirksville, Mo., 1992), especially pp. 1147–50.

⁸ The editions of this time were notable also from the artistic perspective. Some of the plates and engravings created for Ruthenian Orthodox presses in the last decades of the sixteenth century were still in use in the nineteenth. For a survey of East European and East Slavic printing at the end of the fifteenth and in the sixteenth century, see Mladen Bošnjak, *A Study of Slavic Incunabula*, trans. Ferdinand Dobrowolsky (Zagreb, 1968); Evgenii L'vovich Nemirovskii, *Nachalo slavianskogo knigopechataniia* (Moscow, 1971). For summary remarks, see Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, pp. 18–27.

⁹ Concerning Fedorov's circular route through Livonia, Vilnius, Lublin, Miziakiv in Podillia, before arriving in Zabłudów, see Ihor Zinoviiovych Mytsko, "K voprosu o prebyvanii Ivana Fedorova v Belorussii," in *Ivan Fedorov i vostochnoslavianskoe knigopechatanie* (Mensk, 1984), pp. 73–77 and Orest Iaroslavych Matiuk, "K voprosu o perezde Ivana Fedorova na Ukrainu v 1566 g.," *Fedorovskie chteniia 1983* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 165–68.

¹⁰ For a discussion of the Byzantine original, the Church Slavonic translation, and the characteristics of Fedorov's version of the *Uchytel'noie ievanhelie*, see Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, pp. 68, 77–79.

¹¹ “И сію душеполезную книгу евангеліе оучителное къ лучшему поученію, и исправленію душевному и телесному народомъ во Христа вѣрующимъ дали, юже соборная и апостольская церковь всегда имѣяше цѣлу и здраву соблюдаше неприлагающе ни отемлюще ничтоже, разумѣючи ю быти потребную всѣмъ. А наипаче же въ нынешній мятежъ мира [*sic*] сего, понеже мнози крѣстіяньстїи людїе новыми и различными оученїи въ вѣре поколебашася, и мнѣніемъ своимъ разсверепѣша и отъ єдинаго согласїя въ вѣре живущихъ отъвратишася. Да поне сихъ книгъ читанїемъ возмогутъ себе исправить, и на путь истинный привести. А елицы во правовѣрїи донинѣ соблюдаемы и непозыблемо съдержими суть, тѣмъ более ихъ Христосъ словесы и оученїемъ своимъ оукрѣпитъ въ вѣре единомысленныхъ быти и не дасть смѣтатися волнами сего житїя, и ересемъ бывающимъ в собѣ вмѣщатися.” Quoted from the facsimile of the preface provided by Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, p. 71.

¹² According to one calculation, of the one hundred and seventy-seven Protestant congregations in the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (post-1569 borders) during the second half of the sixteenth century, one hundred and forty-one were located in these four palatinates, and of these, one hundred and twenty-five congregations were Reformed. See Marcelli Kosman, *Reformacja i kontrreformacja w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w swietle propagandy wyznaniowej* (Wrocław, 1973) (source for 1569 Catholic-Protestant statistics, p. 52.) Concerning the distribution of the principle Protestant congregations in the Grand Duchy, see Stanisław Kot, “La réforme dans le Grand Duché de Lithuanie. Facteur d'occidentalization culturelle,” *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 12 (1953): 208.

¹³ For a recent study of the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Polish translations of the Bible, see David A. Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology in the Reformation* (Berkeley, 1989) [=University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 123].

¹⁴ See the facsimile of the preface in Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, pp. 81–89, here 82–83, 86.

¹⁵ A register of landholders in the counties of Bratslav and Vinnytsia not appearing in 1569 for a routine oath of loyalty to the king includes the “Muscovite Ivan the Deacon,” who had possession of the Miziakiv settlement; see Matsiuk, “K voprosu o pereezde Ivana Fedorova,” pp. 165–67.

¹⁶ “Еже неоудобно ми бѣ раломъ ниже сѣмень сѣянїемъ время живота своего съкращати, но имамъ оубо въ мѣсто рала художество наручныхъ дѣлъ съ суды, въ мѣсто же житныхъ сѣмень духовная сѣмена по вселеннїи разсѣвати, и всѣмъ почину раздавати духовную сію пищу.”

For a facsimile of the preface, see Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, pp. 91–99, here p. 93.

¹⁷ For a typical example, see the introductory article to a publication of papers given at a conference marking the four-hundredth anniversary of the death of Fedorov, Evgenii L'vovich Nemirovskii, “Velikii russkii prosvetitel' Ivan Fedorov,” *Fedorovskie chteniia 1983* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 6–35; Igor' Zinovievich Mytsko [Ihor Zinoviiovych Myts'ko], “Kul'turno-istoricheskie predposylki voznikonoveniia knigopechataniia na Ukraine,” *Fedorovskie chteniia 1983* (Moscow, 1987) pp. 161–64.

¹⁸ Twentieth-century historiography of the Middle Ages and early-modern period in Latin Europe has devoted ever-increasing attention to the question of the penetration of Christianity beyond the clerical and educated elite. Consequently, a new, more nuanced understanding of the pervasive role of *Christianitas*—religious observances or the practices of the Christian religion—in European society is gradually emerging. For a compelling discussion, see John H. Van Engen, “The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem,” *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 521–52. For discussions of the main currents in the historiography of religion in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and references to the relevant literature, see Steven E. Ozment, ed., *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research*. (St. Louis, 1982) [=Reformation Guides to Research, 1] and John W. O'Malley, ed., *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guidebook to Research* (St. Louis, 1988) [=Reformation Guides to Research, 2].

¹⁹ See p. 347n1 above.

²⁰ Here I refer to Hrushevs'kyi's survey, *Z relihiinoi dumky na Ukraïni*, sponsored by the émigré Ukrainian Protestant community in Canada. It apparently was serialized in the Canadian periodical *Ievanhels'kyi ranok* (non vid.) and published in L'viv in 1925; it was reprinted in Munich in 1962.

²¹ The place of publication of the first edition of this survey is given as Kyiv-L'viv, 1912. This survey reflects the point of view of Hrushevs'kyi's history, the relevant volumes of which appeared earlier. The corresponding chapter in volume 6 of the *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy* (Kyiv, 1907), pp. 412–538, is entitled “Kul'turno i relihiino-natsional'nyi rukh na Ukraïni v XVI vitsi.” Although it devotes much attention to the confessional interplay and questions of ecclesiastical politics as expressions of cultural developments, it does not acknowledge the role of spiritual life or religious belief, which the “cultural-national” protagonists presupposed and which determined their outlook on life. Hrushevs'kyi's attempts to focus on specifically religious motivation can be quite rhetorical and tinged with the fallacy of the ideal primitive Apostolic Church, seen in opposition to later degenerations (i.e., the thesis of the *Historia Ecclesiae Christi* [Basel, 1559–1574]—written by the Magdeburg Centuriators and attacked by the methodologically more scrupulous *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 12 vols. [Rome, 1588–1607] of Cesare Baronio [Baronius]—according to which pristine New Testament Christianity was progressively corrupted by the

power of the “papal Antichrist,” until the process was reversed by Luther). An example of the application of these categories is Hrushevs’kyi’s discernment of Patriarch of Antioch Joachim’s thoughts during the prelate’s 1586 encounters with the L’viv confraternity: Joachim “was enthused by the elevated disposition and noble plans of the L’viv brothers. From their conversations (no record of which is extant) wafted towards him (Joachim) the aroma of the Christian Church of Apostolic times. To him came the notion that, based on such pure Christian principles, the fraternal community can serve as an instrument of ecclesiastical reform, the moral censure of the dissolute clergy, a mechanism controlling the Church, and ignoring the tradition of the 1,500 years separating his times from the Apostolic Church, he intended to apply its principles to contemporary circumstances” (*Istoriia*, vol. 6, pp. 513–14). In fact Joachim, like the rest of the Eastern Christian world, was convinced that contemporary Orthodoxy was the “Apostolic tradition.” He probably thought in categories of “reinvigoration,” rather than “reform.”

²² Here I have in mind particularly the work of such Ukrainian and Russian Orthodox scholars as Ivan Ignatevich Malyshevskii, Ilarion Alekseevich Chistovich, Mikhail Iosifovich Koialovich, Metropolitan Ilarion (Ivan Ohienko), and Ivan Fedorovych Vlasovskyi. Ukrainian and Polish Catholic historians have tended not to emphasize the conflicts between the Catholics and the Ruthenian Orthodox. Even so, such scholars as Iuliiian Pelesh, Edward Likowski, Kazimierz Chodyncki, Oskar [Oscar] Halecki, Kazimierz Lewicki, and Atanasii H.Velykyi, in discussing the late sixteenth century, did not focus on the questions of religion, spirituality, faith, or observance *per se*.

²³ Concerning Last Judgment iconography, see David M. Goldfrank, “Who Put the Snake on the Icon and the Tollbooths on the Snake?—A Problem of Last Judgment Iconography,” *HUS* 19 (1995): 180–99.

²⁴ Besides Fedorov’s L’viv (1574) and Ostrih (1578) primers, a third primer, apparently not typeset by Fedorov, appeared in the late 1570s or early 1580s. See Robert Mathiesen’s review article on the first edition of Iaroslav Dmytrovych Isaievych’s *Pershodrukar Ivan Fedorov i vynyknennia drukarstva na Ukraïni* (L’viv, 1975), in *Recenzija: A Review of Soviet Ukrainian Scholarly Publications* 8 (1977–78): 12–14.

²⁵ See the facsimile of the preface to the L’viv *Apostol*, Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, pp. 91–99.

²⁶ “Повелѣлъ есми имъ оучинивши варстат друкарскїи, и выдруковати сію книгу еуангелїе оучительное, первое на почестъ и похвалу господу богу въ тройцы единому, и къ наоученїю людемъ христїаньскимъ закону нашего греческаго. Помыслилъ же былъ есми и се, иже бы сію книгу выразумѣнїя ради простыхъ людеи преложити на простую молву, и имѣлъ есми о томъ попеченїе великое. И совещаша ми люди мудрые въ томъ писмѣ оученые, иже прекладанїемъ здвннхъ пословицъ на новые, помылка чинится не малая, якоже и нынѣ обрѣтается въ книгахъ новаго перевода. Того ради сію книгу яко здвна пиsanую велѣлъ есми

ее выдруковати, которая каждому не есть закрыта, и к выразумѣнїю не трудна, и къ читанїю полезна, а наипаче тѣмъ которые съ прилежанїемъ, и со вниманїемъ искомое обрѣсти восхощють, и обрящуть.” In translating into Ukrainian, Isaievych misplaces the adverb “*pervoe*,” significantly altering the meaning: “І повелїв їм . . . видрукувати вперше цю книгу Євангелїє учительне на почесть і похвалу господевї богу в трїйці єдиному і для науки християнським людям нашого грецького закону.” For facsimile and translation, see Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, p. 75.

²⁷ See discussion above, chapter 6.

²⁸ Manasseh (687–642 B.C.), king of Judah, introduced the Assyrian cult (as opposed to the cult of Yahweh) to Jerusalem. Chronicles 33:11–20 provides legendary information on Manasseh’s captivity in Assyria, his conversion, and repentance. This pericope served as the basis for the apocryphal “Prayer of Manasseh,” which was often included in biblical manuscripts and editions, including the Vulgate.

²⁹ There are two facsimile editions of the primer. The first was published with commentary by Roman Jakobson and an appendix by William A. Jackson, “Ivan Fedorov’s Primer of 1574,” in *Harvard Library Bulletin* 9 (1955): 1–45, and separately. See also *Bukvar Ivana Fedorova*, with commentary by Vasyl’ Vasylovych Nimchuk (Kyiv, 1975). For other discussions of the primer, see Vera Il’inichna Luk’ianenko, “Azбука Ivana Fedorova, ee istochniki i vidovye osobennosti,” *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury Instituta russkoi literatury*, 16 (Moscow, 1960): 208–229; Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, pp. 104–109.

³⁰ “Възлюбленыи честныи хрїстіяньскїи рускїи народе, греческаго закона. Сїя еже писахъ вамъ, не отъ себе, но отъ божественныхъ апостоль и богоносныхъ святыхъ отецъ оученїя, и преподобного отца нашего іоанна дамаскина, от грамматикїи, мало нѣчто ради скорого младеньческаго наученїя въ мале съкративъ сложихъ” (from the afterword; Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, p. 106).

³¹ For a discussion, see Jakobson, “Ivan Fedorov’s Primer,” pp. 16–17. Luk’ianenko disputes Jakobson’s view that in invoking John of Damascus Fedorov was referring specifically to the treatise “Concerning the Eight Parts of Speech.” Luk’ianenko argues that this treatise was a source of only secondary importance for the primer, pointing out that in fact Fedorov’s imprint borrowed only *malo něchto* from the text attributed to John of Damascus. Luk’ianenko maintains that Fedorov was following a hallowed tradition by invoking John of Damascus, with whom, in Rus’ literary history, anonymous grammatical treatises were often connected, see “Azбука Ivana Fedorova,” pp. 209, 213–14.

³² Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, p. 83.

³³ See the facsimiles of the primer (the original is not paginated). The afterword is also reproduced in Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, pp. 106–107.

Notes to Chapter 8

¹ In March 1583, before his closest contacts with the palatine, Alberto Bolognetti (cardinal from 17 December 1583), the Vatican nuncio to the Commonwealth (1581–85), in reporting to the Vatican secretary of state, Cardinal Tolomeo Galli di Como, characterized Ostrozkyi and his martial readiness as follows: “. . . essendo molto inclinato all’opre [*sic*] di pietà et di natura amorevolissima come parve di conoscere a me ancora in tempo de comitii [assembly of the diet]; et dicono che nell’elemosine, nel sovvenire all’hospitali è raro esempio di liberalità, come anco in beneficiare i suoi servitori a’quali lascia possedere un numero quasi infinito delle sue ville con obbligo però tener cavalli. Onde dice il segretario [of Janusz Ostrozkyi, the Cracow canon Krzysztof Kazimierski] che in bisogno ogni ha sempre 3000 cavalli a posta sua, numero conforme appunto a quello che si disse havere offerto a S. Mtà [King Stefan Batory] ultimamente in questo sospetto dei Tartari,” in *MPV*, vol. 6 (Cracow, 1938), p. 203. Bolognetti’s correspondence with the Roman authorities and Possevino is the most important source of information about Ostrozkyi’s interconfessional activities in the first half of the 1580s. The correspondence, which includes carefully prepared analytic reports and reflects the current concerns of Roman diplomatic and ecclesiastical policy, is unfortunately not matched by any analogous Slavic collection of sources. Concerning the meticulous, astute, and ambitious Bolognetti and his disposition (scrupulously correct but full of hidden suspicion and resentment) towards Galli and Possevino, see Ludwik Boratyński, “*Studia nad nuncyaturą polską Bolognettiego (1581–85)*,” *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filologiczny* 49 (Cracow, 1907): 53–106.

² The lack of an adequate biography of Ostrozkyi has been a major gap in Ukrainian historiography and in the history of Poland and Lithuania, one that has been recently addressed by Tomasz Kempa. See his *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (ok. 1524/1525–1608). Wojewoda kijowski i marszałek ziemi wołyńskiej* (Toruń, 1997); as well as “Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski wobec katolicyzmu i wyznań protestanckich,” *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 40 (1996): 17–36; and “Prawosławni a synod protestancki w Toruniu w 1595 roku: U początków współpracy dyzunitów z dysydentami,” *Zapiski historyczne* 42 (1997): 39–52. See also Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel, “Ostrogski, Konstanty Wasyl, książę (ok. 1526–1608),” in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 24, pt. 3, pp. 489–95.

³ Concerning Ostrozkyi’s problems in taking possession of the Tarnowski estate, see Jan Pirożyński, “*Dzieje jednego zajazdu. Wojna o dobra tarnowskie między ks. Konstantym Ostrogskim a Stanisławem Tarnowskim w 1570 r.*” *Odrodzenie i Reformacja* 7 (1962): 99–130 and Kempa, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski*, pp. 53–60.

⁴ Nikolai Pavlovich Koval’skii [Mykola Pavlovych Koval’skyi], “Akt 1603 goda razdela vladenii kniaziei Ostrozhsikh kak istoricheskii istochnik,”

Voprosy otechestvennoi istoriografii i istochnikovedeniia (Dnipropetrovsk, 1975) 2: 128. For a discussion of Ostrozkyi's estates and economic activity, see Kempa, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski*, pp. 171–89 (includes two maps of Ostrozkyi's holdings) and the list of Ostrozkyi's properties in Appendix 3 to the book, pp. 239–42.

⁵ Ostrozkyi's urbane son Janusz, a convert and fervent Catholic free of the confessional handicap, according to Spannocchi, had no chances for the throne as long his father was alive. See Erazm Rykaczewski, ed. *Relacye nuncyuszów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce od roku 1548 do 1690*, vol. 1 (Berlin–Poznań, 1864), p. 460.

⁶ See the nuncio's dispatch, in *MPV*, vol. 6, p. 202.

⁷ The regionalism of Ukrainian lands incorporated into the Polish Crown through the Union of Lublin prevailed until, and contributed to, the Khmelnytskyi revolt in the middle of the seventeenth century and the formation of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. For a discussion, see Frank E. Sysyn, "Regionalism and Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ukraine: The Nobility's Grievances at the Diet of 1641," *HUS* 6(2) 1982: 167–90; idem, *Between Poland and the Ukraine: The Dilemma of Adam Kysil, 1600–1653* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), pp. 104–114.

⁸ For discussions of aspects of the Ostrih Bible, see Iaroslav Dmytrovych Isaievych [Dmitrievich Isaevich] "Ostrozhskaia tipografiia i ee rol' v mezhduslavianskikh kul'turnykh svyaziakh," *Fedorovskie chteniia 1978* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 34–46; Robert Mathiesen, "The Making of the Ostrih Bible," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 1 (1981): 71–110, and his *The Ostrih Bible 1580/81–1980/81: A Quadricentennial Exhibition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980); Ivan Evseevich Evseev, "Ocherki po istorii slavianskogo perevoda Biblii XV–XVIII vv.," *Khristianskoe chtenie* (1913), bk. 1, pp. 192–213; Gerd Freidhof, *Vergleichende sprachliche Studien zur Gennadius Bibel (1499) und Ostroger Bibel (1580/81)* (*Die Bücher Paralipomenon, Esra, Tobias, Judith, Sapientia und Makkabäer*) (Frankfurt am Main, 1972) [= Frankfurter Abhandlung zur Slavistik, 21]; Anatolii A. Alekseev "'Pesn' pesnei' v Ostrozhskoï Biblii—sostav teksta," *Fedorovskie chteniia 1981* (Moscow, 1985), pp. 116–24; Moshe Taube and Hugh M. Olmsted, "'Povest' o Esfiri': The Ostroh Bible and Maksim Grek's Translation of the Book of Esther," *HUS* 11(1/2) 1987: 100–117; Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, pp. 128–40. The *Fedorovskie chteniia 1981* volume, commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of the Ostrih Bible, has numerous other articles worthy of note. See also Anatolii A. Alekseev, ed., *Ostrozhskaia bibliia. Sbornik statei* (Moscow, 1990).

⁹ Metropolitan Ilarion (Ivan Ohienko), who compared the text of the 1580 edition with the 1581 Bible, notes that there are differences between the two, especially in orthography, and that the latter is not always an improvement over the former; see *Kniaz' Kostiantyn Ostrozkyi i ioho kul'turna pratsia. Istorychna monohrafiia* (Winnipeg, 1958), p. 174n22.

¹⁰ “... подавая довольно на дѣланіе богодухновеннаго писанія, желающе бога благаго благодатію всѣмъ человѣкомъ спастися и въ познаніе истинны прійти, благочестивую славу отцы и сынѣ и святомъ дусѣ предложить [sic].” The text of the 1580 New Testament and Psalter differs from the Ostrih Bible and from those in Fedorov’s earlier editions (the 1570 Psalter published in Zabłudów, and the two editions of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles [*Apostol*] issued in Moscow in 1564 and L’viv in 1574). Concerning Fedorov’s authorship of the preface and afterword, a facsimile reproduction of the two texts, and for a general discussion of the 1580 editions, see Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, pp. 116–27. The quotation from the preface appears on p. 118, where the Ukrainian translation strays from the original.

¹¹ Boris Nikolaevich Fonkich points out the lack of the iota subscript, three mistakes in accentuation, and one in the breathings in “Grecheskie teksty Ostrozhskoi Biblii,” *Fedorovskie chtenia*, 1981 (Moscow, 1985), p. 113.

¹² “Паче же въ нинѣшное время, посредѣ рода строптива и развращенна, еже толицемъ нерадѣніемъ къ заповѣдемъ господа нашего ісуса христа супротивленіе пріемлюще, растерзають немилостивнѣ церковь божію, и възмушають нещадно стадо его.” In translating into Ukrainian Isaievych adds “hostile”: “Особливо в наш час, посеред людей строптивих, ворожих і зіпсованих.” For text and translation, see Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, p. 117.

¹³ Catholics and Protestants printed the Greek Septuagint six times before the Ostrih Bible appeared, but no edition of the complete Greek Scriptures was issued by an Orthodox publisher before 1687. All subsequent Orthodox Church Slavonic Bibles through the twentieth century were based on the 1581 edition, in most cases reprinting its text with only minor emendations. See the discussion of Church Slavonic Bibles in Metropolitan Ilarion, *Kniaz’ Kostiantyn Ostroz’kyi*, pp. 147–54. Mathiesen provides a list of “firsts” and superlatives regarding the Ostrih Bible, see “Making of the Ostrih Bible,” pp. 71–72. Based on the statistic that of eighty incomplete Bibles known to have been taken by Fedorov to L’viv when he left Ostrih in 1581 five have survived, Mathiesen extrapolates proportionally from the total of approximately two hundred-fifty complete copies now extant an estimated original press run of four thousand volumes (*ibid.*, pp. 95, 99).

¹⁴ Kharlampovich proposes implausibly that the 1561 journey to Muscovy to obtain biblical manuscripts of Isaiia of Kam’ianets’-Podil’skyi was in fact a mission from Prince Ostroz’kyi. There is also no direct evidence supporting Kharlampovich’s hypothesis that it was Isaiia who transcribed the copy of the Gennadii Bible delivered by Haraburda, see his *Zapadnorusskie pravoslavnye shkoly XVI i nachala XVII veka, otnoshenie ikh k inoslavnym, religioznoe obuchenie v nikh i zaslugi ikh v dele zaschity pravoslavnoi very i Tserkvi* (Kazan’, 1898), p. 240n2.

¹⁵ Mathiesen provides an English translation of the first introductory statement from the publisher, Prince Ostroz'kyi, see "Making of the Ostrih Bible," appendix C, pp. 103, 107–109; here, p. 108. All subsequent quotations from this preface are based on Mathiesen's translation, but with modifications that include a global change of transcription from the international linguistic system to that used throughout this book.

¹⁶ See the text of Ostroz'kyi's introductory statement, Mathiesen, "Making of the Ostrih Bible," p. 109.

¹⁷ Some interesting comments on the language of the Ostrih Bible may be found in Metropolitan Ilarion, *Kniaz' Kostiantyn Ostroz'kyi*, pp. 139–43. Presented as a monograph, the volume is in fact a rather eclectic and often unreliable compilation of both new and previously published material. Despite its polemical tone, the remarks on the Ostrih translation merit attention, if only because they come from one of the few philologists to undertake and finish single-handedly a complete translation of the Bible into Ukrainian or Ukrainian Church Slavonic. The metropolitan criticizes the Ostrih editors for not using the Hebrew text of the Old Testament (as he did) for their translation. According to him, not breaking with the traditional reliance on the Septuagint—and in fact perpetuating this tradition—was at once the greatest weakness and fault of the Ostrih Bible, which he otherwise praises highly. It is, however, inconceivable that the Ostrih team could have rejected the Septuagint, a text with a tradition antedating the Christian era and itself a witness to ancient Hebrew versions of the Scriptures. The early Christian community received the Hebrew Scriptures in the Greek version, which included some books not in the Hebrew Scriptural canon when the canon was formulated at the end of the first or during the second century A.D. Both New Testament writers and the fathers of the Church refer to and quote from the Septuagint (the latter almost exclusively). In the Greek Christian East the Septuagint was further canonized through its use in the liturgy. It, of course, served as the basis for all earlier Church Slavonic translations. Furthermore, even though a Hebrew edition was issued earlier in the century, not all of the Old Testament books (i.e., the seven called "deuterocanonical" by Catholics or "apocryphal" by Protestants) used by the Orthodox had Hebrew versions. The Complutensian polyglot edition (1514–17), of Cardinal Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros at Alcalá (*Lat. Complutum*), was the first printing of the Hebrew and of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. Mathiesen states that the text of the Septuagint used was the *editio princeps* issued in Venice in 1518, "Making of the Ostrih Bible," p. 92. However, the Esther text makes clear that the editors were using a Greek version other than the 1518 Aldine edition, at least for editing Maksim Grek's translation; see Taube and Olmsted, "'Povest' o Esfiri," pp. 109–111. Metropolitan Ilarion's Ukrainian translation, published by the British Bible Society in 1962, followed the Protestant canon. It did not include any of the deuterocanonical books, four of which were explicitly named by the Orthodox synod of Jerusalem in 1672 (Tobit, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom of Solomon). The Ostrih Bible did include the deuterocanonical books, as well as Book III of the

Maccabees (see p. 350n14 above; concerning the text brought from Rome, see p. 356n42 below).

¹⁸ See table in Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, p. 135. At the end of the Old Testament text in the Ostrih Bible (after Book III of the Maccabees), the following note appears. “Сїи третїи книги маккавейскїи въ прочїихъ библиахъ не обрѣтаются ниже въ самои тои словенъскои, и ни въ латинъскихъ ани въ лятскихъ [i.e., Polish], точїю въ греческои и въ ческои, но и мы ихъ не отставихомъ.” Book IV of the Maccabees, in fact not a continuation of the narrative of the first three, is a treatise on suffering, using Hellenistic categories and the example of the death of Eleazar detailed in Book II of the Maccabees. It was not included in the Gennadii or Ostrih Bibles and was first translated into Church Slavonic by Maksim Grek, as demonstrated by Hugh M. Olmsted, “K izucheniiu bibleistiki Maksima Greka. Perevod Chetvertoi knigi Makkaveev na tserkovnoslavianskii iazyk,” *Arkheograficheskii ezhegodnik za 1992 g.* (Moscow, 1994): 91–100. Of the four books of the Maccabees occurring in (some) manuscripts of the Septuagint, only the first two came to be included in the Catholic canon of the Bible; the first three are standard in Orthodox Church Slavonic Bibles. Book III is not found in Orthodox Greek Bibles. For a discussion of the canonicity of the Maccabees books in the Greek tradition, see Heinrich Dörrie, “Die Stellung der vier Makkabäerbücher im Kanon der griechischen Bibel,” *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Fachgruppe V. Religionswissenschaft*. N. S. 1, no. 2 (1937): 45–54.

¹⁹ In his translation Mathiesen notes some of the more interesting differences between the Church Slavonic and the Greek of both this preface and of the bilingual colophon; see “Making of the Ostrih Bible,” pp. 103, 107, 110.

²⁰ Quoted by Mathiesen; “Making of the Ostrih Bible,” pp. 76, 107–109.

²¹ The original of the excerpts quoted from Smotryts’kyi’s preface (pages not numbered) is as follows: “. . . не къ всѣмъ бо речеса но . . . неутвержденнымъ, приникшимъ закону господню оутро, въ вечер же оучителми зватися изволяющимъ.” “. . . глаголющая . . . яко сынъ давидовъ есть . . . и тварь кромѣ существа божественаго.” “Но понеже не вѣмъ аще кому нѣсть явно, яко внастоящее се время послѣднее по грѣхомъ нераданїя, и ненаказанїя нашего, разгорѣся великъ пламень злохитрыхъ и многоглавныхъ ересей, помалѣ повременехъ вѣступающихъ злохулно на преданїя церковная, от едіноя, на едіну, даже до самыя главы церкви прїидоша, вся древняя обновляюще началникъ своихъ ереси. Таже и въ едінствѣ свѣтозарно по вселеннѣи славымаго тресъставнаго божества коснутися дръзнуша.” “Но паче проси отъ дающаго всѣмъ премудрость духовную и тебѣ дастся, токмо читай прилѣжно, ревнуй оученїю.”

²² In the Ostrih Bible, this passage has a young man address Jesus as “good teacher,” to which Jesus responds “Why do you call me good? No one is good except for the One [God].” The editors chose a variant that does not appear in

many of the best Greek New Testament manuscripts and seems to represent a conflation with Mk. 10:17–18 and Lk. 18:18–19, see *The Greek New Testament*, 3rd ed., ed. Kurt Aland et al., (Würtemberg, 1975). This redaction of the pericope appears in many manuscripts and editions, but is now rejected by most editors and translators. The question of its authenticity does not, of course, affect the issue at hand.

²³ Historians, especially those writing in the former Soviet Union, have often presented the Ostrih Bible as an initial salvo of the Ruthenian community aimed at the “expansionist Roman Catholic Church.” In discussing the challenges facing Ruthenian Church and society, scholars often emphasized the Catholic threat, even when analyzing the 1560s and 1570s, a time when the Protestant currents in Poland and especially in Belarusian lands in Lithuania were still in full force. See for example, Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, p. 79, where the Zabłudów Homiliary Gospels and the revival of Ruthenian literary activity are presented as a reaction to Protestant propaganda but “first of all as a defense in the face of Catholic expansion.”

²⁴ This hypothesis was first articulated by S. Sol’skii, who discusses Smotryts’kyi’s preface; see “Ostrozhskaia Bibliia v sviazi s tseliami i vidami ee izdatelia,” *TKDA* 1884 (25)7: 293–320, especially 308–309. Recently it was argued again by Mathiesen (“Making of the Ostrih Bible,” pp. 75–76, 89). Isaievych contradicts Mathiesen concerning the primarily anti-Protestant orientation of the Ostrih Bible (*Literaturna spadshchyna*, p. 140) citing as evidence the Ostrih circle’s contacts with Protestants, including Antitrinitarians, and the theological disputations with Latins of Sen’ko Kalenykovich, an associate of Fedorov; cf. his “Istoriia izdaniia Ostrozhskoii Biblii,” p. 12. According to Isaievych “the majority of the members of the [Ostrih] group was united by their yearning to withstand the attack of Catholic propaganda” (*Literaturna spadshchyna*, pp. 34–35). The publication in 1577 of Skarga’s polemical tract dedicated to Ostrozkyi may, furthermore, be considered an important stimulus for the production of the Bible. See also the focus, by implication, on the Catholic threat in Ihor Zinoviiovych Myts’ko’s monograph, *Ostroz’ka slov’iano-hreko-latyns’ka akademiia (1576–1636)* (Kyiv, 1990). The chapter on the scholarly, pedagogical, and publishing activity of the Ostrih circle (pp. 31–46), devotes only one paragraph to the Ostrih Bible (p. 34).

²⁵ The compilation of the Gennadii Bible was itself a reflection of Western influences. For a presentation of the various groupings of Old Testament books in Church Slavonic Scriptural manuscripts, see Robert Mathiesen, “Handlist of Manuscripts containing Church Slavonic Translations from the Old Testament,” *Polata knigopisnaia: An Information Bulletin Devoted to the Study of Early Slavic Books, Texts, and Literatures* 7 (1983): 3–48.

²⁶ Iaroslav Dmytrovych Isaievych [Dmitrievich Isaevich], *Preemniki pervopechatnika* (Moscow, 1981), p. 19.

²⁷ For a detailed listing of the published and unpublished works of the Ostrih activists, see Myts’ko, *Ostroz’ka akademiia*, pp. 116–32. Of the thirty six-

teenth-century works attested, three are no longer extant and between three and five were printed or produced in places other than Ostrih (L'viv[?], Vilnius[?], Cracow, Derman). Only twelve of the works appeared before 1595, when the imminence of ecclesiastical union escalated Orthodox polemical and publishing activity. The secondary literature on the Ostrih polemical publications is rather extensive, but the quality is uneven. Among the most interesting recent contributions are insightful articles on Greek sources for the Ostrih polemics by Ioannis Kakridis, "Barlaams Traktat *De primatu papae* in der Ostroger *Knižica v šesti otdelax*," in Jerzy Rusek, Wiesław Witkowski, Aleksander Naumow, eds., *Najstarsze druki cerkiewnostowiańskie i ich stosunek do tradycji rękopiśmiennej. Materiały z sesji. Kraków 7–10 XI 1991* (Cracow, 1993), pp. 147–65; and idem, "Byzantinische Unionspolemik in den Ostroger Drucken des ausgehenden 16. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* 52 (1992): 128–49.

²⁸ See "Kliuch tsarstva nebesnoho" and "Kalendar' rymyski novyi," reprinted in *Arkhiv IuZR*, vol. 7, pt. 1, pp. 232–65 and in Malyshevskii, *Pegas*, Appendixes, vol. 2, pp. 101–133.

²⁹ Myts'ko speculates that Ostrozkyi stopped publishing in Ostrih so as not to disturb the complex and delicate ecclesiastical and geopolitical negotiations between Rome, the authorities of the Commonwealth, and Muscovy, in which he himself was involved, *Ostroz'ka akademiia*, p. 43. Publishing was resumed again in the mid-1590s, when Ostrozkyi had arrived at a clear anti-Catholic position. This hypothesis presupposes that there was a momentum in publishing activity that was suddenly interrupted. If, however, one recognizes no evidence of a plan of action at Ostrih, as Myts'ko himself does at the beginning of his discussion of the Ostrih scholarly, educational, and publishing activity (p. 31), the absence of new editions following 1581 can be explained by an original intention to publish a Bible, without further specific objectives. Myts'ko himself notes that after the death of the printer Ivan Fedorov (who had taken his press to L'viv when he left Ostrih in 1581), Ostrozkyi made arrangements in 1588 to move one of Fedorov's presses to Vilnius, while in the early 1590s a new set of type had to be created for further publishing.

³⁰ About the visits of Loukaris and Nikephoros to Ostrih, see Kharlampovich, *Zapadnorusskiiie pravoslavnye shkoly XVI i nachala XVII veka, otnoshenie ikh k inoslavnym, religioznoe obuchenie v nikh i zaslugi ikh v dele zashchity pravoslavnoi very i Tserkvi*. (Kazan', 1898), pp. 264–68. There is a sizeable bibliography on Loukaris, who in the seventeenth century was elected patriarch of Constantinople and deposed seven times before being executed by the Turks. For references to the literature, see Gunnar Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und europäische Politik, 1620–1638* (Wiesbaden, 1968), pp. 342–412; and Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, p. 26n65. Podskalsky discusses Loukaris' theology and supplements Hering's references; see *ibid.*, pp. 162–80. Energetic and resourceful, Nikephoros seems to have enjoyed the confidence of Patriarch Jeremiah, who appointed him as his exarch. As a supporter of Jeremiah, Nikephoros was deeply involved in the intrigues at the patriarchate of

Constantinople. In a 27 May 1585 letter to the Muscovite tsar, Theoleptos, mentioning Nikephoros in the same breath as Pachomios, characterized Nikephoros as an “evil man” who “transgressed God’s commandment and caused great damage to the Church. The letter, as recorded in a Muscovite translation in the *grecheskie dela*, is quoted in *Snosheniia*, pp. 152–55. For further information on Nikephoros, see Nicolae Iorga, “Nichifor Dascălul, exarh patriarhal, și legăturile lui cu țările noastre (1580–1599),” *Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile secțiunii istorice*, ser. 2, 27 (1904–5): 183–200; Petre P. Panaitescu, “Despre Nichifor Dascălul și legăturile lui cu noi,” *Revista istorică* 12 (1926): 83; Feodor A. Kudrinskii, “Sud’ba êkzarkha Nikifora,” *Kievskaiia starina* 37 (1892): 399–419 and 38 (1892): 1–19; Platon Nikolaevich Zhukovich, “K voprosu o vinovnosti êkzarkha Nikifora, predsedatelia Brestskogo pravoslavnogo sobora, v turetskom shpionstve,” *Khristianskoe chtenie* (1899), bk. 3, pp. 573–83; Mikhail Iosifovich Koialovich, “Nikifor, velikii protosinkell patriarshego Konstantinopol’skogo prestola i êkzarkh Konstantinopol’skogo patriarkha v Zapadnorusskoi tserkvi,” *Strannik* 1860 no. 4 (Oct.–Dec., 1860): 197–228; Iu. N. Kurakin, “Politicheskii protsess nad Konstantinopol’skim êkzarkhom Nikiforom (Paraskhesom-Kantakuzinom) v istorii Brestskoi unii,” *Slaviane i ikh sosedi*, vol. 4, *Osmanskaia imperiia i narody Tsentral’noi, Vostochnoi, Iugo-Vostochnoi Evropy i Kavkaza v XV–XVIII vekakh*, ed. Boris Nikolaevich Floria et al. (Moscow, 1992), pp. 122–44.

³¹ About the Ostrih school and the activities of the Ostrih center, see Myts’ko, *Ostroz’ka akademiia*. Myts’ko provides background material on the political, cultural, and economic importance of Konstantyn Ostrozkyi and of the town of Ostrih and discusses the genesis of the school (dating it to the end of 1576), its possible curriculum, and the various terms used by contemporaries in referring to the educational establishment at Ostrih. See also the comprehensive chapter in Kharlampovich, *Zapadnorusskiiye pravoslavnye shkoly*, pp. 237–76; idem, “Ostrozhskaia pravoslavnaia shkola,” *Kievskaiia starina* 5 (1897): 117–207; 6 (1897): 363–88. Given the extant information on the curriculum of the Ostrih school, it is difficult to consider it an “academy,” that is, a university-level institution of higher learning.

³² Isaievych suggests that the Ostrih cultural circle began functioning in 1576–77; see *Pershodrukar Ivan Fedorov i vynyknennia drukarstva na Ukraïni*, p. 67, and Myts’ko, who develops the argument, *Ostroz’ka akademiia*, pp. 28–29.

³³ The preface to the primer is reproduced in Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, p. 111. The *terminus post quem* is probably 1576, when Prince Ostrozkyi secured title to the town of Ostrih, given to him in 1574 by his niece Hal’shka, daughter of his deceased brother Iliia; see Myts’ko, *Ostroz’ka akademiia*, p. 28. Concerning the 1578 edition, extant in two incomplete copies and one fragment, all discovered only in the past four decades, and for a discussion of the relevance of Hrabür’s tale, see Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, pp. 110–15.

³⁴ Translation with modification from Mathiesen, “Making of the Ostrih Bible,” Appendix C, p. 109.

³⁵ “А кому на свѣте може быти тайно, же зъ Грековъ философы, зъ Грековъ богословцы увесь свѣтъ маеть, безъ которыхъ и его Римъ ничего не знаеть. При которыхъ преданью, наукахъ и уставахъ церковъ святая восточная стоить крѣпко и неотступно” (Malyshevskii, *Pegas*, Appendix, vol. 2, pp. 109–110).

³⁶ Herasym Smotryts'kyi was considered to have been the rector of the Ostrih school by the bishop of Kholm, Iakov Susha (1610–87). See Susha's life of Smotryts'kyi's son Maksym (Meletii in religion), Jakub Susza, *Saulus et Paulus Ruthenae Ecclesiae, sanguine B. Josaphat transformatus, sive Meletius Smotriscius, archiep. Hieropolitanus, archimandrita Dermanensis, Ordinis D. Basilii Magni . . . ex tenebris in lucem prolatus* (Rome, 1666), pp. 15–16.

³⁷ Malyshevskii, *Pegas*, Appendix, vol. 2, p. 109.

³⁸ Myts'ko adduces indirect evidence that arithmetic and music were taught at the Ostrih school. However, his implication thereby (*Ostroz'ka akademiia*, p. 26) that the school followed the classic curriculum of the trivium (grammar, dialectics, rhetoric) and quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy) is no more than an inference. With respect to the academic program and the level of training at the school, Kharlampovich's more guarded estimations remain tenable; see *Zapadnorusskie pravoslavnye shkoly*, pp. 237–76.

³⁹ About Kyprian, see Hrushev'skyi, vol. 6, p. 487; Mykhailo Vozniak, *Istoriia ukrains'koï literatury*, 3 vols. (L'viv, 1920–24; reprint, The Hague, 1970), vol. 2 (1921), p. 68.

⁴⁰ About the possibility of Fedorov's involvement in the establishment of a critical text for printing, see Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, pp. 51–53. Besides Ostroz'kyi, the only members of the Ostrih circle mentioned by name in the edition itself are Smotryts'kyi and Fedorov. Myts'ko implausibly sees this fact as an indication that Ostroz'kyi “desired to distinguish specifically Ukrainian and Russian activists, not the Greeks who had made their way [to Ostrih].” Ostroz'kyi, however, seems generally to have had a high regard for Greeks. The mention of the presumed main editor and of the principal printer is merely a reflection of the degree of their contribution to the production of the Bible.

⁴¹ See the information gathered on members or associates of the Ostrih circle by Myts'ko, *Ostroz'ka akademiia*, pp. 81–115.

⁴² See *MPV*, vol. 6, p. 422, where Bolognetti reports (20 July 1583; 22 July according to *Litterae nuntiorum*, vol. 1, pp. 197) receiving and sending on a copy of the Ostrih Bible, which Prince Ostroz'kyi intended for the pope as a token of gratitude, “si come egli [i.e., Ostroz'kyi] havea ricevuto aiuto da S. Bne nel stampare di questa Biblia la qual dice essere come figliuola di quella che portò di Roma il Paleologo, essendo sì da quella cavata et coretta.” Furthermore, Ostroz'kyi hoped that his imprint might serve as a model for papal typographers, who had encountered difficulties in creating a font appropriate for an East Slavic readership. See *ibid.*, pp. 401, 418, 494. Possevino stated that the Ostrih Bible was based on a Church Slavonic Bible acquired from the Vatican (*ibid.*, p. 418).

On these grounds Jan Krajcar (“Konstantin Basil Ostrožskij and Rome in 1582–1584,” *OCP* 35 [1969]: 195–96) contests the opinion that the copy brought from Rome was a Greek Bible. The latter view, maintained by some authors (e.g., Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna*, p. 135) is based on Bolognetti’s reference to Prince Ostrozkyi’s gratitude to the pope for sending him a Bible, which the nuncio thought was a copy of the Greek Scriptures (*ibid.*, p. 365).

⁴³ Dionysios, apparently of mixed Greek and Bulgarian lineage, was a relative of the Greek millionaire-merchant Michael Kantakouzenos. Bolognetti, who mentions Dionysios many times in his reports, calls him a Cretan (*MPV*, vol. 6, p. 202) and refers to him as an archimandrite (*ibid.*, p. 348) and, on 9 July 1583, as archbishop of Kyzikos (*ibid.*, p. 402). Later, with the title, Archbishop of Tŭrnovo, Dionysios traveled to Muscovy in 1591 bringing with him the document of the Constantinopolitan synod ratifying the creation of the Muscovite patriarchate. For a discussion of his broad international activity and references to further literature, see Iordan Novikov, “Dionisii Rali i negovata diplomatska deinnost,” *Godishnik na Sofiiskia universitet “Kliment Okhridski”*. *Istoricheski fakultet*, vol. 75 (1982) (Sofia, 1986), pp. 48–87. Bolognetti was under the impression that Dionysios had inspired Prince Ostrozkyi’s son Konstantyn to convert to Catholicism (report of 25 June, *ibid.*, p. 363). Bolognetti also mentions that both the palatine’s son and Dionysios reported that a certain Emmanuel Moschopoulos, falsely claiming ties to a Byzantine imperial family (Konstantyn junior called him a Muscovite), came from Rome to Ostrih, where, chiefly due to his efforts, Prince Ostrozkyi senior was not converted to the Roman Church (*ibid.*, pp. 364–65; cf. p. 381). Reference is made here to the Florentine council (*ibid.*, p. 365). According to Dionysios, conflict between him and Moschopoulos arose on account of confessional views. Moschopoulos obtained (forged?) a letter from the patriarch excommunicating Rhalles-Palaiologos, a favorite of Prince Ostrozkyi. Moschopoulos fled Ostrih and was subsequently arrested by royal authorities (*ibid.*, pp. 390, 642). Following the discussion with Dionysios, Bolognetti encouraged Roman authorities to take advantage of Ostrozkyi’s need for teachers at the Ostrih “college”: “perché veramente il mettersi in possesso di quel collegio mediante persone catholice et sicure, sarebbe un spargere i semi in quelle parti di cose importantissime, massime stando la buona disposizione di questi duoi figlii maggiori [i.e., Janusz and Konstantyn]” (*ibid.*, p. 366). Dionysios exchanged letters with Bolognetti (see *ibid.*, pp. 381–82, 610, 642–63), who had a good initial opinion of him. The nuncio considered it prudent to “keep him [Dionysios] happy” (*tenerlo sodisfatto*), especially since the Greek cleric desired nothing more than a papal document verifying that he was not a schismatic. The pope conceded Rhalles-Palaiologos a blessing, apparently related by a letter from Bolognetti. However, affirmation directly from Rome was evidently most important for the Greek, and in a 8 November letter to Bolognetti, Dionysios asked the nuncio to use his good offices to secure such an assurance (*ibid.*, pp. 410, 479, 490, 643). Bolognetti also mentions the anti-Catholic utterances of the archbishop of Polia in Calabria, Timotheos, whom

Ostrozkyi met in Tarnów. Timotheos criticized the papal court, complaining that the pope refused to recognize him in his see. He was on his way to Moscow where he hoped to obtain a letter of support from the tsar. According to Bolognetti, Rhalles-Palaiologos convinced Timotheos to remain in communion with the pope and to make every effort to incline the tsar towards union, especially since, after he returned to Italy, he would have more success garnering favor with the pope if he could show that he had influenced the Muscovite ruler “for the benefit of the holy Church.” The nuncio commends Rhalles-Palaiologos for his stupefying Moschopoulos and Timotheos with reasonable argument (*ibid.*, pp. 381, 385, 390). Meanwhile, given the changing allegiances of many of the Greeks traveling between the Ottoman Empire, Rome, and the Slavic lands, Bolognetti, although given to believe in Rhalles-Palaiologos’ sincerity, on at least two occasions, sought information from Roman authorities on his background (*ibid.*, pp. 387, 494).

⁴⁴ Bolognetti, writing in March 1583, is under the impression that Eustathios had died. Around 1579 Nathanael from the Commonwealth wrote to Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto in Rome that he was in the service of Ostrozkyi, teaching his sons and proofreading the typeset for the Bible, for which the Bible sent by Sirleto through Dionysios Rhalles-Palaiologos was being used. Specifically, Eustathios mentions that he was correcting the Greek-language printing (of which in the Ostrih Bible there was only a few pages). Fonkich, pointing to the large number of errors in the texts, suggesting a weak command of Greek, postulates that the texts might have been set by the printer Fedorov; see “Grecheskie teksty Ostrozshkoi Biblii,” pp. 113–14. Eustrathios continues: “Costi vi [i.e., to the sons?] traduco li principi alla fede Romana, perché veramente il padre loro [i.e., Ostrozkyi] è grandissimo schismatico. Io per non cader nella scomunionione, voglio lasciar il scelano [*sic*] che me dà ducento talari ogni anno et venir a reconciliarmi alla mia fede Romana.” After the appearance of Skarga’s *O iedności*, Prince Ostrozkyi wanted Eustrathios to “write against the pope,” but he refused, maintaining that he would rather die than do so. Nathanael informed Sirleto that he wanted to leave Ostrozkyi “if for no other reason than that he is a schismatic and against the Roman Church.” For Bolognetti’s report and an extended quotation from Nathanael’s letter, see *MPV*, vol. 6, p. 202 and especially p. 202n2.

⁴⁵ Kharlampovich, *Zapadnorusskie pravoslavnye shkoly*, p. 255n3. For the documentation of the grant, see *Arkhiv IuZR*, vol. 1, pt. 1, no. 25, pp. 138–44, 194, 221–23, 250–52.

⁴⁶ Archbishop Arsenios of Ellassona received alms from the Muscovites for the liturgical commemoration of the late Tsar Ivan IV; but instead of returning to Constantinople, he stopped in L’viv, and then accompanying Patriarch Jeremiah, he returned to Moscow, where he did not receive welcoming gifts from the Muscovites: “А еласонскому архиепископу Арсенью государь жалованья дати не велел для того: какъ он был у государя наперед сево на Москве, и ему по государеву указу по царе и великом князе Иване

Васильевиче всеа Русии во иноцех Ионе дано милостны двум им 330 рублев. И он, приехав в Литовскую землю, во Львов, съ тех мест жил во Львове, а в своей области не быв, да опять с патриархом приехал” (*Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 30). Dmitrievskii refers to a manuscript text according to which Arsenios stopped in L'viv to pass on to Patriarch Theoleptos the tsar's benefaction through other members of his delegation. The *posol'ska kniga* does not, in fact, impute to Arsenios appropriation of the gifts (see *Arkhiepiskop Elassonskii*, pp. 12–13n3). However, given the general chaos in the Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical structure, the efficiency and reliability of such envoys is subject to doubt.

⁴⁷ The calendar controversy among Ruthenians is discussed in the standard surveys; see for example Chodyncki, *Kościół*, pp. 188–92; Hrushevskii, vol. 6, pp. 462–67; and, Makarii, vol. 9, pp. 427–34. See also Nikolai Fedorovich Sumtsov, “Istoricheskie ocherk popytok katolikov vvesti v Iuzhniui i Zapadniui Rossiiu grigorianskii kalendar’,” *Kievskaiia starina* 21(5) 1888: 235–72.

⁴⁸ See the protest against Archbishop Solikowski's actions by Bishop Hedeon (Balaban) and Galician nobles before municipal authorities (предъ врьдъ гродскій Галицкій), in *AZR*, vol. 3, no. 140, 281–83 (early February 1584).

⁴⁹ A Belarusian-Ruthenian chronicle reports s.a. 1583: “На тотъ же часъ было великое замешание промежи панами и промежъ людми духовными, также и людми простыми было плачу великого, нареканя силнаго, похвалки, посварки, забуйство, грабежи, заклинання, видячи яко новые свята установляли, празники отменяли, купцомъ торги албо ярмарки поотменяли—праве было начало пристыя антихристова, у такомъ великомъ замешанью,” see “Barkulabovskaia letopis’,” ed. Mitrofan Viktorovich Dovnar-Zapol'skii, *Universitetskie izvestiia* (Kyiv) 38(12) 1898: 7.

⁵⁰ *AZR*, vol. 3, no. 139, 280 (21 January 1584); *ibid.*, no. 166, pp. 315–16 (8 September 1586). The king issued the second rescript in Hrodna, addressing the calendar situation in Vilnius, after Metropolitan Onysyfor (Divochka), a year earlier reprimanded for inactivity by Ruthenian nobles, had gone there to intercede on behalf of his faithful, cf. n. 63 below. However, see Batory's prohibition against conducting trade and engaging in craftwork on new-calendar feast days, issued 18 July 1586 to the Polatsk burghers, *ibid.*, no. 164, 311–12.

⁵¹ For example, both Herbest, in his *Exposition of the Faith of the Roman Church and History of the Greek Captivity* (1586), and Herasym Smotryts'kyi, in his *Key to the Heavenly Kingdom* (1587), addressed the calendar issue.

⁵² A 25 June 1583 report from Nuncio Bolognetti to the Vatican secretary of state mentions that Ostrozkyi had already received his letter, see *MPV*, vol. 6, p. 366. Its Greek version remains unpublished. Together with the Constantinopolitan synod the patriarchs Jeremiah and Sylvester expedited a circular missive to the Armenian community in the Commonwealth similar to

the letter received by Ostrozkyi. The Greek version of the letter to the Armenians, dated November 1583, has been printed a number of times, most recently in Sathas' *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 28–32. Italian translations of the letters to Ostrozkyi and to the Armenians appear in Vittorio Peri, *Due date, un'unica Pasqua. Le origini della moderna disparità liturgica in una trattativa ecumenica tra Roma e Costantinopoli (1582–1584)* (Milan, 1967), pp. 203–217, who provides information concerning the manuscript copies of the Greek versions. For a sixteenth-century Church Slavonic translation of the letter to Ostrozkyi, see Malyshevskii, *Pegas*, Appendix, vol. 2, pp. 93–98. The letter was published in Ostrih, presumably in the 1580s. The two known copies of this imprint are preserved in Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw and in the library of the Zakład narodowy im. Ossolińskich in Wrocław; see Zapasko and Isaievych, *Pam'iatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva. Katalog starodrukiv vydanykh na Ukraini*, vol. 1, pp. 29.

⁵³ The letters to Onysyfor and the Vilnius burghers, the Church Slavonic translations of which were published in Malyshevskii, *Pegas*, Appendix, vol. 2, pp. 98, 100–101, are dated 11 January 1583 and 1583, respectively. The Greek versions of these missives apparently have not survived.

⁵⁴ “. . . яко тамо волненію быти не малу, на правоверно живущихъ, измененія ради сѣнакарнаго, отъ иже изобретательныхъ звѣздоблюстителей латынскихъ, приложившихся [*sic*] отъ истинны къ баснословію изобретенія халдейскаго” (letter to Vilnius burghers, in Malyshevskii, *Pegas*, Appendix, vol. 2, p. 100).

⁵⁵ “Да вины сія увѣдавши, пошлемъ къ вамъ паки со епистоліями нашими, во отгнаніе сицевыхъ волненіи, емуже спудею во помощь книжнаго ради купованія ученій внѣшнихъ и богословныхъ подайте. И ко тамо благовѣрно живущимъ ходатайствуйте, занеже во скорѣ его къ вамъ хоцемъ возвратити, да и тамо имъ процветуть ученія” (letter to Metropolitan Onysyfor [Divochka], in Malyshevskii, *Pegas*, Appendix, vol. 2, p. 98).

⁵⁶ There is a logical lacuna (or at least grammatical shift from plural to singular of the third person pronoun) in Jeremiah's explanation to Metropolitan Onysyfor of the mission. He indicates that he is sending the two exarchs to reconnoiter but foresees that only the translator will make the trip: “. . . послахомъ къ вамъ, да известите намъ вины бывающая отъ нихъ [i.e., латиномудрнихъ и прочихъ еретикъ], двухъ екзарховъ нашихъ именемъ Никифора и Діонвсія, съ нимиже толкованія ради и Теодора спудея, суца отъ предѣлъ вашихъ. Аще же возможно буде преити, тамо ему повелѣхомъ до васъ дойти, и всю порадѣ отъ васъ взяти на писанію” (Malyshevskii, *Pegas*, Appendix, vol. 2, p. 98). The text of the letter seems to reflect events that have already occurred. In later decades a number of forged Greek ecclesiastical documents addressed to Ruthenians are known. It is not impossible that Jeremiah's letter was in fact doctored by the exarchs once they were in Moldova and knew that they would not proceed to the Ruthenian Orthodox lands.

⁵⁷ A sixteenth-century Church Slavonic translation of the exarch's letter appears in Malyshevskii, *Pegas*, Appendix, vol. 2, p. 99. The Greek text is evidently lost.

⁵⁸ "... и сего дѣля с нами посланнаго Теодора спудея, суца отъ пределъ вашихъ, посылаемъ ко твоей святыни, яко и ко митрополиту и прочимъ епископомъ: яко да услышитъ онъ вины бывающія посредѣ православныхъ и еретиковъ, и известіе да приметъ отъ васъ. Тѣмже убо его яко и насъ принявши, елика потребна есть церковныхъ преданій извести и намъ знаемо сотвори, зане возвратитися воспятъ нынѣ хотимъ, и отгуду паки послани будемъ ко вамъ. Семуже Теодору спудею нашему въ помощь ученія и книгъ купованія внѣшнихъ любомудръцовъ ученій теологовъ подай. Сія бо польза есть всѣхъ. Которое дѣля хоцетъ вселенский патриархъ воскоре послати къ вамъ, да и во васъ юнѣйшіе причастятся и теологическихкихъ ученій, и возмогутъ посемъ стати противъ вольненіямъ еретическимъ, ибо къ сему понуждая насъ Спасъ рече: испытайте писанія, яко въ нихъ есть животь вѣчный. Сосвѣдетельствуютъ же и вси теоложки, яко отъ невѣденія сихъ тмы возрасльи злобъ. Сія вѣдящи, прилѣжно сопоспешествуй, во сію богоизбранъную ползу" (Malyshevskii, *Meletii Pegas*, Appendix vol. 2, p. 99 [23 April 1583]).

⁵⁹ See the report of Bolognetti regarding his conversation with Konstantyn the younger, *MPV*, vol. 6, pp. 361–64; for reports of his conversion, see *ibid.* pp. 445, 471.

⁶⁰ For Bolognetti's report of 6–8 July 1583 to Cardinal di Como concerning the conversation with Ostrozkyi, see *MPV*, vol. 6, pp. 383–88. Prominent in the discussion, in addition to ecclesiastical issues, were Ostrozkyi's hopes that the Holy See would intervene with the Habsburg Emperor Rudolph II on behalf of his son Janusz's claims to estates in Moravia and Hungary (cf. *ibid.* 402–403). Although Krajcar's statement ("Konstantin Basil Ostrožskij and Rome," p. 213) that this matter is mentioned in every one of Ostrozkyi's letters to Possevino, Bolognetti, and Pope Gregory XIII is an exaggeration (see the letters to Possevino, *MPV*, vol. 6, pp. 401, 524), Ostrozkyi claims in the imperial domain were not secondary concerns in his dealings with representatives of Rome. Bolognetti relates Ostrozkyi's impassioned declaration about unification as follows: "Et qui il duca anco dal principio del ragionamento si rese molto più facile che non haveva fatto in materia del calendario, perché egli ancora detestò grandemente lo scisma, et mostrando (per quanto si puoté giudicare dal volto et dalle parole) un interno dolore di tante discordie fra 'l popolo christiano, disse con molta tenerezza che se potesse con la vita propria comprare l'unione di S. Chiesa, lo faria volontieri et moriria all' hora contentissimo." According to Bolognetti, Ostrozkyi promised on his part to do everything possible to promote the union in his estates and "riducendosi la difficultà a quei capi che sono controversi fra Latini et Greci de quali non convien chiarirsi da parte sospetta, disse che si risolverà di mandare suoi huomini a N. Sre [i.e., to the pope] non già

per disputarne (et questo replicò due volte), ma per pigliarne la dichiarazione da S. Stà” (ibid., p. 385). Cf. Ostrozkyi’s “earnest desire for the unity in faith and agreement of all Christians” expressed in a letter to Pope Gregory XIII of 8 July 1583 (ibid., p. 401).

⁶¹ See Ostrozkyi’s letter of 9 July 1583 to Possevino, *MPV*, vol. 6, p. 40; ibid., p. 643.

⁶² *Litterae nuntiorum*, vol. 2, p. 172.

⁶³ See the litany of complaints to Metropolitan Onysyfor by Ruthenian nobles, 14 February 1585, in Warsaw during the convocation of a diet about the disorder in the hierarchy and failure of the metropolitan and other bishops to defend the Church from injustices committed against it (*AZR*, vol. 3, no. 146, pp. 289–90). The metropolitan had not fulfilled a promise to attend the diet in early 1585, where a Ruthenian delegation of nobles and Bishop Hedeon of L’viv defended the right to celebrate holy days according to the old calendar (Hrushevskyi, vol. 6, pp. 365).

⁶⁴ Despite the tough language of the letters, probably dictated by hardliners in Constantinople, Jeremiah considered introducing the calendar reform in his jurisdiction. It is quite possible that his flexible position on the calendar reform contributed to his downfall.

⁶⁵ A flattering characterization of the patriarch is given by Stanisław Sokołowski, the Polish publisher of Jeremiah’s response to the Protestants of Tübingen, in a letter to the canon of Cracow, Thomas Natalis of Dubrovnik (*Ital. Ragusa*), reprinted by Henryk Cichowski, who also offers an explanation for Sokołowski’s enthusiasm (see his *Ks. Stanisław Sokołowski a Kościół Wschodni, Studium z dziejów teologii w Polsce w w. XVI* [L’viv, 1929], pp. 139–44).

⁶⁶ “All’hora il duca doppo haver alquanto tacciuto domandò per qual causa, se questo era così, non si fosse fatto sapere a’ Greci per mezzo del patriarca di Constantinopoli, accioché essi ancora havessero potuto concorrervi” (*MPV*, vol. 6, p. 384).

⁶⁷ Secretary of State di Como on 27 April 1584 wrote to Bolognetti: “Credo che V. S. Illma haverà intesa la disgratia et calamità del patriarca greco di Constantinopoli il quale è stato per opera d’alcuni suoi malevoli messo in sospetto al Gran Turco, et perciò deposto et carcerato, et posto in suo luogo l’accusatore [i.e., Pachomios] huomo ignorante et di pessime qualità, et odiato da tutta la natione greca. Da la privatione di esso patriarca N. Sre [i.e., Pope Gregory XIII] ha sentito molto dispiacere, sì perché sa ch’egli è dotto et pio, come l’ha mostrato in quella risposta a gli heretici di Germania, et sì ancora perché è mostrato assai osservante de la Sede Ap., quando è stato ricercato di accettar et metter in uso il novo calendario, anzi alcuni vogliono che questo sia stato in qualche parte causa de’ suoi travagli” (*MPV*, vol. 7, pp. 204–205).

⁶⁸ That Ostrozkyi was troubled by Jeremiah’s deposition can be inferred from the dispatch of Possevino to the cardinal-secretary of state from Lublin (29

August 1583) that during an encounter with Ostrozkyi in Lublin the turn of events in Constantinople was a main topic of their discussion (see *MPV*, vol. 7, pp. 434–35).

⁶⁹ On 24 August 1584 Bolognetti reported optimistically that because Ostrozkyi had great respect for Jeremiah, he would very likely reject the usurper Pachomios, if Jeremiah came to the Commonwealth: “Egli [i.e., Ostrozkyi] si mostra talmente affetionato al patriarca greco di Constantinopoli hora deposto che si può havere bonissima speranza che, quando esso patriarca si trovi qui, egli [i.e., Ostrozkyi] sia per seguirlo et spaccarsi dall’obedienza dell’intruso, anzi dubita il duca che l’haver esso mandato a ricercarlo dell’unione sia stato in gran parte causa di questa sua disgratia” (*MPV*, vol. 7, pp. 405). Halecki, for whom Ostrozkyi is a *bête-noire* because of his subsequent opposition to the Union of Brest, misinterprets this report, maintaining that Ostrozkyi was of “the opinion that the Patriarch’s alleged negotiations with Rome in the matter of reunion were the real reason of his present misfortune,” and that consequently, Ostrozkyi, “wishing to be of service to Jeremiah, would hardly encourage his sympathies towards Rome” (see *From Florence to Brest*, p. 217). Bolognetti reported five days later that in a meeting with Ostrozkyi, the prince “demonstrated the same desire for union as at other times” (*MPV*, vol. 7, pp. 434), which belies Halecki’s view that the palatine was cool towards unification. The question of Ostrozkyi’s attitude towards union was treated by G. Mylanyk, “Constantini Senioris Ducis de Ostrog pro Unione Ecclesiastica activitas. Dissertatio historico-dogmatica supra Tabullarii Secreti Vaticani potissimum instituta.” Ph.D. diss., Pontificia Università Urbaniana (Rome, 1940) and by Kempa *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski*, pp. 119–70. See also the articles cited above, p. 354n2.

⁷⁰ See proposals concerning the project to move Jeremiah to Ruthenian or Muscovite lands in the exchanges between Secretary of State di Como, Bolognetti, and Possevino, in *MPV*, vol. 7, pp. 204–206, 307–309, 315, 318, 385–86, 392, 400, 405. See also Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, pp. 216–17.

⁷¹ See the dispatches of Bolognetti in *MPV*, vol. 6, pp. 424, 524.

⁷² A reference to a patriarch in connection with Ostrozkyi’s estates appears in a report of Nuncio Germanico Malaspina (1592–1598) dated 15 October 1594, according to which Janusz Ostrozkyi informed the nuncio that two weeks earlier his father had sent an invitation to a “Catholic patriarch” in Venice, summoning him to Ostrih to “reform his [the palatine’s] estates and himself.” (see *Litterae nuntiorum*, vol. 2, p. 26). The Venetian prelate in question was in fact the Orthodox metropolitan Gabriel Severos, who, according to the nuncio to Venice, Cesare Spacciano (1592–1597), was respected and well endowed by the Greeks of the city, and would not be allowed to leave (dispatch of 12 November, see *ibid.*, p. 30). It is unlikely that this is another example of Ostrozkyi’s pretensions for a domestic patriarchate, as Krajcar argues, “Konstantin Basil Ostrožskij and Rome,” pp. 211–12. With so much talk of patriarchs in the air, having heard that his father was writing to Venice, Janusz probably confused the title of the addressee with that of the *Latin* Catholic

patriarch of Grado, the honorary designation of the Roman rite ordinary of Venice.

⁷³ Although there does not seem to be any direct evidence supporting such a connection, it is not impossible that news of the discussions involving Rome and the Ostrih circle concerning a patriarchate may have reached Moscow, providing a stimulus for Muscovite patriarchal ambitions.

⁷⁴ Though baptised Vasylii (Basil), Ostrozkyi generally used the name Konstantyn (Constantine). He was compared to Emperor Constantine in the laudatory verses of Herasym Smotryts'kyi printed on the verso of the title page of the Ostrih Bible:

И ты крестное знаменіе нетуне носиши,
 великому Константину ним ся подобииши.
 Онъ бо на небеси сіе видѣвъ[,] побѣдиль съпостаты,
 ты же побѣждаи еретикъ и бѣсовъ три статы.
 Крестъ бо похвала царемъ,
 бѣсомже незносныи яремъ.

Instead of the lance and sword of a warrior, Ostrozkyi uses the “остреишее меча обоюдоостра слово божіе.” The verses are reprinted along with a facsimile, in Viktoriia Petrivna Kolosova and Volodymyr Ivanovych Krekoten', eds. *Ukraïns'ka poeziia, kinets' XVI–pochatok XVII st.* (Kyiv, 1978), pp. 61–63. As descendants of Rus' princes, the Ostrozkyis claimed Riurikid princes, including Volodimer the Great, as their ancestors. A connection between Volodimer and Ostrozkyi is alluded to in his preface to the Bible describing his own efforts to publish a Church Slavonic edition of the Scriptures using the translation from the Greek Septuagint attributed (falsely) to the “time of Volodymer the Great, who baptized the land of the Rus” (see Mathiesen, “Making of the Ostrih Bible,” appendix C, p. 108). Krajcar states that the phrase from the introductory statement to the Bible, “I, Constantine, called Basil in holy baptism...,” is taken from the liturgical verses of the Feast of St. Constantine the Great, Equal to the Apostles, on 21 May (see Krajcar, “Konstantin Basil Ostrožskij and Rome,” pp. 208–209). An examination of the service to Constantine and Helena reveals no such phrase. Since the assumption of a new name at Baptism is of later origin, the Emperor Constantine was christened with his pagan name.

⁷⁵ This was argued by Hrushevskyi, who imputed to the prince a lack of fortitude, persistence, and energy in pursuing cultural goals, in exercising his political power and authority, but also in standing up for members of his family (e.g., his niece Hal'shka was forced into an unwanted marriage with Łukasz Górka) or for the patriarchal exarch Nikephoros, who after the Union of Brest was arrested by royal officials and subsequently died in prison (see Hrushevskyi, vol. 6, pp. 480–83).

⁷⁶ Bolognetti reported 29 August 1584 that in a meeting with Ostrozkyi, the prince “teneva per buona la nostra, ma non per male la sua religione” (*MPV*,

vol. 7, pp. 434). Halecki interprets this to mean that Ostroz'kyi "considered both religions, the Catholic and his own, equally good" (*From Florence to Brest*, p. 220); following, but not referring to, Halecki is Krajcar, "Konstantin Basil Ostroz'skij and Rome," p. 210 ("genuinely committed to a revival of Ruthenian religious life"). During that meeting Possevino gave the palatine some gifts sent from Rome, among them two ornate printed missals including the new calendar, as signs of the pope's "consolatione ch'egli sostenesse le chiese latine fra l'altre rutene della sua giurisdittione." Krajcar, who imputes religious indifference to Prince Ostroz'kyi, refers to this papal gesture as a sign of the palatine's willingness to "proclaim [emphasis added] that both religious attitudes, Catholic and Orthodox, were equally good." Without citing Halecki, Krajcar repeats almost verbatim the former's claim that Ostroz'kyi "considered both religions, the Catholic and his own, to be equally good." He also reproduces the typographical error in Halecki's work, dating the document to 9 August; see "Konstantin Basil Ostroz'skij and Rome," p. 210.

⁷⁷ "La qual offerta fu sentita molto volentieri dal Sr. duca, et non solamente si contentò ch'io facessi la richiesta a nome suo, ma mostrò che gli saria carissimo et mene ringratiò con levarsi in piedi, aggiungendo che nello stato suo non haveva persona d'alcuna eruditione, per venir nominate dal Re a quelle chiese soggetti non atti a fruttificare per beneficio dell'anime. Di che il segretario cominciò a ridere, et replicò più volte in polacco: 'Questo dunque ho io da dire al legato?' Et rispondendo sempre il duca: 'sì, sì,' melo disse" (*MPV*, vol. 6, p. 385). For other references to Ostroz'kyi's repeated and unanswered requests for teachers from Rome, see *ibid.*, pp. 198, 364–66.

⁷⁸ The influence of Ostroz'kyi's Catholic wife, Zofia Tarnowska, who died in 1570, undoubtedly played some role in the subsequent conversion of Janusz and Konstantyn. Ostroz'kyi's third son, Aleksander (Aleksander), remained Orthodox until his death in 1603. Ostroz'kyi's two daughters married non-Orthodox husbands. Kateryna (Katarzyna) married Krzysztof Mikołaj Radziwiłł, later grand hetman of Lithuania, a great protector of the Reformed in the Grand Duchy. The elder Hal'shka (Elżbieta) (d. 1599) was given in marriage to Jan Kiszka [Ivan Kyshka], a leading magnate in the Grand Duchy and a staunch Antitrinitarian: after the death of her husband and sister, she married her brother-in-law. Since his sons left no offspring the Ostroz'kyi line ended with the death of Janusz in 1620 (Hrushev'skyi, vol. 6, p. 380 and *Polski słownik biograficzny s.v.*, "Ostrogski, Aleksander"; "Ostrogski, Janusz"; "Ostrogski, Konstanty Wasyl"; "Radziwiłł, Krzysztof, zwany Piorunem"; "Kiszka, Jan"; and discussed more fully in Kempa, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski, passim*. Although Ostroz'kyi was most displeased by the conversion of his sons, it did not preclude their close cooperation in questions of Ostroz'kyi landholdings. The marriages of his daughters to Protestants, occurring in the 1570s and early 1580s, are an indication that at this time confessional differences were not considered an obstacle to wedlock by Ostroz'kyi and other magnates; factors such as political influence and wealth were more important than religion in the determination of potential spouses.

Notes to Chapter 9

¹ The confraternity statutes, which lay down some forty-one rules for the organization, as confirmed by Joachim, have been published many times; see, for example, *Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 3, pp. 3–15 (Greek and sixteenth-century Ruthenian Church Slavonic translation; pp. 91–93 is a contemporary Polish translation of part of the text); also in *Mon. Confr.*, no. 80, pp. 113–19 (Ruthenian Church Slavonic text).

² Concerning the sources for the development of the Ruthenian confraternities and the nature of the lay initiative, see Iaroslav Dmytrovych Isaievych, *Dzherela z istorii ukrains'koï kul'tury doby feodalizmu XVI–XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1972), pp. 16–50, 59, especially pp. 19–22.

³ See A. S. Krylovskii, *L'vovskoe stavropigial'noe bratstvo. Opyt tserkavno-istoricheskogo issledovaniia* (Kyiv, 1904), p. 41.

⁴ Besides those two, the foundation or activity of the following confraternities is attested in the 1580s or 1590s: **Krasnystaw** (confirmed by Patriarch Joachim, ratified by Patriarch Jeremiah 30/20 September 1589, see *Mon. Confr.*, no. 127, pp. 200–201; cf. Isaievych, *Bratstva*, p. 40); **Rohatyn** (established by Patriarch Jeremiah, letter from Ternopil' of October 1589); **Sataniv** (community requests the statutes of the L'viv confraternity 6 September 1590, see *Mon. Confr.*, vol. 1, p. 150); **Brest** (Zygmunt III ratified confraternity and permitted the opening of a school, 28 January 1591, see *AZR*, vol. 4, no. 28, pp. 37–39); **Horodok** (letter of burghers to Metropolitan Mykhail [Rahoza], 9 September/30 August 1591, promising to conduct a program according to the statutes of the L'viv confraternity ratified by Patriarch Joachim, in *Mon. Confr.*, vol. 1, no. 197, pp. 305–306); **Komarno** (established by the bishop of Przemyśl Mykhail [Kopysten'kyi] 12/2 February 1591, see *Mon. Confr.*, vol. 1, no. 215, pp. 334–39); **Peremyshl'** (letter to the L'viv confraternity 19 August 1592, in *Mon. Confr.*, vol. 1, no. 241, pp. 370–71); **Mensk** (letter of Zygmunt III, 11 September 1592, permitting the opening of a school, the construction of a hospital and meeting hall for the confraternity, and the brewing of mead four times per year, with proceeds going to the hospital, see *AZR*, vol. 4, no. 36, pp. 53–54); **Orsha** (royal permission for confraternity to brew mead twice annually, granted 15 October 1592, see *AZR*, vol. 4, no. 39, pp. 57–58); **Lublin** (established by Jeremiah, confirmed by Metropolitan Mikhail 8 July/28 June 1594, see *Arkhiv ZR*, vol. 6, no. 105); **Bielsk Podlaski** (confraternity with statutes approved by Patriarch Jeremiah, along with school, and hospital confirmed by Bishop Ipatii (Potii) of Volodymyr 9 July/29 June 1594, see *AZR*, vol. 4, no. 49, pp. 69–71); **Hol'shany**, **Halych**, **Bil'sk** and “many others” (mentioned in the decree of Metropolitan Mykhail and the Ruthenian synod concerning the statutes of the L'viv and Vilnius confraternities, 4 July/24 June 1594, in *Mon. Confr.*, vol. 1, no. 312, pp. 516, also in *AZR*, vol. 4, pp. 67–69]. These confraternities are listed by Kazimierz Lewicki, *Książę Konstanty Ostrogski a unia brzeska 1596 r.* (L'viv, 1933), pp. 54–55

[=Archiwum Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie, sec. 2, vol. 11, fasc. 1]. Concerning the role of the L'viv confraternity as a model for others, see Isaievych, *Bratstva*, pp. 38–41.

⁵ See Bishop Hedeon's appeal of 18/8 November 1585 to the Ruthenian community to contribute funds, *Mon. Confr.*, no. 79, pp. 11–12, also in Iaroslav Dmytrovych Isaievich et al., comp. *Pershodrukar Ivan Fedorov ta ioho poslidovnyky na Ukraïni XVI–persha polovyna XVII st. Zbirnyk dokumentiv*, no. 48, pp. 80–82. The call for donations was renewed 20/10 December 1586, with reference to the need to establish “a Greek school [associated] with the press,” *ibid.*, no. 53, p. 87 (also in *Mon. Confr.*, no. 89, pp. 142–43). On 13/3 May 1587 Hedeon gave a bill of recommendation to collectors of funds for the L'viv school and press, *ibid.*, no. 55, p. 89 (also in *Mon. Confr.*, no. 91, p. 145).

⁶ For the text, see *AZR*, vol. 4, pp. 29–31; and the 20 June 1590, “Epistle of Metropolitan of Kyiv Mykhail and the bishops,” defending the brotherhood against the accusations of Hedeon.

⁷ Full title: *Adelphotēs. Грамматика доброглаголиваго еллино-словенскаго языка*. For its text, see *Adelphotēs. Die erste gedruckte griechisch-kirchenslavische Grammatik, L'viv-Lemberg 1591*, ed. Olexa Horbatsch (Frankfurt am Main, 1973) [=Specimina Philologiae Slavicae, 2].

⁸ Full title: *Prosp̄hōnēta. Привѣтъ преосвященному архієпископу кир Михаїлу, Митрополиту Київському и Галицкому и всея Росѣин въ братской школѣ лвовьской съставленыи егда же въ градѣ Львовѣ, первѣе посвященномъ рукоположеніи бѣ. Генуарія 17 року 1591*. For the text, see Viktoriia Petrivna Kolosova and Volodymyr Ivanovych Krekoten', eds., *Ukraïns'ka poeziia. Kinets' XVI—pochatok XVII stolittia* (Kyiv, 1978), pp. 137–44. For a philological analysis, see Hartmut Trunte, “Die zweisprachigen Teile des ‘PROSPHONEMA’. Zu Autorschaft und Entstehung des lemberger Panegyrikos vom 1. Februar 1591,” in *Studien zu Literatur und Kultur in Osteuropa. Bonner Beiträge zum 9. Internationalen Slawistenkongreß in Kiew*, eds. Hans-Bernard Harder and Hans Rothe (Cologne-Vienna, 1983), pp. 325–51 [=Bausteine zur Geschichte der Literatur bei den Slaven, 18].

⁹ The career of Patriarch Meletios and his role in Ruthenian Church affairs deserve a separate monograph to update the rather polemical work by Malyshevskii.

¹⁰ For basic descriptions of the confraternity editions up to and including 1700, see Zapasko and Isaievych, *Pam'iatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva*, vol. 1, pp. 29–116.

¹¹ Membership in the brotherhood was open to anyone who was able to pay the inscription fee: “А кто бы хотѣлъ вступити в сіе братство, или мещанинъ, или шляхтичъ, или предмещанинъ, или посполитыхъ людей вшелякого стану, якъ тутешний такъ сторонний, маеть дати

вступного грошей шесть, а который бы брат мешкане мѣль далекое от сего братства, тогда в рокъ по шести грошей маеть давати до скринки братской” (*Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 3, p. 8).

¹² Concerning the origins and early history of the confraternities, see Hrushevskyi, vol. 6, 499–509.

¹³ For what follows I express my indebtedness to John O’Malley, who shared with me his insights on the history of early-modern Western Christendom.

¹⁴ The classic study, which helped generate the intense historiographical interest in the development of confraternities in early-modern Latin Europe is Gilles-Gérard Meersseman, *Ordo Fraternalitatis. Confraternite e pietà dei laici nel medioevo*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1977) [=Italia Sacra, 24–26]. Another seminal study that ranges more widely but deals extensively with the *scuole* (confraternities) in Venice is Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State to 1620* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971). See also Ronald F. E. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1982); Luigi Fiorani, ed., *Le confraternite romane. Esperienza religiosa, società, committenza artistica* (Rome, 1984); and Christopher Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989). A recent work with a particular focus is Konrad Eisenbichler, ed., *Crossing the Boundaries: Christian Piety and the Arts in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Confraternities* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1991). An excellent survey of scholarship about confraternities in Italy (with bibliography) is Danilo Zardin, “Le confraternite in Italia settentrionale fra XV e XVIII secolo,” *Società e Storia* 10 (1987): 81–137.

¹⁵ Zardin, “Le confraternite in Italia,” p. 84.

¹⁶ Vincenzo Paglia, “La pietà dei carcerati.” *Confraternite e società a Roma nei secoli XVI–XVIII* (Rome, 1980), pp. 87–88 [=Biblioteca di storia sociale, 11]. The statistics cited are for urban confraternities in Italy, about which more is known, given the present state of scholarship. However, confraternities were also widespread in Spain and in parts of the empire, see Maureen Flynn, *Sacred Charity: Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400–1700* (Ithaca, New York, 1989) and Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster, 1535–1618* (New Haven, 1984), pp. 98–102.

¹⁷ See the inventories of merchandise and belongings of L’viv burghers in Sribnyi, “Studii,” vol. 115, pp. 33–52, 56–57. Iaroslav Dmytrovych Isaievych’s monograph on Ukrainian confraternities, in which he discusses the origin and development of the *bratstva* in the broader context of the pan-European confraternity phenomenon, is in press. See his “Between Eastern Tradition and Influence from the West: Confraternities in Early Modern Ukraine and Byelorussia,” *Ricerche slavistiche* 37 (1990): 269–93.

¹⁸ For background, see Ivan Kryp’iakevych, “L’vivs’ka Rus’ v pershii polovyni XVI v.,” *ZNTSh* 77 (1907): 77–106; 78 (1907): 26–50.

¹⁹ Hrushevskyi points out that the struggle over the calendar reform, and the vindication of the Ruthenian right to preserve the old calendar further

emboldened the L'viv burghers (vol. 6, pp. 510–11). Early seventeenth-century observers also connected the calendar dispute with reforming activity. Immediately after describing (s.a. 1583) the strife created by the calendar reform the Barkulabava chronicle, written sometime after 1608, continues: “Того жъ часу почали у во [*sic*] Львове, у месте Виленскомъ, у Берестю школы науку выдавати, братерство якоесь установляти и тымъ законъ и веру утвержати” (“Barkulabovskaia letopis’,” p. 7).

²⁰ See the letter from Metropolitan Makarii informing Bishop Arsenii that the metropolitan had released the L'viv burghers, Davyd, Fylyp, Stets'ko, and Ivan from Arsenii's anathema and admonishing him, under pain of canonical censure, not to condemn innocent individuals, in *Mon. Confr.*, no. 14, pp. 22–23.

²¹ For claims against Arsenii, reproofs from Zygmunt I and Zygmunt II, and rebukes from Metropolitan Makarii, see *Mon. Confr.*, no. 12–20, pp. 19–31.

²² For documents illustrating the conflicting claims to the L'viv bishopric, see *Arkhiv IuZR*, vol. 10, pt. 1, no. 23–26, pp. 37–42, no. 29, pp. 50–51; no. 200, pp. 491–92.

²³ See Zygmunt II's letter of 20 November 1576, in *Arkhiv IuZR*, vol. 10, pt. 1, no. 30, pp. 52–54.

²⁴ Numerous documents in *Mon. Confr.* reflect Bishop Hedeon's continual and sometimes violent struggle with the confraternity, in which, as in his father's time, control over the St. Onuphrius Monastery became a bone of contention. For a discussion of the conflict of the Balabans with L'viv burghers, see Krylovskii, *L'vovskoe stavropigial'noe bratstvo*, pp. 137–60, where, however, the sources are not always critically interpreted. See also Hrushevs'kyi, vol. 6, pp. 522–26.

²⁵ The designation “confraternity” appeared in the statutes of the associations of laity at the L'viv suburban churches of the Annunciation (1542) and St. Nicholas (1544) as well as in the town of Vyshnia (1563), thirty-two miles west of L'viv, see *Vestnik Iugo-Zapadnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii* (1862), no. 3, pp. 98–100; cited after Isaievych, *Bratstva*, p. 218n57. *Mon. Confr.*, no. 8, pp. 13–15 and *Arkhiv IuZR*, vol. 6, pt. 1, pp. 50–52. The 1544 document, issued originally by Bishop Makarii (Tuchaps'kyi), was signed by Patriarch Joachim, presumably in 1586, to underscore the patriarchally bolstered dignity of the confraternity.

²⁶ Concerning the first confraternities in Ukraine and the reconstitution of the L'viv Dormition confraternity in 1585–86, see Isaievych, *Bratstva*, especially pp. 16–32. From earlier literature about the L'viv brotherhood, most significant for our discussion, see especially Krylovskii, *L'vovskoe stavropigial'noe bratstvo*, and Sribnyi, “Studiï.” His last four installments survey the economic life of the confraternity. For a critical view of the activity of the laity in early-modern Ruthenian ecclesiastical affairs, see Viacheslav Zaikin [Zaikyn], *Uchastie svetskogo èlementa v tserkovnom upravlenii, vybornoe nachalo i “sobornost’” v Kievskoi mitropolii v XVI i XVII vv.* (Warsaw, 1930).

²⁷ “А если бы братъ брата словомъ въ братствѣ наганбивъ, маеть быти каранъ сѣдѣнемъ [на звонници], а вины камен воску мает дати и брата перепросити не ѡтходячи, и все братство перепросити. Слова непотребни корчемнии хто бы мовиль в братствѣ, вины фунтъ воску; всяко слово гнило, да не исходить из усть ваших и пребывай в суесловіихъ и иглумленіихъ [sic], душею и тѣломъ блудникъ есть . . . А который бы братъ был каранъ сѣдѣнемъ или виною, маеть по карности зараз перепросити того, кому был провиниль, да не зайдетъ солнце во гнѣвъ вашему.” (*Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 3, p. 9).

²⁸ “Проклятъ бо всякъ, творяй дѣла господня с небреженіемъ” (*Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 3, p. 9).

²⁹ Krylovskii’s discussion of the membership, structure, and administration of the brotherhood includes references to the various responsibilities of confraternity leaders and members (*L’vovskoe stavropigial’noe bratstvo*, pp. 46–74).

³⁰ Isaievych maintains that the school was in existence at the time of Joachim’s arrival in L’viv. He cites Patriarch Jeremiah’s document of 1 December 1587, according to which Joachim confirmed all of these “corporal institutions” (ἅπαντα σωματικῶς εὐρεθείας διὰ γραφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐνεβαίωσεν), including the confraternity, hospital, and school (the Greek text and contemporary Church Slavonic and Polish translations can be found in *Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 7, pp. 35–38, 93–95; here p. 37). See Isaievych, *Bratstva*, p. 129; cf. Kharlampovich, *Zapadnorusskie pravoslavnye shkoly XVI i nachala XVII veka, otnoshenie ikh k inoslavnym, religioznoe obuchenie v nikh i zaslugi ikh v dele zashchity pravoslavnoi very i Tserkvi* (Kazan’, 1898), p. 290.

³¹ Isaievych, *Bratstva*, pp. 131, 237n19. It seems that, of the late sixteenth-century pupils, only one was a Greek, see *Arkhiv IuZR*, vol. 1, pt. 1, no. 33, pp. 57–60; cited by Sribnyi, “Studii,” *ZNTSh*, vol. 108, p. 16.

³² Zyzanii (from *to zizaniōn*) is the Hellenized form of Stefan’s surname Kukol’, meaning “tare, weed.” Stefan taught in the L’viv school until 1593 when he was summoned to Vilnius to teach in the local school and to preach. Stefan was condemned by the Uniate synod in 1596 for his anti-union activity. In that year in Vilnius he published *Казанье святого Кирилла патриарьхи іерусалимьского, о антихристѣ и знаках его. З розширеніем науки против ересей розных* (215 fols.). His brother Lavrentii Zyzanii-Tustanovskiyi (d. after the beginning of 1634) until 1592 taught at the school in L’viv, then moved to Brest and Vilnius, where in 1596 the confraternity printed his Church Slavonic grammar. Among Lavrentii’s other publications were the *Katekhizis* (Moscow, 1627) and translations from the Greek fathers, conducted jointly with other scholars. For basic biographical information on the Zyzanii brothers, a listing of their bibliographies, and references to further literature, see Leonid Iefremovych Makhnovets’ *Ukrains’ki pys’mennyky. Biobibliografichnyi slovnyk*. Vol. 1: *Davnia ukrains’ka literatura* (Kyiv, 1960), pp. 346–52.

³³ About Arsenios, see Aleksei Afanas'evich Dmitrievskii, *Arkhiepiskop elassonskii Arsenii i memuary ego iz russkoi istorii po rukopisi trapezuntskogo Sumeliiskogo monastyria* (Kyiv, 1899) and the monograph by Photios Ar. Dēmētrakopoulos, *Arsenios Elassonos (1550–1626). Vios kai ergo. Symvolē stē meletē tōn metavyzantinōn logiōn tēs Anatolēs* (Athens: Imago, 1984); idem, "On Arsenios, Archbishop of Elasson," *Byzantinoslavica* 42 (1981): 145–53; as well as Kharlampovich, *Zapadnorusskie pravoslavnye shkoly*, pp. 374–77. For comments on Arsenios' memoirs, see Borys A. Gudziak, "The Sixteenth-Century Muscovite Church and Patriarch Jeremiah II's Journey to Muscovy 1588–1589: Some Comments Concerning the Historiography and Sources," *HUS* 19: 200–225.

³⁴ About Arsenios' background and youth, the school in Trikkala, and Arsenios' early ecclesiastical career, see Dēmētrakopoulos, *Arsenios Elassonos*, pp. 1–52; Dmitrievskii, *Arkhiepiskop elassonskii*, pp. 1–11.

³⁵ See Theoleptos' 27 May 1585 letter to Tsar Fedor Ivanovich, given to the Muscovite envoy Boris Blagoi and sent ahead by Blagoi with the Athonite monk Niphon (the *grecheskie dela* called him Nifont; Dmitrievskii refers to him as Neofit, and, following him, Dēmētrakopoulos calls him Neophytos), in which the patriarch complains about the impoverishment of the Great Church and the lack of regular income. The letter, as recorded in a Muscovite translation in the *grecheskie dela*, is quoted in *Snosheniia*, pp. 152–55. Niphon also carried letters from Patriarch Sylvester of Alexandria, who informed the tsar that finally, under the God-fearing Theoleptos, nephew of Patriarch Metrophanes, peace has been established in the patriarchate and encouraged Fedor to disregard any negative letters from "evil people" concerning Theoleptos. Sylvester encouraged the tsar to keep the faith and to ignore the teachings of the Latins and Lutherans. Patriarch Theoleptos commended the patriarch of Alexandria to the tsar's patronage (*ibid.*, pp. 155–58). Patriarch Sophronios of Jerusalem wrote to Tsar Fedor reminding him of the needs of the Lord's Sepulcher (*ibid.*, pp. 158–59). Both Sylvester and Sophronios wrote to Tsarina Irina (*ibid.*, pp. 159–60). Sylvester also sent a letter to Metropolitan Dionisii (*ibid.*, pp. 161–63). The patriarch of Antioch did not send a letter through Niphon because he was about to make the trip to Muscovy himself. Concerning the designation of Arsenios and Paisios as patriarchal exarchs, see their letter (dated May) to Bishop Hedeon (Balaban) forbidding the practice of blessing foodstuffs in churches on Easter. The two Greek hierarchs issued the letter referring to the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople and both signed it using the title patriarchal exarch (Greek text, in Dēmētrakopoulos, *Arsenios Elassonos*, Appendix, A 1, pp. 177–78; contemporary Ruthenian Church Slavonic translation, in *Mon. Confr.*, no. 505, pp. 865–66, where Paisios is mistakenly called Theophanes). The blessing of Easter bread became a point of controversy, with the Greek hierarchs unsuccessfully seeking to suppress this practice, popular to the present. Just prior to the arrival of Arsenios, at Eastertime, Bishop Hedeon issued a diametrically opposite instruction to the burghers of Rohatyn, con-

demning those who under the influence of disinformation denied the need for the blessing of the Easter bread; see *Mon. Confr.*, no. 85, pp. 134–35, dated 1 April/22 March 1586.

³⁶ For the time of Arsenios' arrival at the Muscovite border Dmitrievskii provides information from the *Grecheskii stateinyi spisok*, no. 2, fol. 146, not given by Murav'ev, see *Arkhiepiskop Ellassonskii*, p. 11. The Muscovite document dismissing Arsenios and Paisios was issued in March, see *Snosheniia*, p. 169.

³⁷ Concerning the reception in L'viv, Dmitrievskii cites the unpublished Soumela manuscript of Arsenios' memoirs, see *Arkhiepiskop Ellassonskii*, p. 11.

³⁸ About Arsenios' stay in L'viv, see Dēmētrakopoulos, *Arsenios Ellassonos*, pp. 68–80.

³⁹ See Arsenios' proposal concerning the pedagogical program of the L'viv school, in Dēmētrakopoulos, *Arsenios Ellassonos*, pp. 179–80, Appendix, A 2; first published in *Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 5, pp. 19–20.

⁴⁰ About the grammar, see Kyrylo Studyn'skyi, "Adelphotēs, hrammatyka vydana u L'vovi v r. 1591," *ZNTSh* 7 (1895): pp. 1–42; Olexa Horbatsch, "Die erste gedruckte griechisch-kirchenslavische Grammatik aus dem Jahre 1591," serving as the introduction to his edition of the text of the grammar, pp. i–xvi (for full reference, see p. 375n7 above; and Dēmētrakopoulos, *Arsenios Ellassonos*, pp. 119–26).

⁴¹ Isaievych sees some indications that attempts were made to introduce philosophy into the curriculum. After Arsenios' departure Greek was taught by Kyrylo Trankvilion-Stavrovetskyi. The first mention of Latin being taught in the L'viv school is in the year 1604, when Iov Borets'kyi (later metropolitan) was confirmed as rector with responsibilities to teach Greek and Latin. Concerning the school and its program of studies see his discussion, *Bratsva*, pp. 129–38. Somewhat later (29/19 May and 2 August/23 July 1597), Patriarch of Alexandria Meletios Pegas wrote to the confraternity twice, urging it to establish a school of higher education, because he himself was not in a position to do so (see *Mon. Confr.*, no. 453, pp. 797–98; no. 453, p. 799). About the influence of the L'viv school on the development of education in Ukraine in the seventeenth century, see Isaievych, *Bratsva*, pp. 138–51.

⁴² The pedagogical rule (*poriadok shkolnyi*) is preserved in two versions (see *Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 6): one dated 18/8 October 1586 (for the Ruthenian and Greek texts, see *ibid.*, pp. 21–29); the other, slightly modified in 1588 (*ibid.*, pp. 30–34). The rule is discussed by Isaievych, *Bratsva*, pp. 151–65, and in the context of general European humanistic pedagogy by Natalia Pylypiuk, "The Humanistic School and Ukrainian Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century." Ph.D. Diss., Harvard University, 1989.

⁴³ The number of registered members subsequently declined; in 1604 it was thirty-four, in 1608–24 twenty-four, and in 1613–14 twenty-one. The register

for 1612 mentions thirty brothers, three new members, and the widows of seven former members. The membership was limited by the small number of Ruthenians owning residences in L'viv proper. (In 1609 there were some eighteen Ruthenian households within the city walls, see *Arkhiv IuZR*, vol. 11, pt. 1, pp. 303–304. For a discussion of attempts to secure the Ruthenian presence *intra muros* by keeping houses owned by Ruthenians in Ruthenian hands, see Sribnyi, “Studii,” vol. 111, pp. 14–20.) Later membership statistics were probably effected by the reluctance of some individuals to take the exceedingly solemn confraternity oath, condemned as blasphemous by the patriarch of Constantinople Timotheos II (1612–20). See his letter of 1620 in Krylovskii, *L'vovskoe stavropigial'noe bratsvo*, Appendix no. 33, pp. 71–73. Sribnyi provides a tabulation and discussion of the membership in the 1580s and 1590s and of its fluctuation in the first half of the seventeenth century, see “Studii,” vol. 106, pp. 32–40.

⁴⁴ Sribnyi discusses membership of Greek merchants in the Dormition confraternity, using as sources confraternity registers and lists of contributors for the Orthodox burghers' late sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century litigation against the L'viv city council and lobbying efforts at the Polish diets (“Studii,” vol. 111, pp. 5–24). Thus, in an early-seventeenth-century list, of twenty-six names of L'viv homeowners contributing to the Orthodox cause, twenty-three are Ruthenian and only three are Greek. Of some three hundred and forty-eight dwellers or homeowners in the L'viv suburbs listed, only five Greek names appear (*Arkhiv IuZR*, vol. 11, pt. 1, prot., pp. 26–34).

⁴⁵ On the following day this organization of burghers assembled to inventory the assets of the church at the St. Onuphrius Monastery, just outside the city walls. Isaievych reproduces significant sections of the minutes, which were recorded or copied (extracted) somewhat later (probably before the end of the sixteenth century); see *Bratsva*, pp. 29–31, including a facsimile.

⁴⁶ See Sribnyi, “Studii,” vols. 108, pp. 10–22 and 114, pp. 44–56, about Korniahtos' income and contributions to the confraternity; cf. Isaievych, *Bratsva*, pp. 50–51. About Korniahtos' difficulties with the Catholic-controlled L'viv city council and his solidarity with the Ruthenian Orthodox, see Sribnyi, “Studii,” vol. 115, p. 29. For Jeremiah's November 1587 appeal to Korniahtos, see *Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 13, p. 55. Appendix I in Krylovskii, *L'vovskoe stavropigial'noe bratsvo*, consists of a list of the registered confraternity members for 1586–1720. In the sixteenth century, only one Greek, Manoles Arphanes, was in the council of elders. In a later period, 1633–56, Greeks often constituted half or more of the council of elders; see Sribnyi, “Studii,” vol. 108, pp. 23–27. The construction of a new church for the Dormition parish began in 1591, and was completed in 1630, with significant support coming from Moldovan voevodas. For a general history of the construction and repeated rebuilding of the Dormition Church and belltower, see Oleksander Barvynskyi, “Stavropihiiska tserkva Uspeniia Pr. Bohorodytsi u L'vovi i zakhody kolo ii obnovy i prykrasy,” in *Zbirnyk L'vivs'koï Stavropihiï*.

Mynule i suchasne. Studii, zamitky, materialy, ed. Kyrylo Studyns'kyi (L'viv, 1921), pp. 1–54.

⁴⁷ *Iubileinoe izdanie*, vol. 1, nos. 3, 4.

⁴⁸ “Родъ російскій и греческій,” see *AZR*, vol. 4, no. 34, pp. 47–51.

⁴⁹ See the 9 December 1599 letter of the Moldovan voevoda Ieremia Movilă (*Ruth. Mohyla*) (1595–1600, 1600–1606) to the confraternity, in *Iubileinoe izdanie*, no. 36. About the trip of Krasovs'kyi and two brothers to Moldova, *Iubileinoe izdanie*, no. 87.

⁵⁰ See the document of 10 June 1593 issued by the L'viv surrogate Stanisław Pstrokoński requesting safe passage to Muscovy for five Ruthenian members of the confraternity traveling to Moscow to request the tsar's support for the building of a new church for the Dormition parish, in *Mon. Confr.*, no. 285, p. 465.

Notes to Chapter 10

¹ The first, headed by Gregorios, the ecclesiarch of the Hilandar Monastery, included four monks. The second consisted of Joachim, metropolitan of Bethlehem, with an entourage of three Christian Arabs, who had been joined by two Serbian priests. Patriarch Joachim carried letters of recommendation from the patriarchs of Constantinople (written in October of the previous year), Alexandria, and Jerusalem. His journey, which began in Jerusalem seventeen months earlier, included a six-month sojourn in Moldova. The metropolitan was detained in Muscovy until 1 September of the following year, see *Snosheniia*, pp. 128–34.

² *Snosheniia*, p. 133.

³ In 1584 the Muscovite envoy Ivan Meshenin (Mesheninov) returned from Ottoman lands with patriarchal letters consoling Tsar Ivan IV for the loss of his son and acknowledging the alms he had sent; see *Snosheniia*, pp. 135–44.

⁴ *Snosheniia*, pp. 145–46.

⁵ *Snosheniia*, pp. 146–47.

⁶ Assuming that the Ruthenian reporter could have recognized Greek, if that had been the language used by Joachim, the language referred to must have been Syrian Arabic, see the “Borkulabovskaia letopis',” p. 7.

⁷ See *Mon. Confr.*, pp. 111–132, nos. 80, 81, 82 a, 82 b, 83, 83 a.

⁸ See Iōannēs. Ch. Konstantinidēs, “Iōakeim, ho Ē Patriarchēs Antiocheias,” *Thrēskeutikē kai ēthikē egkyklopaideia*, vol. 6, cols. 1095–96.

⁹ Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, p. 177.

¹⁰ In Moscow on 5 July/25 June 1585 Joachim presented to the tsar a letter from Patriarch Theoleptos of Constantinople, in which Theoleptos assured the tsar that Joachim's election was canonical and asked him to be generous to

Joachim who had inherited a great debt. The letter was also signed by Patriarch Sylvester of Alexandria; see Shpakov *Prilozheniia*, pt. 1, p. 20. Joachim left Moscow in August (the letters from the tsar to the patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria given to Joachim upon his departure date from August 1587).

¹¹ According to the Muscovite envoy Boris Blagoi who returned from his embassy to the Ottoman Empire in December 1585, Patriarch Joachim, along with the patriarch of Alexandria, was present when Blagoi was received by the patriarch of Constantinople 3 May 1585; see *Snosheniia*, p. 148. Concerning the turbulence in the patriarchate, see the discussion in chapter 2 above.

¹² See reference to documents on p. 382n7 above.

¹³ *Pamiatniki, izdannye Kievskoiu komissieiu dlia razbora drevnikh aktov*, 2nd ed., vol. 3 (Kyiv, 1893), p. 43. For an interpretation of Joachim's activity in L'viv, see Hrushevs'kyi, vol. 6, pp. 513–16.

¹⁴ *Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 3, pp. 3–15; *Mon. Confr.*, pp. 113–19. The beginning, end, and certain articles about the contemporary Slavic translation were rendered in Church Slavonic, but the articles about organizational structure were in Ruthenian. Given that Joachim was to have issued the solemn confirmation of the confraternity upon entering L'viv, it is likely that he was in fact confirming a document that had been substantially composed before his arrival. It is quite possible that the drafters had used as a basis for the document an earlier (Slavic) version of the brotherhood rules and regulations. For a hypothesis concerning the redaction of Joachim's charter, see Hrushevs'kyi, vol. 6, p. 514n1. The document bears Joachim's seal but not his signature. The charter was signed by Metropolitan Mykhail (after his appointment to the metropolitanate in the fall of 1589) and his protonotarius, Hryhorii. Mykhail may have signed the document at the Brest synod held on 2 July/22 June 1590, which confirmed the L'viv confraternity's statutes and adjudicated the dispute between it and the L'viv bishop, Hedeon, in favor of the confraternity; see Isaievych, *Bratstva*, p. 34.

¹⁵ The English translation is made from the Greek text, see *Diplomata Statutaria*, pp. 13–15, for the Greek and the sixteenth-century Ruthenian Church Slavonic text (the version used most by the Ruthenians). The phrase regarding the confraternity's right to monitor the bishop reads as follows in Slavic: “Аще же и епископъ сопротивитя закону истиннѣ и не по правиломъ святыхъ апостоль и святыхъ штець, строяще церковь, развращающе праведныхъ в неправду, подкрѣпляюще руки беззаконникомъ, таковому епископу сопротивити ся всѣмъ, якъ врагу истинны” (*ibid.*, p. 12).

¹⁶ Krylovskii compares the 1586 document with the bylaws of the Annunciation Confraternity in L'viv (1542) and the Holy Trinity Confraternity in Vyshnia (1563); *L'vovskoe stavropigial'noe bratstvo*, pp. 35–40 (where a synoptic table of statute articles is provided). On 18 February 1544, Bishop

Makarii (Tuchapskyi) confirmed the bylaws of the St. Nicholas association of laity in the suburbs of L'viv. All three statutes have similar provisions; Sribnyi, "Studii," *ZNTSh*, vol. 106, p. 27.

¹⁷ *Arkhiv IuZR*, vol. 11, pt. 1, p. 92.

¹⁸ See the L'viv city council registration of Bishop Hedeon's claim against members of the confraternity, which in the document is called "... fraternitatis novae a reverendissimo Joachimo patriarcha Antiochiae maioris institutae et per Hieremiam constantinopolitanum patriarcham confirmatae," (*Mon. Confr.*, no. 118, p. 186 [8 November 1589]). In the articles of the Vilnius statutes the theme of charity is developed much more extensively than in the L'viv statutes, which are characterized by admonitions against various abuses in the laity and clergy, giving the L'viv statutes, in Krylovskii's words, a "strict and rather stern" tone. One difference in the statutes is that the Vilnius code begins with an extended preface addressed to all pious Orthodox, explaining the importance of charity in building the Church. Unlike the L'viv bylaws, the Vilnius statutes include the text of the confraternity oath and expand on the condition for membership, specifying that clergy and women can be members. The Vilnius code is more precise in some of its formulations. The differences between the two documents can be explained by the fact that the Vilnius code was prepared for publication and meant for a readership extending beyond the confraternity; see Krylovskii, *L'vovskoe stavropigial'noe bratstvo*, pp. 41–42.

¹⁹ At the turn of the century Ioannes Semulas, metropolitan of Suceava, in a letter dated 30/20 September 1599 admonished the confraternity for its lack of respect for proper hierarchical authority, accusing the brothers of having the burghers "[Ivan] Krasov'skyi, as their patriarch, Iurko Rohatynets' as metropolitan and Ivan [Rohatynets'] as bishop," see *Mon. Confr.*, no. 484, pp. 825–26.

²⁰ According to Joachim's letter, it would seem that in the winter of 1585–86 the school was not yet functioning; see *Ivan Fedorov ta ioho poslidovnyky na Ukraïni*, no. 49, pp. 82–83; also in *Mon. Confr.*, no. 81, pp. 120–21.

²¹ The document is preserved in two slightly different versions: an Arabic text with a corresponding Latin translation, and a Greek text with a Church Slavonic translation, see *Mon. Confr.*, no. 82 a and 82 b, pp. 121–31.

²² See *Mon. Confr.*, no. 88, pp. 138–40; also in *Pershodrukar Ivan Fedorov ta ioho poslidovnyky. Zbirnyk dokumentiv*, no. 50, pp. 83–84.

²³ "Аще ли же сия устроєнія небреженіємъ и завистію лукавою ни вочтоже вомѣнятся во конечное разорєніє приидемъ. Измѣненіє бо злобы начатокъ єсть во спасєніє, єяже измѣнитися тобою надѣмся," *Mon. Confr.*, no. 88, p. 140.

²⁴ Pegas was the protosynkellos and epitropos (i.e., *locum tenens*) of the patriarchate of Alexandria (1582–84, 1588–90) and later patriarch of Alexan-

dria (1590–1601). For most of the period between December 1596 and April 1597 Pegas also acted as administrator of the affairs of the patriarchate of Constantinople. The unpublished document is preserved in the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine (City of L'viv), fond 129, catalogue 1, no. 86.

²⁵ For the Greek text and its Church Slavonic version, escalating the harshness of Jeremiah's original, see *Mon Confr.*, no. 94, pp. 148–50. (Also in *Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 8, pp. 39–40. Here the document is dated November 1588, according to the mistaken date in the Church Slavonic version). The Church Slavonic text is also in *AZR*, vol. 3, p. 317.

²⁶ *Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 7, pp. 35–38, 93–95 (where the Greek text, and sixteenth-century Church Slavonic and Polish translations can also be found).

²⁷ Jeremiah sent a letter to Arsenios of Elassona in L'viv, advising him of his imminent journey; it arrived in May, almost at the same time as the patriarch crossed the frontier of the Commonwealth. Presumably, it had been sent shortly before Jeremiah's departure.

²⁸ Halecki mistakenly asserts that after Pachomios, “no less than three Patriarchs succeeded one another within a few months” (*From Florence to Brest*, p. 223). In fact, Theoleptos was the only patriarch to reign between Pachomios' brief term and Jeremiah's third incumbency.

²⁹ For a reconstruction of Jeremiah's route through the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, see Ivan Ignat'evich Malyshevskii, “Zametka po povodu mneniia, budto patr. Ieremiia poseshchal Kiev v 1588 ili 1589 gg.,” *TKDA* 1885 (December): 656–74. For discussions of Jeremiah's activity regarding the Kyivan metropolitanate, see Hrushev'skyi, vol. 5, pp. 550–61; Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, pp. 223–35; Russel P. Moroziuk, “The Role of Patriarch Jeremiah II Tranos in the Reformation of the Kievan Metropolia,” *Patristic and Byzantine Review* 5(2) 1986: 104–127.

³⁰ Arsenios' account of Jeremiah's trip was published by Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 35–81. A Russian translation of almost the entire text can be found in Nikolai Nikolaevich Ogloblin's “Arsenii, arkhiepiskop elassonskii i ego ‘Opisanie puteshestviia v Moskoviiu,’” *Istoricheskaia biblioteka* 1879 (8): 1–44 and 1879 (9): 45–97. For other bibliographical information, see discussion of sources in Borys A. Gudziak, “The Sixteenth-Century Muscovite Church and Patriarch Jeremiah II's Journey to Muscovy 1588–1589: Some Comments Concerning the Historiography and Sources,” *HUS* 19: 200–225.

³¹ See the account of Jeremiah's journey attributed to a member of his suite, Hierotheos of Monemvasia, in Sathas *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 19–20.

³² See Jeremiah's response to Boris Godunov's questioning upon the patriarch's arrival in Moscow, *Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 34.

³³ *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego*, vol. 4, ed. Kazimierz Lepszy (Cracow, 1950), no. 1329, p. 249 (dated 5

October 1588). Ippolito Aldobrandini considered that Zamoyski's proposal about transferring the patriarchate was put forth in a confused way, without first determining Jeremiah's confessional positions. The legate viewed the latter question as being of primary importance; see Theiner, *Vetera Mon.*, vol. 3, no. 61, p. 72.

³⁴ For Bishop Maciejowski's letter, see Theiner, *Vetera Mon.*, vol. 3, no. 46, pp. 41–42. A Russian translation of the relevant section can be found in Makarii, vol. 9, pp. 479–81. Halecki's discussion of Jeremiah's stay in the Commonwealth is chronologically ambiguous. Citing the day and month for the date of letters from Zamoyski to papal legate Ippolito Aldobrandini (6 October) and from the Catholic Bishop of Luts'k, Bernard Maciejowski to Annibal di Capua, nuncio in Warsaw, (23 August), Halecki neglects to specify the year. He then refers to the information about Jeremiah in the letters as a sign that Catholic civil and religious authorities prepared in advance for Jeremiah's sojourn in the Commonwealth. Halecki even goes so far as to say that "it was already known that coming to Poland, he would hold a synod in Wilno with his bishops of the eastern rite." However, both letters, dated 1588, were written *after* Jeremiah's short stay in the summer of 1588, during which Jeremiah called a synod for October, possibly expecting to attend it on his return from Moscow. Zamoyski and Maciejowski informed papal representatives about Jeremiah's stay in anticipation of his journey back to Constantinople. Halecki exaggerates the amount of attention Zamoyski paid to the union issue: "If that statesman [Zamoyski] who in spite of his very sincere Catholic convictions, was first of all a realistic politician and at the given moment was kept busy with the struggle against Archduke Maximilian and his partisans, carefully studied the proposals of Patriarch Jeremiah and in a long letter brought them to the attention of the papal Legate, the matter must have been in his opinion an important development with concrete chances of success" (*From Florence to Brest*, p. 224). The "long letter," the first part of which is devoted to political concerns, is slightly more than half a printed page in length. Zamoyski did host Jeremiah on the return journey, but subsequently the chancellor did not play a major role in union discussions. Halecki discusses Maciejowski's project (*From Florence to Brest*, pp. 224–28). Cf. Chodynicki, *Kościół*, p. 257.

³⁵ Stefan Batory died suddenly on 12 December 1586, at a time when Poland was gearing up for war with Muscovy. The ensuing election attracted numerous candidates, including Tsar Fedor Ivanovich, who generated much conflict and confusion in the Commonwealth. When questioned by Muscovite officials about affairs in the Commonwealth, Jeremiah refers to the strife: "А ныне у них нивестъ хто король" (*Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 34). After Fedor's elimination, two major contenders emerged. Sigismund—elected as Zygmunt III, King of Poland, on 19 August—was the candidate of Zamoyski's "Black" faction, named after the mourning attire its members wore commemorating the deceased Batory. On 22 September, the rival Habsburg party chose Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II, who was sup-

ported by the papacy and the finances of Guillen de San Clemente, the Spanish ambassador to the Commonwealth. Maximilian invaded through Silesia, but was captured by Zamoyski on 24 January 1588, at Byczyna. Zamoyski held him hostage until the Habsburgs renounced all claims to the throne. Since Jeremiah encountered Maximilian's envoys during his meeting with Zamoyski, it is probably these exploits that were the topic of the discussion the patriarch outlines. Cf. *Historia Polski*, vol. 1, *Do roku 1764*, pt. 2, *Od połowy XV w.*, ed. Henryk Łowmiański (Warsaw, 1957), pp. 504–505; Norman Davies, *God's Playground; A History of Poland*, vol. 1: *The Origins to 1795* (New York, 1982), p. 435. For a discussion of the partisan struggles after Zygmunt's election, see Kazimierz Lepszy, *Walka stronnictw w pierwszych latach panowania Zygmunta III* (Cracow, 1929) [=Prace Krakowskiego Oddziału Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego, no. 5]. For Muscovite involvement in the interregnum and Russian aspirations to the Polish crown, see Boris Nikolaevich Floria, *Russko-pol'skie otnosheniia i baltiiskii vopros v kontse XVI–nachale XVII v.* (Moscow, 1973), pp. 16–32; idem, *Russko-pol'skie otnosheniia i politicheskoe razvitie Vostochnoi Evropy vo vtoroi polovine XVII–nachale XVIII v.* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 141–216.

³⁶ It is at this point that Bernard Maciejowski, the Latin bishop of Luts'k, tried to catch Jeremiah in Brest after missing an earlier opportunity to meet with him to discuss the question of union.

³⁷ According to the anonymous Orthodox polemical treatise *Perestoroĥa*, written in the first years of the seventeenth century, Jeremiah indeed intended to be present in the fall of 1588 at the synod of Ruthenian bishops; see AZR, vol. 3, no. 148, p. 207.

³⁸ *Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 9, pp. 41–49.

³⁹ "... а з нимъ три владыки, всихъ было при немъ коней 50"; see "Barkulabovskaia letopis'," p. 9.

⁴⁰ Maciejowski heard about the date of the synod from Ipatii (Potii) in Brest. Although Jeremiah probably decreed the convocation of the synod while in Vilnius, news traveled quickly and reached Brest while Maciejowski was still there. From Maciejowski's words, it is clear that both he and Ipatii were very excited about the arrival of the patriarch. Consequently rumors about him traveled quickly. See Malyshevskii, "Zametka po povodu mneniia," p. 658n3.

Notes to Chapter 11

¹ Relatively little attention has been devoted to the establishment of the Moscow patriarchate in recent literature. The last major study of Jeremiah's sojourn in Muscovy is that by Aleksei Iakovlevich Shpakov, a comprehensive but mediocre, if industrious, example of late imperial Russian church historiography: *Gosudarstvo i tserkov' v ikh vzaimnykh otnosheniakh v Moskovskom gosudarstve*, vol. 2, *Tsarstvovanie Feodora Ivanovicha. Uchrezhdenie*

patriarshestva v Rossii. Prilozheniia, parts I and II appended (Odesa, 1912); in it he surveys earlier Russian historiography (pp. 257–58). For other treatments of Jeremiah's sojourn in Muscovy, see Makarii, vol. 10, pp. 3–54; Eugene-Melchior de Vogüé, “De Byzance à Moscou. Les voyages d'un patriarche,” *Revue des deux mondes* 32 (March 1879): 5–35. Russian translation, “Ot Vizantii do Moskvy (Puteshestvie Konstantinopol'skogo patriarkha Ieremii II-go v Moskvu v 1588 g.),” *TKDA* 1880 (1): 56–99; Pavel Nikolaevskii, “Uchrezhdenie patriarshestva v Rossii,” *Khristianskoe chtenie* 1879 (2): 3–40, 369–406, 552–81; 1880 (1): 128–58 (variant title used for last segment: “Snosheniia russkikh s Vostokom ob ierarkhicheskoi stepeni Moskovskogo patriarkha”); Anton Vladimirovich Kartashev, *Ocherki po istorii Russkoi tserkvi*, vol. 2, pp. 10–47; and more recently Steven Runciman, “Patriarch Jeremias II and the Patriarchate of Moscow,” *Aksum-Thyateira: A Festschrift for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain*, ed. George D. Dragas (London: Thyateira House, 1985), pp. 235–40 (many factual errors); Gerhard Podskalsky, “Die Einstellung des Ökumenischen Patriarchen (Jeremias II.) zur Erhebung des Moskauer Patriarchats (1589),” *OCP* 55 (1989): 421–37. The topic has been treated generally in numerous recent historical surveys or monographs on sixteenth-century Muscovite history. A number of relevant articles can be found in the volume produced as a result of one of the ongoing Italian-Russian seminars and entitled “Da Roma alla Terza Roma,” held in Rome, which is dedicated to the four-hundredth anniversary of the creation of the Moscow patriarchate; see Iaroslav Nikolaevich Shchapov, Pierangelo Catalano, et al., *IV Centenario dell'istituzione del patriarcato in Russia* (Rome, 1990). For additional information, see Borys A. Gudziak, “The Sixteenth-Century Muscovite Church and Patriarch Jeremiah II's Journey to Muscovy, 1588–1589: Some Comments concerning the Historiography and Sources,” *HUS* 19 (1995): 200–225.

² The literature on Ivan IV is immense. See for example Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Zimin, *Oprichnina Ivana Groznogo* (Moscow, 1964), pp. 7–54, where the author provides a survey of the historiography about the *Oprichnina*, and also characterizes the main interpretations of Ivan's reign. Soviet scholarship from the early 1940s to the late 1960s is analyzed by Robert O. Crummey, “Ivan the Terrible,” in *Windows on the Russian Past. Essays on Soviet Historiography since Stalin*, eds. Samuel H. Baron and Nancy W. Heer (Columbus, Ohio, 1977), pp. 57–74. For recent but disparate characterizations of Ivan IV and his reign, see Edward L. Keenan, “Vita. Ivan Vasilevich, Terrible Tsar: 1530–1584,” *Harvard Magazine* 89, no. 3 (1978): 48–49; Ruslan Grigorevich Skrynnikov, *Ivan Groznyi* (Moscow, 1981); and the volume of essays from a conference devoted to Ivan, *Ivan the Terrible: A Quarcentenary Celebration of His Death*, ed. Richard Hellie (Irvine, Calif., 1987) [=Russian History 14, no. 1/4 (1987)].

³ For a discussion of the influence of Byzantine models and rhetoric on the formation of Muscovite imperial ideology, see Vladimir Ivanovich Savva, *K voprosu o vliianii Vizantii na obrazovanie idei tsarskoi vlasti moskovskikh*

gosudarei (Kharkiv, 1901) and Ihor Ševčenko, "A Neglected Byzantine Source for Muscovite Political Ideology," *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954): 141–79, reprinted in *The Structure of Russian History*, ed. Michael Cherniavsky (New York, 1970), pp. 80–107; idem, "Agapetus East and West: Fate of a Byzantine 'Mirror of Princes,'" *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 16 (1978): 1–44. Also see Marc Szeftel, "The Title of the Muscovite Monarch up to the End of the Seventeenth Century," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 13 (1979): 59–81.

⁴ See David B. Miller, "The Coronation of Ivan IV of Moscow," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* n. s. 15 (1967): 559–74.

⁵ For recent discussions of Makarii's literary and ecclesiastical activity, see David B. Miller, "The *Velikie Minei Chetii* and the *Stepennaia Kniga* of Metropolitan Makarii and the Origins of Russian Nationalism," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 26 (1976): 262–382 and Jack E. Kollman Jr., "The Moscow *Stoglav* ("Hundred Chapters") Church Council of 1551," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1978. Kollman (p. 92), following Stepan Borisovich Veselovskii, *Issledovaniia po istorii oprichniny* (Moscow, 1963), p. 346, points out that Makarii was the first metropolitan of Moscow in seventy-five years to die while still in office. Of Makarii's five (six) successors, leading up to the pontificate of Iov, one resigned apparently of his own will, one (two) was (were) deposed, and a fourth, Filipp, was murdered (Makarii [Bulgakov], vol. 6, pp. 294–322). (It is unclear whether or not in fact German, the archbishop of Kazan', was elected metropolitan and deposed a few days later, *ibid.*, pp. 298–300.)

⁶ There is no adequate account of this period in Muscovite church history. Georgii Petrovich Fedotov, *Sv. Filipp: Mitropolit moskovskii* (Paris, 1928), pp. 117–31, should be consulted with great caution. Cf. Zimin, *Oprichnina Ivana Groznogo*, pp. 212–59. Zimin, in reflecting the obligatory Soviet reductionist approach to religious phenomena, discounts any moral component of the metropolitan's opposition to Ivan's policies and does not attribute Filipp's death to the personal conflict between the metropolitan and the tsar. Rather, he views it as "one of the last pages of the prolonged struggle, waged first by the grand-princely then the tsars' power to include the church into the state apparatus The accord [of the state] with the representatives of the strong, militant church in Rus' existed only as long as it was indispensable for the Muscovite sovereigns in their struggle for the establishment of state hegemony [*edinoderzhavie*]. As soon as this goal was reached, and the practice of the patrimonial monasteries (their great landholdings) and ecclesiastical-political theory (the superiority of spiritual over secular authority) came to conflict sharply with the policy of Russian autocracy, that accord at first suffered a deep fissure and later ruptured" (p. 259).

⁷ Edward L. Keenan, "Royal Russian Behavior, Style, and Self-image," in *Ethnic Russia in the USSR*, ed. Edward Allworth (New York, 1980), pp. 3–16.

⁸ For a characterization of Fedor Ivanovich, see Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, vol. 2, pp. 20–26; for Fedor's mental capacity and ability to rule, pp. 31–42.

⁹ For a discussion of the dynamics of court politics in Moscow and the oligarchical rule of boyar coalitions, see Edward L. Keenan "Muscovite Political Folkways," *Russian Review* 45 (1986): 115–81, and discussion essays published in *Russian Review* 46(2) 1987, especially, Robert O. Crumney, "The Silence of Muscovy," pp. 157–164; Richard Wortman, "'Muscovite Political Folkways' and the Problem of Russian Political Culture," pp. 191–98; and Keenan's "Reply," pp. 199–209. See also Nancy Shields Kollmann, *Kinship and Politics: The Making of the Muscovite Political System, 1345–1547* (Stanford, Calif., 1987).

¹⁰ For background information on Godunov, see Sergei Fedorovich Platonov, *Boris Godunov* (Prague, 1924), and Ruslan Grigorevich Skrynnikov, *Boris Godunov* (Moscow, 1978). Hugh F. Graham surveys the historiography about Boris in the introduction to his translation of Skrynnikov's *Boris Godunov* (Gulf Breeze, Fl., 1982), pp. vi–xvii.

¹¹ The senior equerry, or master of stables, administered numerous villages and great expanses of pasture land and fields, along with the equerry servitors who were entrusted with the tsar's many herds. The title was honorific by the sixteenth century, but still represented the most powerful and lucrative boyar position at court, Kollmann, *Kinship and Politics*, pp. 94–96.

¹² For a full discussion on the Lithuanian-Muscovite frontier, see Horst Jablonowski, *Westrussland zwischen Wilna und Moskau* (Leiden, 1961).

¹³ *Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 11.

¹⁴ *Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 15, 17–18, 26–28, 46–48, 55–56. Thus, for example, Semeika Pushechnikov is instructed to give different amounts of honey (боярского, паточного, цыженого) and dried fish (белая рыба, семьжина, на блюдо спинки белужьи) for the patriarch, for the local metropolitan, his archbishop, and for the archimandrite nearby, with the patriarch, metropolitan, and archbishop receiving a special honorary portion (*почетной корм*) from Moscow consisting of a "багат белужей, 2 спины осетри, 2 спины шеврижи, 5 белых рыбиц, 3 лососи, 5 сомог," and buckets of various kinds of honey, *ibid.*, pp. 17–18. For a discussion of sixteenth-century Muscovite fare, see Nina Aleksandrovna Gorskaia, "Pishcha," in *Ocherki russkoi kul'tury*, part 1, *Material'naia kul'tura*, ed. Artemii Vladimirovich Artsikhovskii (Moscow, 1976), pp. 218–24. By Muscovite standards the provisions were generous.

¹⁵ The translation of this letter is recorded in the *Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 11–12.

¹⁶ "А меня тут во времена не пустили, зашли на нас многие скорби и нужи, и опалы были в тягости, от неверного в темницу посажен был есми" (*Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 12). This sentence can be interpreted in two different ways. *Во времена* can mean the "fullness of power, ascendancy,

tenure.” In this case the sentence indicates that Jeremiah was hindered in asserting his authority “here,” that is in Constantinople. According to this interpretation, the letter would have been written in Constantinople, then translated, presumably after his departure from Constantinople. This would explain why the letter, written before the journey, offers no news about the trip through the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. If *во времена* is interpreted as meaning “at that time” and if the letter was translated or composed with the assistance of a Belarusian or Ukrainian whose language was influenced by Polish, the *мѹм* could be an adverb of location, used with a verb of directional motion: “At that time they did not permit me to come here.” According to the second interpretation Jeremiah alluded to a desire to make a trip to Muscovy earlier, but oppression and imprisonment in Constantinople prevented him from doing so.

17 “А товар бы естя у них пересмотрити и переписати велели, как к вам писано с Казенного двора” (*Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 13–14).

18 “. . . чтоб в те поры было в церкве чинно, и архимандриты б, и игумены, и попы были многие” and further, “А у вас бы в те поры было людно и нарядно, дети боярские, и головы, и сотники стрелетцкие, и стрельцы, и всякие торговые люди были нарядны” (*Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 14).

19 “. . . как митрополита нашего чтят по чину,” and again, “. . . как митрополита нашего чтите по чину владыки” (*Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 14, 15; emphasis added).

20 That the Muscovites were conscious of the higher ecclesiastical dignity of patriarchs as compared to metropolitans can be seen in the account of the first patriarchal visit to Muscovy. When Patriarch Joachim of Antioch was received in Moscow, Metropolitan Dionisii precipitously extended his blessing before Joachim had an opportunity to bless Dionisii. The second *posol'skaia kniga* records Joachim's evident but discreet consternation: “. . . и патреарха бл[а]гословил митрополитъ напередъ, а послѣ патреархъ бл[а]гословил митропо[ли]та, а о томъ патреархъ поговорил слехка, что пригоже было митрополиту ѿ него бл[а]гословен[и]е приняти наперед да и престал о томъ” (Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, vol. 2, *Prilozheniia*, pt. 1, p. 18).

21 Arsenios described the liturgical festivities in the memoirs discovered by Dmitrievskii. A Divine Liturgy, or *obednia* in Muscovite parlance, for the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul was celebrated on a Saturday. For Arsenios' account of Jeremiah's arrival and stay in Smolensk, see the excerpt of the Greek original and Dmitrievskii's Russian translation in *Arkhiepiskop elassonskii*, pp. 78–80.

22 *Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 20–21.

23 Although the report was not included in the *stateinye spiski* and presumably can be identified with the letter that provoked the admonitions from Moscow, the statistical information it contained was repeated in the first letter from the

tsar to the voevodas in Smolensk (*Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 13). It follows that the *stateinye spiski* do not constitute a complete record of incoming diplomatic information, at least not as complete as the historian would like. Shpakov enumerates the members of the suite, with minor discrepancies (Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, vol. 2, p. 281n2).

²⁴ The names of the archimandrite, the archdeacon (Arsenius in "Toils and Travels," refers to him as "protodeacon"; Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, p. 50), and Hierotheos' priest are mentioned in the list of food supplies received by members of the delegation (*Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 27). This list is at variance with the enumeration in the tsar's letter: supplies are given to the patriarch's eight servants (not nine), to Arsenios' one servant (not nine), and the elder Antonii from Serbia and his group are not mentioned at all. Antonii and his contingent are in fact absent from all subsequent inventories of supplies and gifts. Presumably he was included in the group of Wallachians and Ruthenians who, upon arrival in Moscow, were separated from the patriarch and lodged in the Lithuanian guest court (*Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 26). The many lists of gifts and provisions in the *Posol'skaia kniga* often mention only the most senior members of the delegation. Therefore it is necessary to look to more than one list to identify the entire entourage. The list of gifts given upon departure is our source for the names of the two priests, the elder, the steward, and the reader-singer with Jeremiah, and of Arsenios' servant. In addition four members of the party are further identified: Constantine and Demetrios are Jeremiah's nephews (*plemianniki*), Abraham is Constantine's uncle (*diadia*), and the elder Symeon is somehow also associated with Constantine (*Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 48–49). This last list refers to twenty-seven members, including Jeremiah, in the patriarchal delegation, and has been taken by some authors to be the correct tally. Thus, the introduction in the *Posol'skaia kniga* states that Jeremiah was accompanied by an entourage of twenty-seven men (p. 4; cf. Kartashev, *Ocherki po istorii Russkoi tserkvi*, vol. 2, p. 17).

²⁵ *Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 13–14. This information is not recorded in the first letter from the Smolensk voevodas, as it appears in the *Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 11.

²⁶ *Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 15–18.

²⁷ Although there is no explicit indication of the mandates the Muscovites expected, the circumstantial evidence is telling. According to the third *posol'skaia kniga* for Greek affairs, which preserves documentation for the years 1588–94, which includes Jeremiah's visit, the Muscovites speak of having broached the question of a patriarchate in "the Russian tsardom" with Joachim of Antioch, the first Eastern Orthodox patriarch to travel to Muscovy, in 1586. Curiously, the matter of the patriarchate is absent from the second *posol'skaia kniga* where the documentation pertaining to Joachim's 1586 trip is recorded, and where some mention of such a significant issue might have been expected. The reference in the third *kniga* to Patriarch Joachim appears in an account of the deliberations at court, during which it was decided to

confront Jeremiah with the patriarchal question. The reference to Joachim is found in the *Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 35–36. According to this passage the Muscovites decided that Jeremiah could remain in Muscovy as patriarch but must reside in Vladimir. Were he to refuse, he would be asked to ordain a patriarch. At this point the third *spisok* states that in 1586 the Muscovites had secretly (“*тайно*”) made an overture concerning the patriarchate to Joachim, who promised to present it before all the “patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and the entire synod” in Constantinople. The *spisok* then quotes Jeremiah’s response to the proposal. The patriarch of Constantinople allegedly stated that Joachim had conveyed the tsar’s request to the synod, which found it fitting for Muscovy to have a patriarch, and that Jeremiah would be willing to stay in Muscovy, but not in Vladimir. Here the veracity of the *spisok* is questionable. The mention of Joachim’s alleged mission to raise the issue of a patriarchate is not corroborated by any other sources. The fact that in the intelligence reports recorded in the *stateinyi spisok* there is no indication that Jeremiah carried mandates is additional evidence not only that in general he was not given any extraordinary authority to make major ecclesiological decisions, without the other Orthodox patriarchs, but more particularly that the question of a patriarchate for Muscovy apparently had not been discussed at all by a synod of patriarchs in Constantinople.

²⁸ The word “Kizylbash” (*Turk.* kızıl baş) refers to the Iranian Safavids. Originally, the *Kizilbash* were nomadic Turcomans in the central Anatolian plains, the Taurus mountains, and the Tokat and Sivas highlands, who resisted Ottoman centralization, that is cadastral registration and regular taxation. Besides opposing Ottoman social and political policy, they diverged from Sunni law by practicing a shamanistic version of Islam in which the role of the dervishes was preeminent. They were identified by their characteristic red headgear (*kızıl baş*—“red head”). At the beginning of the sixteenth century Ismail Safavi, scion of Iranian sheikhs from Ardabil, gained control over the Anatolian Turcoman tribes, as well as Azerbaijan and Iran. His influence extended throughout Anatolia, ultimately reaching Rumelia (the European part of the Ottoman Empire consisting of Albania, Thrace, and Macedonia). Ismail’s empire threatened the Ottoman hold on Anatolia and led to recurring conflict. The Muscovite capture of Kazan’ (1552) and Astrakhan’ (1554–56) deprived the Ottomans of a Caspian vantage point for attacks on Iran from the north. In 1569, the Ottomans sought to dislodge the Muscovites from the Volga basin by building a Don-Volga canal. A year earlier the Muscovites established diplomatic relations with the shah. Although the Volga towns were not recovered, the Ottomans continued to press Iran, waging protracted wars with the Safavids from 1578 to 1590. It was information concerning this conflict that the Muscovites sought from Jeremiah. See references on p. 347n46.

²⁹ “Да и про то Семейке у патриарха в розговоре, и у старцов, и у слуг себе проведати тайно: как он поехал изо Царягорода, и турского рать при нем куды бывала ли, и куды рать свою послал, и на кизылбаши сево лета рать свою послал ли, и со французским, и с ышпанским, и с

цесарем война ныне у него есть ли, и как он ныне шол через Литовскую землю, и у короля он в Литве или у панов Рады был ли, и кто ныне король в Литве, и которым местом шел через литовскую землю, и как его король или паны рада принели, и что он ведает литовских вестей. О том о всем подлинно порознь розпрося про всякие вести, тотчас отписати ко государю к Москве, чтоб про то про все государю было ведомо” (*Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 19).

³⁰ Pushechnikov's letter received on the tenth (*Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 21), must have been written soon after his departure from Smolensk. In the next entry, a letter from the tsar to Pushechnikov, the tsar writes: “Писал еси к нам, что пошел еси из Смоленска с патриархом июля въ 5 день [15 July (N.S.)], а во фторник июля в 9 день [19 July (N.S.)] чают будеш на ночь въ Можаяск. И как к тебе ся наша грамота придет, и ты б завтра, в пятницу, июля в 12 [22 July (N.S.)] день начевал на последнем стану в Мамонове, а в субботу б еси с патриархом, и с митрополитом, и с архиепископом был в Москве часу в четвертом или в пятом” (*Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 23). Thus the arrival in Mozhaisk, approximately seventy-five miles up the Moskva River from Moscow, was forecast for Tuesday, 29/19 July.

³¹ “И как минуло четыре годы, и турской царь послал по патриарха Иеремея чеуша, а патриаршескую соборную церковь во Царегороде царь велел запечатить и казну патриаршескую всю велел взяти на себя, а нового патриарха Феоплптоса от патриаршества отставил и почал был в церкви патриаршеской строити мизгит” (*Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 21–22).

³² “. . . а иных вестей литовских сказывают—неведают, потому что ехали проездом” (*Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 23).

³³ This impression is supported by the account in Pseudo-Dorotheos. According to the chronicle, when the Muscovites began persuading Jeremiah to create a patriarchate in Muscovy, Hierotheos, metropolitan of Monemvasia, dissented by reminding Jeremiah of the Greeks' objective in going to Muscovy: “Lord, we came to the tsar for alms and on account of the debts incurred in our days.” See Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, p. 21; for English translation, see Appendix 2 above.

³⁴ *Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 23.

³⁵ *Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 24.

³⁶ The sources do not describe the patriarch's journey from Smolensk to Moscow. It is of interest to refer to Possevino's account of his trip in August 1581, from the frontier post to Staritsa on the Volga to meet Ivan IV (the author mentions himself in the third person): “We travelled towards Staritsa, sometimes by main roads and sometimes on bypaths. It depended upon the whims of the Muscovites, for they invariably chose their routes at random rather than for any understandable reason. When the going was rough and

difficult they would increase the speed, but when everything was smooth and easy they would slow down, as though on purpose. Even when shelter was available they would never spend the nights indoors, nor would they stop to rest under a tree, even during the hottest times of day. They had no set time for travelling or resting; they would halt whenever the fancy seized them and cook their food and eat it, using their travel-cloaks for tablecloths. It was only after Possevino had complained that the *Pristavs* began to turn in to lodgings” (Antonio Possevino, “The *Missio Moscovitica*,” trans. Hugh F. Graham, *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 6 [1972]: 453). Possevino is puzzled by the nature of the trip which seems to him to be without “understandable reason.” The specificity of the instructions from the court and the punctilious conduct of Jeremiah’s escorts indicate that every aspect of a dignitary’s travels inside Muscovy was premeditated. It is likely that Possevino’s trip to Staritsa was planned carefully and that the related hardships were not “random,” but rather devices designed to probe the visitor’s character and expose his weaknesses.

³⁷ According to Arsenios the Greek party left Smolensk on 11/1 July and arrived in Moscow ten days later (21/11 July). For Arsenios’ account, see Dmitrievskii, *Arkhiepiskop elassonskii*, p. 81.

³⁸ Possevino, who mediated in the peace talks between Muscovy and Poland in order to incline Muscovy towards ecclesiastical union and an anti-Ottoman Christian alliance, had no direct contact with the Muscovite Orthodox hierarchy. In Muscovite eyes he represented a foreign power, the ecclesiastical character of which was accidental. Intercourse with the Muscovite Church, as with any other segment of Muscovite society, was completely impeded. Possevino met only a select circle of boyars at court. His hosts thus effectively limited his insight into the Muscovite world and his influence on it. Although Jeremiah had contacts with the local Muscovite hierarchy, the court controlled them to the same end.

³⁹ *Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 24–26.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 28–31.

⁴¹ A mounted approach was a privilege only rarely granted to distinguished foreigners. Boyars and other members of the service class, as well as foreign envoys, generally walked at least the last thirty or forty paces before the entry leading to the receiving chambers. The distance walked was inversely proportional to the guest’s dignity or favor at court. For a discussion of court protocol, the layout of the royal court, and the ceremonial significance of different rooms, see Ivan Egorovich Zabelin, *Domashnii byt russkikh tsarei v XVI i XVII st.*, vol. 1, 3rd ed. (Moscow, 1895). The approach of the tsar’s visitors is described on pp. 279–81.

⁴² For a general discussion of the transfer of relics, icons and other holy objects from the Greek East to Muscovy in the sixteenth and especially seventeenth centuries, see Kapterev, *Kharakter otnosheniia*, pp. 60–102.

⁴³ “А ести государь патриарха не звал” (*Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 30). See also *Sbornik* no. 852 of the former Kazan' Theological Academy, Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, vol. 2, *Prilozheniia*, pt. 2, p. 6. For the description of the reception, see *Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 28–30. Arsenios' sketch of the reception is somewhat different in his two accounts. The version in the versified memoirs, “Toils and Travels,” is at variance with standard court ritual, as described by Zabelin, *Domashnii byt russkikh tsarei*, vol. 1. See Sathas *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 38–41, and Dmitrievskii, *Archiepiskop elassonskii*, pp. 81–82. The second *posol'skaia kniga* indicates that Patriarch Joachim of Antioch had been invited to the tsar's table when he was being received at court on 5 July/25 June 1586. The tsar seated Joachim “блиско себя въ другой лавке по правой сторонѣ” (Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, vol. 2, *Prilozheniia*, pt. 1, p. 17). The court kept Joachim off balance. After supping, the patriarch was accompanied by the tsar to the Dormition Cathedral where Metropolitan Dionisii, contrary to ecclesiastical discipline, extended his blessing to the higher ranking patriarch. This was a clear affront and probably had been planned. Joachim had little choice but to maintain his composure. See p. 389n20 above.

⁴⁴ Jeremiah repeated what he had told Pushechnikov, about the electoral confusion in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but again made no mention of Ruthenian affairs or of any steps taken by the Eastern patriarchs regarding the question of Moscow's patriarchal dignity, see *Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 32–34. *Beloe more* is a literal translation of the Turkish *Ak Deniz*, denoting either the Mediterranean or Aegean Sea. For the nomadic peoples of the Asian steppe, well into the period of Mongol invasions, colors symbolized the geographical bearings according to a stable scheme: north—black, east—blue, south—red, west—white. Thus for the Turkic peoples the seas to the west were “white” and the sea to the north was “black.” See Omeljan Pritsak, “Orientierung und Farbsymbolik. Zu den Farbbezeichnungen in den altaischen Völkernamen.” *Saeculum* (Munich) 5 (1954): 376–83. Muscovite mores were heavily influenced by the traditions of the steppe. The Muscovites adopted this terminology and, as our text shows, used it in the sixteenth century. The calque from Latin, *Sredizemnoe more*, was introduced much later as a result of contacts with Western culture, especially via Poland and Ukraine.

⁴⁵ The previous recorded visits of Greek hierarchs to Muscovy were almost all much briefer. The Muscovites sequestered the clerics for a period of days or weeks and after an audience with the tsar released them to return home. For example, Patriarch Joachim arrived in Chernihiv on 29/19 May 1586, and left on 21/11 August of that same year. See the extract from the second *posol'skaia kniga* for Greek affairs published by Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, vol. 2, *Prilozheniia*, pt. 1, pp. 3, 27.

⁴⁶ *Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 35.

⁴⁷ Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, p. 21, English translation in Appendix 2 above.

⁴⁸ It is interesting that Pseudo-Dorotheos highly complimented Voevoda Peter of Moldova and was exuberant in his praise for the Catholic Pole, Jan Zamoyski; see, for example, Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 18–20, 23, 25, English translation of latter two examples in Appendix 2 above.

⁴⁹ The same was true of the earlier encounter with Antonio Possevino. When it came to the negotiations themselves, Ivan IV told Possevino to “withdraw to a separate room to discuss matters with his senators [boyars].” Possevino reports that “we were sometimes closeted together for hours on end as we discussed all pertinent topics through our respective interpreters. Our talks were very thorough and often extremely fatiguing When the senators came upon any historical evidence that might strengthen their position . . . they would conscientiously cull it from the archives.” Although Ivan IV was not handicapped as was Fedor, and was consulted throughout the negotiations, the talks were conducted by the boyars. Despite the fact that, as reflected in his account, ecclesiastical union was the main purpose of Possevino’s trip, all his discussions on the topic were conducted with the tsar and his representatives and not with the Muscovite Church. See *The Moscovia of Antonio Possevino SJ*, here, p. 16. For a comparison of Possevino’s and the two accounts of Antonio’s interview with Ivan, see Edward L. Keenan’s review of Graham’s edition, *Slavic Review* 39 (1980): 111–13.

⁵⁰ Not only did contemporary Muscovite sources gloss over the awkward aspects of the creation of the patriarchate, but the last two sentences preceding the reference marker were omitted in the seventeenth-century Russian translation of the episode as recorded in the Pseudo-Dorotheos chronicle. See the excerpt published by Irina Nikolaevna Lebedeva, *Pozdnie grecheskie khroniki i ikh russkii i vostochnye perevody* (Leningrad, 1968), p. 93 [=Palestinskii sbornik 18 (81)].

⁵¹ The church father and bishop of Constantinople St. John Chrysostom was banished to this Armenian frontier post in 404. (The title of patriarch did not acquire its canonical meaning in regard to the five major sees of Christendom until the sixth century.) Chrysostom never returned from exile and died in 407, while being transported to an even more severe exile. The final compiler of the Pseudo-Dorotheos chronicle was assuredly a cleric or monk writing for a milieu for which Chrysostom’s *vita* would have been regular reading fare.

⁵² Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 21–22, English translation in Appendix 2 above.

⁵³ According to Eastern Christian tradition, only the head of an autocephalous Church (i.e., a patriarch), on Holy (Maundy in the West) Thursday of Holy Week, sanctified the Holy Chrism (i.e., myrrh or holy unguent) used in his ecclesiastical jurisdiction for anointment during the administration of the sacrament of confirmation. Other bishops from his ecclesiastical province demonstrated their subordination to the head of their particular Church by requesting myrrh from him. For the history of the Ohrid see, see Evgenii

Evstegneevich Golubinskii, *Kratkii ocherk istorii pravoslavnykh tserkvei bolgarskoi, serbskoi i rumynskoi ili moldo-valashskoi* (Moscow, 1871), pp. 106–45; Dimitri Obolensky, “The Empire and its Northern Neighbours,” *Cambridge Medieval History*, (new ed.), vol. 4, pt. 1, pp. 473–518; and Mihailo J. Diniš, “The Balkans, 1018–1499,” *ibid.*, pp. 519–66.

⁵⁴ Giles Fletcher’s stay in Moscow closely coincided with Jeremiah’s. Fletcher arrived in Moscow 5 December/25 November, 1588, and left 16/6 May 1589, *Of the Russe Commonwealth by Giles Fletcher 1591. Facsimile Edition with Variants*. With an introduction by Richard Pipes and a glossary-index by John V. A. Fine, Jr. (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), pp. 16–17. Fletcher’s complaints about his reception and internment in Moscow are registered in his report on the embassy, published as Appendix A, *ibid.*, pp. 43–53. Fletcher recorded some comments concerning Jeremiah. He had the mistaken notion that Jeremiah had visited Rome and was acting in concert with the papacy, and thus with the Habsburgs, to draw Muscovy into a war against the Turks. Fletcher was also mistaken in thinking that at the time he was writing his book, Patriarch Jeremiah was in Naples. According to Fletcher, Jeremiah wanted to move the patriarchate of Constantinople to Muscovy to free it from the Turks. Because Jeremiah insisted on the right to appoint his own successor, the Muscovites had Iov raised to the patriarchate (*ibid.*, facsimile 79^v–82^v).

⁵⁵ See Appendix 2 above. Greek original in Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 21–22.

⁵⁶ About Maxim see Vladimir Stepanovich Ikonnikov, *Maksim Grek i ego vremia*, 2nd ed. (Kyiv, 1915); Élie Denisoff, *Maxime le Grec et l’Occident* (Paris, 1943); Jack V. Haney, *From Italy to Muscovy. The Life and Works of Maxim the Greek* (Munich, 1973); and Nina Vasil’evna Sinitsyna, *Maksim Grek v Rossii* (Moscow, 1977).

⁵⁷ “. . . [Иеремия] приговорил, что он на патриаршество владимерское и московское и всеа Русии благословить и поставит из росийского собору, кого благочестивый великий государь царь и великий князь Федор Иванович всеа Русии самодержец произволит” (*Posol’skaia kniga*, p. 39).

⁵⁸ “. . . и впередь благословенье свое даст, что вперед патриархом поставляться здесь в Росийском царстве от митрополитов, и от архиепископов, и епископов по чину патриаршескому, как о том чин обдержит” (*Posol’skaia kniga*, p. 39).

⁵⁹ “А его бы государь благочестивый и христолюбивый царь пожаловал, отпустил во Царьгород” (*Posol’skaia kniga*, p. 39). According to Arsenios, the Muscovites beseeched Jeremiah to stay. He begged off, citing his responsibilities in Constantinople and suggested that someone else be installed as patriarch. The tsar was saddened by Jeremiah’s response and tried to convince him to stay, through the efforts of the “marvelous, most learned, honest, virtuous, and most renowned” Shchelkalov. The patriarch expressed his desire to return as soon as possible as well as “to fulfill the will of the tsar

of All Rus' and the whole synod and create a patriarch of great Moscow and All Rus' according to the will of my mother [the Church] and the opinion of all (πολλῶν πάντων ἀδελφῶν μου) of my brothers [i.e., bishops] and according to the law and order [of the Church]. There is no hint of the discord that is recorded by Pseudo-Dorotheos and by Arsenios himself in the memoir discovered by Dmitrievskii. See Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 42–44 and Dmitrievskii, *Arkhiiepiskop elassonskii*, p. 83. Arsenios recorded Jeremiah's eagerness to return to Constantinople in his versified memoirs; see, "Toils and Travels" in Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, p. 44.

⁶⁰ Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, vol. 2, p. 325.

⁶¹ "Полѡжили на волю бл[а]гочестиваго г[осу]д[а]р[я] ц[а]р[я] и великого кн[я]з[а], какъ о томъ бл[а]гочестивый Г[осу]д[а]р[ь] Ц[а]р[ь] и Великій Кн[я]зь Федоръ Ивановичъ Всеа Росии прѡизъволить" (from the "Book of d'iak Larion Ermolaev," in Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, vol. 2, *Prilozheniia*, pt. 2, p. 149). According to Arsenios the role of the church hierarchy was more than formal. See "Toils and Travels," Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 45–47. This version differs from all other accounts in the sources and is an example of the way in which Arsenios tried to dress up the rather awkward episode in Greco-Russian ecclesiastical relations. Muscovite practice was based on Byzantine models reconditioned by local ecclesiastical and political developments. For a discussion of the Byzantine emperor's power to chose a patriarch from a list of three names suggested by the *Synodos Endemousa* (his Standing Synod in Constantinople), see Geanakoplos, "Church and State in the Byzantine Empire: A Reconsideration of the Problem of Caesaropapism," pp. 65–66, and Joan M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 299–303. The fullest analysis of the election of patriarchs in the last six centuries of the Byzantine Empire remains Ivan Ivanovich Sokolov's "Izbranie patriarkhov v Vizantii s poloviny IX do poloviny XV veka (843–1453 g.)," *Khristianskoe chtenie* 1907, pt. 1, bk. 3, pp. 265–99; pt. 1, bk. 4, pp. 419–54; pt. 1, bk. 5, pp. 630–63; pt. 1, bk. 6, 757–86; pt. 2, bk. 7, pp. 52–82.

⁶² The charter (*gramota*) recording the election of the patriarchal candidates is published in *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov*, vol. 2, no. 58, pp. 94–95. Here Hierotheos is named Dorotheos. His signature is illegible. This detail is interesting in light of Sathas' contention that Hierotheos was in fact the final author of the Pseudo-Dorotheos and that the similar Greek names were confused (see discussion in Gudziak, "Sixteenth-Century Muscovite Church and Patriarch Jeremiah II's Journey to Muscovy, 1588–1589," pp. 218–19). In the document confirming the creation of the patriarchate, the metropolitan of Monemvasia is correctly named Hierotheos. Hierotheos' signature is visible, *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov*, vol. 2, no. 59, pp. 95–101.

⁶³ This paradox was pointed out by Kartashev, *Ocherki po istorii Russkoi tserkvi*, vol. 2, p. 28. See a description of the proceedings in the "Book of d'iak

Larion Ermolaev,” in Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, vol. 2, *Prilozheniia*, pt. 2, pp.164–74, and in the *Sbornik* no. 852 of the former Kazan' Theological Academy (Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, vol. 2, *Prilozheniia*, pt. 2, pp. 6–12).

⁶⁴ “А митрополиту Иеву поити бл[а]гословитися къ с[вя]тѣишему па[т]риарху Иеремѣю, а бл[а]гослова патриархъ Иеремѣи митрополита Иева, всеа Росїи и межъ себя о Хр[и]сте цѣлование со[т]ворятъ и какъ межъ себя патриархи цѣлуются во оуста—а посохъ в тѣ поры митрополи[т] свой одасть на то[т] ча[с] которому архиеп[иско]пу, и какъ поиде[т] к патриарху бл[а]гословитися, а па[т]риархъ Иеремѣи вселе[н]скїи свои посох по томуж одасть своему митрополиту, о томъ к па[т]риарху приказати а будетъ посоха патриархъ Иеремѣи одати не похочеть и митрополиту Иеву своего посоха не одавъ и[т]ти к патриа[р]ху благословити[сѣ] и поцѣловатися во оуста,” See the “Book of *d'iak* Larion Ermolaev,” in Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, vol. 2, *Prilozheniia*, pt. 2, p. 170. The *posokh*, or bishop's staff, symbolizes the hierarch's authority and power. The Muscovites feared that Jeremiah might confront Iov without symbolically disarming himself.

⁶⁵ See Steven Runciman, *Byzantine Theocracy* (Cambridge, 1977). For the Byzantine emperor's authority to redraw diocesan boundaries, transfer bishops, and raise or lower the hierarchical rank and dignity of ecclesiastical sees, consult Geanakoplos, “Church and State in the Byzantine Empire,” p. 67. The Byzantine emperor enjoyed a number of liturgical privileges. He alone of all laity could enter the sanctuary through the Royal Doors, preach, bless the assembly in a bishop-like manner with the *trikyra*, the three-armed candelabrum that symbolizes the Trinity, and cense the icons. The emperor, although not ordained, was quasi-sacramentally anointed at the time of coronation (pp. 69–73). At the time of his imperial anointment in 1547, Ivan IV was also conceded a special liturgical privilege, that of communicating in the sanctuary at the altar with the clergy, see Miller, “Coronation of Ivan IV of Moscow,” p. 565.

⁶⁶ Jeremiah gave the Muscovites a copy of the Greek ritual for the installation of a patriarch. They found it inadequate and combined the Byzantine order with the ritual used for the enthronement of Metropolitan Dionisii. The latter is published in *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov*, vol. 2, no. 50. The actual ceremony as it took place is described by Arsenios in his “Toils and Travels,” Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, p. 50. Boris Andreevich Uspenskii in a recent unpublished typescript (144 pp.) attempts to place this rite in the context of Muscovite political and ecclesiastical ideology, “Tsar' i patriarkh: kharizma vlasti v Rossii. (Vizantiiskaia model' i ee russkoe pereosmyslenie).”

⁶⁷ The ceremony is described in the “Book of *d'iak* Larion Ermolaev,” in Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, vol. 2, *Prilozheniia*, pt. 2, pp. 174–90; in the *Sbornik* no. 852 of the former Kazan' Theological Academy (now in St.

Petersburg, in the Saltykov-Shchedrin National Library of Russia), Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, vol. 2, *Prilozheniia*, pt. 2, pp. 12–26; and by Arsenios in “Toils and Travels,” Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 48–51.

⁶⁸ Dmitrievskii, *Arkhiepiskop elassonskii*, pp. 83–85.

⁶⁹ According to the second *posol'skaia kniga*, on 8 February/29 January 1588, a delegation of Greek archimandrites, hegumens, and elders left Moscow; see Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, vol. 2, *Prilozheniia*, pt. 1, pp. 64–65. In 1592, Dionisios, bishop of Tŭrnovo, departed 28/18 February, *Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 98. Trifon Korobeinikov embarked on his pilgrimage of alms-bearing in late January 1593, *Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 154. January and February were in fact a favorite travel season for Muscovite hierarchs, as is evidenced by the fact that eleven of the twenty-seven known sixteenth-century Muscovite ecclesiastical councils convened during these winter months; see table in Jack E. Kollman, “The Moscow *Stoglav* (“Hundred Chapters”) Church Council of 1551,” p. 133.

⁷⁰ The strongest opposition among the Eastern patriarchs to Jeremiah’s unilateral activity in Muscovy came from Meletios Pegas, patriarch of Alexandria, see Malyshevskii, *Pegas*, vol. 1, pp. 337–341 and vol. 2, pp. 3–4.

⁷¹ Andrei Shchelkalov, the *posol'skii d'iak* (“foreign minister”), was responsible for surveillance over Jeremiah and his suite; cf. *Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 26. Pseudo-Dorotheos is not alone in accusing Shchelkalov of mistreating foreigners. Giles Fletcher, Queen Elizabeth’s ambassador to Moscow in 1588–89, complained about Shchelkalov’s tough tactics, recognizing them as ploys designed to test Fletcher’s diplomatic forbearance and fortitude, break his will, and distract attention from his mission. Fletcher writes that he “was placed in an howse verie vnhandsoom, and vnholsoom, of purpose (as it seemed) to doe mee disgrace, and to hurt my health whear I was kept as prisoner, not as an Ambassadour . . . My allowance for vittail was so bare and so base, as I could not have accepted it but to avoide cavillation, that I beegan to contend with them about so mean a matter . . . These parts of hard interteinment wear offred mee by the Chaucellour *Andreas Shchalcalove* who is allso the Officer for Ambassages, of verie purpose (as it seemed) to move mee to impatience, that hee might have wearwith to disturb this busines.” See Fletcher’s report on his embassy published as Appendix A in *Of the Russe Commonwealth by Giles Fletcher 1591*, pp. 43–53; here p. 45.

⁷² See Appendix 2 above. Greek original in Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, p. 22. Possevino reports that the two Jesuits he left in Muscovy in 1581–82 while he negotiated with the Polish camp were not only subjected to physical discomforts but also threatened with violence and even death. They were “confined to a single narrow room in which they had to keep the altar for worship and a table for reading and writing, and where they had to sleep. Guards were on duty at the gate at all times, three boyars and three

peasants After my men had spent four and a half months in this place they complained that the Prince had failed to keep his promise [to treat them as he would treat Possevino himself]. An intelligent man told them that the Prince promised one thing to the foreigners but gave quite different instructions to the *Pristavs*. . . . Many foreigners had been granted freedom of movement, but if they asked to return to their own country they were executed on the spot. This man went on to say that even those who had given a solemn oath to remain in Muscovy all the rest of their lives were not allowed to meet other foreigners or have any chance to talk to them if they did meet them. The Prince would execute anyone, whether Muscovite or foreigner, who did so or incurred the slightest suspicion of doing so" (*The Moscovia of Antonio Possevino SJ*, p. 17).

⁷³ *Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 40–44.

⁷⁴ The Muscovites extended their favor to Jeremiah's party on a number of occasions in coin and kind, making it difficult to assess all of the gifts the Greeks acquired. A listing of the cash amounts combined with the worth of in-kind gifts for which the sources themselves provide a value will suffice for purposes of orientation (figures are in rubles). When received at court by the tsar after arriving in Muscovy Jeremiah received three hundred and ninety, Hierotheos one hundred (*Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 30). At the St. Sergius-Trinity Monastery Jeremiah received one hundred and seventy, the rest of the suite was given sixty-seven (*Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 41–42). On departure Jeremiah received six hundred and sixty-five, with three hundred divided among Hierotheos (ninety-five), Arsenios (sixty-two) and the rest of the suite (a hundred and forty-three). Even the servants received an endowment (from one to five rubles), *Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 48–49. An additional thousand were delivered to Jeremiah at Smolensk as he was leaving for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 49–51) making a total of 2,692. Besides this, the Greeks left with gifts in kind including icons, silver altar vessels, fine fabrics, and furs for which no value is given. To give some idea of the value of these figures in the late sixteenth century, according to Giles Fletcher, in the 1590s, as equerry, Boris Godunov had an annual income of 1,200 rubles, *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom: Russia in the Accounts of Sixteenth Century English Voyagers*, ed. Lloyd E. Berry and Robert O. Crummey (Madison, Wisc., 1968), p. 144. Fletcher also reports that under Ivan IV the court brought in up to 230,000 rubles a year solely from the sale of surplus grain and other produce, but Crummey calls this figure grossly exaggerated. In 1613–14 the court's annual expenditure was 9,762 rubles and, according to one estimate, the entire state revenue in Fletcher's time was about 400,000 rubles, *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom*, p. 159n2; pp. 163–64n16. In the early years (1613–1614) of the reign of Mikhail Fedorovich Romanov, a craftsman at court earned fourteen to eighteen rubles annually; a court tailor in Muscovy earned five rubles in wages and a *per diem* for food, for a total of about 15.8 rubles. A tanner earned four rubles plus a *per diem*, for a total of 18.4 rubles (Stanislav Gustavovich Strumlin, *Ocherki ekonomicheskoi istorii Rossii* [Mos-

cow, 1960], pp. 46–47). The amount given to the Greeks was therefore considerable. Patriarch Jeremiah departed with a treasure on the order of the annual income of the equerry, the most powerful and lucrative position at court, and most of his lay attendants received gifts equal to the annual wage of a court craftsman.

⁷⁵ *Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 49–55. “А проведав, о том бы еси о всем подлинно отписал тайно с кем возможно. А послал бы еси письмо, написав о вестех тайно, закрыто, своего святительского имени и моего ни в чем не объявил” (ibid., p. 55).

⁷⁶ The letters are recorded in the *stateinyi spisok*, *Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 56–59. Jeremiah wrote to Godunov that on 14/4 July he had received the gifts from Moscow and had to postpone his departure until the following day (ibid., pp. 56–57).

⁷⁷ *Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 47–49.

⁷⁸ In fact the diminutive size of the premises that the patriarchate was eventually able to construct was duly noted in Ruthenian circles: “Pity forbids us to describe how small the church is into which the patriarch is now squeezed,” see Krevza’s *A Defense of Church Unity*, p. 66.

Notes to Chapter 12

¹ “И для твоего царского имени приняли нас с честью, и з благодатию, и с великою радостию” (*Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 57).

² See the *stateinyi spisok*, *Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 56–59.

³ “Пресветлейшему славному и тихомирному государю и великому господину Борису Федоровичю . . . А потом даю ведомо тебе, государю; въ Орше слышели есмя подлинно, что Максимилиана отпустили, а с королем пили и ели, да и помирились. А которая харть ни зделалась, то все пропало. А про тотар нигде неслыхал. А король в Вильну будет часа того. Да и впередь к тебе, ко государю, о всем отпишу” (*Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 57, 59). Malyshevskii points out that, given the volume of Muscovite gifts and the size of the suite and escort, Jeremiah could not have been traveling rapidly. About Jeremiah’s return trip through the Commonwealth, see Malyshevskii’s “Zametka po povodu mneniia, budto Patr. Ieremiia poseshchal Kiev v 1588 ili 1589 gg.,” *TKDA* 1885 (1): 660–74.

⁴ Referring to Jeremiah’s letter to the confraternity in Mahilëŭ (*Arkheograficheskii sbornik dokumentov, otnosishchikhsia k istorii severo-zapadnoi Rusi*, vol. 2, p. 58), Malyshevskii suggests that Jeremiah may have taken what would have amounted to an fifty-mile detour from the direct route between Orsha and Vilnius to visit this important Belarusian town; see “Zametka po povodu,” p. 662n1.

⁵ “Маеть его милость, водлугъ владзы и закону своего Греческого, вси sprawy церковные, духовенству, его милости съ давныхъ часовъ въ панствахъ нашихъ належачье, отпраовати, всихъ духовныхъ закону греческого, отъ наистаршого ажъ до наинишого стану, владзы и послушенствѣ своемъ мѣти, судити, радити, справовати и водлугъ выступку кождого, водлугъ духовенства своего и правилъ светыхъ отецъ, карати, чого его милости жаденъ врядъ и зверхностьъ духовная и свѣтская въ томъ панствѣ нашомъ, великомъ княжествѣ Литовскомъ и краинахъ Русскихъ, тому панству нашему прыслушающихъ, боронити и никоторое переказы чинити не маеть” (AZR, vol. 1, no. 191, pp. 226–27). For an interpretation of Jeremiah’s activity in Vilnius, see Chodynicky, *Kościół*, pp. 124–26.

⁶ AZR, vol. 4, no. 16, p. 20.

⁷ See the act of the decree’s registration in the Vilnius books (18 July 1589), in AZR, vol. 4, no. 16, p. 21.

⁸ “А жадному въ таковыхъ рѣчахъ до иншихъ правъ, яко духовныхъ такъ и свѣцкихъ, закону Греческого и Римского, отзываться не мають допустити: лечь кождый зъ нихъ маеть права достояти, и послушенство предъ справцами рочными того братства ихъ церковного чинити; бо таковыхъ рѣчей такъ духовные яко и свѣцкіе вряды судити не мають. А естли бы ся тежъ кому кривда якая кольвекъ отъ братства церковного въ рѣчахъ церковныхъ и въ справахъ ихъ брацкихъ видѣла: тогды ниhto зъ урядовъ звышь-помѣненныхъ судити ихъ о то [sic] не мають, одно мы государь, яко оборонца всякихъ добръ духовныхъ и брацтвъ церковныхъ, справедливость чинити будемо. Къ тому, особливо, зъ ласки наше господарской, тую вольность имъ надаемъ, ижъ въ дому ихъ братскомъ всякій гость господою, (такъ при бытности яко и безъ бытности наше) стояти не маеть, а ни зъ уряду жадного, яко то маршалковского, замкового и мѣстского, въ томъ дому ихъ братскомъ никому господа не маеть быти давана а ни записывана, и никоторыхъ цыншовъ а ни подачокъ мѣстныхъ и повинностей жадныхъ посполитыхъ зъ дому ихъ брацкого и зъ людей въ немъ мѣшкающихъ давати и полнити не мають. Такъ тежъ бурмистры и райцы мѣста Виленского братьевъ уписныхъ съ того братства церковного на послуги до иншихъ братствъ своихъ, такожъ и до послугъ церковныхъ и шпитальныхъ брати и никотороѣ трудности и переказы въ томъ имъ чинити не мають и не будутъ мочи.” See AZR, vol. 4, no. 18, pp. 22–25; here p. 24.

⁹ See Chodynicky, *Kościół*, p. 124.

¹⁰ See the discussion above in chapter 4.

¹¹ As discussed above in chapter 9.

¹² He refers to Joachim's prohibitions in his own document on this matter issued in Kam'ianets'-Podil'skyi in November 1589; see *Mon. Confr.*, no. 137, pp. 208–209.

¹³ The text of Jeremiah's decree is defective. The priest Ivan was singled out because he ignored an earlier patriarchal admonition. It is not clear whether Jeremiah is referring to the general patriarchal pronouncements or to an individual reprimand addressed to the priest by Jeremiah possibly during the patriarch's first trip through the Ruthenian lands, *AZR*, vol. 4, no. 17, pp. 21–22.

¹⁴ In the literature, Onysyfor's deposition is sometimes dated precisely to 21 July, the day when Jeremiah defrocked digamist clergy; see, for example, Makarii (Bulgakov), vol. 9, pp. 460, 482; repeated by Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, p. 232; and with reference to an irrelevant document in Russel P. Moroziuk, "The Role of Patriarch Jeremiah II Tranos in the Reformation of the Kievan Metropolia," *The Patristic and Byzantine Review* 5(2) 1986: 122. The deposition of twice-married clergy, except for the reference to the Pinsk cleric, is formulated in general terms and makes no mention of the metropolitan.

¹⁵ Onysyfor is mentioned as metropolitan-elect in a document dated 19 July 1579 and recorded in the Lithuanian *Metrica*. A document dated 27 February 1583 concerning his assumption of the metropolitanate is registered in a (manuscript) catalogue of the Archive of the Uniate Metropolitans, see *AZR*, vol. 3, Appendix of notes, p. 13n66. Although Jeremiah's 1585 letter to Metropolitan Onysyfor about the calendar reform (cf. p. 312n36) indicates that contacts between the patriarchate and the Kyivan see were being reestablished, there is no record of earlier patriarchal confirmation of Onysyfor's nomination.

¹⁶ See his "Do biohrafii mytropolyta Onysyfora Divochky," *ZNTSh* 74(6) 1906: 5–9.

¹⁷ "W ktorzych staniech duchownych zamnozył sie nierząd za złem pasterstwem mitropolita kyowskiego y halickiego Onisifora Dziewoczky dwuzenca w wierze podeyrzanego, ktory to dopuscil byc episkopom dwuzencom a ynym episkopom y z zonami swemi byc dopuscil maiącym na sobie stan mniszy y popow dwuzencow y trzezencow w rozmaitech występkoach podeyrzanych kil[k]a tysięcy namnożył!" (*Mon. Confr.*, no. 450, p. 784; also quoted by Hrushevs'kyi, "Do biohrafii," p. 8n1).

¹⁸ See p. 368n63.

¹⁹ The anonymous Orthodox polemical treatise "Perestoroĥa" (written in response to Uniate Metropolitan Ipatii's [Potii] 1605 publication of Metropolitan Mysail's 1476 letter to the pope, discussed in chapter 3) describes the selection of Metropolitan Onysyfor's successor as follow: "[Перемія] на его мѣстце Михаила Рагозу за залѣценьемъ христіанства поставилъ и посвятилъ; и, Духомъ Святымъ, подобно, провидячи при посвященью, ижъ онъ [i.e.,

Mykhail (Rahoza)] мѣль отступникомъ зостати, гды его производиль, при бытности велю зашныхъ людей, у Вильни, рекъ тые слова: ‘аще достоинъ есть по вашему глаголу буди достоинъ; аще ли же нѣсть достоинъ, а вы его за достойнаго удаете, азъ чистъ есмь: вы узрите.’ Якожь потомъ и узрѣли есмо его у отступленью” (AZR, vol. 4, no. 149, p. 206). Given that Jeremiah had received such a complete endorsement of his powers by the king and that he was not timid in using them to depose Onusyfor, it seems unlikely that the patriarch would have ordained a successor about whom he had any serious misgivings. Rather, the “Perestoroha” account should be understood as an example of the classic polemical device of discrediting an opponent by demonstrating that he was evil from the very beginning. Concerning the doubtful reliability of the “Perestoroha” as a source for factual data, see Makarii (Bulgakov), vol. 9, pp. 490–91n480.

²⁰ For Zygmunt’s charters concerning Mykhail’s appointment, see AZR, vol. 4, no. 19, pp. 25–26.

²¹ Concerning doubts about the involvement of Ruthenian bishops and laity in Mykhail’s succession, see Makarii (Bulgakov), vol. 9, pp. 482–85; Hrushevs’kyi, vol. 5, p. 417. In a circular decree issued in November before his departure from the Commonwealth, Jeremiah refers to a synod held in Vilnius after the deposition of Onusyfor: “вѣдомо вамъ буди всѣмъ, яко нѣции от християнъ на соборѣ бывшомъ въ великомъ граде Вилни по низложенію первого митрополита кврѣ Онисифора . . .” (*Mon. Confr.*, no.137, p. 208). It seems that the bishops arrived in Vilnius, not only after the deposition of Onusyfor but also after the selection of his successor.

²² See discussion and references to literature in the Introduction.

²³ On 16/6 August in Brest Jeremiah issued a copy of this letter to the bishop of Lutsk, Kyryll (Terlets’kyi). For the two letters, see AZR, vol. 4, no. 20, pp. 26–28. The oblique reference in the letter to the issue of Ruthenian freedom from unauthorized interference from Greek clerics is inferred from the fact that it does not explicitly forbid such interference but rather orders the Ruthenian bishops not to let the interference occur. It seems that the patriarch is reprimanding the Ruthenian hierarchs more than he is condemning the Greek imposters: “А про тожь, отнынѣ, и по вси часы, на вѣки, хочемъ мѣти и приказуемъ тобѣ, епископу Луцкому и Острозскому Кирилу Терлецкому, нынѣ и напотомъ будучимъ, абы еси твоя святыни таковыхъ, похотятъ ли литоргисати, или инны дѣйства церковные справовати, въ парафїи своей не допущалъ; а который [Ruthenian bishop? Greek vagabond?] бы ся хотѣлъ сему писанью нашему спротивити на такового буди отъ [corrupt text] анатема, а отъ нашего смиренія неблагословеніе, въ сій вѣкъ и въ будущій . . .” (*ibid.*, p. 28).

²⁴ It seems that on the way to Brest Jeremiah stopped at the monastery in Supraśl. According to the “Perestoroha” the patriarch deposed the archimandrite there, Timotei Zloba, for committing homicide, and appointed a new abbot in his place; see AZR, vol. 4, no. 149, p. 206.

²⁵ Makarii (Bulgakov) surmises that Atanasii, who died in 1591, and Arsenii, who passed away in 1592, were advanced in age and were prevented by physical infirmity from traveling to meet the patriarch, see his *Istoriia*, vol. 9, p. 489. There is no direct evidence indicating whether all of the Ruthenian bishops present in Brest had arrived there traveling with Jeremiah from Vilnius. However, given the stature of the visiting ecumenical patriarch, the strength of the king's endorsement of the patriarch's authority, and the impact of the events transpiring in Vilnius, it is likely that all of the bishops present in Brest had earlier traveled to greet Jeremiah there.

²⁶ Jeremiah's decree is preserved only within the text of a rescript issued by Zygmunt III on 9 February 1595, confirming the patriarch's appointment of Kyryll, see *Arkhiv IuZR*, vol. 1, pt. 1, no. 60, pp. 252–56 (the text of Jeremiah's document is on pp. 254–55). The comparison of an exarch to a Latin cardinal found in Jeremiah's decree could hardly have been in the patriarch's original text, and should be considered an interpolation made before the decree was confirmed by Zygmunt. The attendance at the synod is deduced from the signatures applied to Jeremiah's document.

²⁷ The claim made in the literature that Jeremiah ordered the Ruthenian bishops to assemble annually in synod is a deduction from the bishops' resolution to do so, made at their synod in Brest the following year on 30/20 June. For the resolutions of that synod, see *AZR*, vol. 4, no. 25, pp. 34–36.

²⁸ See p. 404n23 above.

²⁹ See p. 403n19 above.

³⁰ For an informative although idiosyncratic discussion of exarchates in the metropolitanate of Kyiv in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Viacheslav Zaikyn, *Uchastie svetskogo èlementa v tserkovnom upravlenii, vybornoe nachalo i "sobornost'" v Kievskoi mitropolii v XVI i XVII vekakh* (Warsaw, 1930), pp. 64–88. Hrushevskyi suggests that the idea of an exarchate originated with Kyryll himself, see his *Istoriia*; vol. 5, p. 555n4.

³¹ It is not clear how long Jeremiah remained in Brest. He had arrived there in time for the feast of the Transfiguration (16/6 August), but already on 24 August he signed at least two decrees in Zamość. Thus, he could not have stayed in Brest for more than a few days. There is no direct information concerning his dealings with Poland's preeminent statesman during the patriarch's second sojourn in Zamość.

³² The "Perestoroha" refers to Jeremiah's sojourn as follows: "... и для велью потребъ час долгій мѣшкаль въ Замостью, при вельможномъ панѣ Янѣ Замойскомъ, канцлерѣ и гетманѣ коронномъ (который зъ особливыхъ цноть, науки и побожности живота его, и съ того самого, же царь Турецкій оногo патріарха барзо поважалъ, яко челоуѣка зацного и побожного бавиль при собѣ)," see *AZR*, vol. 4, no. 149, p. 207. See also Malyshevskii, "Zametka po povodu mneniia," pp. 664–68.

³³ Concerning Jeremiah's itinerary in the lands of the Polish Crown, see Malyshevskii, "Zametka po povodu mneniia," pp. 663–74.

³⁴ See p. 404n21 above.

³⁵ In nullifying decrees against Kyryll, Jeremiah included all such documents attributed to himself "подъ якою жъ кольвекъ датою, будь преднею, альбо послѣднею отъ сего листа нашего" (AZR, vol. 4, no. 21, pp. 28–29; here especially p. 29).

³⁶ "Але еще, на знакъ ласки и благословенства нашего патріаршого, тому прежреченному Кирилу, епископу Луцкому и Острозскому, видяще его быти мужа искусна и во всихъ дѣйствахъ водлѣ правилъ святыхъ Отець бѣгла и ученна, дали есмо ему старшину надѣ всеми епископы, то есть екзаршество, врядѣ старшій въ духовныхъ справахъ, имѣже онѣ имать всихъ епископовъ исправляти, и порядку всякаго межи ними досмотряти и напоминати, а негодныхъ и извергати, яко нашѣ намѣстникъ" (AZR, vol. 4, no. 21, p. 29).

³⁷ *Mon. Confr.*, no. 124, pp. 196–97. The decree is dated 24/14 August, but since it seems to have been a falsification it is possible the date is not accurate.

³⁸ See the note recorded on the obverse of the document: "По судѣ ратушномъ лвовскомъ таковыи то лист епископъ заочне презѣ Григорка протопопи и от патриарха по руску писаныи взял, напротивко которого самъ патриархъ рукою другии лист пишет с Красного Ставу" (*Mon. Confr.*, no. 124, p. 197).

³⁹ For the Greek text and a late sixteenth-century Polish translation, see *Mon. Confr.*, no. 125, pp. 198–99. The Greek text with a Church Slavonic translation (erroneously dating the letter to 27 August 1587) is published in *Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 10, pp. 50–51.

⁴⁰ *Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 16, pp. 62.

⁴¹ The document was issued in Krasnystaw, see *Mon. Confr.*, no. 127, pp. 200–201. It seems that Jeremiah had not planned to stay in the Commonwealth through September and October. In his 24/14 August decree appointing Kyryll, the patriarch indicates that he had bidden farewell to the bishops of L'viv and Luts'k: "отпустихомъ ихъ съ миромъ прощенныхъ і благословенныхъ" (AZR, vol. 4, no. 21, p. 28).

⁴² For the Greek text of Jeremiah's letter of confirmation and a sixteenth-century Church Slavonic translation, see *Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 15, pp. 60–61. The place of issue is not indicated.

⁴³ A confraternity decree of 1 August/22 July 1590 indicates Jeremiah's adjudication of ecclesiastical disputes began in Ternopil' 10 November/31 October 1589 and ended 23/13 November in Kam'ianets'-Podil'skyi; see *Pamiatniki, izdannye Vremennoi komissiei drevnikh aktov, vysochaishe uchrezhdennoi pri Kievskom voennom, Podol'skom i Volynskom general-gubernatore*, vol. 3, pt. 1, no. 7, p. 57. Several L'viv burghers sent as their

proxies Khoma Babych, Ivan Krasovs'kyi, and Iurii Rohatynets' to plead before Patriarch Jeremiah their case against Bishop Hedeon (Balaban), see their letter dated 18/8 November 1589 in *Mon. Confr.*, no. 130, pp. 202–203.

⁴⁴ Greek and Church Slavonic text, in *Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 14, pp. 56–59; see pp. 96–97 for the Polish translation. The Greek text also appears in *Mon. Confr.*, no. 131, pp. 203–205.

⁴⁵ Greek and Church Slavonic text, in *Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 18, pp. 70–72, see pp. 102–103 for the Polish translation.

⁴⁶ For the Greek text, see *Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 17, pp. 68–69. For the Ruthenian translation, see *Pershodrukar Ivan Fedorov ta ioho poslidovnyky na Ukraïni (XVI–persha polovyna XVII st.). Zbirnyk dokumentiv*, comp. Iaroslav Dmytrovych Isaievych (Kyiv, 1975), no. 64, pp. 99–100.

⁴⁷ For the Greek and Ruthenian versions of the document, see *Diplomata Statutaria*, no. 16, pp. 62–67.

⁴⁸ The Greek original has not survived. The decree is preserved only in a Polish translation; see *Diplomata Statutaria*, p. 109.

⁴⁹ “. . . всѣхъ предреченныхъ двоженцовъ не мѣти за священниковъ но отлученныхъ и проклятыхъ и непощенныхъ отъ единосущнаго и неразделимаго троица въ нынѣшнемъ вѣце и въ будущемъ и по смерти нераздрѣшенныхъ и внѣ христовы церкви христьянъ непричастны[х] яко непослушныхъ и преступниковъ святыхъ священныхъ правилъ апостолскихъ и вселенскихъ соборовъ. Тѣмъже повинны вси вы или князеве и мѣстоначальници и протопопы и мещане и священници и просто рещи единицею вси благочестивыи и православныи христьяне отвращатис и ненавидѣти таковыхъ несвященныхъ яко враговъ истинныи и противниковъ церковного чина, ниже ясти ниж пити съ ними ниже бесѣдовати, но бѣгати отъ нихъ яко бѣсныхъ псовъ и ядовитыхъ звѣрей доты, аже покаются и обратятся отъ злаго разума ихъ и престануть священнодѣйствовати несвященне. И да живутъ со простыми людьми и получатьъ прощениѣ” (*Mon. Confr.*, no. 137, pp. 208–210; here p. 209).

⁵⁰ See Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, p. 22, for English translation see Appendix 2 above.

⁵¹ Hierotheos of Monemvasia, in describing Jeremiah's elevation of Metropolitan Iov of Moscow to patriarchal dignity, considered that in Muscovy Jeremiah had acted “thoughtlessly and without sizing things up, and without the advice of anyone.” According to the Greek cleric, the patriarch “had this habit, that he never listened to good advice from anyone, even from those subject to him. And for this reason both he and the Church were ruined in his days.” See Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, p. 21; for an English translation see Appendix 2 above.

⁵² See Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, p. 22, for English translation see Appendix 2 above. Hierotheos makes no mention of Jeremiah's contacts with the Ruthenian ecclesiastical community, suggesting that in the eyes of the patriarch's Greek suite these contacts were of secondary importance.

⁵³ Historians have suggested that Jeremiah's conflicting decrees and his appointment of Kyryll as his exarch were conditioned by monetary payments made by Ruthenian bishops; see Ivan Franko, "Z dziejów synodu brzeskiego 1596 r.," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 9 (1895): pp. 9–12; and Makarii (Bulgakov), vol. 9, pp. 681–82. In the 1570s Jeremiah had struggled to curtail simony in Greek ecclesiastical life (see chapter 2). In his decree concerning the appointment of confessors he stressed that spiritual qualities alone (and thus not material "gifts") should be the criterion for designated confessors (*Diplomata Statutaria*, p. 109). Given this adamancy, it seems unlikely that the patriarch would have himself engaged in simoniacal practices. As Makarii points out, however, a competition of gifts by interested Ruthenian parties could help to explain the otherwise bizarre pattern of contradictory decrees issued by Jeremiah while in the Commonwealth.

⁵⁴ "Въ томъ часѣ Діонисій [Jeremiah's exarch] . . . поихаль до митрополита; а тамъ же тежъ при отправованью рѣчей духовныхъ собѣ до мовенья повѣренныхъ, упоминался митрополиту, абы отдалъ то што патриархъ мѣшкаючи для посвященья его стравиль у Вилнѣ, пятнадцать тысячей аспрь, што чинить только полтретьяста таляровъ: бо то милостыня, дана на потребности церковные, котороѣ ни на що иное травити не годится; и доказываль то ему, ижъ кгда бы онъ самъ ѣхаль до патриарха, теда бы ему большъ коштывало; а патриархъ на его хлѣбѣ винень былъ захованъ быти, и про то слушнѣ тое што стравиль, отъ него вернено быти маеть: бо патриархъ фольварковъ, ани сель, ани маетностей своихъ не маеть. Митрополитъ не благосудрствуючи о томъ, ани слушаючи пастыря, але розумѣючи, ижъ южъ не треба пастыря, коли онъ самъ южъ пастыремъ, и того вернити не хотѣчи, ни съ чимъ Діонисія екзарху отпавиль, повѣдаючи: 'жемъ не повинень дати ничого, и собору теперъ учинити не могу.' А съ тымъ отѣхаль Діонисій" (AZR, vol. 4, no. 149, p. 208).

⁵⁵ A note in the text of the "Perestoroha" (AZR, vol. 4, no. 149, p. 208) identifies "Exarch" Dionysios as a "Greek bishop traveling with Jeremiah." Dionysios arrived at the Muscovite border at Smolensk 19/9 May 1591. (Concerning his stay in Muscovy, see *Posol'skaia kniga*, pp. 60–98.) Since in Constantinople the synod ranked Moscow fifth in the hierarchy of Orthodox patriarchs, Dionysios was detained by the Muscovites to make sure he understood and would convey the Muscovites' desire that their patriarch be ranked second after Constantinople. He did not depart Moscow until 28 February 1592. The chronology in the "Perestoroha" regarding Dionysios' encounter with Metropolitan Mykhail is inexact (as is the chronology of other events

narrated in the treatise). The fact that the account of the Greek demand for payment is narrated in an Orthodox anti-Union polemical treatise suggests that Dionysios was authorized to demand payment from Metropolitan Mykhail. If he had been an imposter or opportunist seeking personal gain, the author of the “Perestoroha” would not have referred to this episode. In fact, while criticizing the Ruthenian hierarchy, particularly those bishops that entered into union with Rome, the “Perestoroha” seeks to present the patriarchate in the best possible light. To this end the treatise inaccurately attributes to Jeremiah contributions to the Ruthenian revival in which he had little or no role. Arsenios of Elassona, sent to Moscow by Jeremiah’s predecessor, Theoleptos, decided to remain and teach in L’viv in late spring 1586, i.e., before Jeremiah’s reinstatement in the summer of 1587. It was Arsenios not Jeremiah who submitted the *Adelphotēs* grammar for publication in L’viv (issued in 1591). The treatise has Jeremiah demoting Metropolitan Onysyfor (Divochka), conducting reforms, and contributing to the L’viv confraternity program *before* going to Moscow: “А за тымъ святѣйшій патріархъ, видячи митрополита Кіевскаго Онисифора двоженца, съ престола зложилъ . . . Тотъ [Jeremiah] же и во Львовѣ науки вызволеные, языка Словенскаго и Грецкаго Грамматикѹ выдруковати подал, и чрезъ митрополита [*sic*] Елассонскаго и Димонискаго Арсенія чрезъ двѣ лѣтѣ учили; порядки въ церквѣ Божіей екземпляры Грецкими правдивыми подавалъ и на Словенскій языкъ перевести и выдруковати казаль” (*ibid.*, pp. 206–207).

⁵⁶ See Metropolitan Mykhail’s letter to the L’viv confraternity dated 4 December 1592, in *Mon. Confr.*, no. 258, pp. 402–405. Concerning Dionysios, whom Mykhail met in Vilnius, the metropolitan wrote: “Дано ми знать о немъ и скоро все отпустивши у великое безгодіе день и ночь ехаломъ [*sic*], кони похромилъ, шкодумъ [*sic*] поднялъ великую, самъ мало здоровья не стратилъ, его две недели со всимъ статкомъ посещалъ, дари сосудами и золотыми почестъ чинечи ему дароваломъ, а онъ вырвыши печать патриархи вселенскаго тутъ въ Вилни (достоверное свидительство на то и ныне есть) лист ко мне, менящии бытъ отъ патриархи, подалъ, въ которомъ пишеть (якобы патриархъ), абымъ ему отослалъ пятнадцать тысячъ аспрь, которіи при херитонисанію моемъ выдалъ. Што ижъ ся не толко мне одному, всимъ когомъ ся одно радилъ, видело противно, отказъ ему уделаломъ, хотечи сам о том до вселенскаго патриархи писати, естли такъ есть або ни” (*ibid.*, p. 403).

⁵⁷ Mykhail (Rahoza) variously supported the confraternity in its struggle with Bishop Hedeon. From Navahrudak on 17/7 December 1589, five months after his consecration, the metropolitan sent a letter to the confraternity confirming it and granting it control over the St. Onuphrius Monastery and the monastery in Univ (*Mon. Confr.*, no. 138, pp. 210–13), both claimed by Arsenii Balaban and then by his son Hedeon (see discussion in Chapters 9 and 10). Three weeks later, on 7 January 1590/28 December 1589 the metropolitan sent a letter appointing the hieromonk Vasyľ confessor to the Dormition Church and encouraging the faithful to avail themselves of Vasyľ’s services and to receive

Communion, see *Mon. Confr.*, no. 139, pp. 213–14. The following day Mykhail signed a letter admonishing Bishop Hedeon not to interfere in the work of the confraternity, see *Mon. Confr.*, no. 140, pp. 214–15. The metropolitan sent another letter on 17/7 January imparting his blessing on the work of the confraternity, already blessed by Patriarch Jeremiah, along with a separate letter confirming the confraternity, its school, and its press, see *Mon. Confr.*, no. 141, pp. 216–18; no. 142, pp. 218–20. For other letters issued in June 1590 by the metropolitan defending the prerogatives of the confraternity, see *Mon. Confr.*, no. 151, pp. 237–39; no. 153, pp. 240–42; no. 156, pp. 248–49. At the synod of Ruthenian bishops held in Brest 22 June 1590 the case of the confraternity against the bishop was decided in the brotherhood's favor, with the bishops endorsing its activities, see *Mon. Confr.*, no. 158–60, pp. 252–61. In January 1591 Metropolitan Mykhail visited the confraternity church and school in L'viv, on which occasion the students recited elaborate verses of greeting, later that year published by the confraternity; see chapter 9.

⁵⁸ Mykhail speculated that Dionysios' support of Hedeon, who had been reprimanded by the synod of Ruthenian bishops, against Mykhail was motivated by his (Mykhail's) refusal to give the Greek cleric the compensation for ordination that he had requested: "С тогож он возревновавши на мя проч ехал и будучи во Львове владика ласканием его подышол и гостил и даровал его спровожением почести великоя ему, и тот лист, с которого копию любов ваша ко мне есте прислали. Оттоля возрасте зело смущателныи и противныи церкви христове, о котором всумневаюся и горце сътую о великой нестателности и несталости (если бы так было) патриархи его милости" (*Mon. Confr.*, no. 258, p. 403).

Notes to Chapter 13

¹ For a chronological account of the complex negotiations, see Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, pp. 236–419. Most of the relative documentation can be found in *Documenta Unionis*. For reference to and general comments on the immense literature on the Union of Brest, see Isydor I. Patrylo, *Dzherela i Bibliohrafiia do istorii Ukraïns'koï Tserkvy*. 3 vols. (Rome, 1975, 1988, 1995) [=AOSBM ser. 2, sec. 1, 33, 46, 49]; some sections originally appeared as "Dzherela i Bibliohrafiia do istorii Ukraïns'koï Tserkvy," pt. 1, AOSBM ser. 2, sec. 2, 8 (1973): 305–434; pt. 2, 9 (1974): 315–545; pt. 3, 10 (1979): 406–487; pt. 4, 12 (1985): 419–516; pt. 5, 13 (1988): 405–539. See also his updated extract "Bibliohrafiia do Beresteis'koï Unii," AOSBM ser. 2, sec. 2, 15 (1996): 521–51. Among the many surveys and general treatments, the following are notable. Mikhail' Iosifovich Koiyalovich, *Litovskaia tserkovnaia uniiia*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1859), pp. 31–168; Platon Nikolaevich Zhukovich, *Seimovaia bor'ba pravoslavnogo dvorianstva s tserkovnoi uniei (do 1609g.)* (St. Petersburg, 1901), pp. 1–234; Edward Likowski, *Unia Brzeska (r. 1596)* (Poznań, 1896), [German translation, *Die Ruthenisch-Römische Kirchenvereinigung*

genannt *Union zu Brest* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1904); Ukrainian translation *Beresteis'ka Uniiia* (1596) (Zhovkva, 1916)]. Chodyniski, *Kościół*, pp. 255–315; Makarii, vol. 9, pp. 478–689; Hrushevskyyi, vol. 5, pp. 561–618; Josef Macha, *Ecclesiastical Unification: A Theoretical Framework Together With Case Studies From the History of Latin-Byzantine Relations* (Rome, 1974), pp. 174–201 [=Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 198]; Sergei Nikolaevich Plokhii [Serhii Mykolaiovych Plokhii], *Papstvo i Ukraina. Politika rimskoi kurii na ukrainskikh zemliakh v XVI–XVII vv.* (Kyiv, 1989), pp. 44–78; Sophia Senyk, “The Background of the Union of Brest,” *AOSBM* ser. 2, sec. 2, 15 (1996): 103–144. More popular accounts can be found in Ivan Vlasovskyyi, *Narys istorii Ukraïns'koï Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy*, vol. 1 (New York, 1956) [English translation, Ivan Wlasowsky, *Outline History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church*, vol. 1 1988–1596 (Bound Brook, N. J., 1956)]; in Atanasii H. Velykyi's popular radio lectures which include extensive quotations from documentary materials, *Z litopysu Khrystyians'koi Ukraïny*, vol. 4, XVI–XVII st. (Rome, 1971); Hryhor Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukraïns'ka Tserkva mizh Skhodom a Zakhodom* (Philadelphia, 1954); and Iosyf Slipyi, *Beresteis'ka Uniiia* (Rome, 1993) [Offprint from *Bohosloviia* 57 (1993)]. See also Platon Nikolaevich Zhukovich, “Brestskii sobor 1591 goda (Po novootkrytoi gramote, soderzhashchei deianiia ego),” *Izvestiia Otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovesnost'i Imperatorskoi Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk* 12 (1907, fasc. 2, pp. 45–71; Ihor Monchak [Mončak], “Pomistnist' Kyïvs'koi Tserkvy na Beresteis'kykh Synodakh,” *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk* 27 (1990): 12–27; S. G. Iakovenko, “Pravoslavnaia ierarkhiia Rechi Pospolitoi i plany tserkovnoi unii v 1590–1594 gg.,” *Slaviane i ikh sosedi*, vol. 3, *Katolotsizm i pravoslavie v srednie veka*, ed. Boris Nikolaevich Floria, et al. (Moscow, 1991), pp. 41–57; Boris Nikolaevich Floria, “Brestskie sinody i Brestskaia uniiia,” *ibid.*, pp. 59–75; Bolesław Kumor, “Geneza i zawarcie unii brzeskiej,” in *Unia brzeska. Geneza, dzieje i konsekwencje w kulturze narodów słowiańskich*, ed. Ryszard Łużny, Franciszek Ziejka, and Andrzej Kępiński (Cracow, 1994), pp. 26–44; Iaroslav Dashkevych, “Uniiia ukraïntsiv ta unniia virmeniv: porivniaľni aspekty,” in *Beresteis'ka Uniiia (1596–1996). Stati i materialy* (L'viv, 1996), pp. 74–86. See also Mikhail Vladimirovich Dmitriev, Boris N. Floria, Sergei G. Iakovenko, *Brestskaia uniiia 1596 g. i obshchestvenno-politicheskaia bor'ba na Ukraine i v Belorusii v kontse XVI–nachale XVII v. Chast' I. Brestskaia uniiia 1596 g. Istoricheskie prichiny* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 95–116, 131–93, which includes Floria's interesting but speculative reconstruction of the development and reversal of the individual bishops' views regarding Union with Rome during the period 1590–94.

² See *Pamiatniki polemicheskoi literatury*, vol. 3, pp. 617–18 [=RIB, 19].

³ *Documenta Unionis*, no. 1, pp. 5–7.

⁴ *Documenta Unionis*, no. 1, pp. 5–6.

⁵ “педсять копъ грошии литовскихъ . . . до скриньки на речь нашу посполитую духовную заплатити и ничимъ не вымовляючи ся,” *Documenta Unionis*, no. 1, p. 6.

⁶ *Documenta Unionis*, no. 1, p. 6.

⁷ *Documenta Unionis*, no. 1, p. 6.

⁸ The various formulations regarding union have been discussed in the literature mentioned on p. 405n1 and most recently in Isydor Patrylo, “Artykuly Beresteis'koï Unii” *AOSBM* ser. 2, sec. 2, 15 (1996): 47–102.

⁹ *Documenta Unionis*, no. 2, p. 8.

¹⁰ *Documenta Unionis*, no. 3, pp. 9–10.

¹¹ The equivocal attitude of much of Polish society to the union became clearly evident after the union and throughout the seventeenth century (especially after the death of Zygmunt III in 1632) when many prominent Roman Catholic nobles in the Commonwealth questioned whether the union was in the best interests of state. For one recent discussion and references to previous literature, see Tereza Chynczewska-Hennel, “Beresteis'ka uniiia v XVII st. z pol'skoï tochky zoru,” in Borys Gudziak, ed., Oleh Turii, co-ed., *Derzhava, suspil'stvo i Tserkva v Ukraïni u XVII stolitti. Materialy Druhykh “Beresteis'kykh chytan'.”* L'viv, Dnipropetrovs'k, Kyïv, 1–6 liutoho 1995 r. (L'viv, 1996), pp. 87–108 [with discussion, pp. 108–130].

¹² The synodal decree was published and analyzed by Zhukovich, “Brestskii sobor 1591 goda,” pp. 45–71.

¹³ See *ibid.*, *passim*.

¹⁴ *Documenta Unionis*, no. 7, p. 16.

¹⁵ Russell Moroziuk has written a book-length biographical study about Ipatii which remains in manuscript, “Father of Ukrainian Catholicism: Ipatyey Potey” (Montreal, 1978). Moroziuk also prepared an edition of Ipatii's collected works for the Texts series of the Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature (also as yet unpublished). About Ipatii, see also Orest Ivanovich Levitskii, “Ipatii Potii, Kievskii uniatskii mitropolit,” *Pamiatniki russkoi stariny v zapadnykh guberniakh*, vol. 8, ed. P. N. Batiushkov (St. Petersburg, 1885), pp. 342–74; N. Tripol'skii, *Uniatskii mitropolit Ipatii Potsei* (Kyiv, 1878); Jan Dziegielewski, “Pociej, Adam, później Hipacy,” *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 27, no. 1 (fasc. 112), pp. 28–34; and the insightful characterizations of Ipatii as a reformer by Mikhail Vladimirovich Dmitriev, “Religiozno-kul'turnaia i sotsial'naia programma greko-katolicheskoi tserkvi v Rechi Pospolitoi v kontse XVI–pervoi polovine XVII v.,” in *Slaviane i ikh sosedi*, vol. 3, *Katolitsizm i pravoslavie v srednie veka*, ed. Boris Nikolaevich Floria, et al., (Moscow, 1991), pp. 76–95; and Sophia Senyk, “Dva mytropolity—Potii i Ruts'kyi,” in Gudziak, ed. and Turii, co-ed., *Istorychnyi kontekst*, pp. 137–72. See also Atanasii Pekar, “Ipatii Potii—provisnyk z'iedynennia,” *AOSBM* ser. 2, sec. 2, 15 (1996): 145–246.

¹⁶ For the Ruthenian and Polish versions of Ostrozky's letter to Potii of 6 June 1593 cited here and below, see *Documenta Unionis*, no. 8–10, pp. 17–24; *AZR*, vol. 4, no. 45, p. 63. A Polish translation was published in *Lev Krevza*,

Obrona jedności cerkiewney and *Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's* Palinodija, pp. 96–100. This citation and the two following are taken from Bohdan Strumiński's translation of Krevza's text which the translator collated with the Ruthenian original, see *Lev Krevza's A Defense of Church Unity and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's* Palinodija, pt. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), pp. 125–28 [=HLEUL, Translations, 3[1]].

¹⁷ *Documenta Unionis*, no. 8–10, pp. 17–24.

¹⁸ The Polish version of the Ostrozkyi's guidelines for union is most explicit, see *Documenta Unionis*, no. 10, p. 24. Regarding Ostrozkyi's relations with Protestants—intensified by the prospects and conclusion of union with Rome—see Tomasz Kempa “Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski wobec katolicyzmu i wyznań protestanckich,” *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 40 (1996): 17–36; his “Prawosławni a synod protestancki w Toruniu w 1595 roku: U początków współpracy dyzunitów z dysydentami,” *Zapiski historyczne* 42 (1997): 39–52; and his *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (ok. 1524/1525–1608). Wojewoda Kijowski i marszałek ziemi wołyńskiej* (Toruń, 1997), especially pp. 141–43 and 156–59.

¹⁹ *Documenta Unionis*, nos. 21, 33, pp. 41–43, 53–55.

²⁰ The document has not been preserved. Its basic contents and the fact that one of the bishops (unidentified) had not endorsed the declaration by 15 October are reported in a dispatch of the nuncio to Poland, Germanico Malaspina (1592–1598); see *Litterae Nuntiorum*, vol. 2, no. 431, p. 26 (Cracow, 15 October).

²¹ “. . . ac potissimum his infelicissimis temporibus nostris, quibus multae ac variae haereses inter homines grassantur, ob quas plurimi recedentes a vera et Orthodoxa fide Christi[a]na, gregem nostram deserunt, et ab Ecclesia Dei veroque in Trinitate illius cultu se ipso separant, quod non alia de causa accidit, quam ob dissensionem nostram cum Dominis Romanis . . .” (*Documenta Unionis*, no. 17, pp. 32–35, here p. 33). The Torchyn document carried the signatures of six of the eight Ruthenian bishops, including that of the metropolitan. It is not clear why Hedeon, the initiator of the Ruthenian bishops' union activity and Mykhail (Kopystenskyi), also a signatory of previous documents in support of union, did not sign this declaration. For a Ruthenian version of this document see *Mon. Confr.*, no. 327, pp. 550–52. A photographic reproduction of the Ruthenian version is given in *Documenta Unionis*; see plate between pp. 48 and 49.

²² Отдавши государу его милости службы молитвы и подданство наше, въ рѣчахъ нашихъ спольныхъ, около зъедноченья у вѣрѣ святой, до его королевской милости мовити, то есть: Напервѣй: видячи мы епископы въ старшихъ нашихъ, ихъ милости патріярахахъ великіе нестроенія и недбалости о церкви божіи и о законѣ святомъ, и ихъ самихъ зневоленія, и яко ся съ чотырехъ патріарховъ осмь учинило (чого передъ тымъ никола не бывало ихъ такъ много, опрочъ

чотирахъ), и яко тамъ на столицахъ своихъ животы свои ведутъ, и яко одинъ подъ другимъ подкупаются, и яко столицы церкви божиі соборные потратили; а тутъ до насъ прїѣзждаючи, жадныхъ диспуацій зъ иновѣрными не чинять, и съ письма божіяго отвѣтовъ, хотябъ хто и потребоваль, зъ ними мѣти не хотятъ, только пожиточное свое, большей нижли збавенное опатруючи зъ насъ; и, отколь могучи, набравши скарбовъ, одинъ другого тамъ въ земли поганьской скупають, и только тымъ самымъ животы свои провадятъ (не вспоминаючи иншого ихъ нерадѣнія). Про то мы, не хотячи въ такой нерадности и подъ такимъ ихъ пастырствомъ далѣй тривати, одностайнѣ згодившися, а за певными варунками, — если его королевская милость, яко господарь нашъ хрестіянскій а помазанецъ божіи, будетъ рачиль хотѣти хвалу божію подъ однимъ пастырствомъ розширити, и насъ до таковыхъ же вольностей, зъ епископіями нашими, съ церквами, съ манастирями и со всѣмъ духовенствомъ, яко и ихъ милость панове духовные римскіе, припустити и заховати, — хочемъ, за помощью божіею, до соединенія вѣры приступити, и пастыря того одного головного, кому-то отъ самого збавителя нашего повѣроно то есть, найсвятшого папу римского пастыромъ нашимъ признати: только просимъ, абы господарь его милость насъ зъ епископіями нашими привиліемъ его королевской милости упевнити, и тые артикулы нижеі описаные утвердити и умоцнити на вѣчные часы рачиль.” For the full text of the letter, see *Documenta Unionis*, no. 19, pp. 36–38. [Also in AZR, vol. 4, no. 55, pp. 79–80; and *Mon. Confr.*, no. 329, pp. 554–56.]

²³ “Зъ Кгрецыи чернцѣ, которые тутъ звыкли выѣзджати, которыхъ можемо смѣлѣ назвати шпекгами (бо только зъ насъ выбравши и выграбивши не только пѣнязми, але и книгами, образы, што ся имъ подобаетъ, и вывозятъ въ землю турецкую по два-кротъ и три-кротъ въ рокъ, и то поганину турецкому до рукъ отдають, чимъ онъ засъ противъ хрестіянъ потужнѣйшимъ есть), абы южъ большъ тутъ въ панствѣ его королевскоѣ милости жадноѣ владзы надъ нами не мѣли и переказы намъ теперъ и напотомъ никгды не чинили” (*Documenta Unionis*, no. 19, p. 38).

²⁴ Voices among the Orthodox laity also criticized Jeremiah for lack of moderation in dealing with the confraternity-bishop conflict. In a 10 May 1595 letter to Metropolitan Mykhail (Rahoza), Palatine of Navahrudak Feodor [Teodor] Skumyn-Tyshkevych contends that the union arose out of the conflicts between the L'viv confraternity and Bishop Hedeon and blames “our Constantinopolitan Patriarch,” who provoked with his letters the bishop, “who had to throw himself into such schism,” drawing others with him: “Але о постановленью справъ въ церкви Божьей будучихъ въ тыхъ оплаканныхъ часѣхъ, съ тогожъ писанья вашей милости зрозумѣвши, намнѣй не утѣшилиемъ ся, и овшемъ зъ великимъ жалемъ то есми читаль, о чомъ есми передъ тымъ и мыслячи вздрыгался. Што все ижъ намъ справила и есть початкомъ незгода братская съ владыкою

Лвовскимъ, то и слѣпый видѣти можетъ. Нехай же справедливый Судья крови и душъ невинныхъ зъ рукъ тыхъ възыщеть, хто тому есть причинною. Не меньшимъ тежъ причинною до того слушнѣ признати цалымъ сумнѣнемъ можемъ самого патріярху нашого Константынопольского, который таковые клотни листами своими сездѣ въ панства наши, не мовлю, [text defective]... всылаючи, але свольные, а то до того привель, и духъ... [до] ... таковоѣ роспачи... помсты на спротивникахъ своихъ...; бо владыка Лвовскій, будучи тамъ въ остатней томи отъ братства, не только до такового отщепенства кинутися мусиль, але, вѣрю, же бы и душего неприятеля радъ бы собѣ на помочь взялъ: чоги и доказаль, и другихъ за собою потягнуль” (AZR, vol. 4, no. 65, pp. 91–92).

²⁵ I am preparing an article criticizing the erroneous view that the Ruthenian bishops entered into Union with Rome because they feared encroachment from the newly created patriarchate of Moscow. Concerning the development of the Muscovite perception of the Union of Brest in the seventeenth century, see Tatiana Oparina, “Spryniattia unii v Rossii XVII stolittia,” in Borys Gudziak, ed., Oleh Turii, co-ed., *Derzhava, suspil'stvo i Terskva v Ukraini u XVII stolitti. Materialy Druhykh “Beresteis'kykh chytan’.*” L'viv, Dnipropetrovs'k, Kyiv, 1–6 liutoho 1995 r. (L'viv, 1996), pp. 131–85, (including discussion); here pp. 139–42.

²⁶ The document apparently bears twenty-three signatures including those of two itinerant bishops (one a Greek), four archimandrites—Nykyfor (Tur) of the Kyivan Caves Monastery, Ilarion (Masal'skyi) of Supraśl, Henadii of Derman', and Athanasios of Simonapetra on Mount Athos—a monastic from the Vydubychi monastery in Kyiv, two hegumens, representatives of the lay clergy from various towns including Peremyshl', Brest, and Slutsk. The wide range is so remarkable that one wonders whether some of the signatures were not forged, as was the case on more than one occasion with documents issued by Hedeon (Balaban). It is, however, unlikely that *all* of the signatures were inauthentic, making the broad range of expressed support for union with Rome, before Ostroz'kyi initiated his anti-union efforts, quite impressive; see *Documenta Unionis*, no. 22, pp. 43–44.

²⁷ Regarding Mykhail's reservations and vacillation or timidity, see *Documenta Unionis*, nos. 36, 44, 80, 102, pp. 57–58, 78–79, 127–28, 162–64.

²⁸ Another magnate that resented being ignored by the bishops in their union deliberations was the palatine of Navahrudak, Feodor Skumyn-Tyshkevych. See his letters to Metropolitan Mykhail and Prince Ostroz'kyi, *Documenta Unionis*, nos. 48, 51, pp. 87–88, 91–92.

²⁹ See, *Documenta Unionis*, nos. 17–22, pp. 32–44.

³⁰ *Documenta Unionis*, no. 31, 33, pp. 51–55.

³¹ *Documenta Unionis*, no. 33, p. 55.

³² *Documenta Unionis*, no. 43, pp. 75–78; no. 47, pp. 82–87.

³³ See the account in Ipatii's *Antirrēsis* in *Pamiatniki polemicheskoi literatury*, vol. 3, (St. Petersburg, 1903), pp. 633–35 [=RIB, 19].

³⁴ For the Polish and Latin texts of these articles, see *Documenta Unionis*, nos. 41, 42, pp. 61–75. For an English translation, see Appendix 3.

³⁵ See the nuncio's dispatch dated 7 July in *Documenta Unionis*, no. 50, pp. 90–91.

³⁶ A facsimile of this letter is given in *Documenta Unionis*, after p. 448. For a transcription of the Ruthenian version see *AZR*, vol. 4, no. 68, pp. 94–95 or *Mon. Confr.*, no. 367, pp. 625–26; Latin version, *Documenta Unionis*, no. 45, pp. 79–81. Both versions were read before Pope Clement VIII in Rome 23 December 1595.

³⁷ *Documenta Unionis*, no. 41, p. 63.

³⁸ *Documenta Unionis*, no. 41, p. 66.

³⁹ *Documenta Unionis*, nos. 60–61, pp. 107–112.

⁴⁰ *Documenta Unionis*, nos. 62, 63, pp. 112–17.

⁴¹ *Litterae nuntiorum*, vol. 2, nos. 499, 504, 506, 509–511, 514, 515, pp. 66, 68–82.

⁴² *Documenta Unionis*, nos. 120, 124, 125, pp. 177, 179–80.

⁴³ Concerning Ipatii and Kyrill's stay in Rome, see Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, pp. 311–41 and the earlier study of Albert M. Ammann, "Der Aufenthalt der ruthenischen Bischöfe Hypathius Pocij and Cyrillus Terlecki in Rom im Dezember und Januar 1595–96," *OCP* 11 (1945): 103–40.

⁴⁴ See the bull *Decet Romanum Pontificem*, in *Documenta Unionis*, no. 193, p. 292.

⁴⁵ *Documenta Unionis*, no. 145, pp. 217–26.

⁴⁶ *Documenta Unionis*, no. 145, p. 218.

⁴⁷ *Documenta Unionis*, no. 145, p. 219.

⁴⁸ See the summary of Saragoza's yet undiscovered *votum* recorded by Pietro Norres in *MUH*, vol. 1, no. 197, pp. 111–16. See also, Patrylo, "Artykuly Beresteis'koï unii," p. 59n28 and pp. 90–91.

⁴⁹ *Documenta Unionis*, no. 145, p. 225.

⁵⁰ *Documenta Unionis*, no. 145, pp. 223–24. The reception of the hierarchs apparently did not include a separate rite of abjuration, but Roman authorities considered their act of submission to be a repudiation of previous positions. The bull *Decet Romanum Pontificem* rejoices that Ipatii and Kyrill "condemned and spurned all of their own and the other bishops' errors, heresies, and schisms." See *Documenta Unionis*, no. 193, p. 292.

⁵¹ For characterizations of the social, economic, and religious life of Rome in the *Cinquecento*, see Jean Delumeau, *Rome au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1975),

which recapitulates in abridged form his *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié de XVI^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1957–1959); Girard Labrot, *L'image de Rome. Une arme pour la Contre-Réforme 1534–1677* (Paris, 1987); and Louis Ponnelle and Louis Borolet, *Saint Philippe Neri et la société romaine de sons temps (1515–1595)* (Paris, 1928).

⁵² About Baronio, see Hubert Jedin, *Kardinal Caesar Baronius. Der Anfang der Katholischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung im 16. Jahrhundert* (Münster-Aschendorff, 1978) and Romeo De Maio, Luigi Gulia, and Aldo Mazzacane, *Baronio storico e la Controriforma. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di studi. Sora 6–10 Ottobre, 1979* (Sora, Italy, 1982) [=Fonti e Studi Baroniani, 1], with a bibliography of earlier literature.

⁵³ *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Rome,” vol. 12, (New York, 1967), p. 653.

⁵⁴ The Holy See wrote to officials of numerous Italian regions, cities, and towns, including Padua, Bologna, Romagna, Ancona, Loreto, the Marches, Camerino, and Perugia, requesting that they host Ipatii and Kyryll as they traveled to Rome, see *Documenta Unionis*, nos. 73, 78, 82, pp. 123, 125, 129–30.

⁵⁵ The sum total of all of the known Cyrillic editions in the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands during the sixteenth century stands at less than seventy-five editions. See Vera Il'ničhna Luk'ianenko, *Katalog belorusskikh izdaniĭ kirilovskogo shrifta XVI–XVII v.*, vol. 1 (1523–1600) (1973) registers forty-seven Cyrillic editions in Belarus', and Iakym Prokhorovych Zapasko and Iaroslav Dmytrovych Isaievych, *Pam'iatky knyzhkovoho mystetsva. Katalog starodrukiv, vydanykh na Ukraïni*, vol. 1 (1574–1700) (L'viv, 1981) lists some twenty-seven editions appearing in Ukraine in the sixteenth century of which some are slightly different variants of the same edition.

⁵⁶ About the life and influence of Borromeo, see *San Carlo e il suo tempo. Atti del Convegno internazionale nel IV centenario della morte* (Milano, 21–26 maggio 1984), 2 vols. (Rome, 1986); John M. Headly and John B. Tomoro, *San Carlo Borromeo. Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century* (Cranbury–London, 1988); and André Deroo, *Saint Charles Borromée, cardinal réformateur de la pastorale (1536–1584)* (Paris, 1963).

⁵⁷ *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, p. 711, s.v. “Borromeo, Charles, St.”

⁵⁸ See the special appendix in Caesar Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici*, vol. 9. (Lucca, 1741), pp. 658–67. The original edition of this section of his history was published in Rome in 1596.

⁵⁹ For the date of their departure, see Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, p. 341n133.

⁶⁰ *Documenta Unionis*, no. 193, p. 293.

⁶¹ See Sophia Senyk, “The Background of the Union of Brest,” p. 136, and her “Berestejs'ka uniiia: sproba otsinky,” in Borys Gudziak, ed. and Oleh Turii,

co-ed., *Uniini protsesy XVI-XVII st. i ikh ekleziolohichna otsinka. Materialy Shostykh "Beresteis'kykh chytan'."* L'viv, Kyiv, Uzhhorod 14–20 travnia 1996 r. (forthcoming, L'viv, 1999).

⁶² See *Documenta Unionis*, nos. 171–86, pp. 264–89.

⁶³ Halecki devotes a chapter to a narration of the events at the two synods; see *From Florence to Brest*, pp. 366–91. See also his “Unia brzeska w świetle współczesnych świadectw greckich,” in *Sacrum Poloniae Millennium*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1954), pp. 71–73, and “Jeszcze o nowych źródłach do dziejów unii brzeskiej,” in *Sacrum Poloniae Millennium*, vol. 4 (Rome, 1957), pp. 117–40.

⁶⁴ Porfirii Pidruchnyi estimates that at the time of the Union of Brest there were some two-hundred Ruthenian monasteries with a total number of monks less than a thousand. See his “Pochatky Vasylians'koho chynu i Beresteis'ka unia,” in Borys Gudziak, ed. and Oleh Turii, co-ed., *Beresteis'ka unia ta vnutrishnie zhyttaa Tserkvy v XVII stolitti. Materialy Chetvertykh "Beresteis'kykh chytan'."* L'viv, Luts'k, Kyiv. 2–6 zhovtnia 1995 r. (L'viv, 1997) pp. 79–101 [with discussion, pp. 101–124].

⁶⁵ Concerning the composition of the anti-union synod, see the variant list given by the sources, *Documenta Unionis*, nos. 227, 235, pp. 337–38, 367.

⁶⁶ Before arriving in the Commonwealth, Nikephoros had been involved in political affairs in Moldova deemed by Polish officials to be detrimental to the interests of the Commonwealth. In the wake of the Union of Brest he was arrested by Polish authorities as a Turkish agent and met his end in prison in Prussia awaiting a final verdict. The charges of espionage pending against him seem to have been plausible. For references to literature on Nikephoros and his role in Ruthenian church affairs, see chapter 8 above, fn. 30. For examples of opposing critical and sympathetic views on Nikephoros, see Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, pp. 355–61, 367, 371ff and Tomasz Kempa, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski*, pp. 150–56.

⁶⁷ See, for example, *Documenta Unionis*, no. 229, p. 349.

⁶⁸ For the Ruthenian original and Latin translation, see *Documenta Unionis*, no. 231, pp. 359–62; nos. 228, 341.

⁶⁹ Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, pp. 355–56.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 382.

⁷¹ For the pro-union synod's excommunication of Hedeon, Mykhail (Kopystens'kyi), Nykyfor (Tur), and others who rejected union, see *Documenta Unionis*, nos. 232, 233, 235, pp. 362–67. For Nikephoros' excommunication of the metropolitan and the other bishops ratifying union with Rome, see *ibid.*, no. 230, pp. 358–59.

⁷² See the penetrating portrait of a leading early seventeenth-century ecclesiastic who sought cultural, political, and ecclesiastical compromise in a context demanding ever more partisan stances, David A. Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995).

⁷³ Oskar Halecki, who recognized the relevance of the memorandum for the history of the Kyivan metropolitanate, published the text with an introduction, see his “Isidore’s Tradition,” *AOSBM* ser. 2, sec. 2, vol. 4 (1963): 27–43; the memorandum is found in the appendix, pp. 37–43. Halecki identifies Possevino as the author of the report addressed to Cardinal Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini (the latter was charged with eastern European affairs by his dotting uncle, Pope Clement VII).

⁷⁴ “. . . perche li Vladichi uenuti qua dicono, che due anni sono sendo il Patriarca di Costantinopoli uenuto a uisitare la Rossia, et piangendo con loro le miserie, che patiuano I Christiani sotto la tirannide Turchesca con le confusioni, et abusi, che per ciò nasceuano, non potendosi attendere all’estirpatione di quelli[,] con la debita libertà Ecc(lesiasti)ca fù risposto da alcuni, che per rimediare à questo si doueua tentare una uera unione con la Chiesa Latina per hauer poi aiuti da quella secondo il bisogno, al che il Patriarca replicò il pensiero esser santiss(i)mo, et che felici doueuan reputarsi quelli, à chi non era uietato l’eseguirlo, ma che non era licito di farlo à chi staua soggetto à Turchi per uarij [*sic*] pericoli, che si correuano con che uenne quasi ad insegnare alli Rutheni, che non lasciassero di prouedere alla loro salute, et da questo ragionamento si cominciò maturare il consiglio, che in fine ha partorito la uenuta di costoro in Roma, et partiorirà con la Diuina gratia la conuersione di tutte quelle genti, et l’unione di quelle Chiese errante alla sua uera madre con uiue speranae di frutii molto maggiori” (Halecki, “Isidore’s Tradition,” appendix, p. 39. An English translation of this passage is provided by Moroziuk, “The Role of Patriarch Jeremiah II Tranos in the Reformation of the Kievan Metropolis,” *Patristic and Byzantine Review* 5(2) 1986: 126–27. Here the translation has been thoroughly revised.

Notes to Appendix 1

¹ Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*. The first part of the book is devoted to the Orthodox Church before the fall of Constantinople. Four centuries of history of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate (its relationship to the Ottoman state and to other confessions, administrative structure, cultural role, etc.) within the complex and changing political and social circumstances in which the Greek subjects of the sultans lived, are surveyed in two hundred and fifty pages. In a retrospective account of his research Runciman found that in his work much of the history of the patriarchate of Constantinople remained “impenetrable”; see his “Greek Church under the Turks: Problems of Research,” in *The Materials, Sources, and Methods of Ecclesiastical History. Papers Read at the Twelfth Meeting and the Thirteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1975), p. 235 [=Studies in Church History, 11]. Runciman writes gracefully and often authoritatively when analyzing the Christian Orient and Greek ecclesiastical life and structures. However, the author used very few Slavic or Turkish sources. His treatment of Greek-East Slavic ecclesiastical interaction is episodic and not

well informed. Apparently, he did not regularly consult Slavic historiography. Although he includes some Slavic literature in his bibliography, Aleksei Petrovich Lebedev's fundamental (856-page) survey is not cited, see *Istoriia Greko-Vostochnoi tserkvi pod vlastiui turok*, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1903 [1904 appears on the cover]) [=Sobranie tserkovno-istoricheskikh sochinenii, 7]. Lebedev provides rich commentary on the sources and informative historiographic annotation. His survey rambles at points, but in terms of sheer factual information it is very useful and cannot be ignored by scholars of Orthodoxy in the Ottoman Empire. (For Lebedev's review of nineteenth-century Greek scholarship on the patriarchate of Constantinople, see pp. 189–97n1.) For critical remarks on Lebedev's treatment of the sixteenth century one may turn to the unpublished thesis of Hieromonk Pavel [Vil'khov's'kyi] defended in 1905 at the Kyiv Theological Academy, "Patriarkh Konstantinopol'skii Ieremiia II. Istoricheskii ocherk ego zhizni i trudov na pol'zu Sv. Tserkvi," pt. 1 (116 ms fols.) in the manuscript division of the Instytut Rukopysiv Tsentral'noi naukovoï biblioteky im. V. Vernad's'koho, fond n. 314 Dissertations of the of the Kyiv Theological Academy, sprava no. 1887, fols. 12v–15r. Both Runciman and Lebedev's surveys surpass nineteenth-century Greek works, of which the most notable is the series of biographical notices about the Constantinopolitan patriarchs compiled by Manouel Gedeon, *Patriarchikoi Pinakes* (Constantinople, 1890). The sprawling study of Meletios Pegas by Ivan Ignat'evich Malyshevskii amasses many interesting details about sixteenth-century Orthodoxy and includes a separate volume of sources; see *Aleksandriiskii Patriarkh Meletii Pegas i ego uchastie v delakh Russkoi tserkvi*, 2 vols. (Kyiv, 1872). However, Malyshevskii's book is written in a decidedly polemical tone. His characterizations are facile, and his use of sources is frequently uncritical even when he recognizes them as being panegyrics (see, p. xiv). He refers to the sources casually, irregularly, and not always accurately, so that the reader cannot readily verify his statements or conclusions. Cf. his "Konstantinopol'skaia patriarkhiia i grecheskaia tserkov v podvlastnykh latinianam grecheskikh zemliach s pol. XV do 80-kh godov XVI v.," *TKDA* 1873 (1): 57–104. Unfortunately, there have been few attempts to focus on specific aspects of the history of the patriarchate of Constantinople. Theodore H. Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination* (Brussels, 1952) [=Bibliotheca Graeca Aevi Posterioris, 1] provides the most detailed discussion of its administrative structure. See also Nikolaos J. Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law in the Balkan Peninsula during the Ottoman Rule* (Thessaloniki, 1967). Twenty five years after the publication of Runciman's outline, most of the questions it raised have yet to be addressed. The essay by Manoussos Manoussacas, "Structure sociale de l'hellénisme post-byzantin," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31/2 (1981): 791–815 [=XVI. Internationaler Byzantinisten Kongress, Akten I/2]. Catalogues and assesses recent scholarship on the respective status and role played by different Greek communities throughout the Mediterranean in Greek cultural and religious life during the post-Byzantine period. For a brief overview and a copious bibliography of the

political and institutional status of Orthodoxy under the Ottomans, see Gerhard Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, pp. 1–16; additional literature on the end of the sixteenth century, pp. 76–78. For comments on the modest scope and methodological shortcomings of Greek ecclesiastical historiography for the *Tourkokratia* from the 1930s to 1960, see Peter Topping, “Greek Historical Writing on the period 1453–1914,” *Journal of Modern History* 33 (1961): 158–61. Cf. also S. I. Murtuzaliev, “Iz istorii bolgarskogo naroda pod osmanskim gospodstvom (Konstantinopol’skaia patriarkhii v sisteme osmanskogo upravleniia XV–XVI vv.),” *Sovetskoe slavianovedenie* 1982 (3): 35–43; Kemal H. Karpat, “Ottoman Views and Policies towards the Orthodox Christian Church,” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 31 (1986): 131–55; George Georgiades-Arnakis, “The Greek Church of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire,” *Journal of Modern History* 24 (1952): 235–50; Nicolae Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance* (Bucharest, 1935), pp. 80–112; Karl Binswanger, *Untersuchungen zum Status der Nichtmuslime im Osmanischen Reich des 16. Jahrhunderts: mit einer Neudefinition des Begriffes “Dimma”* (Munich, 1977) [=Beiträge zur Kenntnis Südosteuropas und des Nahen Orients, 23].

² See Runciman, “The Greek Church under the Turks: Problems of Research,” pp. 223–35 and Lebedev, *Istoriia*, pp. 36–55. For comments on the sources for the sixteenth-century history of the patriarchate of Constantinople see also Konstantinos N. Sathas, *Mesaionikē Bibliothēkē*, vol. 3 (Venice, 1872; reprint 1972), pp. 11–19 and Otto Kresten, *Das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel im ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert. Der Bericht des Leontios Eustratios im Cod. Tyb. MB 10: Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Vienna, 1970), pp. 52–54 [=Sitzungsberichte. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, vol. 266, 5].

³ The oldest surviving *berat* (imperial diploma), one issued to Leontios, metropolitan of Larissa in 1604, is preserved only in a Greek version. The earliest extant patriarchal *berat* is dated 1662; see Marios Philippides, “The Patriarchal Chronicles of the Sixteenth Century,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 25 (1984): 88.

⁴ Nomikos M. Vaporis has described the second and third oldest codices from the archives of the patriarchate of Constantinople. A description of the oldest volume, Codex Alpha, has yet to be published, but Vaporis informs me that it contains mostly seventeenth-century documents, especially concerning Cyril Loukaris. There are “five or six” documents from the sixteenth century, one from the patriarchate of Jeremiah I (1522–46), some from that of Jeremiah II. One of the documents refers to Venetian affairs, however, none concern East Slavic matters. Codex Beta, consisting of only a hundred and seven pages of which twenty-nine are blank, contains sixty-eight documents written from 1616–64; see Nomikos M. Vaporis, “Codex (B’) Beta of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople: Aspects of the History of the Church of Constantinople,” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 19(2) 1974: 1–69; and 20(1–2) 1975: 70–126. Codex Gamma has seventy-six pages of text with

eighty-eight documents dating from March, 1691, to March 28, 1719 (pages numbered A and B date from July 1761); see Nomikos M. Vaporis, "Codex (G') Gamma of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople: Aspects of the History of the Church of Constantinople, *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 18(1-2) 1973: 3-88; 19(1) 1974: 89-154. Lebedev discusses the sources for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Greek church history (see *Istoriia*, pp. 36-55).

⁵ Ivan Ivanovich Sokolov, who worked in the archives for seven weeks gathering materials on the nineteenth-century history of the patriarchate of Constantinople, as early as 1904 wrote about their poverty, attributing it to the hardships under Turkish rule, the fires, and the independence uprising of 1821, which together destroyed both the organization of the archives and materials in them, *Konstantinopol'skaia tserkov' v XIX veke. Opyt istoricheskogo issledovaniia* (St. Petersburg, 1904), p. xxxiv.

⁶ Access to materials is an additional obstacle. For various reasons, not the least of which is the unscrupulousness of scholars who have worked in the libraries and manuscript collections of Eastern monasteries, permission to work in the archives is not readily granted by ecclesiastical authorities. My own written inquiry to the patriarchate of Constantinople was never acknowledged. In the last century not many scholars have worked in the archives of the patriarchate of Constantinople and even fewer have published their findings. A good proportion of these have been Greek ecclesiastics and there are some indications that the patriarchate has censored some of their research. The written testimony of Sokolov is of interest in this regard. Having received from the patriarch of Constantinople, Joachim III, permission and exclusive access on the basis of a letter of recommendation from Metropolitan Antonii of St. Petersburg and Ladoga, Sokolov worked in the archives for seven weeks in the summer of 1902, under the supervision of a special patriarchal commission. Everything that he was to publish was reviewed by officials from the patriarchate. Some documents he quotes only in extract, κατὰ λέξιν, and it is not unreasonable to suspect that there might have been some censorship, particularly since the author states that the book was written for scholarly reasons but also "в интересах единства веры православных народов, их взаимной любви и общего христианского единомыслия" (*Konstantinopol'skaia tserkov' v XIX veke. Opyt istoricheskogo issledovaniia*, p. xxxiv).

⁷ Vaporis, "Codex (B')," p. 8.

⁸ Under the Turks the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem had the rights extended to all bishops along with some of the privileges of the patriarch of Constantinople. They became, however, increasingly dependent on the latter who became the supreme representative of the Orthodox Church before the Porte. The other patriarchs could stay in the city only with the permission of the patriarch of Constantinople, and once there, they had to respect the ordinances that concerned the bishops of that patriarchate. In this regard they were subordinated to the ecumenical patriarch, Lebedev, *Istoriia*, pp. 123-24, cf. Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, pp. 176-77. Lebedev

gives a schematic survey of the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem during the *Tourkokratia* (Istoriia, pp. 759–849). See also *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, vol. 2., *The Arabic-Speaking Lands*, eds. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York–London, 1982).

⁹ Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, p. 177.

¹⁰ Eleni Kakoulidis, “Katalogos tōn hellēnikōn cheirographōn tou Hellēnikou Institutoutou Benetias.” *Thēsaourismata* 8 (1971): 249–73. For further references, see Manoussos Manoussacas, “La comunità greca di Venezia e gli arcivescovi di Filadelfia,” in “*La chiesa greca in Italia dall’VII al XVI secolo.*” *Atti del convegno storico (Bari, 30 Apr.–4 Magg. 1969)* (Padua, 1973), vol. 1, pp. 47–49 [=Italia Sacra. Studi e Documenti di Storia Ecclesiastica, 21].

¹¹ Runciman writes that his research in the archives of the patriarchate of Constantinople uncovered little that was not already published or described. Some materials described in earlier publications were found to be missing (“The Greek Church under the Turks: Problems of Research,” p. 226). I have directly queried or exchanged letters with a score of scholars who have worked in Greek, Balkan, Venetian, and Roman archives, as well as those of the patriarchate. The responses confirm Runciman’s pessimism about sources documenting Greco-Ruthenian relations at the end of the sixteenth century.

¹² See the references to the sixteenth century in Halil Inalcik, “The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans,” *Turcica: Revue des etudes turques* 21–23 (1991): 307–36.

¹³ Halil Inalcik, “Ottoman Archival Materials on Millets,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1, pp. 437–49.

¹⁴ Concerning the Pseudo–Dorotheos chronicle, see Borys A. Gudziak, “The Sixteenth-Century Muscovite Church and Patriarch Jeremiah II’s Journey to Muscovy, 1588–1589: Some Comments concerning the Historiography and Sources,” *HUS* 19 (1995): 200–225.

¹⁵ Along with the *Historia Politica*, the *Historia Patriarchica* was published with commentary by Martin Crusius in *Turcograecia, libri octo* (Basel, 1584), pp. 1–68, 105–201, and reprinted in the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn, 1849), vol. 46. The relevant section of the Pseudo–Dorotheos chronicle was reprinted by Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 3–25; Eustratios’ memorandum was published by Kresten, *Das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel*. Consult Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, for references to the published correspondence of individual Orthodox theologians and churchmen. About Eustratios on Jeremiah’s trip to Muscovy, see Kresten, *Das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel*, p. 84. For comments on the dubious nature of some of Eustratios’ information and on the differences between Eustratios and the Pseudo–Dorotheos chronicle, see *ibid.*, pp. 32–34, 58.

Notes to Appendix 2

- ¹ From Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 20–23 and 24–25.
- ² Concerning the status of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, see Viacheslav Zaikyn, “L’organization juridique de l’archevêché d’Okhrid dès sa fondation jusque à la conquête de la péninsule des Balkans par les Turks,” *Bohosloviia* 9 (1933): 89–96.
- ³ The use of the plural in Greek reflects the Eastern Christian nuance according to which all of what Christ endured was part of the His salvific activity. Traditionally the West has focused more specifically on the Crucifixion as the efficacious soteriological moment of the Passion.
- ⁴ These last two sentences are omitted in the seventeenth-century Russian translation. See the excerpt published by Lebedeva, *Pozdnie grecheskie khroniki*, p. 93.
- ⁵ The Church Father and Bishop of Constantinople St. John Chrysostom was banished to this Armenian frontier post in 404. Chrysostom never returned from exile and died in 407 while being transferred to an even more severe location. His vita would have been familiar to the sixteenth-century Greek reader schooled primarily in the monastic literary culture and perhaps even to an illiterate church-going Greek who would hear the vita read on Chrysostom’s feast day.
- ⁶ In the mind of a Greek living and writing under the Turks the term “Christians” was often a synonym for “Greek.” See for example the brief memorandum written 29/19 March 1590 by Leontios Eustratios at the request of Martin Crusius describing ecclesiastical events in Constantinople in the 1580s published by Otto Kresten, *Das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel im ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert*, pp. 40, 44, 46. The Greeks from Jeremiah’s party opposing the creation of a patriarchate in Muscovy are identified by Arsenios of Ellassona, Dmitrievskii, *Archiepiskop elassonskii*, p. 83.
- ⁷ The meaning here is unclear. “Καὶ ὁ Ἱερεμίας εἶπεν ἄλλον. ἀμὴ αὐτὸς εἶναι δισεπίσκοπος, καὶ δὲν εἶναι νόμιμον” (Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, p. 22). The punctuation is slightly different in the 1631 edition, p. 601: “Καὶ ὁ Ἱερεμίας εἶπεν, ἄλλον. ἀμὴ αὐτὸς εἶναι δισεπίσκοπος καὶ δὲν εἶναι νόμιμον.” It is interesting to note that Arsenios and Dionysios, the seventeenth-century Greeks translating Pseudo-Dorotheos into Russian, skipped over this troublesome sentence. It is omitted in the extract from their translation (State Historical Museum, ms. no. 343, p. 75) provided by Lebedeva, p. 93. Charles Du Cange used the *Bibliion istorikon* in compiling his dictionary, cf. *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, 2 vols. (Lugduni, 1688; reprinted in Bratislava, 1891 and Graz, 1958), index of authors cited vol. 1, p. 47: “Dorothei Metropolitanæ Monembasiensis Synopsis Historiarum, ex editione Veneta.” The term *disepiskopos*, however, is not entered. Kartashev without explanation

reconstrues the term to be δισεπισκοῦός—“что он не уполномочен епископами” (*Ocherki po istorii Russkoi tserkvi*, vol. 2, p. 26).

⁸ Andrei Shchelkalov, the *posol'skii d'iak* (“foreign minister”), was responsible for surveillance over Jeremiah and his suite, see *Posol'skaia kniga*, p. 26. Pseudo-Dorotheos is not alone in accusing Shchelkalov of mistreating foreigners. Giles Fletcher, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador to Moscow in 1588–1589, complained about the firm treatment he had received from Shchelkalov. See Fletcher's report on his embassy published as Appendix A in *Of the Russe Commonwealth by Giles Fletcher 1591. Facsimile Edition with Variants*, with an Introduction by Richard Pipes and a Glossary-index by John V. A. Fine Jr. (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), pp. 43–53.

⁹ Probably in reference to Byzantine Emperor Theodosios II (408–450), during whose rule powerful individuals in the court influenced decisions and themselves conducted much of the policy. For general comments and bibliography, see the entry in *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 2051–2052. The author's allusion to Theodosios is not completely appropriate since the emperor is known to have had scholarly inclinations, while Tsar Fedor's mental infirmity is well-documented.

¹⁰ Although the *Grecheskaia posol'skaia kniga* corroborates the fact that Jeremiah and his retinue received gifts from the Tsar, the sums recorded therein are significantly more modest than those in Pseudo-Dorotheos. This kind of exaggeration, as well as the use of round numbers, can be seen as evidence supporting the view that the information in the chronicle concerning Jeremiah's sojourn in Muscovy was registered from oral accounts and not written down by Hierotheos himself.

¹¹ The date in Sathas is mistakenly given as 7099 [1591]. Here it is corrected according to the 1631 edition, p. 602 and the seventeenth-century Russian translation, Lebedeva, p. 94. The syntax is somewhat ambiguous: “Καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς . . . τὸν Μονεμβασίας πέντε πρῶτα, καὶ πέντε ὕστερα, ποτήρια, φορέματα, σαμούρια, εἰς τὸν Πατριάρχην Ῥωσσίας . . .” Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, p. 22. Sathas' rendition of the text from the 1631 edition includes some slight variation in punctuation and the addition of the preposition *eis*. The 1631 version is as follows: “Καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς . . . εἰς τὸν Μονεμβασίας πέντε πρῶτα, καὶ πέντε ὕστερα, ποτήρια φορέματα, σαμούρια εἰς τὸν Πατριάρχην Ῥωσσίας . . .” That Iov, and not only the visiting hierarchs, received gifts from the Tsar on the day of Iov's installation as patriarch is indicated by Arsenios in his versified account of the creation of the Moscow patriarchate, see “The Toils and Travels,” in Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, pp. 51–52. The seventeenth-century Russian translation interprets the text as I have done, see Lebedeva, *Pozdnie grecheskie khroniki*, p. 94.

¹² Perhaps πρωτοστάτωρ should be read πρωτοστράτωρ, cf. Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, p. 23.

¹³ “An official of the [Sultan’s] Palace, often sent to the provinces to convey and execute orders,” from the “Glossary” in Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300–1600*, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (London, 1973; reprinted, 1975), p. 218.

¹⁴ The Greek is unclear here: “Θέλων εἰς τὴν πρώτην τάξιν, καθὼς ἦτον εἰς δύο χιλιάδες φλουρία.” See Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, p. 25.

Notes to Appendix 3

¹ The Ruthenian bishops prepared two versions of the “Articles,” one in Polish the other in Latin, with slightly varying formulations. This translation is based on the Polish text which must have been the original (of all the bishops only Ipatii knew Latin well) and more directly reflects the attitudes and aspirations of the hierarchs. For the two versions, see *Documenta Unionis*, pp. 61–75.

² Wooden instrument causing a clacking sound used in Poland (and elsewhere) during the Latin rite *Triduum* instead of bells when the bells are silenced from the “Gloria” of the Mass of the Lord’s Supper on Holy Thursday to the “Gloria” during the Easter Vigil Mass; not to be confused with the “simandron,” a wooden bell-like instrument used in Eastern monasteries to wake the monks and not used during services.

³ Articles 10, 12, 14, 17–21, 25–29, and 32 were addressed primarily to the king and were designated as “Regia,” i.e., “Royal.” They are marked by an asterisk.

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