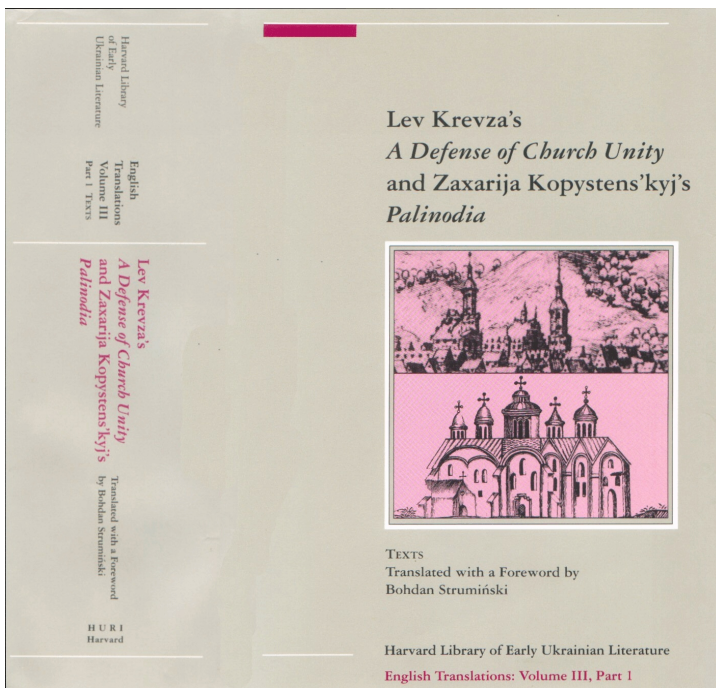


SLA 218

Ukrainian Literature and Culture

Lev Krevza. *A Defense of Church Unity* Zaxariia Kopystens'kyi. *Palinodia*

These excerpts are from *Lev Krevza's* “A Defense of Church Unity” and *Zaxariia Kopystens'kyj's* “Palinodia” translated by Bohdan Struminski and published in 1995 by the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University as volume III, part 1 of the Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature.



Lev Krevza's
A Defense of Church Unity
and
Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's
Palinodia

PART 1: TEXTS

Translated with a Foreword
by Bohdan Strumiński

Edited by Roman Koropec'kyj and Dana R. Miller
with William R. Veder



DISTRIBUTED BY HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
FOR THE
UKRAINIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute was established in 1973 as an integral part of Harvard University. It supports research associates and visiting scholars who are engaged in projects concerned with all aspects of Ukrainian studies. The Institute also works in close cooperation with the Committee on Ukrainian Studies, which supervises and coordinates the teaching of Ukrainian history, language, and literature at Harvard University.

The preparation of this volume was made possible in part by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, an independent federal agency.

© 1995 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College
All rights reserved
ISBN 0-916458-29-6
Printed in the United States of America

FOREWORD

Historical background of the Krevza-Kopystens'kyj polemic

Although attacks on Latin Christians are common in Slavonic-Ruthenian literature from as far back as the times of Kievan Rus' and Latin-Polish volleys at Orthodox Ruthenians date from the beginning of the sixteenth century (Jan Sakran [Sacranus]), polemics between individual authors commenced only in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. They were triggered by the publication of the Polish Jesuit Piotr Skarga's 1577 tract *On the Unity of the Church of God under One Shepherd and on the Greek Apostasy from That Unity, with a Warning and Admonition for the Ruthenian Nation which adheres to the Greeks* (Vilnius). The Orthodox responded quickly, thus initiating the first phase of the Polish-Ruthenian polemic (1577–1595).¹ At this stage it was waged in the respective languages of the two sides, Polish on the one hand and Slavonic or Ruthenian on the other.

In 1595 Ipatij Potij, one of the principal authors of the union of Ruthenians with the Roman See (in 1595/6), initiated a new phase in the polemic, now involving mostly the Ruthenians themselves, the Uniates and the Orthodox. In the early years of this phase the Orthodox acted in an alliance with the Protestants (formally concluded in 1599), who may have even written some polemical works for the Orthodox.² The languages employed were Ruthenian and Polish (often published in parallel editions). This largely intranational phase of the polemic culminated in the works of Lev Krevza and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj, two representatives of the leading intellectual centers of the Uniates and the Orthodox—the Trinity Monastery in Vilnius and the Theophany Brotherhood in Kiev, respectively—who argued for their positions in a theologically and historiographically erudite manner. Marked by a break in the Orthodox alliance with the Protestants (Kopystens'kyj parenthetically criticizes them), this phase of the polemic ended in victory for the Orthodox, albeit as a consequence not so much of scholarly persuasion but

¹ Cf. Pritsak and Struminsky, xiii.

² Cf. *ibid.*, xv.

rather of power politics. In 1620 the Orthodox renewed their hierarchy (which was all but destroyed by the Uniates) under the protection of the Zaporozhian Host; because the Polish-Lithuanian Crown needed the Orthodox Cossacks for war against Turkey, it had to swallow this setback. The Theophany Brotherhood, of which Kopystens'kyj was a member, played a central role in this event.

The renewal of the Orthodox hierarchy in 1620 started a brief but vigorous new phase of the polemic (centered in Vilnius), in which the Orthodox were again forced into a defensive position. The polemic was conducted almost exclusively in Polish because the Ruthenian polemicists wanted their books read in governmental circles.³ When the Uniate bishop of Połack, Josafat Kuncevyč, Krevza's associate in polemics, was murdered by the Orthodox in November 1623, this phase of the literary polemic came to an end. The main pillar of the Orthodox side, Meletij Smotryc'kyj, removed himself from the scene at the end of 1623 by taking a trip to the Near East (from which he later returned a Uniate). Although a response to a Uniate book from the previous period, Kopystens'kyj's *Palinodia* belongs partly to this phase as well, since he was still at work on it in the early 1620s.

In 1624 the atmosphere in the Commonwealth became so anti-Orthodox that Kopystens'kyj deemed it wiser to abandon his efforts to complete and publish the *Palinodia* (even though as the archimandrite of Kiev's Lavra since 1624 he had at his disposal all the technical means to do so). The attempts of the Orthodox hierarchy under Metropolitan Iov Borec'kyj to reach an agreement with the government, coupled with the efforts of some notable Uniates to reunite the Ruthenian Church,⁴ may also have influenced Kopystens'kyj's decision.

*The duelists*⁵

Lavrentij (monastic name Lev) Krevza Bejda Revus'kyj (before 1569–1639), a nobleman from Podlachia, studied in the Greek College in Rome in 1603–13, then joined the Uniate Basilian Order and took

³ Hruševs'kyj, 7:452.

⁴ Ibid., 8:4, 10.

⁵ For more detailed information on Krevza and Kopystens'kyj, see Pritsak and Struminsky, xxi–liii.

residence in the Holy Trinity Monastery of Vilnius.⁶ In 1617 (the same year in which his polemical tract appeared) he became its archimandrite and master of its seminary. He was a close collaborator of Josafat Kuncevyč, with whom he wrote several theological books, including *A Defense of Church Unity*. In the last period of his life (1627–39) he was the Uniate archbishop of Smolensk and Černihiv.

Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj (ca. 1590⁷–1627), a nobleman from western Galicia⁸, may have studied in Germany, then spent some time in the Moldavian monastery of Putna (in Bukovina)⁹ as a traveler,¹⁰ in L'viv, and in the Caves Monastery of Kiev. In 1616 he joined the Theophany

⁶ A vague mention in his book (“We also hear about what was happening in Muscovy [concerning the domination of the church by secular superiors] and have even partly witnessed it”) suggests that Krevza may have traveled to Muscovy before he started writing his book in 1616 (*HLEUL: Texts* 3:51, and below, p. 122); for the time of the book’s writing see below, pp. xvi–xviii.

⁷ The date “around 1585” cited in Pritsak and Struminsky, xxxi, is Iščak’s (8:161), based on the following admission by Kopystens'kyj: “Although I too would have considered myself most fortunate if the grace of God had granted my person to take pleasure in the most illustrious prince [V. K. Ostroz'kyj] during his lifetime [d. 1608], yet, because I was insignificant among my [monastic] brethren and quite immature at this time, I did not have this honor” (see below, p. 867). However, the date ca. 1585 would make Kopystens'kyj about twenty-three in 1608, too old to be called “immature”. The date ca. 1590 seems to be more appropriate (making him about eighteen years old in 1608).

⁸ The identification in Pritsak and Struminsky, xxxi, of his father as Toma was somewhat premature. We know that Zaxarija was a son of one of the eight brothers of Matvij (monastic name Myxajil) Kopystens'kyj, bishop of Przemyśl. The names of six of the remaining brothers were: Myxajlo, Jakiv, Vasyl', Dem"jan, Teodor, and Hryhorij (see A. Prochaska, “Z dziejów unii brzeskiej,” *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 10 [1896]: 547–49). The name of the seventh brother may have been Toma (see A. Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 11 [Warsaw 1908], 125–26). The name of the eighth is unknown. All eight belonged to the Jas'kov"jata branch of the Kopystens'kyj family, from Jakiv (Jas'ko) Kopystens'kyj, the great-grandfather of Zaxarija.

⁹ The use of a Romanian adjective in reference to the Serbian archiepiscopal see of Peć in Kopystens'kyj's annexes (see *HLEUL: Texts* 3:583, and below, p. 886) suggests that he acquired some knowledge of Romanian while in Moldavia.

¹⁰ “When he [Kopystens'kyj] was in the Monastery of Putna while traveling,” says a note made ca. 1650 in the Hermitage of St. Nicholas in Kiev by the copyist of Kopystens'kyj's copy (from Putna) of the Slavonic translation of Nilus Cabasilas's *De Spiritus sancti processione contra Latinos* (see S. T. Golubev, *Kievskij mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvižniki*, vol. 1, pt.1 [Kiev 1883], 287).

Brotherhood in Kiev as a monk,¹¹ becoming subsequently an archdeacon, a hieromonk, and an epitropos (guardian)¹². He started his career there as a writer of prefaces, editor, and proofreader for Orthodox publications. In 1617–24 he wrote his *Palinodia*. From 1623 he lived in the Caves Monastery. While he was working on the *Palinodia*, Kopystens'kyj wrote another anti-Uniate tract, *On the True Unity of the Rightly Believing Christians*.¹³ In 1624 he was elected archimandrite of the Caves Monastery and confirmed as such by the king in 1625. Two years before his death in 1627, he published two homilies in honor of his predecessor in the office of archimandrite, Jeliszej Pletenec'kyj.

¹¹ Which he already was in 1608 (see Pritsak and Struminsky, xxxii–xxxiv).

¹² My earlier guess (Pritsak and Struminsky, xxxvii) that he may have combined the latter title with that of hierodeacon has proven to be mistaken.

¹³ M. Voznjak, *Istoriija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 2 (L'viv 1921), 247, 365, misdated it "after the *Palinodia*, before November 1625." Kopystens'kyj was still a hieromonk when he wrote *On the True Unity*; the actual date of Kopystens'kyj's appointment to the higher position of archimandrite is November 1624.

A DEFENSE OF CHURCH UNITY

or

**Proofs which demonstrate that the Greek Church
should be united with the Latin,
published by order of His Grace the Most
Reverend Father Josyf Veljamyn Ruts'kyj,
archbishop and metropolitan of Kiev,
Halyč, and all Rus',
in Vilnius,
by Father Lev Krevza, archimandrite of Vilnius,
in the year 1617,
in the printshop of Leŭ Mamonič**

REGISTER OF THE CHAPTERS OF THIS BOOK¹

To the reader	9
---------------	---

PART I

The primacy of St. Peter

<i>Chapter 1:</i> Explanation of a passage from Matthew 16	11
<i>Chapter 2:</i> Another passage in John 21 ²	13
<i>Chapter 3:</i> Evidence from prayers which we say in church, namely, on the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, as well as evidence from Metropolitan Grigorij of Kiev	15

PART II

[The successors to the highest authority after St. Peter]³

<i>Chapter 1:</i> Who has the right to the primacy after Saint Peter	19
<i>Chapter 2:</i> The first token of the supreme authority of popes: their presidency at Ecumenical Councils	23
<i>Chapter 3:</i> The second token of the supreme authority: no Council can be held without the pope	26
<i>Chapter 4:</i> The third token of the supreme authority: appeals	28
<i>Chapter 5:</i> After the Council of Carthage there were appeals to the pope of Rome	34
<i>Chapter 6:</i> The fourth token of the supreme authority: the pope as chief of the Church of Christ appointed patriarchs and reinstated deposed ones	36

¹ In the original, this register is placed at the end. The numbers refer to the pages of this translation.

² Misprint "30."

³ This title, lacking in the original, is restored from the text.

<i>Chapter 7: The fifth token: as the supreme judge the pope judged, deposed, and anathemized patriarchs, other clergy, and laymen in Eastern lands</i>	38
<i>Chapter 8: An objection by the opposite side</i>	42
<i>Chapter 9: After the Seven Councils, the patriarchs of Constantinople were in unity with the Church of Rome. Who caused the schism?</i>	45
<i>Chapter 10: God's punishment of the Greeks for their secession from the holy Church: the destruction of their state</i>	56
<i>Chapter 11:⁴ God's second punishment: the removal of the bodies of the saints</i>	60
<i>Chapter 12:⁵ God's third punishment: the deprivation of learning, and the confusion among clergy and laity</i>	63
<i>Chapter 13:⁶ The holy ecumenical Council of Florence</i>	67

APPENDIX TO PART II⁷

A letter by Peter of Antioch to the patriarch of Constantinople	72
A reply by the patriarch of Great Antioch to a letter by Michael Caerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, copied from books of the Brotherhood of the Holy Ghost in Vilnius	77

PART III

How Rus' was baptized

<i>Chapter 1: The triple baptism</i>	91
<i>Chapter 2: What happened in Rus' after it received the holy baptism?</i>	96
<i>Chapter 3: Is it customary for the metropolitans of Rus' to obtain the blessing of the patriarch of Constantinople?</i>	109

⁴ Misprint "1."

⁵ Misprint "3."

⁶ Misprint "3."

⁷ This text follows pt. 3 in the original edition.

<i>Chapter 4: Did the patriarchs have the right entitling them to lasting obedience from Rus'?</i>	112
<i>Chapter 5: The advantages and disadvantages of paying obedience to the patriarchs</i>	114

PART IV

The act of paying obedience to Pope Clement VIII recently performed by our superiors

<i>Chapter 1: Could they have done so without [the permission of] the patriarchs?</i>	117
<i>Chapter 2: Could they have done so without the laity?</i>	122
A letter by His Grace Prince Kostjantyn Ostroz'kyj, palatine of Kiev, dated in Lublin, June 21, 1593	125
[Articles to be considered with respect to the Union] ⁸	128
<i>Chapter 3: Were our interests fully safeguarded when our superiors paid obedience?</i>	130
<i>Chapter 4: The advantages which we derive from our union with the Roman Church</i>	136
<i>Chapter 5: We should strive for mutual reconciliation, and how we might achieve it</i>	140

[APPENDIX

Propositions on the procession of the Holy Spirit] ⁹	149
---	-----

⁸ This text, omitted in the original edition, forms an appendix to Ostroz'kyj's letter.

⁹ Not included in the original table of contents, but included in the original edition.

TO THE READER

Certain respectable persons, who desire that we who are divided in the Greek religion be reconciled, requested that we meet one another somewhere in brotherly love to discuss how a mutual peace might be achieved between us, hoping with God's grace that our meeting would not be in vain. We gladly agreed, but although the other side initially consented, brotherly discussions did not take place, and this was through no fault of ours.

However, because preparations had already been made and we, at least, wished to comply in some way with the reasonable request of these people, and especially because souls so dear to the Lord God were at stake, we appointed a certain day, place, and time and invited respectable people then present in Vilnius, both our adherents and opponents. Deeming this a good thing, they came and listened graciously; they also saw the books in Slavonic, some handwritten and some printed, from which alone we produced all our proofs, leaving aside for the occasion books written in Latin and Greek. Yet, as it was probably difficult for the public to give thorough consideration to and examine for themselves so many proofs in such a short time, as well as for the benefit both of those who were not present at the time and those who, though present, could not hear because of the great throng, quite a few prominent persons asked that a printed text be made available to all. We gladly promised to do so, publishing the proofs in the same order as presented there:

(1) That our Supreme Shepherd, Jesus Christ, left us as the single chief shepherd after Himself St. Peter, to whom all, both sheep and shepherds, were to be subordinated.

(2) That the popes of Rome succeeded St. Peter in an orderly fashion in the chief pastorate.

(3) That our Rus' received holy baptism at the time when the Greek Church was in unity with the Roman Church, and although the Greek Church later broke away from that unity, Rus' knew little about this and, on the contrary, was often not subordinated to the patriarchs.

(4) That twenty years ago¹ the Ruthenian metropolitan and bishops judiciously, not rashly, renewed that partly suppressed unity; their successors now rightly abide in it, but its opponents are not on the path of salvation.

All this we intend to prove, with God's help, with the aid solely of Slavonic books, ancient and unsuspect, which the opposite side also has, or may have if it looks for them in its churches and monasteries. As for the books we use in church to glorify the Lord God and His saints, we use the same editions [as they], while those not in print are in agreement with their old [manuscript] books. Now the reason for choosing this rather than other subjects for discussion is not merely that it is easier for everyone to understand, nor because the opposite side commonly reproaches us for obeying the pope without mentioning other matters, but chiefly because this subject includes all the other disputes that have ever occurred between Latins and Greeks. Indeed, if the pope of Rome is the true shepherd to whom Christ the Lord entrusted His sheep, then we have to obey him in all articles of faith. By obeying we shall not err, but by disobeying we shall, Lord forbid, become prey for the wolves of hell.

This work is published first in Polish because adherents of our Ruthenian religion so requested; it will also be published in a Ruthenian edition at a later date.² In the latter edition, we shall cite in Slavonic the texts that we have cited in Polish, just as they appear in the books themselves, so that a reader who loves the truth might take into account not only the exposition, but also the authority and reliability of the Slavonic. We assume that this small work will be appreciated by all those acquainted with our pastoral duties and to whom the salvation of their neighbors is no less important than their own.

¹ I.e., in 1596; an indication as to when Krevza wrote this part of the book.

² Cf. Foreword, p. xvii.

CHAPTER 5

The advantages and disadvantages of paying obedience to the patriarchs

Having shown that there is neither a law nor a formal custom which says that we should pay obedience to the patriarch of Constantinople and having argued above in part 2,¹⁶⁶ that to be subject to patriarchs who disobey the pope means to exclude oneself from the flock of Christ, we now want to consider whether there are any temporal advantages for persons unfamiliar with canon law to turn to such obedience.

Benefits in this respect might be expected with regard to: [1] education required for understanding and explaining the mysteries of the holy faith (in order to resist heretics and to hold and inure one's own people so that, as laymen enlightened with the light of salutary education, they might all the more safely and deftly walk the path of God's commandment) and the other, liberal education (which is no insignificant adornment for a man and an aid in appreciating the other, more exalted [education]); or [2] spiritual exercise (by which guides lead their wards to heaven through predication, admonition, confession, publication of religious books, and dispensation of sound advice about what to avoid and what to follow); or [3] secular power (which, moreover, may at times be necessary for propagating the glory of God); or [4] some temporal benefits (which would come to us from the patriarchs so that we might provide for our poor churches and their servants).

We have not received from them any of these things at least for the past one hundred years, during which time our churches have become entirely destitute as a consequence of the deficiencies mentioned earlier;¹⁶⁷ neither do we read that we received anything of the kind from them before. First of all, as regards divine and human education, the people of our Ruthenian denomination have indeed ardently sought it

¹⁶⁶ See p. 39.

¹⁶⁷ I.e., since 1516 (according to Kuncevyč and Krevza), when Metropolitan Iona allegedly renewed obedience to Constantinople. This chapter, then, was probably written in 1616. The "deficiencies mentioned earlier" are the lack of learning on the part of Iona and his successors (cf. above, p. 107).

over the several dozen years which are within memory, because they saw their community dwindling with each day. There were some worthy lords who went to great expense—and were ready to spend even more—to make education available in their homes, not theological education for the clergy to be sure, but common education for their youth. Did they not send messengers to all parts of Greece in search of teachers? Did it not come to a point that they had to recruit masters for their schools from the heretical academies of the Germans?

In the same way, spiritual exercise was extremely deficient, and thus even monastic life, where spiritual exercise should have been most intensive, became in large part so indecent that there was nothing monastic about it but dress and external appearance. Sorrow and shame forbid one to say more! Anyone willing could have seen it. And what kind of spiritual exercise remained for laymen? Let the God-loving laymen who personally experienced it tell the story! As for confession, we make it clear to everyone that a presbyter who is not united with the supreme pastor appointed by Christ the Lord has no authority to give absolution, and he that confesses to him goes away with nothing, that is, without absolution. This should truly frighten anyone who loves his soul and what is good for it. We are ready to prove that this is so.

Owing to God's punishment,¹⁶⁸ the patriarchs have no secular power, and we should not expect it from them, either. Our matters declined badly and nobody came to help except a very few. Among these in our times was Metropolitan Potij, who died in God¹⁶⁹ and deserves the eternal memory of our nation. Neglected by almost everyone before him, he began to set it on its feet. People were either unwilling or unable to further their interests, although they had in this Commonwealth many worthy lords as their defenders and helpers. They allowed laymen to obtain whole bishoprics while the bishops were still alive. And what can one say about other, minor offices? Will not the Church of Hagia Sophia in Kiev, poor orphan that she is, move anyone to tears?¹⁷⁰

As concerns temporal benefits capable of furthering our interests, we never received any from the patriarchs; on the contrary, we were to

¹⁶⁸ Cf. chap. 10 of pt. 2 (above, pp. 56–59).

¹⁶⁹ On July 18, 1613.

¹⁷⁰ At the time the church was half in ruins.

them some sort of "sheep" whose milk they sucked and whose wool they sheared, but without feedings. Consequently, with no fodder at home, the sheep have dispersed. And this occurred in those happy times when the Greek state was viable! The Council of Noŭharadok under the Lithuanian prince Vytautas bears witness to this. When it refused obedience to Metropolitan Photius, who was sent from Constantinople, it cited the following two reasons:

(1) That the metropolitans sent from Constantinople transferred all ornaments from the Church of Hagia Sophia and church revenues from Kiev to Constantinople, leaving only a vicar for us in Kiev while they themselves resided in Constantinople.¹⁷¹

(2) That the patriarch and the emperor "for their own benefit," as stated [by the council],¹⁷² refused to approve metropolitans from the Ruthenian nation. This is evident from the case when the metropolitanate was given to Cyprian during the lifetime of Metropolitan Aleksisj, a good man who rests incorrupt in the see of Moscow, in the Čudov Monastery. Soon after that it was given to Pimen and finally to Dionysius. In this way Kiev received from the patriarch of Constantinople all three of them in succession as metropolitans, and this led to quarrels in the Ruthenian states for thirty years. This is recorded in the Muscovite Chronicle,¹⁷³ and we have mentioned it above.¹⁷⁴ Thus it is clear as day what kind of benefits we have had from the patriarchs of Constantinople! Nevertheless, since they wanted this metropolitanate always to remain in their hands, they sent gifts to the Rus' prince Rostislav, asking him to accept a metropolitan from Constantinople.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ From Grand Duke Vytautas's letter to emperor Manuel II Palaeologus and Patriarch Euthymius II.

¹⁷² In its letter to Manuel II and Euthymius II.

¹⁷³ Cf. the Hustynja Chronicle.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. above, p. 101.

¹⁷⁵ See above, pp. 98–99.

PART IV

The act of paying obedience to Pope Clement VIII recently performed by our superiors¹

CHAPTER 1

Could they have done so without [the permission of] the patriarchs?

The vast majority of our opponents are those who praise the very essence of the union of the Ruthenian and the Roman Church but criticize the means by which it was effected: they claim that our superiors did not enter properly into it, chiefly because they did so without the patriarch of Constantinople, their superior, who should have been consulted or at least considered.

We give the following reply: this might have been done if we had embarked on something new, which had never been done before. But the decision [concerning unity] was made by the ecumenical Council of Florence, to which bishops, metropolitans, and even the patriarchs are subordinated. Every Christian, most of all the teachers of others, must abide by it as a rule of faith without questioning anyone. Furthermore, the practice [of not consulting the patriarch] was in force in these Ruthenian lands from the time of Grigorij Camblak, in the year 1407,² before the Council of Florence, until Josyf Soltan in the year 1516,³ more than a hundred years later. From that time the union began to decline and the schism to develop after the arrival of Queen Helena, the Muscovite,⁴ who brought with her priests from Muscovy and helped them to become superiors among the priesthood of our lands: Iona was first archimandrite of the monastery of Minsk, newly founded by her, and afterwards became metropolitan; and second, Josyf, who was first

¹ On December 23, 1595, in Rome.

² Camblak arrived in Kiev in 1409 and was consecrated metropolitan in 1415. Krevza took the date 1407 (the beginning of Metropolitan Photius's tenure) from no. 28 of Kuncevyč's list of metropolitans (see above, p. 102).

³ This is Kuncevyč's date for the end of Soltan's tenure (see above, p. 107)

⁴ In 1495.

bishop of Połack and then metropolitan, was probably one of that group as well; Makarij, her court bishop, acceded to the metropolitanate after them.⁵ They renewed the schism and were followed by some who were not familiar with church matters and by some who were half-heretics; even today people remember them. At this time, the Greek religion began to decline considerably in these domains and the Roman religion started to spread.

There is no need, therefore, to consult or ask anyone if that which was resolved at the ecumenical council should be observed. On the contrary, such a question would be as ridiculous as asking the patriarch whether we should adhere to all four Gospels or accept all the epistles of St. Paul, for one only asks questions about dubious matters. But there has never been any doubt in Christianity whether or not an ecumenical council should be obeyed.

If anyone be ignorant as to whether this council was ecumenical and how it was concluded, and if he should decide to inquire, he will learn [the truth] sooner in these countries⁶ than in Constantinople. And should it be necessary also to ask in Constantinople, well, previous metropolitans have asked, namely Josyf Soltan.⁷ He explicitly asked the patriarch of that time,⁸ Nephon, who answered him quite clearly what he thought of the council. We have faithfully translated this letter from the Greek original and quote it here in Polish. Its contents are as follows:

“Nephon, by God’s grace, archbishop of Constantinople, the New Rome, and ecumenical patriarch to the most pious and very God-loving Josyf, brother and fellow minister, metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus’, [with wishes of] health, etc.

“We have received the letter sent by Your Grace to our humble self in which you announce to the Roman Church that the bishops living in Rus’ and Lithuania⁹ are vexing your people, and that they are forcing you all into the union concluded in Florence. For otherwise, as you say, you will all be in great danger of losing the privileges and liberties

⁵ See above, p. 107.

⁶ I.e., of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

⁷ Actually, Josyf Bolharynovyč.

⁸ In 1498.

⁹ The 1632 edition of Nephon’s letters says (more logically): “in which you inform [us] that bishops of the Roman Church living in Rus’”

which were given to you by Polish kings at the time when that union and agreement were concluded. So you ask our humility for a helping hand and a letter of recommendation to your mighty king.

“Moreover, you wish to know about the proceedings of that council, so that you might give an account to those who harass you and strongly pressure you. Let it be known to all of you that this council was both proclaimed and splendidly endorsed with general joy, and this in the presence of our most illustrious emperor John Palaeologus and the most holy patriarch of Constantinople, Joseph of blessed memory, who preceded us not long ago,¹⁰ and in the presence of the deputies of our brothers, patriarchs, and other archbishops and princes who represented the Eastern Church, and, in addition, in the presence of the bishop of Rome with his people.

“However, some of our countrymen who had stayed at home did not want to accept and embrace the union, apparently because of their hatred for the Latins. Hence confusion and anarchy flourish among us, and the sheep entrusted to us, their superiors, wish to govern us who have leadership over them, and we cannot resist them. And who knows whether the Lord God did not so painfully punish us and is still punishing us. For behold, as we have not accepted the holy unity, we have lost all assistance and until now the Latins have not only failed to send us any aid, but have also shown no sympathy whatsoever. Thus one should not be surprised that they cause you hardship as well.

“However, you, Your Grace, have quite an excuse and justification if you say that you can do nothing without [consulting] the opinion of Constantinople, that is, your patriarch. But in fact, even if we dearly wished to, we could not do any of those things which are of great importance to us. So let them not complain about us, but rather, moved by compassion for our misfortune, let them beg the Lord God that, liberated from captivity with God’s grace, we might be reunited. And do not resist too much, Your Piety, but coexist in friendship (for we too have allowed our priests living on the islands under the illustrious senate of Venice to have prayers and meetings with the Latins) and carefully preserve the religion of your native country and all the other ecclesiastical customs of the Eastern Church. For our ancestors united

¹⁰ Joseph II of Ephesus died in 1439, forty-seven years before the installation of Nephon II.

with the Latins in Florence, but not before preserving all our privileges and keeping them intact and preserved. And you have quite a few princes as spiritual sons in all Rus' and Lithuania who hold the Greek Church in respect and sincerely esteem our humility. We have given them mandates and letters so that they might recommend Your Piety to the most illustrious king and defend our freedom. In the year seven thousand,¹¹ on the fifth day of the month of April, in the eleventh year of the current indiction."

This letter states the following:

(1) The Council [of Florence] was a true and ecumenical council. It makes no mention of the violence, torment, and other ridiculous stories of which the Cleric of Ostroh has babbled.¹² One who was closer to the Council of Florence than this Cleric would have been aware of something like this and would not have passed over it in silence, since the Ruthenian metropolitan clearly asked him about it. And he himself explains why the Greeks who, as he says, stayed at home did not accept the union: they did so out of hatred of the Latins and not because they had any objection to the council.

(2) He declares that confusion and disorder reign among them and he understands it to be God's punishment for their refusal to admit holy unity.

(3) He tells [Josyf] to use him as an excuse, but he immediately adds that, even if he wanted to, he cannot do any of those things which are very important to him and declares that if the Lord God wished to liberate them from captivity, he would be glad to accept unity.

(4) He does not command the metropolitan to oppose the Latins; he merely instructs him to preserve his ceremonials.

So why do they tell us to ask the patriarchs when we have already asked and received an answer. If our opponents consider themselves to be obedient sons of the patriarch of Constantinople, then they too should observe that to which we already adhere.

We also have the letter of another patriarch, Dionysius, who preceded Nephon. It was written to Great Novgorod and the entire state of Muscovy in support of Grigorij, Isidore's successor, whom Pope Pius sent to Rus' after his ordination in Rome. The patriarch writes that

¹¹ "7005" (1497) in the 1632 edition. Actually, in 1498.

¹² Cf. above, p. 68.

Grigorij is the true metropolitan of all Rus' and that the see of Constantinople never did acknowledge and does not now acknowledge as metropolitan Iona, whom Muscovy installed for herself, nor those who succeeded him,¹³ as has been mentioned in part 3, chapter 2.¹⁴ This letter is at the end of our Nomocanons. The patriarch undoubtedly knew who Grigorij was, that he was constantly with Isidore and thus was in unity with the Roman Church, and finally, that he was ordained by the pope in Rome. Nevertheless, he ordered all Rus' to consider him the true metropolitan regardless of Iona and the others, whom—although they claimed to be obedient to the Eastern Church—he did not acknowledge for the sole reason that they were opposed to the unity of the Church.

¹³ As of the date of Dionysius's letter (1467), Iona's successors in Muscovy were Feodosij Byval'cev (1461–64) and Filip (1464).

¹⁴ See above, p. 105.

CHAPTER 2

Could they have done so without the laity?

We read about the Church of Constantinople that, after the schism, it was governed more by secular than clerical superiors, as Greek chroniclers report. Choniates, in book 6,¹⁵ paragraph 5, says that the emperors took power over clergy and churches, establishing such laws for them as they wished. We have drawn attention to the same thing above in Gregoras concerning Andronicus the Old.¹⁶ We also hear about what was happening in Muscovy and have even partly witnessed it.¹⁷ And one can almost say that in our lands it is worse. For while in Constantinople it is the emperor himself who has done so, and in Muscovy the grand duke, in our lands every nobleman who has an Orthodox priest governs him as he wishes. Sometimes he orders him to labor for him; indeed, the ungodly audacity of some is such that they will punish a priest if he disobeys in any way. In matters pertaining to religion the nobleman orders a priest to obey only him, and whatever the priest does without him carries no weight (I exclude those noblemen who fear the Lord God, respect the priesthood, and in no way interfere with their Orthodox priests). This is a bad state of affairs, contrary both to divine and accepted human law, and it was not so at the beginning.

Look what is happening in the Roman Church whose ecclesiastical laws we share! If anyone should claim that they were not applied in the Greek Church, let him read the book *On Priesthood* by the great doctor of the Eastern Church, St. John Chrysostom, and, of more recent works, sermon 2 *On the Images* by the Damascene. Citing the words of St. Paul to the Ephesians in chapter 4, "And He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets,"¹⁸ St. Damascene says, "(The Apostle) not only did not place kings first, but did not place them anywhere in order to indicate that kings represent a secular, not an ecclesiastical, dignity."¹⁹

¹⁵ Actually, bk. 7.

¹⁶ See above, p. 65.

¹⁷ This may indicate that Krevza traveled to Muscovy before 1616.

¹⁸ Eph 4:11; actually, John of Damascus quoted a different but similar passage, 1 Cor 12:28.

¹⁹ A paraphrase of the original.

As proof of the fact that Greek emperors themselves recognized this, listen to what Constantine the Great says to the bishops: "The Lord God installed you as priests and gave you the power to judge us; therefore judge us rightly. You yourselves, however, cannot be judged by the people." Another, Theodosius the Younger, when sending his outstanding senator Candidian to the Council of Ephesus, wrote: "We ordered Candidian, the foremost of our pious servants, to go to this holy council, but on the condition that he should not enter any dispute or discussion concerning the Faith. For it would be inappropriate if someone not included in the catalogue of holy bishops would meddle in church matters and order of proceedings." Thus acted the holy emperors. This can be found in the Acts of the First and Third Councils.²⁰

Contrary to this, the ungodly Arian Constantius, who endeavored to appropriate such authority, heard the following spoken to him by the great bishop Hosius (quoted in St. Athanasius's *Epistle to the Monks*²¹): "Do not intrude, emperor," he says, "into ecclesiastical matters, neither give commands to us concerning them, but learn them from us. For God has put into your hands the kingdom, to us He entrusted the government of the Church. As he who would look with a malicious eye into your empire and wished to criticize it would resist the ordinance of God, so likewise you guard yourself lest by taking upon yourself what belongs to the Church you fall into a great sin. It is written, 'Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.'"²² This much says Hosius in St. Athanasius.

This is how it was in the beginning when there was unity. Do not be surprised that everything fell into confusion following the schism. When the lesser shepherds refused obedience to the divinely installed shepherd, without whom they, too, would not be shepherds, the Lord God responded by permitting the sheep to govern their own shepherds. As was noted earlier, Patriarch Nephon clearly admitted this.²³ The same thing happened to man after his creation: all animals were obedient to him as long as he was obedient to God; as soon as he became disobedient, the animals, too, broke loose from their subjugation to him

²⁰ Quoted from *Conciliorum omnium*, vol. 1 (Venice, 1585).

²¹ Better known as *The History of the Arians*.

²² Mt 22:21.

²³ See above, p. 119.

and instead often became objects of terror to man, since they were more powerful than he. When, on account of God's special gift, man returns to that blissful state in which he was created, animals also return to obedience. This is written of many of God's saints who gave orders to animals, and they obeyed.

In reply, then, to the aforementioned charge made by our brethren,²⁴ we say that those of our bishops who renewed their obedience twenty years ago²⁵ were not obliged to consult the laity, as it had no part in the matter. They might have privately contacted men whom they considered competent in such matters, but even this they could do out of their own good will, and not duty; for it is in many respects harmful to make things public and to call upon all people for advice. It goes without saying that at that time it was only a matter of the metropolitan himself²⁶ who, as was indicated above, suffered difficulties at the hands of the patriarch,²⁷ and was unable to tolerate such slavery any longer or to look at the devastation of the Ruthenian Church in these [our] states to which the patriarch paid no attention. In this he had recourse to that one person to whom ecclesiastical law pointed out the path. All this notwithstanding, our bishops did not act so hastily as to fail to consult on this with our leading estates. In fact we shall show that the most prominent lord belonging to our religion in those times, the palatine of Kiev, Prince Kostjantyn of Ostroh of glorious memory, was a great catalyst in this matter. In order to demonstrate this not with our own words but through the action itself, we reproduce here the full text of his letter written to Father Ipatij Potij, bishop of Volodymyr.

²⁴ Indicated in the title of this chapter.

²⁵ In 1596, indicating that Krevza wrote this chapter in 1616.

²⁶ Myxajil Rahoza.

²⁷ See above, p. 116 (a reference to the hardships suffered in the days of the earlier metropolitans).

*A letter by His Grace Prince Kostjantyn Ostroz'kyj, palatine of Kiev,
dated Lublin, June 21, 1593²⁸*

Reverend in God and gracious father, bishop of Volodymyr, my lord and very kind friend!

Next to achieving his salvation, every human being should endeavor to enhance and cherish God's glory in the course of his entire life, and if one cannot do so to the end, at least one should participate in or contribute to it. Owing to my great worries and the burden of external affairs, I cannot faultlessly cherish or work for the enhancement of God's glory. However, out of my Christian duty I have long held a desire, until now unextinguished, nay, rather bursting now into 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 her initial station, direction, and order, and to remain there. I see that every worthy thing is accomplished by the worthy, and a glorious one is consummated by the glorious. And this is how it was in my case as well: either bad luck or unworthiness of such highly laudable deeds has prevented me from seizing the right opportunity to make a good beginning in such an action.

I nevertheless felt within myself the assurance of Holy Scripture, saying, 'The strength of God is fulfilled through weakness';²⁹ and then again: 'The things which are impossible with men are possible with God.'³⁰ Gazing at these words as the surest goal, I did not pursue the glory of this world, as God can see, but only pitied the decline of the Church of Christ and hearkened to the scorn [both] of the heretics and those who seceded, the Romans, who once were our brethren. Wherefore, not long ago I, together with Possevino, ventured, or rather dared, to ask for advice and consult the Roman pope about some needs in connection with sacred literature.³¹ I did so not by myself, but together

²⁸ Krevza's text of the letter has been collated with the Rutheno-Slavonic versions of Markevič and of AZR, as well as with the Polish version of Harasiewicz.

²⁹ Cf. 2 Cor 12:9. Slightly mistranslated from the Slavonic.

³⁰ Lk 18:27.

³¹ Ostroz'kyj is referring to his meetings with Possevino and Nuncio Bolognetti in Cracow on July 8, 1583. The upshot was a letter, sent on the same day, to Pope Gregory

with my senior officials and presbyters. But God did not wish this to take place; whether it was to our detriment or benefit, I do not know. As it was pleasing to God, so did it come to pass.³²

Even so, I cannot now abandon my solicitude for the Church of God and I plan to undertake a journey for a time to regions not far from the pope of Rome³³ to cure my bodily health. If such be the will of God first and of Your Graces, our clergy, too, and if Your Graces would all unanimously consider, deliberate, and consult at your [upcoming] ecclesiastical synod³⁴ so as to find a way to provide a stimulus for initiatives that could lead to the reconciliation, abatement, and moderation of such great discords, vexation, and near civil war in the Church of God; then, while in these countries, I too, with God's help and at the initiative and with the blessing of Your Graces, the clergy, should not neglect, in my sincerity and good will for the Church of God, to attempt with all my might (as far as my ability and dignity will bear) to bring about a willingness towards that true reconciliation and unification.

Therefore it seems appropriate to me that Your Grace, gracious father bishop of Volodymyr, after consulting His Grace, the illustrious father archbishop,³⁵ and Their Graces, the reverend bishops, should spare no pains to go personally to the grand duke of Muscovy with permission and a letter from His Majesty the King³⁶ in order to exchange opinions and amply deliberate with the grand duke of Muscovy³⁷ and the clergy of that land, and to tell and report to them every persecution, scorn, derision, and insult the Ruthenian nation here suffers and endures in church orders, canons, and ceremonies. You should ask and entreat them as members of one Head, Christ the Lord, who help each other,³⁸ to strive and endeavor together in unanimity with us, so that the Church of Christ should no longer suffer such division and

XIII asking him for Greek Orthodox scholars to help the College of Ostroh in translating Greek religious books into Slavonic or Latin. No such help was forthcoming.

³² The last sentence is garbled in Polish; it is translated here from the Rutheno-Slavonic original.

³³ Clement VIII.

³⁴ I.e., the provincial synod of Ruthenian bishops held in Brest on June 24, 1593.

³⁵ Myxajil Rahoza, metropolitan of Kiev.

³⁶ Zygmunt III Waza.

³⁷ Fedor Ivanovič.

³⁸ Cf. 1 Cor 12:25.

internal confusion, nor people of Ruthenian stock such persecution and scorn. I ardently beg Your Grace, as a very kind lord and friend as well as great lover of Christ's faith, that you deign to apply yourself with all willingness and energy and at that synod together with Their Graces earnestly try to devise through Your Grace's effort and prompting an appropriate initiative and a cessation of hostilities, leading if not to a reconciliation (which is most important, for it is said, 'What is so good, or what so pleasant, as for brethren to dwell together?')³⁹) then, not least of all, to the improvement of human life.

It is evident to all of Your Graces that the people of our religion have become demoralized and are so sluggish, lazy, and careless in religious practice 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 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.'⁴⁰ You, after all, are the leaders, guardians,⁴¹ 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 to 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. It has finally come to the point that barely anything remains in our law which delights us. We now could rightly recall the words of the Prophet, 'Who will give water to our head, and a fountain of tears to our eyes so that we might weep for the declines and destruction of our faith and law day and night?'⁴²

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

³⁹ Ps 132:1.

⁴⁰ Cf. 2 Kgs 4:11.

⁴¹ In Rutheno-Slavonic: "teachers."

⁴² Cf. Jer 9:1.

of fear of God's retribution, to accomplish something good, to bring about stability, and to make a good start. With this I wish Your Graces many years of spiritual and bodily health from the Lord God.

With his letter, the prince of Ostroh also sent articles written in his own hand which he considered prerequisites of unity.

[Articles to be considered with respect to the Union]⁴³

(1) First of all, we should remain with all rites proper to the Eastern Church unchanged.

(2) Messieurs the Romans should not convert our churches and their endowments into their own churches.

(3) If, after attaining reconciliation, any of our people would wish to transfer to the Roman Church, they should be neither accepted nor forced into it, especially when marriage is contracted, as has been commonly done.

(4) Our clergy should receive the same respect as theirs; especially the metropolitan and bishops (even if not all of them) should have seats in the Royal Council [of Lords] and sessions of the Diet.⁴⁴

(5) Envoys should be sent to the patriarchs so that they might be disposed to reconciliation and that we might praise the Lord God with one heart and one mouth.

Envoys should also be sent to the one in Moscow⁴⁵ and to Moldavia so that they might agree with us on the same thing. It would seem most appropriate to me to use His Grace, the father bishop of Volodymyr, for Muscovy and the father bishop of L'viv⁴⁶ for Moldavia.⁴⁷

(6) Correction of certain things in our churches is necessary, especially as regards sacraments and other⁴⁸ human innovations.

⁴³ This appendix to Ostroz'kyj's epistle to I. Potij is lacking in Krevza's Polish imprint; it is supplied here from AZR, Markevič, and Harasiewicz. It seems to have been included in the now lost Ruthenian version of Krevza's work. The articles are divided into eight in AZR but, more logically, into seven in Markevič and Harasiewicz.

⁴⁴ "Dietines" in Markevič and AZR, which is less likely.

⁴⁵ Prince Ostroz'kyj probably meant the patriarch of Moscow. Cf. Kopystens'kyj's misinterpretation of this passage, below, p. 870 n. 129.

⁴⁶ Hedeon Balaban.

⁴⁷ The latter sentence lacking in Harasiewicz.

⁴⁸ The latter three words lacking in AZR.

(7) Concerning the establishment of schools and the liberal arts, especially for the training of clergy, it is urgently necessary that we have learned presbyters and good preachers, because many of our clergy have become exceedingly uncultured as a consequence of lack of education.]

After this message from the prince of Ostroh, the very reverend father bishop of Volodymyr began to consider the matter and then to act upon it together with the metropolitan and other bishops.

In Lithuania, too, Father Myxajil Rahoza contacted in this matter His Grace Fiodar Skumin Tyškievič, palatine of Nouharadok, who is still alive by God's grace and quite healthy in his advanced old age, and who will confirm it in the proper time and place.⁴⁹

This righteous matter was, therefore, initiated and carried out not without notification and consultation of the laity, because even those articles which His Grace, the prince of Ostroh, considered to be necessary were included among the articles of unity and confirmed.

⁴⁹ Three letters of Rahoza to Tyškievič and two letters of Tyškievič to Rahoza from 1595 are extant. Tyškievič died in 1616, which confirms that Krevza wrote this chapter earlier the same year.

CHAPTER 3

Were our interests fully guaranteed when our superiors paid obedience?

The usual rites in our religion were guaranteed to us by a document, elaborately written on several leaves of parchment, with a lead seal affixed, and called *Bulla unionis*,⁵⁰ which describes the entire procedure of paying obedience [to the pope]. Towards the end, it says:

“So there be sure and everlasting testimony and in addition an everlasting reminder of the restoration and unification of the Ruthenian nation, by this our eternal decision we accept, unite, attach, weld, and incorporate into the bosom of the Catholic Church and into the unity of the holy Roman Church as our members in Christ the reverend brethren, Myxajil,⁵¹ archbishop and metropolitan, and the other aforementioned Ruthenian bishops, who agreed by decree and signed the letters sent to us, both those present here and those absent, together with their whole clergy and the people of the Ruthenian nation who belong to the state and temporal possessions of our dearest son, Zygmunt, king of Poland and Sweden, for the honor and glory of the holy and indivisible Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, for the enhancement and elevation of the Christian faith. And as greater testimony of our love for them, in our apostolic kindness we grant these Ruthenian bishops all the holy rites and ceremonies which, according to the decision of the holy Greek fathers, Ruthenian bishops and clergy use⁵² in the divine service and the most holy Eucharist, in the performance of other sacraments and in other holy celebrations, as long as they are not opposed to the truth and teaching of the Catholic faith and do not injure communion with the Roman Church, and on the condition that no obstacles are created by any of the apostolic constitutions and ordinances and that there are no other impediments.”

Although our fathers accepted such assurance, with which each should have been fully satisfied and put at ease, [the Orthodox] said that

⁵⁰ By Pope Clement VIII, on December 23, 1595.

⁵¹ Rahoza.

⁵² The verb is lacking in Krevza's Polish imprint; it is restored here from the Latin source.

it was not enough for them. On the contrary, it was commonly said among them that this unity was deliberately conceived as a way of abolishing the Greek religion. Besides the safeguard just mentioned, we have always completely refuted this; and now we say: for a thousand years the diversity of religion did not undermine the unity of the Church. Although the Lord God had been praised in Greek in Eastern countries and in Latin in the Western, as well as in different rites, no one suppressed another's religion. So how do they know that now, after our unification, our religion is to be destroyed? There were many Greek monasteries and churches in Rome and Latin ones in Constantinople which lived in concord and love like brothers of one mother, and they considered, moreover, this diversity to be a source of pride. And even now, when the Greek state has ceased to exist and the pope has no need to take it into consideration, there are several dozen Greek monasteries in Italy, that is, Sicily, Apulia and Calabria. Why are the Latins not transforming them into their own monasteries and churches? After all, they have them in their hands. Just three miles outside of Rome there is a Greek monastery called *Grottaferrata* where St. Nilus, called "of Cassino," rests. Everything there is celebrated in Greek. And in Rome, well before our unity was restored, Pope Gregory XIII founded a college for Greeks⁵³ and built the Church of St. Athanasius,⁵⁴ where the glory of God is always celebrated in Greek. There were up to fifty Greek youths there in our days. There is a regulation in that college, established by the founder himself, that every Greek or Ruthenian who completes his education there should take an oath that he must be of the Greek rite and must propagate that religion to the extent of his power. This is the very thing that we now have done.

If the pope wanted to destroy the Greek rite, what would he have gained by spending such great sums on Greeks and, in addition, requiring them under oath that they cannot switch to the Roman rite even if they wished? And it would be an oversight to omit the following fact: when the pope himself serves as a bishop or when, presiding as a bishop, the Mass is celebrated before him, then two Epistles are read, first in Greek and then in Latin, and also two Gospels, first a Greek one and then a Latin. This symbolic act expresses the diversity of rites in the

⁵³ On November 3, 1576.

⁵⁴ Attached to the college.

unity of the Church. Finally, there is a diversity of rites in the Roman religion itself; almost every order has its own way of saying prayers in church. And there is a diversity of masses in some orders and in some lands; in Milan, a priest from Rome would not be able to celebrate the Milan Mass, which comes from St. Ambrose and has differed from the Roman Mass for a thousand years.⁵⁵ So if they considered the diversity of rites an obstacle, they would be obliged to remove it first among themselves, where it would be easier for them than in our lands.

To have more complete assurances from the pope, the most reverend in God, His Grace our current father metropolitan⁵⁶ received the following in writing which, after his return from Rome,⁵⁷ he made known to all and which we copy from the papal letter.⁵⁸ It says: "It has been recently brought to our attention on behalf of the reverend brother Josyf, the present archbishop of Kiev and Halyč, that there are those who, ignorant of the truth or misled by others, are of the opinion that, after effecting unity, the Roman Church desires to abolish and destroy their rites and ceremonies in divine service and in the performance of sacraments, which would offend many of them. We, then, out of true pastoral duty, wish to deprive the enemy of the opportunity to mix tares with good seeds,⁵⁹ we wish to root out⁶⁰ this error from human hearts and to prevent scandal, as well as to reiterate hereby at the request humbly made to us by the aforesaid archbishop Josyf what was said in the previous letter (he mentions the letter of unity issued on the same subject by Clement VIII). In effecting the union there was and is no plan, intention, or will on the part of the Roman Church—nor could or can anyone say or think so—to abolish or destroy all holy rites and ceremonies which the Ruthenian bishops and clergy use in divine service, in the most holy Eucharist, in the performance of other sacraments, and in other holy rituals, according to the decision of the holy Greek fathers, that is, as long as they are not opposed to the truth and teaching of the Catholic faith and do not break unity with the Roman

⁵⁵ St. Ambrose died in 397; his liturgy became known in the eighth century.

⁵⁶ Josyf Veljamyn Ruts'kyj.

⁵⁷ In 1603.

⁵⁸ Of Paul V.

⁵⁹ Cf. Mt 13:24–25.

⁶⁰ Cf. Mt 13:29.

Church. On the contrary, by the apostolic authority invested in us, we state and proclaim with this letter that the aforesaid rite was allowed and permitted to these Ruthenian bishops and clergy out of apostolic grace, as may be evinced by the previous letter,⁶¹ by the Council of Florence, and by the establishment in our city of the Greek *Collegium*, whose alumni, as we have been informed, even take an oath to preserve this same rite." The date of this letter is December 10, 1615.

Thus, as far as [the popes] are concerned, we should not fear a change in the rite. As far as we ourselves are concerned, we are making the following announcement: since some at times falsely suppose that we, in order to deceive the people, dress in these vestments and use this rite only for the time being, some of us who were in Rome at the aforementioned *Collegium* took an oath that we shall not be of the Roman rite. And I, for my part, say that if I had not been bound by this when I came to these lands,⁶² I would probably not have been very eager to be recruited into the clergy of the Greek rite, but I could not do otherwise because I was so bound. And when we are ordained into priesthood we make an oath for the second time to the Greek altar, kissing its four corners and accepting a particle of the holy bread prepared for the holy Eucharist according to our rite. That is the second pledge, one which was established by the ecumenical Council of Florence, where it says that every priest must guard the rites of his religion; the Greek cannot make the offering with unleavened bread, nor the Latin with leavened.⁶³ Such duties, sealed with an oath above which there was nothing more unimpeachable even among the pagans, should give assurance so complete as to remove the needless fear that the Greek rite would be corrupted by us.

We shall also add that our own actions bear us out. It has been more than twenty years ago since unity was renewed,⁶⁴ and our brothers are unable to point out any change in our churches; on the contrary, they witness the enhancement of religion by the increase of people and ornaments in church, concerning which a separate chapter will follow.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Of Clement VIII.

⁶² Krevza returned to the Commonwealth from the Greek College in Rome in 1613.

⁶³ In the Decree of the Union, July 6, 1439.

⁶⁴ This chapter was written in 1617, twenty-one years after the Union of Brest.

⁶⁵ See below, pp. 136–39.

If we had ever intended to embrace the Roman rite, why would we have exerted ourselves to obtain such ornaments which are of use in Greek churches only, but are useless for Latins? Indeed, were they to acquire them, they would have to dismantle everything, as, for instance, the *katapetasma* (which we call *dejisus* in our language), that is, the partition which separates the altar from the church itself and is a large structure. Do you realize how much all this costs, the work done in wood, painted with the best paints by the hand of a good painter? Or, for that matter, so many church vestments? All of this costs several thousand zlotys, for which we have worked hard, as everybody has been able to see. We do not write this in order to boast, only to show our brethren that, by God, we do nothing hypocritically but everything sincerely, and with God's help wish to enhance the glory of God in our Greek rite in the Eastern Church.

Some say that there is no change as yet, it will come later. It is easy to answer this. First, how does such a person know that there will be a change? Furthermore, we know and promise that, God permitting, it will not happen in our lifetimes; and we are making an effort that it should not happen afterwards, because our younger brethren, with whom we live and who may succeed us, hear what we say and see what we do. Undoubtedly they will also abide by this. Other means will be found to assure us with regard to the future. As for the rest we must rely on the Lord God and take care to serve Him well in our lifetime, for He has the power to spread our religion and to establish it so that it will last until the day of judgment. But if we neglect this, then even if we did join together all our minds and direct all our powers towards that aim, we would not be able to preserve it in our lifetime either.

Some in Vilnius suspect us because we have dealings with the Jesuit fathers. With regard to this, too, we say this on our own behalf: innate reason itself dictates that if one needs something and does not have it at home, one seeks it from one's neighbor. There is a need for educating our monastic brethren in order to enhance the glory of God. We are still unable to provide it at home. Is it so strange, then, if we turn to those who have it, our neighbors, citizens of the same city, our brothers, and not to enemies? We do not act like those others who rebuke us, yet for their own schooling acquire masters from Gdańsk, from Königsberg, from the Protestant congregation in Vilnius, and entrust their dear children to them—Alexander the Great learned to limp without instruction, merely by looking at his limping teacher for a

considerable time. They, too, should fear the same thing—that the heretical teachings of such masters might infect their youth.

They apparently do not know about the following canons, which they should, since they are recorded in Slavonic in Ruthenian books. Apostolic Canon 45 says: "Those praying with heretics should be excluded. And if (a bishop or priest) accepts them as clerks⁶⁶ (and school teachers are clerks), he should lose his episcopal status or the one which he has." Apostolic Canon 60 says about those who read heretical books that they are subject to the same punishment. The same thing is said in Canon 9 of the Second Council of Nicaea about those who hide heretical books. And there is more still in the Latin [collections of] canons, which are more extensive than the Slavonic. Does this mean that now even the holy Councils are disregarded by our brethren? We share with the Latins the same Holy Scripture and the same commentators on it, because our Eastern Church venerates and obeys the teachings of the holy fathers of the East as well as those of the West (whose feasts we also celebrate); we share the same councils and thus also the same articles of faith. There is a difference only in the ceremonies, but just as they consider our ceremonies holy, so do we theirs. Now what kind of agreement can there be, by God, with heretics,⁶⁷ who say that they acknowledge only Holy Scripture, but not the holy fathers and even less the Councils, and who ridicule (know-it-all!) [our] ceremonies at every occasion.

⁶⁶ In Krevza's Polish, *przyczetnik*: a member of the minor order of clergy, without ordination.

⁶⁷ I.e., the Protestants.

CHAPTER 4

The advantages which we derive from our union with the Roman Church

In the first place, as has been said above,⁶⁸ [we derive] spiritual advantage, which, is supreme. As regards the temporal advantages, we shall enumerate them in the same order in which we enumerated them in part 3, chapter 5:⁶⁹ education, spiritual exercise, secular power, help in grants, and adornments for church.

This is the first significant advantage which was derived quickly, that is, over a score of years: we already have, by God's grace, several dozen monastic brethren who either receive and are completing or who have already completed their education, not only general, but also philosophical and theological. Just recently—two years ago⁷⁰—the holy father, the pope of Rome,⁷¹ granted twenty-two monastic brethren the benefit of studying at his expense in various parts of Christendom—namely, four in Rome, at the Greek college, two in Vienna, two in Prague, two in Olomouc, six in Brunsberk, and six in Vilnius⁷²—hence outstanding places where they can learn scholarly disciplines and acquire familiarity with foreign countries, something which adds luster to any person. These [places] are mostly filled; when the Lord God sends more persons, others will also be filled.⁷³ How much good may we soon expect, and how much more when others will follow! How quickly our Ruthenian lands will be full of learned people! Among other disciplines, the Greek language will, God permitting, soon be introduced to us from the Greek College, because this has already been promised. There is hardly another place in Christendom where Greek is taught as well as at the aforementioned college. Have the patriarchs of Constanti-

⁶⁸ Probably p. 114, where spiritual and secular advantages are discussed.

⁶⁹ See above, p. 114.

⁷⁰ In 1615. Like the preceding chapter, this one was written in 1617.

⁷¹ Paul V.

⁷² The reference is to papal seminaries in Vienna, Prague, and Braniewo (Brunsberk) which were founded by Pope Gregory XIII (1572–85), and probably to the Jesuit seminary established in Vilnius in 1581–91.

⁷³ If there were any vacancies for Ruthenian students, it was not at the Greek College of Rome, where all four places were filled in 1617 (see Blażejowskyj, 150–51).

noble done anything like this over the seven hundred years since Rus' was baptized?⁷⁴

But education commonly puffs up⁷⁵ and breeds arrogance, which leads only to showing off in front of others and not to the glory of the Lord God, the one who welcomes the humble and associates with them. Therefore it was necessary for all those who study as I have described to perform spiritually beneficial exercises, so that they should eagerly avail themselves of the gift of God for the glory of God and serve their neighbors without despising even the most insignificant of men. Therefore, efforts were and are being made at our monastery of Bycień⁷⁶ so that those who have devoted themselves to the Lord God should always be a dwelling for the Holy Spirit and graced with virtues indispensable to their station. No adversity will daunt such people, no work will be difficult for them, the Lord God Himself will bless them, and people will respect them, not as it was before. They will be a solace and help to our nation not only in the church, but also among people. They will know how to guard the rights and liberties which our clergy possesses by God's grace, so that it will not suffer the disrespect which it had in times past; and they will reclaim what our ancestors lost by neglect or by some other form of inadequacy. No door will be shut to them, and they will have free access to God's anointed. Why, the beginnings of this are already apparent.

As far as secular power is concerned, it first depends on our king, His Majesty Our Lord.⁷⁷ Just as there was no lack of it in the past, although there were great obstacles from our opponents, so there will be even less a lack of it in the present, now that [the king] sees how much our affairs are progressing. And there is no need to have doubts about Their Graces, the lords senators; and the clerics will also help since this is a common cause pertaining to the glory of God. Laymen, like good sons, gladly follow their fathers. The overwhelming majority of the nobility is of the Roman religion with which we are united. How could

⁷⁴ An approximate count; Krevza dated a partial baptism of Rus' between 867 and 946 or 957 and the general baptism between 990 and 1008 (see above, pp. 91-94).

⁷⁵ Cf. 1 Cor 8:1.

⁷⁶ In 1616 Metropolitan Ruts'kyj established a Basilian novitiate at Bycień in the area of Stonim.

⁷⁷ Zygmunt III Waza.

they, too, not help us, unless they wished to act against their conscience? And what is most important, if anyone should wrong our religion, we have one shepherd and judge of spiritual affairs and a defender of the clergy, the bishop of Rome, who is certainly more respected by all monarchs, and even more so by lesser estates, than patriarchs were respected by emperors. All of this we owe to the union, without which we would be held in contempt as others were before us.

As for [material] advantages from the union, they are as follows. As archimandrite,⁷⁸ I shall speak only of my own monastery. It was founded 250 years ago by a grand duchess of Lithuania⁷⁹ and fell into such decline that at times only one secular priest served it, and even [priests] had great difficulty staying there because of the destitution, which they decried. No other order in Vilnius has such a suitable location, and yet it was virtually deserted. The walls crumbled, no one repaired them; the monks had no place to live; the whole monastery was overgrown with nettles. And not so long ago, a dozen or so years⁸⁰ (as all of Vilnius knows), our fathers, with the help of the Lord God and without any monastic revenue (or if there was any, it was such that it could not have sustained even three brothers), restored the monastery and populated it to such an extent that by God's grace several dozen monks will be sustained there eventually. The furnishings of the church, which were acquired over these [past] ten years,⁸¹ can be valued at several thousand zlotys. First, Her Majesty the Queen⁸² gave enough costly vestments for two priests and two deacons. Then His Majesty the King, after the successful capture of Smolensk,⁸³ deigned to donate all the vestments which had once been in the episcopal church of Smolensk. With the purpose of donating them [to this monastery], His Majesty the King had redeemed them from those who had taken them. During his

⁷⁸ Krevza became archimandrite of the Holy Trinity Monastery in 1617, the year this chapter was written.

⁷⁹ Princess Iulianija of Tver', second wife of Algirdas from 1349. The Holy Trinity Church (which later became the center of the Holy Trinity Monastery) was built in the fourteenth century. Krevza's computations indicate 1367, which is too late.

⁸⁰ Ca. 1606.

⁸¹ From 1607, when V. Ruts'kyj became archimandrite of the Trinity Monastery. This is another indication that this chapter was written in 1617.

⁸² Konstancja, wife of Zygmunt III from December 11, 1605.

⁸³ In 1611.

regal visits, His Majesty the King was in this church many times on various occasions and patiently stayed during the whole liturgy with Her Majesty the Queen and with His Highness the Crown Prince Władysław. Having such a foretaste of favors from our lords, should we not expect that they will open their hands in the future to the needs of our Church?

PALINODIA

OR

BOOK OF DEFENSE

of the Holy Catholic Apostolic Eastern Church and the holy patriarchs, concerning Greek and Ruthenian Christians, written by the grace of God and with the blessing of the superiors by Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj, *epitropos* to the hegumen,¹ published with revisions by doctors and submitted to the judgment of the holy Eastern patriarchs in the year 1621 from the birth of the Word of God, Jesus Christ, on November 26.²

¹ Title lacking in *T*; all extant title pages also add the anachronistic appellation "archimandrite."

² Although planned for this date, *Palinodia* was not "published" in full until the nineteenth century (see Pritsak and Struminsky, pp. xxx, xxxvi–xxxviii). *T* adds the following note: "From the books of Hieromonk Dymytrij, son of Sava [Tuptalo], the unworthy archimandrite of the Jelec' Monastery of Černihiv"; another note on the inside of the cover says: "*Palinodia* of the archprelate of Rostov, Dymytrij." *M* contains a note, continued until fol. 9, of which only the end survives: "... called *Palinodia* of the Dormition Cenoby of Jelec', Archimandrite Tymofij [Maksymovyč]."

REGISTER OF THE ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN THIS BOOK¹

Preface to the <i>Book of Defense of the Eastern Church and the Patriarchs</i> ²	175
[Postscript to the Preface]	181
On the privilege of the emperor Constantine	183
The testament of the forty holy and glorious great martyrs of Christ who died in Sebastia	187
[Epigraphs]	191

PART I CHAPTER 1

<i>Article 1:</i> On how St. Peter had equal authority and power with the other apostles; on how these words of Christ: “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church,” should be understood; and that the Church is built on faith and on the confession made by Peter in the name of all the apostles	193
<i>Article 2:</i> On how we should understand that the Church of Christ is {also} built on Peter, since the doctors of the Church are wont to say so, and that the Church of Christ is built not on Peter alone, but on all the apostles	205
<i>Article 3:</i> That when the holy doctors [of the Church] say that the Church of Christ is built upon faith or confession they do not understand Peter’s faith or Peter’s confession, but faith and confession simply and absolutely without any reference to St. ³ Peter	220

¹ Thus *T*, which places this register at the very end of the work; *L*, *S*: “Description of the *Palinodia*, i.e., *Book of Defense of the Holy Apostolic Eastern Catholic Church and the Holy Patriarchs and about Greeks and Ruthenian Christians*, written by Archimandrite Zaxarija Kopystens’kyj, hegumen’s *epitropos*, in the year from the birth of the Word of God, Jesus Christ, 1621.”

² *Ś*, *L*, *S*: “Preface to the book *Defense of the Faith of the Eastern Church and the Patriarchs*.”

³ Added in Register, not in the text.

<i>Article 4: On the words <i>Cephas</i>, <i>Petros</i>, and <i>petra</i> and the pronoun ἐπὶ ταύτῃ “upon this”</i>	227
<i>Article 5: Whether Peter’s change of name from Simon to Cephas, that is, Peter, brought any autocratic authority</i>	233
<i>Article 6: Proofs given in ecclesiastical books devoted to religious observances, that in the same books not only the apostle Peter is called simply <i>rock</i> and <i>rock of faith</i> and <i>foundation of the Church</i>, but all the other apostles and many bishops from among the holy doctors and confessors as well</i>	237
<i>Article 7: On the spiritual keys: on what the keys of the kingdom of heaven are, on what their basis is in the divine Scriptures, on to whom and when they were promised and given, and on what their operation is</i>	241
<i>Article 8: That Peter personified and represented the whole Church when our Lord Jesus Christ spoke only to him about the keys of the kingdom of heaven and about the building of the Church</i>	249
<i>Article 9: A response that shows the insufficiency of the proofs which the apostates employ in arguing for the establishment of their monarchy</i>	251

CHAPTER 2

<i>Article 1: By the words “Feed my lambs” Jesus Christ entrusts the feeding of His sheep not to Peter alone, but to all the apostles and, in and through them, to the ecclesiastical superiors that succeeded them</i>	257
<i>Article 2: The reasons why, in the presence of all the other apostles, Jesus Christ addressed the words “Feed my lambs” to Peter alone, and that by so saying no monarchy⁴ is established in the Church</i>	264
<i>Article 3: Response to some counterarguments of the apostates based on the words “Feed my lambs” whereby they attempt to establish a monarchy in the Church of Christ</i>	268
<i>Article 4: Response to the proofs of the apostates, used by Krevza in part 1, chapter 2</i>	275

⁴ *RIB*: “monarchic authority.”

<i>Article 5:</i> That Jesus Christ did not make only Peter the chief shepherd of the Church to succeed Him	293
---	-----

CHAPTER 3

<i>Article 1:</i> That a well-argued response has already been given in the two previous chapters to what Krevza argues from ecclesiastical books in his third chapter	298
<i>Article 2:</i> That the power of the keys promised to Peter was given to the whole Church, where they are administered by the hierarchs and, through them, the priests, and on the effectiveness of this power in the holy Eastern Church	298
<i>Article 3:</i> On the praise of the holy apostles by the holy doctors of the Church	304

PART II

CHAPTER 1

<i>Article 1:</i> That the bishop of Rome is not the sole successor or heir to St. Peter, but the patriarchs of the other apostolic sees, or rather all bishops, are as well; and a response to Krevza's proofs from [ecclesiastical] books in part 2, chapter 1	313
<i>Article 2:</i> That the patriarchs and all bishops are equally successors, that is, heirs, to all the apostles	331
<i>Article 3:</i> That the bishop of Rome has precedence and was designated as one of the patriarchs not by divine law, but by custom and human decree, in the same way as the four other patriarchs (however, to the patriarch of Jerusalem greater prerogatives are properly due in view of Jerusalem being associated with Christ); and that in the administration and government of the Church he has precisely the same authority as the four other patriarchs	338

CHAPTER 2

<i>Article 1:</i> On mentioning Peter first	347
<i>Article 2:</i> On the presidents of the Councils and the primacy of the pope	351

<i>Article 3:</i> On the presidents who occupied the first seat and led the Seven Ecumenical Councils, and that the the pope of Rome did not attend any Council, and that his legates did not lead them	355
<i>Article 4:</i> That envoys of the pope did not administer the Eastern Churches	368
<i>Article 5:</i> On papal legates and vicars	370
<i>Article 6:</i> That Eastern churches purified the Western Church of heresies and, through their letters, admonished and corrected the pope and the Western churches; and that the bishops of Rome were obliged immediately after their ascension to the Roman see to confess their devout faith before the patriarchs, just as all the patriarchs did before each other	374

CHAPTER 3

<i>Article 1:</i> That an Ecumenical Council can take place without the pope	378
<i>Article 2:</i> On the canon in the letter of Julius of Rome to the Council of Antioch	383

CHAPTER 4

<i>Article 1:</i> That the Council of Sardica is not ecumenical and that the canons established there apply only to the Western eparchy	385
<i>Article 2:</i> Krevza falsely cites the canons and Balsamon's interpretation	389
<i>Article 3:</i> Appeals to the bishop of Rome are not permitted, but are rather prohibited, and the canon on appeals of the Particular Council of Sardica was annulled by another particular council at Carthage	391
<i>Article 4:</i> A response to the arguments and equivocations of the apostate	398
<i>Article 5:</i> The decisions of the bishop of Rome were appealed	406
<i>Article 6:</i> The patriarch of Constantinople hears appeals, and his decisions are not appealed to anyone else	408

CHAPTER 5

<i>Article 1:</i> St. Flavian, the patriarch of Constantinople, did not appeal to the pope of Rome	416
<i>Article 2:</i> Neither other Orthodox bishops nor St. Maximus appealed the decision of the council held by the Monothelites	418
<i>Article 3:</i> The blessed Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, did not appeal to the pope of Rome	420
<i>Article 4:</i> St. Athanasius never appealed to the pope of Rome	421
<i>Article 5:</i> St. Chrysostom made no appeals to the bishop of Rome	425

CHAPTER 6

<i>Article 1:</i> The bishop of Rome does not have the right to install a patriarch	430
<i>Article 2:</i> A response to the examples cited by the apostate Krevza, and also that Patriarch Metrophanes of Constantinople was not consecrated by Sylvester	432
<i>Article 3:</i> Patriarchs Paul of Constantinople and Athanasius of Alexandria were reinstated in their sees by emperors and not by Pope Julius of Rome	434
<i>Article 4:</i> On the blessed Menas, patriarch of Constantinople, and on his consecration	437
<i>Article 5:</i> The pope of Rome did not reinstate Patriarch Flavian of Constantinople in his see and did not consecrate Patriarch Theophylactus of Constantinople	442

CHAPTER 7

<i>Article 1:</i> The bishop of Rome is not the supreme judge	444
<i>Article 2:</i> The actions of Pope Innocent, bishop of Rome, regarding St. Chrysostom are those of a bishop, proper for any pious bishop, and not those of a sovereign monarch	448
<i>Article 3:</i> Eastern patriarchs judged, expelled, deposed, and anathematized bishops of Rome	459

<i>Article 4:</i> Not only the Eastern patriarchs but also both Eastern and Western emperors judged popes and expelled them from their see	465
--	-----

CHAPTER 8

<i>Article 1:</i> The Eastern patriarchs have equal power and authority with the bishop of Rome	468
<i>Article 2:</i> There should be no intrusion into or taking possession of eparchies that are not one's own or consecration of clerics in the eparchy of another or accepting of the clerics of another or accepting into communion of anyone anathematized and excommunicated	477
<i>Article 3:</i> A defense of the proofs we produce from Canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon and Canon 36 of the Sixth Council, and that a council held without the presence of papal envoys can be called ecumenical	482

CHAPTER 9

<i>Article 1:</i> Even if we were in the unity of faith, the bishop of Rome could not be the single, supreme shepherd and sovereign monarch in the Church of Christ or have supremacy over the patriarchs, and it would not be his responsibility to ordain metropolitans in Rus'	498
<i>Article 2:</i> On the prerogatives of the bishop of Rome and on the privileges of his elevated rank	501
<i>Article 3:</i> That Tarasius, Nicephorus, and Methodius, the patriarchs of Constantinople, were not obedient to the pope	510
<i>Article 4:</i> On Ignatius and Photius and on papal envoys	512
<i>Article 5:</i> On the justification of the blessed patriarch Photius	518
On the cause of the incident and legal actions between the blessed Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople, and Nicholas and Adrian, the bishops of Rome, and on Ignatius	533
<i>Article 6:</i> What came to pass in the Roman Western Church after the Seventh Council, and that it was because of the Latins, not the Greeks, that the split of both the empire and the faith	

occurred and the accursed schism was introduced into the Church of Christ	541
<i>Article 7: On the chief points by the alteration of which the popes of Rome divided the unity of the faith and introduced schism into the Church of Christ</i>	561
<i>Article 8: A response to some remaining questions in chapter 9: on the letter of Peter of Antioch and on Patriarch Michael Caerularius of Constantinople</i>	568

CHAPTER 10

<i>Article 1: Against the preaching of the Latins on God's judgments, and that the dominion of the pope does not prove⁵ right the faith of the Church of Rome</i>	577
<i>Article 2: The Greeks did not lose their state because their faith was somehow deficient</i>	589
<i>Article 3: The faithful, the just, and the Church of Christ have suffered persecution and oppression from the beginning</i>	593
<i>Article 4: The Church is founded on persecution</i>	597
<i>Article 5: Faith and the grace and love of God have not been withdrawn from the holy Eastern Church</i>	602
<i>Article 6: Many saints and wonder-workers have appeared among the Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, and Rus' after the Latins broke away from the Greeks</i>	609
<i>Article 7: On the wars and empire of orthodox Christians</i>	624
The kingdom of the Orthodox	628
<i>Article 8: Two prophecies that the Greeks will regain possession of their empire</i>	631
[The first prophecy	631
The second prophecy]	632
<i>Article 9: On how the Latins have been punished for breaking away from the holy Eastern Church when they demolished the true faith, the dogmas, and introduced many errors</i>	634

⁵ S: "confirm."

<i>Article 10: A response concerning the historians cited by our adversary</i>	642
--	-----

CHAPTER 11

<i>Article 1: The λείψανα or relics, that is, the bones and bodies of the saints, that originate from Eastern lands but are now found in Latin churches do not confirm the faith of the popes of Rome</i>	649
<i>Article 2: On the body of St. Nicholas and on the bones of other saints</i>	653

CHAPTER 12

<i>Article 1: On the confusion that has come upon the Latins through the introduction of new doctrines and on the plagues that afflict them</i>	659
<i>Article 2: Latin erudition is actually Greek</i>	660
<i>Article 3: On the simplicity of the Romans</i>	662
<i>Article 4: On the right wisdom possessed by the Church of Christ</i>	665
On the teachers of the Eastern Church	666
On the new doctors, that is, the new teachers of the Eastern Church	669
<i>Article 5: A reply concerning Nicephorus Gregoras and other calumnies</i>	672
<i>Article 6: Popes who gave tribute money to emperors, and on simony</i>	681
<i>Article 7: The gates of hell have not prevailed against the Church</i>	684
<i>Article 8: Many of the popes obtained the papacy through evil deeds the like of which were never perpetrated by the Eastern patriarchs, namely, sorcery, tyrannical acts, and simony, and sometimes there would be two or three popes at once</i>	686

CHAPTER 13

<i>Article 1: The meeting of the Greeks with the Italian clergy at</i>	
--	--

Florence did not constitute a Council and cannot be called a Council	694
Proofs from written sources that no Council was constituted	700
On Mark of Ephesus and on Gennadius Scholarius	702
<i>Article 2: The Latins do not obey the councils</i>	704
On the charter of Władysław	706

PART III

CHAPTER 1

<i>Article 1: On the conversion and baptism of Rus': by divine providence the nation of Rus' received the Christian faith from the Eastern Church, that is, from Constantinople</i>	717
On the baptism of Volodimer and the universal baptism of all Rus'	723
On the faith and religion of Volodimer's son Jaroslav	732
<i>Article 2: Methodius and Cyril were sent to the Slavic nations by Patriarch Methodius of Constantinople and Emperor Michael Porphyrogenitus, and it was under them that the peoples of that language, the Czechs, Moravians, Poles, and Hungarians, originally and first received the Christian faith from the apostolic see of Constantinople, not from the Latin Church</i>	733
The Hungarians	739
On the Poles	741
A reply to chroniclers who are our adversaries	745
<i>Article 3: When Volodimer, the monarch of Rus', and the whole of Rus' with him received common and universal baptism, the Roman Church was already inclining to schism and was disrupting the unity with the Church of Constantinople and of the entire East</i>	745
On Nicholas Chrysoberges	749

CHAPTER 2

<i>Article 1: None of the metropolitans of Kiev was in obedience to the pope or in unity with the Roman Church</i>	752
--	-----

Catalogue of ecumenical patriarchs, the archbishops of Constantinople, New Rome, who occupied the see of Constantinople after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, compiled from the book of Theodosius Zygomalas⁶ 788

On the important role played in Rus' by Patriarch Jeremiah of Constantinople, of blessed memory, and on the apostasy of the metropolitan of Rus' from the holy apostolic see of Constantinople 793

CHAPTER 3

<i>Article 1:</i> By what rights Rus' is subordinated to the Church of Constantinople and to the ecumenical patriarch, the archbishop of Constantinople	807
Divine and apostolic right	807
Canonical right	809
Imperial, princely, and royal right	810
Right by usucapion	812
<i>Article 2:</i> The apostates are not the legitimate successors of the Orthodox metropolitans	814

CHAPTER 4

<i>Article 1:</i> Temporal blessings and eternal salvation are the benefits of obeying the Eastern Church and the patriarch of Constantinople	817
<i>Article 2:</i> On what harm and loss is incurred by obeying the pope and the Church of Rome	819

CHAPTER 5

<i>Article 1:</i> On the letter of Patriarch Michael Caerularius to Peter, patriarch of Antioch, against the fabricated and invalid anathema against Caerularius, on the valid anathema against the pope, and a defense of the reputation and life of the goodly Michael Caerularius	822
--	-----

⁶ Thus in >T, MB; a shorter title in the text and in L, S.

<i>Article 2: On Michael Caerularius</i>	823
<i>Article 3: On the letter by [Patriarch] Michael Caerularius</i>	825
<i>Article 4: On the pope's invalid excommunication [of the patriarch] and the patriarch's valid anathema of the pope</i>	827
<i>Article 5: On the letter of Patriarch Peter of Antioch</i>	828
<i>Article 6: Peter, patriarch of Antioch, condoned Michael's action against the pope</i>	830

PART IV CHAPTER 1

<i>Article 1: {Of which the contents are: 1} On the worthiness and valor of the nation⁷ of Rus'</i>	835
{2} On the secession of the pope and the Latins from the Greek empire, the faith, the Eastern Church, and the communion of the patriarchs	
{3} On the baptism of the nation of Rus'	
{4} On the recent unwholesome act committed by two apostate bishops of paying obedience to Clement VIII, which they did out of sinfulness and lawlessness and not out of love of the pope or his faith ⁸	
{5 Apostasy from the true, catholic faith and secession from the Eastern Church and the ecumenical patriarch—which constitute sin and lawlessness—are called "Union," that is, apostasy from the holy apostolic Eastern Church}	
<i>Article 2: That we criticize, refuse, and reject the Union both for its very essence and for the means by which it was effected</i>	844
<i>Article 3: Without the ecumenical patriarch—him being supreme shepherd—no union can be achieved in Rus'</i>	849
<i>Article 4: The conference⁹ in Florence is not a council</i>	851

⁷ In the text of *L*, *S*: "glorious nation."

⁸ This entry only summarized in *RIB*.

⁹ "Council" (Соборъ) in the Register of *RIB*, but "Conference" (Соборованье) in the text.

<i>Article 5: On the metropolitans of Kiev</i>	854
On Patriarch Nephon	855
<i>Article 6: On Patriarch Dionysius and on Grigoriĭ</i>	856

CHAPTER 2

<i>Article 1: Only impious people reduce the priests of God to involuntary servitude</i>	858
<i>Article 2: They could not have initiated and established the Union without the entire hierarchy and laity</i>	859
<i>Article 3: On the most illustrious and Orthodox prince Vasyl' of Ostroh, the palatine of Kiev</i>	864
On the prince of Ostroh, the castellan of Cracow	868
<i>Article 4: An interpretation of the letter by the illustrious prince Vasyl' of Ostroh</i>	869
<i>Article 5: The conversation of King Stefan with the prince of Ostroh, the palatine of Kiev</i>	873

[ANNEXES¹⁰

On the patriarchs	877
On the patriarchs of Constantinople	877
On the patriarchs of Alexandria	880
On the patriarchs of Antioch	882
On the patriarchs of Jerusalem	883
On various hierarchs	884
On the archbishops of Ohrid, Carthage, Cyprus, Iberia, and Peć	885
The patriarchal thrones are apostolic sees	886
The see of Constantinople	886
The see of Alexandria	888

¹⁰ The following entries were not included in Kopystens'kyj's original Register.

The see of Antioch	889
The see of Jerusalem	890
On [the see of] Rome	892
On the order of sitting at the Councils: that neither the pope nor the papal envoys occupied a more honorable seat than the patri- archs and that the right side of a church from the direction of the entrance is more honorable	893
The right side is more honorable	895
On the old and new calendars	897
On Meletius and Paulinus	898
On Acacius, the patriarch of Constantinople	900

APPENDIX

(to the end of Part IV, Chapter 2, Article 4)

A circular letter of Metropolitan Myxajil Rahoza to the clergy and laity of the Orthodox religion in the lands of Rus'. Noŭharadok, September 1, 1595	905
From a letter of Metropolitan Rahoza to Prince K. V. Ostroz'kyj. Noŭharadok, March 1595	906
From a letter of Metropolitan Rahoza to Prince K. V. Ostroz'kyj. Noŭharadok, August 12, 1595	907
From a letter of Metropolitan Rahoza to Prince K. V. Ostroz'kyj. Noŭharadok, September 28, 1595	908
From a letter by the bishop of Volodymyr, Ipatij Potij, to Prince K. V. Ostroz'kyj. Volodymyr, March 17, 1595	909
From a letter of I. Potij to Prince K. V. Ostroz'kyj. Volodymyr, March 25, 1595	910
From a letter of I. Potij to Prince K. V. Ostroz'kyj. Lublin, August 5, 1595	910
From a letter of I. Potij to Prince K. V. Ostroz'kyj. Volodymyr, August 23, 1595]	911

PREFACE
to the *Book of Defense*
of the *Eastern Church and of the Patriarchs*¹

Let no man deceive you by any means^a

The days and years have come, are coming, and are being fulfilled, O philosophical reader, concerning which the Lord our God Jesus Christ proclaimed: "There shall arise false Christs and false prophets, believe them not. Behold, I have told you before."^b And the holy apostle Paul proclaims these words: "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly that, in the latter times, some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to^c seducing spirits, having their conscience branded";^d and also: "This know, also, that in the last days perilous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, haughty, proud, blasphemers";^e and further, "Having a form of godliness but denying the power thereof, from such turn away";^f and still further, "Ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of truth."^g And the apostle Peter says the following, "But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who secretly shall bring in destructive heresies"; and further: "And many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of; and with an excess of feigned words shall they snare you; whose judgment now for a long time lingereth not, and their destruction slumbereth not."^h And John the Theologian, in Revelation, wrote, "And when the thousand years are ended, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison and shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth."ⁱ Thus, even after the thousandth year² from

^a 2 Thes 2:3. ^b Mt 24:23–25. ^c joining. ^d 1 Tm 4:1–2. ^e 2 Tm 3:1–2. ^f 2 Tm 3:5. ^g 2 Tm 3:7.
^h 2 Pt 2:1–3. ⁱ Rv 20:7–8.

¹ Thus in *T. S.*: "Preface to the book called *Defense of the Faith of the Eastern Church and of the Patriarchs.*" *L. S.*: "Preface to the book *Defense of the Faith of the Eastern Church and of the Patriarchs.*"

² *RIB*: "century."

the birth of Jesus Christ, this enemy deceived and is deceiving many; he caused a pernicious schism^a and ceases not even today to divert people from the true Orthodox faith. But the longer the time, the more he does so. And when, after the thousandth year, six hundred years were coming to a close³ and as sixty-six are nearing fulfillment, apostasy and deception have become manifest and have been increasing. For, when the year one thousand was reached and completed, a schism occurred between the Eastern and Western Churches⁴ καὶ {τῆς} δυτικῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ περιώνυμον ἄθροισμα⁵ b turned away from Orthodoxy. Likewise, some worse evil will surely appear when 1660 and 6 will be written; for such is the “number of the man,” Antichrist,^c and who knows if it will not designate, in that very same year 1666, his more manifest precursors or himself. The Antichrist, indeed, will be a man, but a son of sin and perdition,^d changing the times and laws.^e

But before the great one comes, others will be proclaimed before him; they have been indicated, they have come, and will come. As John the Theologian wrote, “Little children, it is the last time; and as ye have heard that the Antichrist shall come, even now there are many antichrists, by which we know that it is the last time.”^f These antichrists are and will be not simply real devils, but men [as well],⁶ and not just any men, but ones of a status far from least, pretending to be faithful, exhibiting a model of piety, and from good families. As John says, “They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us; but they ran from us,⁷ that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us.”^g Such men also came forth from

^a Harmenopulus bk. 7, fol. 451. [Folio references here and subsequently to the 1596 Frankfurt edition of *Iuris graeco-romani . . . tomi duo*, which includes Balsamon's *General Epistles on the Patriarchs*, the work alluded to here.] ^b Harmenopulus, bk. 5, fol. 370. [Reference to Balsamon's *Responses to Questions by Mark*, included in *Iuris graeco-romani . . . tomi duo*.] ^c Rv 13:18. ^d 2 Thes 2:3. ^e Dn 7:25. ^f 1 Jn 2:18. ^g 1 Jn 2:19.

³ I.e., in 1596, the date of the Union of Brest.

⁴ A reference to the removal of popes from the diptychs by Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople (999–1019).

⁵ “and the renowned community of the Western Church.”

⁶ G: “are real devils and will be like men.”

⁷ S: “they ran from us as much as they could.”

us, especially when the year 1600 was approaching;⁸ and even now the apostle's words are being fulfilled. For some of Ruthenian stock, enamored of themselves and of glory, and having a conscience spoiled and branded⁹ by acts of sin and unfaithfulness, deserted the holy, apostolic, catholic, Eastern Church and the four holy patriarchs. In this manner that which the apostle says is borne out: first there will be apostasy, then the Antichrist will come.¹⁰ Not content with this, they inflict and invent various kinds of harassments and torments, utilizing the secular authority. In addition, they denigrate the holy Eastern Church and the holy patriarchs living and residing in Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, as well as the rightly believing and steadfast Christians. They publish books in which they write neither truth nor justice but only contrive fabrications, distortions, and myths. They constantly drag us before the magistrates, though we are innocent, and they abuse us unsparingly.¹¹ Furthermore, they insult and accuse us of speaking nonsense and of lacking education, even though in our Church there are philosophers and theologians. Well, it is true, not all of them publish¹² books; they choose rather to live in contemplation and peace of mind. Yet if one of us does publish a book, especially against the Latins, they are not ashamed to persecute and oppress such a person, even through the agency of the secular authorities.

Thus one is prevented even from responding to such accusations from the apostates that call themselves "Uniates," from vindicating one's right and arguing one's case, as the law of all nations permits.^a Truly, it is not becoming for us, who are endowed with speech and reason and who are free, to remain speechless in the face of such wicked allegations or to behave as in the proverb: "οἱ ἀπαίδευτοι ὡς ἰχθύες ἐλκόμενοι σιωπῶσι" (the unlearned are silent like netted fish).

Thus, entreated many times by worthy clerics and laymen and virtually coerced, I, the least of men, with God's help, agreed to write

^a S: The adversaries do not let the Orthodox tell the truth.

⁸ I.e., in 1596.

⁹ Cf. 1 Tm 4:2.

¹⁰ Cf. 2 Thes 2:3.

¹¹ S adds "relentlessly" (perhaps as a synonym, which usually appears in the margin).

¹² G: "know."

this book. It was only appropriate to give in to the will and demand of the Orthodox, especially so as to be no longer subject to the speculations of some and to testify to my own orthodoxy^a and to show the judges and higher authorities that we, the right believers, are wrongly grouped together with them. Furthermore, I agreed to write so that these authorities might take a more gracious and God-fearing attitude toward the Ruthenian nation and no longer support our accusers in their sin.¹³ And finally, so that our opponents might come to realize that, as the apostle Peter says, "whereas they speak evil of you, as of evildoers, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse your good manner of life in Christ."^b Again I say that, hoping for the grace of the most holy Spirit, I have undertaken this not inconsiderable work out of love and a wish for the salvation of both my Orthodox brethren and our apostates and adversaries, because in word and writing we must care for the salvation of all. I have also undertaken this at the urging of my own conscience, having an equally strong desire to warn the consciences of our opponents and all those who aid them with secular power and authority, lest they should not imagine themselves to serve God when they mislead the Ruthenians and severely harass them, some subtly, others openly.

"Woe unto me," as the Apostle says, "if I preach not the gospel!"¹⁴ Woe unto me if I should be silent and hide the truth! Woe unto those who, knowing no truth, torment and oppress! It is a sin not only to commit sins knowingly, but also if we sin in ignorance. Punishment and an offering are also required for a sin committed unknowingly, as we read in the fourth book of Moses, chapter 15,^c and Luke 12, {verse 48}.

I shall also add that we must bear witness to our faith and the truth, lest anyone think that we are being obstinate. Among us, the traditional Orthodox Ruthenians, there is no obstinacy, but only adamantine steadfastness. This is not obstinate adherence to a faith which, in its duration, is already entering its 1620th year,¹⁵ but a living constancy and stead-

^a *S*: piety. ^b 1 Pt 3:16. ^c Nm 15:24.

¹³ This passage reflects a degree of tension between the Ruthenian Orthodox and the Eastern patriarchates on the eve of the restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy in the Commonwealth in the fall of 1620. Cf. Pritsak and Struminsky, xxiv.

¹⁴ 1 Cor 9:16.

¹⁵ Cf. the date "February 1620" at the end of the Preface; *S*: "1635th year," probably the date of the copy from which *S* originates.

fastness. For we are alive when we consume {in} Christ's Church His holy¹⁶ body and truly drink His blood. In ancient times, the holy martyrs were accused of obstinacy and insanity, but they were unjustly charged, just as we are fabulously charged now. We are not obstinate if we believe as the apostles taught and as the theologians believed (namely, Dionysius the Areopagite, Athanasius, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, the Cyrils, John of Damascus, and Theophylactus) and as the Councils confessed, resolved, and sealed. Obstinate are the Jews, Turks, and all the heretics, as long as they do not submit to the true Church, the dogmas of the holy fathers and the canons of the Councils.

Furthermore, I say that it is neither a sign of love nor unity to abandon the faith, to depart from what we have believed from the beginning, from what was committed and enjoined to us. True love and unity is to preserve what has been enjoined and committed in the beginning, as St. John the Theologian says, "For this is love of God that we keep His commandments."^a In his Second Epistle he also says: "And this is love, that we walk after His commandments. This is the commandment, that, as ye have heard from the beginning, ye should walk in it."^b Thus, what you heard in the beginning should remain in you; and if what you heard in the beginning remains in you, you too will remain in the Son and the Father. The holy apostle Paul admonishes us, saying, "Those things which ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me, do, and the God of peace shall be with you."^c St. Paul sealed this with an awesome decree, imposing an anathema on those who would dare to preach and teach differently over and above what we have already received.¹⁷ We are not bound to have greater love for men [than for God] and to unite with them, but instead we must love the correctness of the faith, the dogmas of the holy fathers, and the canons of the Councils, and in such unity we should persevere. Let us fear the anathema, lest we receive over and above what was committed and enjoined by the Councils.

^a 1 Jn 5:3. ^b 2 Jn:6. ^c Phil 4:9.

¹⁶ S: "most holy."

¹⁷ Cf. Gal 1:9.

If anyone apostatizes, he must be subject to the awesome sentence of anathema. One should not, therefore, incline to those who have deserted us, the Orthodox Ruthenians, and abandoned the holy universal patriarch, the archbishop of Constantinople. We ought not to become corrupted or weakened by their apostasy, even if they were the elect, for Jesus Christ Himself announced their apostasy, saying, "For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders, insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect. Behold, I have told you beforehand."^a Or is this, the prediction that the stars would fall from the sky,^b a small matter? This refers to both the magnates, resplendent in glory and might, and the eminent clerics in the Church, which is heaven on earth. Of such fallen stars and their torment the Apostle proclaimed, "Wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness forever."^c

Having thus explained why I have written this book, I shall also briefly describe the teaching that it contains:¹⁸ a defense of the Orthodox faith of the holy, catholic, Eastern Apostolic Church; a second defense—of the validity of the canons and privileges of the four holy Eastern patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; then, responses to the apostates, called "Uniates," and to our other adversaries; [commentaries] on the bishops of Old Rome; in addition, [an explanation of] the present situation of the Greeks, the acquisition of faith by the Ruthenian nation, the metropolitans of Kiev, and other related subjects. Further, it is argued and demonstrated that it is more pious and correct for the Latin-Roman Church to join the Eastern Church and the four holy patriarchs and the Greeks and to unite with them in faith and holy dogmas; also, other necessary arguments are set forth; and finally, the procession of the most holy Spirit from God the Father alone is briefly presented.¹⁹

The book being thus characterized, you should know, reader, that it was written with the aid of God's grace and with great labor, provid-

^a Mt 24:24–25. ^b Rv 6:13. ^c Jude:13.

¹⁸ See Foreword, pp. xxxi–xxxii.

¹⁹ The latter is not included in the book. Apparently, Kopystens'kyj had planned a response to the "Propositions on the Procession of the Holy Spirit" by Krevza (see above, pp. 149–56), but gave up his intention; cf. his remark below, p. 875.

ing for the matters and issues with which it deals proofs from holy Scripture, both the Old and New Testaments, as well as from authoritative theologians and reliable authors and historians. The book was submitted to, read, checked, and corrected by wise men versed in holy Scripture and is now submitted to the more perfect judgment²⁰ of the holy apostolic Church.

I conclude this preface for the Orthodox with these words of apostolic teaching: "But ye, beloved, building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Spirit, keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life."^a

{ Written in the month of February, in the year from the birth in the flesh of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ, 1620. }

Hieromonk Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj {E.}²¹

[Postscript to the Preface]²²

Gregory the Theologian says in the *Discourse in Praise of St. Athanasius*:²³ "There was a time when things were blossoming for us and were going well, while excessive and showy quickness of the tongue and masterly artificiality in theology had no access to God's fora." Therefore I too, inclined as I am to that sincerity of old and abandoning the showy and perverse manner of writing with which the frivolous usually display a glory void of spirit, and trusting God's grace in the sincerity and simplicity of my heart, in that matter I go by the holy truth alone. "For we can do nothing against the truth (as the Apostle says), but for the truth."^b To show it effectively, we shall argue our case and present testimonies and proofs from the writs themselves rather than saying anything by ourselves.

"O Lord, save me:

"O Lord, help me on the way!"^{24 c}

^a Jude:20–21. ^b 2 Cor 13:8. ^c Ps 117:25.

²⁰ *RIB*: "to the judgment of those more perfect." Cf. the title page.

²¹ "E." stands for *epitropos*. Cf. title page.

²² In *S* placed after "The Catalogue of Books of the Doctors Used for This Book."

²³ The title appears as a marginal note in *S*.

²⁴ The Slavonic version (OB) of this invocation in *S*.

^a Pachomius, the metropolitan of Zichna, reigned for one year,³⁷⁶ but the adherents of Joachim troubled him to such an extent that he had to resign.

^b Joachim, became patriarch for the second time;³⁷⁷ after a short time he went to Moldavia, but died on the way, in Dolhești.

^c Pachomius became patriarch for the second time.³⁷⁸ Under this patriarch, as I pointed out above,³⁷⁹ a certain deacon Arsenius, with the intervention of the pope of Rome and under vehement pressure from the Venetians, obtained the see of Monembasia.

^d Theoleptus, the metropolitan of Ioannina, was elected patriarch after the death of Pachomius and occupied the see until his own death.³⁸⁰

^e Jeremiah, the metropolitan of Sofia, soon left the patriarchal throne to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.³⁸¹

^f Joannicius, the metropolitan of Sozopol, was patriarch only briefly and then died.³⁸²

^g Jeremiah acceded to the patriarchal throne again after his return from Jerusalem and remained patriarch twenty-three years and one month.^{383 h} During this patriarch's reign the emperor, Sultan Süleymân, issued his decree commanding that the churches should be preserved intact "as long as the world will exist."³⁸⁴

ⁱ Dionysius, the metropolitan of Nicomedia, was patriarch after Jeremiah.³⁸⁵

^a S: Pachomius. ^b S: Joachim. ^c S: Pachomius. ^d S: Theoleptus. ^e S: Jeremiah. ^f S: Joannicius. ^g S: Jeremiah. ^h S: The privilege of the Turkish emperor. ⁱ S: Dionysius.

³⁷⁶ 1503–4.

³⁷⁷ In 1504.

³⁷⁸ In 1504.

³⁷⁹ See pp. 781–82.

³⁸⁰ 1514–22.

³⁸¹ Installed in 1522, he went to Jerusalem in 1526.

³⁸² In 1526.

³⁸³ I.e., his entire tenure, from 1522 to 1545.

³⁸⁴ The quotation is from *Turcograecia*, bk. 2. According to it, Süleymân in 1536 guaranteed the cessation of church closings in Constantinople. In practice, however, this guarantee was in effect only during his reign.

³⁸⁵ In 1545–55.

On the the important role played in Rus' by Patriarch Jeremiah of Constantinople, of blessed memory, and on the apostasy of the metropolitan of Rus' from the holy apostolic see of Constantinople

Because I have just listed Jeremiah of blessed memory and mentioned his visit to the land of Rus', I should not dwell upon him further or extend the length of this book. But for the sake of future generations I find it necessary at this point to make a few remarks about the apostasy of the spiritual leaders of Rus', that is, the metropolitan and the five bishops, from obedience to the most holy apostolic see of Constantinople, which occurred while Patriarch Jeremiah of blessed memory occupied the holy see.³⁸⁹ [I shall make plain] the reason of their apostasy and the nature of the act, for such information should not be covered by the dust of silence and one day pass into oblivion.

³⁸⁹ Jeremiah was patriarch when Potij and Terlec'kyj signed the Union in Rome on Dec. 23, 1595, but not during the Council of Brest in 1596.

The apostates call the case of their apostasy Union, but we call it apostasy, because it gave birth to and fostered desertion from the faith. I think that many are ignorant of the origins of their Union, certainly those Christians who are careless and lifeless. It takes a wise man to recognize the cause from the effects, as, for instance, a good or bad tree from its fruit,³⁹⁰ and only the wise man can see the bad cause of a bad effect. It behooves me, therefore, to state briefly the cause from which these effects have proceeded, lest anyone should mistake it. Even though it is certain, as the common saying goes, that a bad bird lays bad eggs, not everyone can determine this even by the shell, but only by what is inside.^a Many look at the effects of the Union with their eyes, but still ask what the Union is; for not many know that the Union in question is the perjurious apostasy of five Ruthenian bishops—and a sixth, the metropolitan—from obedience to their customary shepherd, the patriarch of Constantinople, and that it is an illegal paying³⁹¹ of obedience to an alien shepherd, the Latin pope of Rome. The metropolitan of Rus' and five bishops with him broke their oath to their own shepherd, the father patriarch of Constantinople. This patriarch, by the actions of his predecessors and God's dispensation, brought our Ruthenian nations to the knowledge of the evangelical light, baptized them and gave them shepherds, and supplied our Ruthenian Church with every kind of psalmody, ritual, and service according to the manner and usage of the Greek Eastern Church. He governed the spiritual leaders of our Ruthenian nations for more than six hundred years, from the time of the conversion and baptism of Rus' onward, giving them metropolitans in succession until our time. In 1595 they suddenly deserted him, breaking their oath to unite with the Latin pope of Rome in the name of the entire Ruthenian nation (which knew nothing about it), swearing their obedience to him, and offering to one who neither ploughed nor sowed (and who, I repeat, provided no spiritual benefit whatsoever and never had any right either to us or to our clergy) the field of the Ruthenian Church to harvest. Thus, what they call Union is in fact that apostasy which gives rise to constant trouble, disagreements, tumult, and quarrels in our home, that

^a S: Union.

³⁹⁰ Cf. Mt 12:33.

³⁹¹ кривоприсяжное отступство...противозаконное приступство.

is, in the land of Rus'. And in our Greek religion it has shaken the faith from its immovable place and now tears, mars, mutilates, and profanes it in every way. I shall, therefore, reveal the reason why they did this, its origin, and the means by which it arose, was planned, and now progresses. I do this lest anyone suppose that they acted thus out of piety or sentiment for unity with the Church of Rome, or by the impulse of a good conscience, or that it proceeds by legitimate means and methods rather than by evading the deserved penalty of the Church as a consequence of sheer licentiousness and arrogance. I shall reveal how these things in very truth and reality came to pass, for I judge it to be as wrong to think well of a bad thing as it is to present a good thing in a bad light. These things, then, came to pass as follows.

In those earlier years, the primitivism of the spiritual leaders of our Ruthenian nation (those residing in the Crown domains and Lithuania, and most of all those in the domains of Rus') reached such an extreme degree that, having [no one] except the heterodox³⁹² to awaken them, they slept soundly when they should have been administering the affairs of the Church. Their sleep was so profound that, when the Ruthenian Church, entrusted to their governance, was set upon—as a punishment by God—by various sects, heresies, tumults, and commotions, they could not rub their eyes, wake up, come to their senses, and to decide what to do about themselves and the human souls entrusted to their care to prevent their becoming infected with the contagion of heresy. They were negligent, and they allowed the souls entrusted to them to do as they pleased. The souls, running off to diverse sects as though they had no shepherd, were perishing, and the leaders themselves came to the state described by Solomon: "When an ungodly man comes into a depth of evil, he contemns; but dishonor and reproach come upon him,"^{393 a} for dishonor and reproach actually did befall them. They became so insensitive that they resembled dead men. While there was still time, they neglected their pastoral duty and failed to watch over both themselves and the sheep entrusted to their pastoral care. As a

^a Prv 18:3.

³⁹² An allusion to the cooperation of Orthodox Ruthenians with Protestants in the late sixteenth century.

³⁹³ In Slavonic.

result, the episcopal and metropolitan sees were no longer occupied by worthy persons, but by people who even in their own right would be considered disgraceful, shameful, and even sinful. Those who installed themselves came not from monasteries, being well trained in celibate and monastic life, as is required by canon law, but, as a reward for their services, came directly from the everyday bustle of farms or homesteads, from workshops or the military profession. Moreover, they were utter ignoramuses and simpletons, unread in Holy Scripture, who had, in addition, not completed any preliminary probation nor experienced monastic life. As a consequence, the holy seats of spiritual authority, which are worthy of all honor, were laden not only with men who had been twice married and others who had committed homicide, but also with debauched persons who would not remain celibate as they had vowed to God in accord with the canons as well as their calling. The presbyters consecrated by them were human refuse, because the holy office of presbyter had fallen into such disrespect that for a good man to agree to enter it was tantamount to incurring public disgrace; so only starving and unlearned churls flocked to it. One could not say what place a presbyter frequented more, the tavern or the church. Beholding this and seeing the affairs of the Church utterly neglected and increasingly disrupted, Herasym Smotryc'kyj, the son of Danylo, a memorable man who lived in those times, spoke out and criticized in Ruthenian verse—which, if it was not artful, yet is worthy of respect³⁹⁴—those who performed and received illegitimate ordinations, so as to bring them to their senses.

^a Patriarch Jeremiah of Constantinople, of blessed memory, was informed about all this by pious people of our nation. Partly to put an end to the inchoate debauchery, partly to forestall the recently risen heretical sects that stealthily began to make headway deep into the Ruthenian nation as well, he consented in 1589 to visit our homeland in person. On this occasion he exercised his authority and jurisdiction in the sees of the metropolitanate of Rus', in accord with his everlasting rights and the permission to exercise his power as issued in a circular letter by His Majesty King Zygmunt III, who happily reigns over us

^a S: Patriarch Jeremiah.

³⁹⁴ A work that remains unidentified.

now.³⁹⁵ When he learned that Onysyfor Divočka had been married twice, he deposed him and consecrated Myxajil Rahoza metropolitan in his place. And when he learned that Archimandrite Tymofij Zloba of [the monastery of] Supraśl was stained with the sin of homicide, he deposed him, too, and appointed Ilarion Massalski archimandrite³⁹⁶ in his place.^a When he had accomplished this with God's grace and raised up a brotherhood in Vilnius,³⁹⁷ he journeyed to Great Rus', to Moscow. First, however, he swore³⁹⁸ Metropolitan Myxajil Rahoza, whom he had just consecrated, to announce and convene a council to discuss further the spiritual affairs and needs of the Church when he should return, it being the will of God, from Moscow. After spending some time in Moscow, he elevated for the Muscovites and consecrated a patriarch, which they had not had before this time, and returned to Vilnius. Perceiving that no preparations for the council had been made, he reprimanded the metropolitan. Then he went to Zamość, where he spent considerable time with Jan Zamojski, the crown chancellor and hetman of worthy memory, while he waited for the council he had ordered. But the devil, the veteran machinator who knows a thousand tricks, was envious of the good being accomplished in the divine Church of Rus': he used Bishop Kyryl Terlec'kyj of Luc'k as his instrument, for this man feared that the council would pass the same decree {against} him as he had signed against Onysyfor Divočka, because he, too, had been married twice; but the father patriarch did not yet know this. Terlec'kyj, therefore, persuaded all bishops and the metropolitan himself deliberately to delay the council using any pretext, for these owls knew well that, blemished by double marriages and debauchery, they could not bear the light; the metropolitan allowed himself to be easily persuaded.

^a God's blessed jewel, Father Kyr Ilarion, lost his holy monastery through the malicious Uniates because he was Orthodox. [An allusion to the Uniate takeover of the monastery in 1603.]

³⁹⁵ The latter phrase omitted in *NL*, *S*, which represent the 1635 version of the *Palinodia* (Zygmunt died in 1632).

³⁹⁶ *NL*, *S*: "another archimandrite" (without the name).

³⁹⁷ By granting it stauropegial rights.

³⁹⁸ *NL*, *S*: "commanded."

The father patriarch knew nothing of this conspiracy {and betrayal}. In particular, he knew nothing of the perfidy of the bishop of Luc'k, who like a fox had groveled before him. He wrote from Zamość to the metropolitan and demanded that the council he had ordered be convened, that council on account of which he had tarried a long time, causing considerable detriment to himself. In this letter he also mentioned that he had heard strange rumors about the licentiousness of the priests. He sent the letter with Hryhorko,³⁹⁹ the son of the archpriest in Vilnius who was the metropolitan's secretary. Hryhorko was not circumspect on his journey because he did not expect to encounter any danger there. In Volhynia he made known the nature of his errand from the father patriarch to the metropolitan. This came to the attention of Terlec'kyj, who was near Luc'k at the time; he immediately sent his agents after Hryhorko, charging them to pursue him, sparing neither themselves nor their horses, to take the letter from him wherever they might apprehend him, and to inflict such a beating upon him that he would be unable to visit the metropolitan quickly. Which is exactly what happened.⁴⁰⁰

Terlec'kyj sent his cutthroats to pursue Hryhorko, as was said, and in order to cover the traces of his own perfidy, he met with Bishop Hedeon Balaban of L'viv while these things were occurring. Then he went to Zamość as if he knew of nothing at all. He found the father patriarch worried over the delay of the council he had ordered. Terlec'kyj thereupon declared that he and all his fellow bishops were ready to give account of themselves on any charge and proposed that they justify themselves not only to the father patriarch, but to anyone he would charge to investigate the matter. Unfortunately, this was like handing a thief the keys to the strongbox. The father patriarch, innocent as he was, was quick to believe that sly fox. He gave him a letter appointing him exarch for the recommended council, and he himself departed. Terlec'kyj was triumphant over this propitious opportunity to get off a hook so dangerous for him.

But soon afterwards, while the father patriarch was still in Moldavia on the business of the Church, he received a letter from Bishop Meletij Bohuryns'kyj of Volodymyr and the [former] archimandrite of

³⁹⁹ Hryhorij Zahorovs'kyj.

⁴⁰⁰ Hruševs'kyj, 5:557, calls the story of Hryhorko the secretary "fairy tales."

the Caves Monastery, which informed him of all of Terlec'kyj's actions. He immediately dispatched his exarch Dionysius to preside over the council; he also gave him a letter in which he charged Bohuryns'kyj to investigate on his behalf the entire affair of Terlec'kyj, that is, the theft of the letter from Hryhorko and his beating, to void the letter of his appointment as exarch, and to investigate his other possible crimes. When the father patriarch learned that the council he had ordered had been deliberately delayed by the metropolitan, he charged Exarch Dionysius to organize a trial and [proper] punishment.

Now while this was happening, Bohuryns'kyj, on his way from Kiev to Volodymyr, met with Terlec'kyj near Luc'k and in a friendly conversation told him, jokingly, that he had him in a casket. Terlec'kyj, however, took this jest to heart because he had already heard of matter; now he pondered how to wriggle his way out. A few days after Bohuryns'kyj's departure, Terlec'kyj went to see him in Volodymyr. There he received a warm welcome, ate and drank, but had only one thing in mind. The host was already tipsy, but the guest was stirred more by reflection on the jest than by drink; he pretended, however, to be so drunk that he could not leave Bohuryns'kyj's room. The host, feeling safe in his own home, fell asleep in the same room and soundly so, for he was quite drunk.^a The servant boys prepared the room for the lords. The guest, however, was not interested in sleep, but in the host's undergarment: from it he took the keys, made his way to the casket, took the "jest," that is, the patriarchal letter, which he had taken to heart, and put it into his breastpocket. Then he put the keys back where they had been and fell asleep with not a care in the world. The next morning he set out early, inviting Bohuryns'kyj to accompany him. He took him to Xvalymyči by carriage where they banqueted for a few days. Then he allowed him to depart and went himself to Rožyšče near Luc'k. Bohuryns'kyj was so cautious and guarded that he did not notice how he had been fooled until Metropolitan Rahoza, at Terlec'kyj's instigation, sent the insulted exarch Dionysius away empty-handed.

Having accomplished all this according to plan, Terlec'kyj, with the intervention of Metropolitan Rahoza, reconciled Hryhorko with two hundred ducats for the beating he had received and for the theft of the patriarchal letter, lest he mention it in public. They even persuaded

^a G: Sweet and pleasing are wine and beer, / But they make us foolish and people sneer.

Hryhorko, who was an eloquent man, to join them in the affair by promising and actually giving him the episcopal see of Połack. But Terlec'kyj was not content with this perfidy alone: acting as the age-old deceiver had taught him, he went further, even though he could see that he had won, for he now possessed all of the patriarchal letters, including the one given to him with his appointment as exarch.^a When the metropolitan required him to contribute in giving the father patriarch fifteen thousand aspers, which had been spent because of the delay (in his own interest) of the council, he said, in order to set the metropolitan ultimately at variance with the father patriarch, "They do not require of you fifteen thousand aspers, but fifteen thousand ducats, and it is not to recoup their expenses because of the delay of the council, but for your own consecration" (which claim was false); and he added, "Unless you look to your own and our interests, you can be certain that what happened to your predecessor, Onysyf for Divočka, will also happen both to you and us: whether we like it or not, we shall have to resign from our sees in shame and ignominy." He said the same to other bishops; he especially enlarged upon and exaggerated these ideas to Potij, the newly elevated bishop of Volodymyr. When he, too, became inflated with Terlec'kyj's spirit, they abandoned the idea of sending fifteen thousand aspers and embraced a very different idea. They concealed it until an opportune time for its realization (for Metropolitan Rahoza did not yet fully agree with their plans).

Only six years after the visit of the father patriarch, in 1595, they brought to fruition their idea, both failing to inform the father patriarch of it even with a single stroke of the pen and cunningly concealing it from the entire Ruthenian nation. Potij and Terlec'kyj, the ringleaders of the apostasy, went to Rome and offered obedience to the bishop of Rome in their name as well as the name of the entire Ruthenian nation (which not only knew nothing about it, but had never even considered it) and kissed his feet. Thus they arranged that venerable Union of theirs, cunningly and craftily evading the ecclesiastical and canonical punishment they richly deserved. This caused the unfortunate schism in the Ruthenian nation, which left the entire nation with only two Orthodox bishops, Myxajil Kopystens'kyj of Przemyśl and Hedeon Balaban of L'viv, in the customary obedience to the patriarch of Constantinople.

^a G: A disciple taught to lie by the wicked liar / Is sure to be snatched to the eternal fire.

But no one followed these apostates and perjurers into obedience to the bishop of Rome inasmuch as all knew clearly that these men had no other reason than the one mentioned, that is, their own licentiousness and irregular accession to the episcopal see, to abandon the father patriarch. They had no good reason to do so, since the patriarch was a man of exemplary piety and humility, even according to the testimony of the very apostates and all others who met him in these domains; from his serious demeanor he was known to be a holy man. Bishop Terlec'-kyj of Luc'k, on the other hand, was a man twice married and guilty of many other excesses (well known in the county of Luc'k), any of which made him as unworthy of an episcopal see as the fact that he had been twice married. Particularly notable among these are murders, cupidity, and unchastity of the flesh known to many (to which barbers⁴⁰¹ and victims may be called to testify even today). His colleague, Bishop Ipatij of Volodymyr, was guilty of instability in the faith: before his apostasy, when he was still a layman, he twice became a Papist, he was a Calvinist, and also an Anabaptist; well informed people also say that he had a strong attraction to the religion of the Old Testament, from which he began to take some of the rites; he even offered his prayers by reading the Old Testament which, according to Canon 11 of the Sixth Council of Constantinople, made him unworthy of the episcopal see. These two reprehensible ringleaders worked feverishly to avoid falling under the patriarch's ecclesiastical disciplinary action and deposition, for canon law requires that a bishop be the husband of one wife and lead an otherwise unblemished life, being as he is God's administrator.

This then is the cause, the evolution, and the creation of their vile Union, or rather, apostasy. The Ruthenian nation wholeheartedly abhorred it and refused to follow them in it. Seeing themselves, therefore, abandoned and slighted by their parishioners and unable to have much influence upon the nobles, lords, and princes, they concentrated their attention on the townsfolk, the common people, and the priests. They sent among them wicked preachers of their wicked apostasy: clubs, trammels, chains, prisons, inquisitions, summonses, banishments, and other teachers of the sort, that is, torments, harassments.^a These things,

^a G: The godless Uniates' sermonizing / Is but gangsters' and hangmen's tyrannizing.

⁴⁰¹ Who as paramedics tended victims of rape and venereal diseases.

by the cruel and insufferable teaching they inflicted, were designed to force people to follow their apostasy.^a Each of these men in his own diocese began to deprive certain presbyters of their sustenance and to torment others in chains and prisons. Any who refused to yield to their violence they harassed with summonses, they ordered them banished, sealed their churches, and thereafter either seized and tormented them in prison or expelled them from their parishes and estates. They proceeded against the burghers in a similar manner: they removed some from their seats in the city hall, some from the guilds, and tormented others in prison and foul dungeons, showing no mercy or pity. This took place first in Brest, Pinsk, Krasnystaw, and elsewhere, and then it occurred in Vilnius, Połack, Viciebsk, Orša, Mahiloŭ, and other White Ruthenian cities.

But when they saw that even this cruel and unchristian form of preaching achieved nothing, and that the more harshly they pressured the people and priests the more they were loathed by them and withdrawn from them, they resorted to another solution, one clandestine and perverse, which could never have been forestalled by human foresight if the special providence of God had not intervened. They ceased applying cruel pressure upon the Orthodox, closed the borders for envoys to the patriarch, and attempted in the meantime to rid us of the two remaining Orthodox bishops in L'viv and Przemyśl; upon their removal, it was thought, the Orthodox priests could be removed as well, and with the passage of time the people would willy-nilly turn in spiritual matters to the priests which these men had ordained. After removing even the bishops of the chartered sees,⁴⁰² they would order the foreigners to leave the country or, should they wish to live here, forbid them to ordain. In fact, after the death of the Orthodox bishop of Przemyśl, Myxajil Kopystens'kyj, they installed an apostate, one Atanasij Krupec'kyj, on that throne;⁴⁰³ as for the see of L'viv, they had been waiting for an opportunity or the death of the present Orthodox bishop⁴⁰⁴

^a S: NB: Uniate preaching.

⁴⁰² I.e., the Orthodox sees of L'viv and Przemyśl, which had royal charters confirming their rights.

⁴⁰³ In 1610.

⁴⁰⁴ Jeremija Tyssarovs'kyj, Orthodox bishop of L'viv from 1602 to 1641.

and had hired their court bishop for the post.⁴⁰⁵ This they had done quietly, in secret, and without giving away by their actions their perverse plan.

The Lord God, whose plans are unlike the plans of men, put their human plans in disarray by His special providence for His holy Church in our Ruthenian land and by His unfathomable plans. While they were scheming not to leave a single Orthodox bishop in this Church and were waiting for it like a godsend, He deigned to renew and grant the Ruthenian land an entire hierarchy, a fullness of priesthood, and an Orthodox metropolitan with Orthodox bishops of the privileged episcopal sees of the Ruthenian land.⁴⁰⁶

Do you, Orthodox Christian, think that this miracle, namely how God renewed the consecration in our holy Church, is less than the miracles He wrought at the christening of the entire land of Rus'? Remarkable, indeed, are the miracles of a blind man recovering his eyesight and of paper failing to burn in the fire,⁴⁰⁷ both of which occurred through the intervention of the Holy Spirit when Rus' was converted to the Christian faith, which it still holds intact and whole until this day and preserves pure and unblemished like the apple of its eye. The renewal of the consecration is not a lesser miracle, for our holy Church, through the loss of its metropolitan and Orthodox bishops (whom Jesus Christ Himself deigned to call the eye of the body,⁴⁰⁸ had gone blind and become a body bereft of eyes. The renewal of the consecration restored its eyesight, and by the grace of Christ it can now see again. Great, indeed, is this miracle, equal in all respects to the miracles wrought at our baptism. At that time, Volodimer was given back his eyesight, and through his own example he brought the entire land of Rus' to the knowledge of the true God and to baptism. Now the Church—which holds to the faith of the knowledge of the true God all the Ruthenian land, baptized in this faith by its saving teaching and the celebration of the salutary mysteries—has received back its eyesight.

⁴⁰⁵ An allusion to the Uniate metropolitan I. Potij's charter of June 16, 1612, appointing V. Ruts'kyj, his "vicar and court bishop," to take charge of the eparchy of Halyč and L'viv.

⁴⁰⁶ The restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy took place in 1620; see below p. 804.

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. above, pp. 722, 726.

⁴⁰⁸ Cf. Mt 6:22; Lk 11:34.

It is a remarkable miracle that a Gospel that was thrown into a fire at the christening of the land of Rus' did not burn. No less a miracle, O Orthodox Christian, is the miracle that, like paper thrown into a fire, the holy restorer of the holy consecration⁴⁰⁹ of our Ruthenian Church was not burned when he was thrown among the apostates, whose hearts burn with the fire of anger, and was exposed to that fire; its flames, fed not with pitch and sulphur but anger and hatred, flared higher than the flames of the furnace of Babylon, heated sevenfold seven times.⁴¹⁰

It is a remarkable miracle {that those three youths cast into the fiery furnace of Babylon did not burn,⁴¹¹ but it is an equally remarkable miracle} that God's prophet Daniel, cast to hungry lions⁴¹² and a venomous dragon,⁴¹³ did not perish. No less, indeed, is the miracle that that man of God, Patriarch Theophanes of the divine city of Jerusalem,⁴¹⁴ did not perish when, by order of God, he was cast into the fire of apostate anger {and} fury which resembled the jaws of the cruel lions and venomous dragons.

It is a miracle, O Orthodox Christians, that when the Lord God allowed the land of Rus' to come to the knowledge of Him, the only true God, that is, to come to the Christian faith, He deigned to do so through a successor to His first-called apostle Andrew,⁴¹⁵ so that we might be called to the Christian faith by this apostle (as embodied in his successor), who was the first of the apostles to be called to recognize Christ the Messiah, to accept the Christian faith, and to follow the Lord Christ.

No less, indeed, is the miracle that when the Lord God allowed the consecration abolished by the apostates to be renewed in the Church of the Ruthenian land, He deigned to do so through a successor to the first Christian hierarch, that is, the Lord's brother James,⁴¹⁶ so that the renewal of the office of hierarch in the Ruthenian Church might be done through this apostle (as embodied in his successor), the first among the

⁴⁰⁹ СВЯТЫЙ СВЯТОЙ СВЯТЫНИ...ВОЗСТАВИТЕЛЬ.

⁴¹⁰ Cf. Dn 3:19.

⁴¹¹ See Dn 3:23-27.

⁴¹² See Dn 6:16-24.

⁴¹³ See Dn 14:22-26 (Vulg.).

⁴¹⁴ I.e., Theophanes III, who visited Kiev in 1620 and secretly restored the Orthodox hierarchy.

⁴¹⁵ The legendary bishop of Constantinople.

⁴¹⁶ The bishop of Jerusalem.

apostles to be honored by the high priest Christ Himself with the office of hierarch and to be installed in the first see in all Christianity, Jerusalem.

The Lord God translated His prophet Habakkuk in the twinkling of an eye from the Jewish land to the land of Assyria to feed the hungry Daniel in the den of the lions.⁴¹⁷ By His unfathomable decrees He translated His hierarch Theophanes from the land of Palestine to the land of Rus' to prepare those who might feed the hungry Ruthenian Church, which was lying in the den of persecution among the apostates. This is a great and marvelous miracle, indeed, for which we Orthodox Christians should thank Christ our God both day and night!

Our apostates, as I said,⁴¹⁸ contrived this perverse plan to deprive our Ruthenian Church of every single Orthodox bishop.^a They already expected the success of their endeavor to harm us. Then the Lord God, by His unfathomable decrees, deigned to send the Lord patriarch of Jerusalem, Father Theophanes, venerable in God, to the Ruthenian land.^b He arrived in Kiev in 1620, obtained permission for a stay and an unimpeded passage from His Majesty the King, and at the insistence of pious men of both the clergy and the laity he renewed the consecration and ordained the metropolitan and bishops. Thus, by the will and providence of God almighty, he restored and renewed the spiritual leadership of our Ruthenian Church. For this let us praise the Lord God, Giver of all things good; let us glorify and adore Him now and forever. Amen.

This then is, O Orthodox reader, the revered Union or, rather, the vile apostasy and confusion; these are its causes; this is its development. As to its effects, it is evident to all that unity and agreement between the nations of Poland, Lithuania, and Rus' have grown to resemble the unity and agreement of wolves with sheep. Grant, O Christ King, a happier end to these things than the one that seems to be in the making! Amen.

^a G: O Orthodox Christian faithful, how satanic and heretical the Uniate plan is, ye should wit! / Mind and shun the perversion of those who drag you from God's Church to hell's very pit! ^b S: NB.

⁴¹⁷ See Dn 14:32-38 (Vulg.).

⁴¹⁸ See above, pp. 802-3.

The following patriarchs succeeded Jeremiah: Matthew, Gabriel,⁴¹⁹ Theophanes of Caria,⁴²⁰ Patriarch Meletius of Alexandria⁴²¹ as locum tenens (τοποτηρητής), Matthew,⁴²² Neophytus, Matthew for the second time,⁴²³ Raphael,⁴²⁴ Neophytus for the second time,⁴²⁵ Metropolitan Timothy of Palaea Patras,⁴²⁶ Cyril, who was called to the see of Constantinople from the patriarchal see of Alexandria and who now, in 1622, holds this see and tends the Church of Christ in holiness and wisdom.

⁴¹⁹ Both in 1596.

⁴²⁰ In 1597.

⁴²¹ Meletius I Pegas (1597–98).

⁴²² In 1598–1601 and in 1602.

⁴²³ Actually, for the third time (1603); he is identical with Matthew II mentioned twice before.

⁴²⁴ In 1603–7.

⁴²⁵ In 1607–12.

⁴²⁶ In 1612–20.

CHAPTER 2

Article 1

Only impious people reduce the priests of God to involuntary servitude

In whatever direction our enemy Krevza turns with his mendacious pen, he breathes the fire of fury against the Church of Constantinople. Now the clergy of the Eastern Church have, by the grace of God, always enjoyed a better⁹⁰ order and greater peace. And as long as they were under the supremacy and care of the emperors of Constantinople, the popes and the Church of Rome also prospered. When, however, they seceded from the Greek emperors and the Eastern Church and surrendered to the Franks, the popes, their clergy, and Rome itself suffered grave afflictions and oppression. For the Church of Rome was ruled by French and German kings and the Italian princes; they deposed and appointed popes of Rome as they pleased and took them away with their own retinue.⁹¹ Baronius,⁹² under the year 899, testifies to the truth of this; he writes: "There was no greater pestilential assault against the see of Rome than when secular persons began to appoint popes and to suppress the liberties of the holy Church. This harmed the Church more than all the pagans and heretics." You may read more on this by the same author under the years 1047 and 1061.⁹³

The adversary remarks that secular lords give orders to Orthodox priests as they please, and take from them what they want, and command them to work.⁹⁴ May the blame for this weigh heavily on the conscience of the popes and messieurs the Poles! This is, after all, your *sorex*. What sign of faith and piety of messieurs the Poles is it that, in return for the boons given them by the Ruthenian land and nation, they deal so impiously with God's priests that they levy taxes from them, sell

⁹⁰ I.e., than presented by Krevza; cf. p.122.

⁹¹ In 1047 Emperor Henry III took Pope Clement II to Germany.

⁹² In Skarga's version.

⁹³ In the latter year the antipope Honorius II was elected at an assembly presided over by the imperial chancellor.

⁹⁴ Cf. Krevza, p. 122.

them vacant churches conditionally, compel them to perform carriage obligations and communal field work, and order them to labor. If they fancy the horse, ox, or heifer of an Orthodox priest, they take it, and they cut honeycomb from his beehives. Together with the Orthodox priests, the lords take a share of the distribution of festal, or holiday, alms, which are in fact gifts.

O righteous God, look down from on high and avenge us!

Article 2

*They could not have initiated and established the Union without the entire hierarchy and laity*⁹⁵

Because the apostate Uniates realize that the conspiracy of two bishops and a council of union held by several bishops and a large number of priests and laymen of the Latin rite is not canonical or valid, they assert that the Union could be brought about without the laity of our religion.⁹⁶ In fact, not merely could they not have initiated or concluded the Union without the participation of the Orthodox laity; they could not have done this without the participation of all the ecclesiastical orders of our Church either. The Union (or rather discord, madness, and disagreement) is, then, considered entirely null and void because, among its other uncanonical acts, it was begun, contrived, and concluded without the knowledge and assent of all the estates, both ecclesiastical (that is, bishops, archimandrites, hegumens, monks, presbyters, hieromonks, hierodeacons, and all other clergy of the Church) and secular (princes, dignitaries, officials, lords, nobles, knights), and also without the Christ-loving and very zealous burghers of the Ruthenian nation who adhere to the faith of the Eastern Church in the Crown Land and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and who effectively support the faith, offering up their souls, bodies, and possessions—and the Uniates recognized and understood and still recognize and understand that not only do {none} of them agree with the Union but, on the contrary, they are very much opposed to it.

⁹⁵ A response to Krevza's title: "Could they [i.e., the participants in the Council of Brest] have done so without the laity?" (see Krevza, p. 122).

⁹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 124.

Reviewing the events of recent years and reading and considering the ecclesiastical and synodal acts, we maintain that these persons could not have initiated and concluded this Union without the participation of the ranks and estates mentioned. There is no doubt that the ranks mentioned are qualified to participate in synods, especially when the faith and the dogmas of the holy fathers, preserved for many years, as well as general salvation are at issue; and they are also qualified to participate in elections to higher ecclesiastical offices. When, however, the personal sins, failings, and transgressions of clerics are at issue, laymen are not qualified to judge. Even the great emperor Constantine did not become involved in such matters at the First Great Ecumenical Council, nor did he dare to read such complaints, but rather burned the petitions, that is, letters of complaint, addressed to him. He did so before the eyes of the bishops after he had sworn that he had not read them. You may read about this in the book of the historian Sozomenus, book 1, chapter 16, and in the book of Nicephorus Callistus, book 8, chapter 16.

On the other hand, there are many proofs and examples in Holy Scripture and the historians of the Church that demonstrate that clergy of the lower ranks and laity are qualified to participate in councils on faith, rites, and dogmas, as well as in elections to higher offices in the Church when these are held in the presence of archbishops, metropolitans, and bishops; [and] that such persons were present at councils and were not removed.

We find this first in the first book of the Acts. The apostle Peter, together with all other apostles and both men and women (about 120 people), held a council and an election to decide whom to choose as apostle in Judas's place. "And they appointed two," says Luke, "Joseph, called Barsabbas, and Matthias."^a

Another example can also be found in the Acts, chapter 6. The multitude elected seven deacons, as Luke says: "Then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said, 'Brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report,'" whom, when they had chosen, "they set before the apostles; and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them."^b

St. John Chrysostom, in the moralistic part of homily 18 *On 2 Corinthians* 8, says of these two matters, "So, listen, in the case of the

^a Acts 1:23. ^b Acts 6:2, 3, 6.

apostles, how they admitted those who were under their leadership to share in their council. For when they ordained the seven deacons, they first communicated it to the people; and in the case of Matthias, Peter communicated it to all that were then present, both men and women.”

The third proof. The first apostolic council in Jerusalem makes it quite evident that the apostles took no decision in the dispute over circumcision and did not issue a canon without their whole number and without the participation of the presbyters, brethren, and a multitude of Christians. When Paul, Barnabas, and the rest came to Jerusalem, they conferred, judged, and issued a canon together. Scripture says: “Then pleased it the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to select representatives and to send them to Antioch, [saying]: ‘The apostles and elders and brethren unto those in Antioch: It seemed good unto us, being assembled with one accord, to send chosen men unto you. For it seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us.’”^a

St. Theophylactus says on this passage: “One must note that neither James nor Peter dared make a decision on the matter of circumcision without the permission of the whole Church, even though they considered their position to be correct.” The apostle Paul, who was no less their equal and was a partaker of the mysteries of the third heaven,⁹⁷ did not decide on this in Antioch, but being sent from Jerusalem with Barnabas and the others,⁹⁸ he formed his decision together with the apostles, presbyters, brethren, and the whole Church.

If the apostles themselves did not hold a council or make a decision on circumcision without the participation of the presbyters, disciples, the brethren, and the multitude of the faithful of the entire Church, how much more should lesser individuals refrain from holding a council without the participation of their superiors! For indeed, the patriarchs and their exarchs are the elders and superiors of the apostate bishops and, at the time, there were even bishops [in Rus’] who held greater authority and higher rank. Further, there were also a great number of brethren and, indeed, the entire Church of Christ in Rus’ which did not give their consent to the Union.

^a Acts 15:22, 23, 25, 28.

⁹⁷ Cf. 2 Cor 12:2.

⁹⁸ See Acts 15:2.

I shall proceed to other proofs. Monks, presbyters, and laymen were not infrequently present at the Ecumenical Councils and religious assemblies held on the subject of the faith and the Church. At the First Ecumenical Council in Nicaea Emperor Constantine the Great sat in the middle of the council, arbitrating and directing it.^a Those who came with him to the council were not armed guards but senators and friends who believed in Christ, for it is not proper that an emperor should be alone at open meetings and assemblies. There were also monks present who gave speeches. Indeed, when the occasion required it, the monastic orders abandoned the wilderness to struggle for the faith and the Church.^b Presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons were also present and from the laity came respected scholars, men who were eloquent about Holy Scripture and very well versed in pagan philosophy and who were eager to give ready help to one another. On this read Eusebius, book 3, chapters 8 and 9; Sozomenus, book 1, chapter 16; Theodoretus, book 4, chapter 27; Theodore Lector, book 1;⁹⁹ Nicephorus Callistus, book 8, chapters 14 and 16; book 16, chapters 33 and 34; and book 15, chapter 22.

The laity and monks were not infrequently present at all the other Councils as well. They were at the Second Council of Constantinople. Archimandrites and monks greatly contributed to the completion and importance of the Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus. Emperor Marcian and the foremost senators, along with clerics and other members of the ecclesiastical orders, were present at the Fourth Ecumenical Council held in Chalcedon. You may read Evagrius Scholasticus on this. The Fifth and Sixth Councils at Constantinople were filled with laymen, monks, and members of the ecclesiastical orders. The Seventh Ecumenical Council was to an even greater extent adorned and embellished with monks and erudite, secular noblemen whom Patriarch Tarasius, the chairman, brought with him. On this read Zonaras, volume 3, and Photius, in his *Bibliotheca*. At the conference held in Ferrara and Florence Emperor John Palaeologus and his brother Demetrius were

^a Eusebius, bk. 3, chap. 10. [Life of Constantine the Great.] ^b Theodoretus, bk. 4, chap. 27.

⁹⁹ A misplaced reference that should be to the presence of Emperor Marcian at the Council of Chalcedon (see below).

present and participated; some senators and secretaries also were there. The emperor himself solved theological difficulties and acted as an arbiter in the dispute over papal privileges and titles. Thus, when a letter from Pope Eugene was presented, he, perceiving its haughty tone as it was read, crossed out, reduced, or simply refused to accept the pope's titles, saying, "Lest perchance one of the saints, honoring the pope in his letter, should use something which he would like to take as his privilege."¹⁰⁰

Therefore, inasmuch as all clerics, ecclesiastical ranks, and laymen were qualified to participate in a council, the council in Brest was organized for all, not only for the clergy, but laymen of the Greek religion as well, and for this reason they all came to the council. But the conventicle organized by the Uniates¹⁰¹ is not valid because it was concocted by the metropolitan along with five bishops and the Poles, although the entire Ruthenian nation, both clergy and laity, were opposed to it. The Council of Brest held by the Orthodox is, along with its decree, good and valid in all respects^a because the exarchs and protosyncelli of the Eastern patriarchs were present (you can see how they cared for us), together with the following Orthodox bishops who did not approve of the apostasy: Michael Kopystens'kyj of Przemyśl, Hedeon Balaban of L'viv, and other bishops from Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia. And, moreover, archimandrites, hegumens, presbyters, deacons, monks, and lower clergy, as well as laity of higher and lower rank from all Rus' participated, and they deposed the apostates.

Finally, let me add that heretical emperors and laymen are not qualified to participate in a council of the orthodox, as, for example, Constantius, Julian, Valens,¹⁰² and the like, who ravaged the true faith. Further, laymen are also qualified to elect church superiors. On this read Justinian, *Novellae* 123 and 137 and Harmenopulus, page 93, the book of Leo and Constantine.¹⁰³

^a The Council of Brest, held by the Orthodox side, is valid.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. above, p. 330 (translated incorrectly).

¹⁰¹ Also in Brest, simultaneously with the Orthodox synod.

¹⁰² Constantius and Valens were Arians, Julian was pagan (see above, p. 624 n. 1100).

¹⁰³ I.e., the laws of Emperors Leo VI and Constantine VII. Page reference to the 1596 edition of *Iuris graeco-romani . . . tomi duo*.

Article 3

*On the most illustrious and Orthodox prince Vasyl' of Ostroh, the palatine of Kiev*¹⁰⁴

When it is needful for me to write about the most illustrious and Orthodox prince Vasyl', the son of Kostjantyn, of Ostroh, the palatine of Kiev, I recognize, with the aid of God's grace, that it behooves me to use laudatory, not humble, words. Truly, the memory of this honorable prince should always be a source of pleasure for us. That which has been written of Josiah, the king of Israel, we can freely say about this glorious prince as well: the memory of Vasyl', the Orthodox prince of Ostroh, "is like the composition of a sweet fragrance, myrrh made by a perfumer; his memory is sweet as honey in every mouth, and as music at a banquet of wine."^a His is truly a sweet memory and a pleasant fragrance in every quarter. It is proper to honor this family in every way, for, as David says, "The generation of the upright shall be blessed."^b

Prince Vasyl' of Ostroh, the son of Kostjantyn, descended from the blessed Japheto-Ruthenian race; he was a legitimate descendant of the princes of Rus', the famed Volodimer, Basil in holy baptism, the great monarch, and Danylo.¹⁰⁵ He was the son of the most illustrious Kostjantyn, prince of Ostroh, hetman of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and palatine of Trakai. Vasyl' was highly renowned both for his valor and right faith; the foremost of the princes of Rus'; the mighty shield and the solace of the entire Ruthenian nation; an iron wall in the Ukraine;¹⁰⁶ a cause of terror and trepidation to the Tatars;^c the glory and a bright beacon of the Polish kingdom; an adornment and jewel of the Diet; a watchful eye and powerful force in all public gatherings. The presence of his court and retainers filled the roads and the towns, for he was wont to arrange splendid and decorous cavalcades with many escorts. He had the comeliness of Hector, the beauty of face and stature

^a Sir 49:1–2. ^b Ps 111:2. ^c Read Botero.

¹⁰⁴ This article was prompted by Krevza's republication of a letter by Prince Vasyl' (Basil) Kostjantyn Ostroz'kyj; see pp. 125–28.

¹⁰⁵ The princes of Ostroh (Ostroz'kyjs) were descendents of the Rurikids.

¹⁰⁶ На українхъ, i.e., the southeastern borderlands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

of the handsome Joseph,¹⁰⁷ and a magnificent bearing. He was a man of imperial habits, full of grace and pious virtues.

His court was resplendent and noble. He had around him men resembling Rephaim and the giants, men as mighty as Cherethites and Phelethites were with David,^a that is, men who were both defenders and comforters. Honorable persons resembling Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob went before him, each following the other, and it was as though someone of those ancient times had come to behold a glorious monarch in the East. In valor and manliness he was like Abner and Shammah,^b Hannibal and the Pompeys. In counsel and judgment he was the equal of Nestor, Themistocles, Artabanus, and Belisarius, as well as Narses and the like. In short, this was a man glorious in word, power, actions, virtues, and good deeds.

At his court there were orators equal to Demosthenes and Sappho and other philosophers as well. There were famous teachers trained in Greek, Slavonic, and Latin; and there were excellent mathematicians and astrologers, among whom was the honorable mathematician, philosopher, and astrologer Jan Latos, who expertly criticized the new calendar and in publications demonstrated with proofs that it is erroneous.

But let us proceed to more lofty praise touching inspired matters. He was a leader in the Orthodox faith and religion; he was like a church filled with many voices and bright with diverse lights. The churches and the court of this prince were filled with Orthodox evangelical and apostolic teachers, and with true theologians who had learned theology and the right faith from the theologians, Dionysius,¹⁰⁸ Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, John Damascene, Theophylactus, and many others, and also from the councils and the eastern patriarchs. He had great respect for hierarchs and priests; he was a defender of the faith and of God's churches; he was a "strong brazen wall",¹⁰⁹ erected by God to protect our Orthodox worship in Rus'; and he possessed adamantine steadfast-

^a 2 Kgs 20:7. ^b 2 Kgs 23:11.

¹⁰⁷ See Gn 39:6.

¹⁰⁸ See above, p. 661 n. 1246.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Jer 15:20.

ness in the faith of his fathers. By sponsoring a printshop, he published many theological books that gave and rendered significant benefit to the churches, and because of them the Church of Christ is increasing not only here, in Rus', but also in the other lands of nations that share our faith.

What else shall we say? We shall also cite that which Sirach says of King Josiah, "He directed his heart before God, and in the days of the lawless he strengthened godliness."^a Truly, in the days of the heretics' deceit he turned his heart to God, and in the days of the lawless apostates he strengthened the right faith of the Eastern Church in Rus'. Of these three it was written, "Except David, Hezekiah, and Josiah, all committed sin."^{110 b} In like manner we say, "Except Kostjantyn, Vasyl', and Aleksander,¹¹¹ the princes of Rus' have sinned and apostatized from the faith."

The most illustrious prince Vasyl', with his son Aleksander, whom he loved as Jacob loved Benjamin, being the most "faithful in all the house" of God,^c appeared like another Moses. Resplendent, powerful, accompanied by a great retinue, he entered Brest. He did not walk in the counsel of the ungodly, he did not stand in the way of the lawless apostates, and he did not sit in the seat of their pestilence but, meditating on God's law day and night,¹¹² he sat at the Orthodox council and agreed with the exarchs of the patriarchs, the Orthodox bishops, archimandrites, hegumens, priests, and presbyters. He did not approve of the union with the pope and the Latin-Roman Church, but rather he cursed the apostate bishops who had abandoned and deserted the patriarch of Constantinople, their own shepherd. Until the end of his life he did not communicate with them and refused to admit them to his presence, inasmuch as they were deposed and accursed.

In the rectitude of his faith Vasyl' resembled the monarch of Rus' Basil-Volodimer. The latter baptized the nation of Rus' and the former defended right faith and worship during a time of apostasy. He also

^a Sir 49:4. ^b Sir 49:5. ^c Nm 12:7.

¹¹⁰ In Slavonic.

¹¹¹ Aleksander Ostroz'kyj in fact apostatized from Orthodoxy by becoming a Roman Catholic.

¹¹² Cf. Ps 1:1-2.

resembled Basil the Macedonian, the Greek emperor who, together with the blessed patriarch Photius, convened an ecumenical council in Constantinople¹¹³ where the faith of the Seven Councils was confirmed and those who would add “and from the Son” to the Creed were anathematized. He resembles as well the Orthodox emperor Andronicus, who also convened a large council, strengthened the true faith, and expelled the apostates and papists from Greece.¹¹⁴

Now if we should turn to his godly life, his merciful deeds, the generous endowments he left to churches and monasteries, there would be no space to record everything. To be concise, in all respects and in everything he was filled with every virtue and loved by all, both the Orthodox and heterodox. Indeed, my soul ardently loves his blessed soul beloved of God and takes delight in it while it is engaged in spiritual contemplation. My soul is moved when it reflects upon this honorable and godly prince, and I shall repeat from my very heart these words from Job, “Indeed, who has ever seen us satisfied with his flesh.”¹¹⁵ Oh, how fortunate you are who saw with your eyes that most illustrious lord, who heard words from his mouth, who sat and ate at the same table with him, who stood before him and served him, and all those of you who were deemed worthy of his benefactions! Although I too would have considered myself most fortunate if the grace of God had granted my person to take pleasure in the most illustrious prince during his lifetime, yet, because I was insignificant among my brethren¹¹⁶ and quite immature at this time, I did not have this honor.¹¹⁷ But should I not count myself fortunate now, when the grace of the most holy Spirit has given me the opportunity to depict with my pen this glory of the nation of Rus’?

¹¹³ In 879.

¹¹⁴ In 1282.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Jb 19:22. Quoted in Slavonic.

¹¹⁶ Probably “monastic brethren” rather than “natural brothers.” While many monks were close to the prince, nothing is known about the relationship of any of Kopystens’kyj’s brothers to Ostroz’kyj.

¹¹⁷ Prince Vasyľ died in 1608; Kopystens’kyj may have been about eighteen at the time; see Foreword, p. xv.

On the prince of Ostroh, the castellan of Cracow

It would, indeed, be quite improper for me to pass over here the most illustrious prince Janusz of Ostroh, the castellan of Cracow, whose name should be famous in every corner of the world because he loved his nation, the Rus', paid honor to the Orthodox faith of his forefathers,¹¹⁸ and enjoyed his father's blessing for this very reason. He observed the testament of his most illustrious father, piously honoring our Orthodox faith and preserving it in a state of tranquillity until his very death,¹¹⁹ and he committed no act of oppression or violence. He showed reverence to the grave of his father as Isaac and Jacob did to Abraham's cave,¹²⁰ and he issued reminders that the customary¹²¹ singing and services should not cease being performed there. Although Rome and certain Catholic bishops many times demanded that he subject his principality to the union with the bishop of Rome, he resisted every temptation, for he was a prudent and sincere senator, wise and respectful of the faith of his forefathers, and he loved his populous nation of Rus'. He chose rather to suffer loss than to commit any act of coercion or violence against his native religion and the priesthood of Rus' in matters pertaining to faith and religion. He thus imitated Themistocles who, when he was sent with an army by Xerxes,¹²² refused to bring destruction upon the Athenians and his homeland, and chose rather to pay for his refusal with his own life,¹²³ although he had been humiliated by his countrymen. It is fitting to recall here the memorable words which that most illustrious prince and highest¹²⁴ and wise senator often repeated: "If I had in my youth known what I now see and know about the Greek religion, I would never have been in communion with the Western Church." There are many witnesses living today who often heard these words. This lord also possessed the pious virtue of receiving with honor monks of the Greek faith who came

¹¹⁸ Himself being a Roman Catholic.

¹¹⁹ In 1620.

¹²⁰ See Gn 25:9.

¹²¹ I.e., Orthodox.

¹²² Actually Artaxerxes I.

¹²³ According to Plutarch (interpolated medieval version), Themistocles poisoned himself.

¹²⁴ The castellan of Cracow was the highest by rank among senators of the Commonwealth.

from the Holy Mountain, and he gave them alms, following the example of his father.

O God, who art one in the Trinity, cause that the hearts of those who have inherited the principality of Ostroh¹²⁵ be disposed to Eastern Orthodox worship and the nation of Rus' just as the aforesaid princes were! If they do, they will possess it happily as an inheritance for the duration of their lives.

Whoever, then, so wishes may choose to receive glorification and thanksgiving from the Ruthenian race. Truly, one rather needs to show kindness and give benefactions to the Ruthenian nation, for its glorification is righteous and its prayer will bring salvation! But there is no need to show kindness to the Uniates, since their glorification is, as it were, nonexistent, false, and quite empty, and moreover, it gives rise to hatred, sin, evil, deceit, and turmoil.¹²⁶

Article 4

An interpretation of the letter by the illustrious prince Vasyl' of Ostroh

Now I shall proceed to the letter that the apostates have reprinted.¹²⁷ Even now, I am still unsure what I should say about this letter, because I have not seen the original. One would have to ask the chapter of Ostroh that remains Orthodox whether the prince actually wrote such a letter and what the chapter thinks of it; the chapter is closer [to the sources] and has a greater responsibility to make a reply. Therefore, I am leaving to it, to the logothetes and secretaries who have remained Orthodox, the task of providing a fuller reply.

Even so, as I look over the letter and the added points,¹²⁸ and as I analyze each paragraph separately, I see that it does not support the Uniates, but rather should move them to feel ashamed and repent. In

¹²⁵ The Ostroz'kyj line ceased with the death of Janusz Ostroz'kyj in 1620. In spite of Kopystens'kyj's panegyrical praise of Janusz, the Orthodox center of learning and printing at Ostroh began to decline already after Vasyl' Ostroz'kyj's death (printing, for example, ceased in 1612).

¹²⁶ The text lost in *L*, *S* ends here.

¹²⁷ See Krevza, pp. 125–28.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 128–29. The points (or articles) are not in the Polish version of Krevza's book; they were apparently in the Ruthenian version.

both the letter and the points he does not say that one should apostatize from the faith and communion of the Eastern Church. He does not say that one should secede from obedience to the archbishop of Constantinople. On the contrary, he warns and cautions against it in every way. He does not say or advise that one should go over to the Polish bishops and the Jesuits. {He does not recommend and enjoin that one should journey to Rome.} He does not say or advise that one should accept the religion and Church of the West. He does not say that one should pay obedience to the pope. He does not say that the metropolitans of Rus' should receive their *sacra* from the pope in Rome. But he does say that one should remain in the communion of the Eastern Church and practice the rite of its religion. He says that envoys should be sent to the Eastern patriarchs. He says that envoys should be sent to the tsar of Moscow¹²⁹ and to Moldavia. He says that the Poles should not receive or drive Ruthenians into their Church.¹³⁰ But did they do as he advised them? Quite the contrary; everything was done differently, using cunning and conspiracy. And no wonder, for it proceeded in agreement with its origins and was never motivated by the Holy Spirit.

Take note here, Orthodox reader, of the piety of this most illustrious and Orthodox prince, how he guards the faith of the Eastern Church and how he shows respect to the holy patriarchs by not recommending anything that might be initiated without their consent. It should also be noted that he advises travels for the purpose of consultation with coreligionists, not with persons of a different religion. Observe also his good judgment: he considers that this is a matter that concerns not just two or three people but several nations—the Greeks, Muscovites, and Moldavians as well as the Bulgarians, Serbs, and Macedonians.¹³¹ It was, indeed, right to contact them, because they are our coreligionists. Now the purpose of sending envoys to the patriarchs, to Moldavia, and to Muscovy was the following. Because he had heard that Ipatij¹³² was conferring with Kyryl¹³³ of Luc'k and that they were afraid of being

¹²⁹ In Ostroz'kyj's original: "the one of Moscow," i.e., the patriarch of Moscow (in his status as the fifth patriarch).

¹³⁰ Cf. Krevza, p. 128.

¹³¹ The last three were added by Kopystens'kyj; cf. Krevza, p. 128.

¹³² Potij.

¹³³ Terlec'kyj.

tried by the patriarch, His Grace, the prince and lord palatine, perceiving their instability in the faith, advised them to go to the aforesaid nations in order to observe the Orthodox faith as it was held there, to learn whatever they did not know, and to gain strength in their faith. The lord palatine wished for and desired unity and would have gladly inspired and initiated movement towards it, but he did not desire the kind they impiously concocted, according to which the people of Rus' must convert to the papal faith. On the contrary, he desired a union in which the pope and the entire Western Church would abandon its innovations^a and all the causes of the {rebukes} and censures it receives from the Eastern Church, and it would join the faith of the Eastern Church which the Greeks and people of Rus' now hold; in such a manner the Westerners would be united with the patriarchs.

What concern would the lord palatine have had for our Church when he had gone to German lands for health treatments,¹³⁴ if not to free it from the oppression and persecution which the people of Rus' were undergoing and suffering because they refused to accept the new calendar? Further, he would show concern that the pope not intrude into an eparchy that was not his own, that the people of Rus' not be forced to join the Roman Church, and that we not be persecuted by the Poles. These things he was to negotiate with the pope.

The lord palatine desired the pope's encouragement for an agreement and certain pacts with the Poles, that is to say, an armistice, as it was customary to have between nations, so that the Ruthenians and the Poles would not persecute one another. This armistice and assurance of mutual peace was to be accomplished on the model of a confederation, like that which was formed between the Catholic archbishop of L'viv, Solikowski, and the Orthodox bishop, Kyr Hedeon Balaban, for religious peace.¹³⁵ He also wanted our bishops to be held in esteem and to be honored with senatorial status, enjoying honor and liberties equal to those of the Polish lords.¹³⁶

^a inventions.

¹³⁴ Cf. Krevza, p. 126. In Ostroz'kyj's letter: "the regions near the Roman pope."

¹³⁵ In 1585.

¹³⁶ Cf. Krevza, p. 128.

The protestations that the lord palatine made against the apostasy evidence that he did not want or contemplate the kind of union secretly formed by the apostates. In this vein he directs Ipatij to the patriarchs, to Muscovy, and to Moldavia.¹³⁷ Thus he also stipulates that the Ruthenians should not be accepted or forced into the religion of the Roman Church. The letters that he wrote to Myxajil Rahoza and Ipatij also demonstrate this, for they openly censure the Union. You may read about this in the Uniate book entitled *Antirrthesis*, on page 114.¹³⁸ Likewise, the circular letter that the lord palatine had printed¹³⁹ on July 24, 1595, demonstrates the same, for there he announced the apostasy of the aforesaid apostates and warned all the Christians of Ruthenian stock about them. And the following event also confirms this. Ipatij, the apostate bishop of Volodymyr, in order to mollify the lord prince palatine so that he might be admitted to his favor and be reconciled with him, sent his own son at great expense to serve at the court of the prince. In addition, he entreated many senators to arrange an opportunity for him to see and greet the prince. When his hopes were buoyed by the castellan of Cracow,¹⁴⁰ he journeyed to Ostroh in an attempt to see the prince, but three miles from the town he had to turn back, for the lord prince palatine refused not only to communicate with Ipatij but even to see or greet him in any way because he considered him to be already synodically deposed, excommunicated, and stripped of his ecclesiastical office. But when the castellan of Cracow pressed his father to allow Ipatij an audience, the prince replied, weeping: "I would rather agree to die than to see him. Let him reconcile himself not to me but to the Lord God for abandoning the right faith and his own shepherd, the patriarch of Constantinople, and for becoming a traitor." With this consistent position Prince Vasyl', the palatine of Kiev, ended his life. I heard and have come to know this from persons who were present in Ostroh at the time and who witnessed this interchange.

¹³⁷ Actually, Ostroz'kyj did not say who should go on a mission to the patriarchs, and he recommended that the bishops of Luc'k and L'viv be sent to Muscovy and Moldavia, respectively.

¹³⁸ Reference to the letter to Potij of March 21, 1545, reprinted in *Antirrthesis* (Vilnius, 1599), 113–15.

¹³⁹ In Ostroh.

¹⁴⁰ Prince Ostroz'kyj's son Janusz, a Roman Catholic at the time.

Finally, Rahoza and Potij themselves expressed their open criticism of the Union in their general, that is, circular, letters. These letters were printed soon afterwards¹⁴¹ in the book entitled *Apokrisis* by Christopher Philalethes, in part 2, chapter 2, which I here insert.¹⁴²

Article 5

*The conversation of King Stefan with the prince of Ostroh, the palatine of Kiev*¹⁴³

I heard the following true story from an honest and trustworthy man, mature in reason and age. It is as follows.

Once His Grace, the prince palatine of Kiev, visited King Stefan of blessed memory in Horadnia. The prince entered the king's quarters on three occasions, after which His Majesty the King looked at the palatine intently, expecting that he wished to open a conversation. Thereupon the lord palatine said: "Most illustrious and gracious king, Your Majesty has condescended to look at me and surmises that I have a matter to raise with Your Majesty. In fact, I have nothing. It is simply that I have missed you, for I have not seen Your Majesty, my gracious lord, for a long time. I have come with the special purpose to visit Your Majesty, my gracious lord, and to enjoy the presence of Your Majesty."

Then His Majesty the King looked at the lord palatine with a loving expression, took his head into his hands, and said, "We thank you very much for the love and kindness you feel towards us and are grateful for it." Then His Majesty the King took out a letter and said, "The pope has written to us demanding that we induce the Ruthenian nation to accept the new calendar." The prince, however, being a pious and reasonable man, took a firm and valiant stand and said, among other important things, that one must first take up this matter with the Eastern

¹⁴¹ In 1598.

¹⁴² An empty space is left here in *T*. In fact, chap. 2 of pt. 2 of the *Apokrisis* contains only references to the letters of Rahoza and Potij, which are reprinted in full or in excerpts in chap. 2 of pt. 1. The texts which Kopystens'kyj intended to add here are translated in an appendix (below, pp. 905–11). Only one of them is a circular letter (by Rahoza); the rest are private letters.

¹⁴³ Vasyl'-Kostjantyn Ostroz'kyj.

patriarchs. To this His Majesty, a wise and judicious lord who kept the future in view, uttered these words which are worthy of lasting memory: "Lord Palatine, we praise God that since we came to royal the throne of Poland, we have seen the Ruthenian nation, numerous and strong, live in concord and love with the Polish and Lithuanian nations, to which they are related. Between them they share a concern for the Commonwealth and have full agreement, equality, and respect in war. We see no rift or enmity between them. And, moreover, both in Roman and Ruthenian churches the services are celebrated peacefully, without hindrance or disturbance. This agreement satisfies us. But we do not approve of inducing the Ruthenians to accept the new calendar or even union with the Church and the pope of Rome, because we know about such things and what may be their consequences. We think and reckon that instead of agreement we would cause disagreement, hatred, turmoil, and enmity. {This would simply throw a bone of contention between Poles, Ruthenians, and Lithuanians.} We do not wish to start this; we wish to live with these nations just as we did when we first joined with them." These are the words of His Majesty King Stefan of blessed memory.

The letter¹⁴⁴ which His Majesty King Stefan wrote to the municipal offices, ordering that the Ruthenians be allowed safely to practice their religion according to their ancient traditions and not be forced to use the new calendar, corroborates that such was his declared opinion and desire. In this letter he added that to change "the usual course" of things "without the permission of the patriarchs is in no way appropriate" for the Ruthenians, and further down, "until the dispute over the use of the calendar and the rite between the pope of Rome and the patriarchs of the Greek confession is first ended and resolved." You may read this letter in the book published by Christopher Philalethes under the title *Apokrisis*, part 1, chapter 4.¹⁴⁵

As concerns the second person in the Duchy of Lithuania,¹⁴⁶ we have certain knowledge that there was no agreement with Rahoza; this is evident from the letters which were not immediately recalled but only later, when people became acquainted with the Union. And we know

¹⁴⁴ The charter of Niepołomice, May 18, 1585.

¹⁴⁵ See above, pp. 812, 851–52.

¹⁴⁶ I.e., Fiodar Skumin Tyškievič, palatine of Noūharadok; cf. Krevza, p. 129.

why there was no agreement. We have spoken about this in several places above.¹⁴⁷



O rightly believing and Orthodox Christian! With the grace and help of God we have refuted and replied to the reproaches, fabrications, calumnies, and especially the longer and more difficult points raised by those who oppose and hate the holy Eastern Church and the blessed patriarchs. And here I set down the stone of my faith, a stone that is Samuel's, and I quote his words:^a “Καὶ λέγων ὁ Σαμουὴλ: μέχρι τοῦδε ἐβοήθησεν ἡμῶς ὁ Κύριος”¹⁴⁸—“and Samuel said: ‘hitherto has the Lord helped me.’” Less important and less difficult details remain; I have not finished them owing to many and various difficulties. These remaining points are left to the sons of Orthodoxy, for if the elders and teachers make no effort to do it, you little ones, despised by the wise, must try to complete this and provide the answers. But with regard to the Holy Spirit,¹⁴⁹ many persons have already given the correct reply long ago.

Let me conclude and seal this book with the following admonition. O Orthodox, beware, be watchful, and attentive, lest you waver in any way in the faith, and lest, moreover, you doubt the truth set forth here in this book! I mean, when the adversaries raise points which, although they cannot be true, have a fair appearance when expressed in words, or if anyone later publishes a tract against this book of mine, you should not believe them and not be disturbed. Once the magicians of Pharaoh wrought miracles to oppose Moses and Aaron, for they had cast down their rods and they became serpents. But Aaron's staff, or rod, conquered and swallowed up the others, as it is written, “But the rod of Aaron swallowed up their rods”¹⁵⁰—“καὶ κατέπιεν ἡ ῥάβδος

^a 1 Kgs 7:12.

¹⁴⁷ E.g., see above, p. 873, on the letters revealing a lack of agreement to the Union.

¹⁴⁸ Paraphrase of the LXX version.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Krevza, pp. 149–56. For Kopystens'kyj's initial intention to reply to Krevza's (M. Smotryc'kyj's) “Propositions on the Procession of the Holy Spirit,” see Kopystens'kyj's preface, p. 180, and the Foreword to this volume, p. xxxii.

¹⁵⁰ In Slavonic.

τοῦ Ἀαρὼν τὰς ἐκείνων ῥάβδους.”^a Without doubt, the truth in this book, inasmuch as it is stronger, likewise conquers and swallows up [their arguments]. Thus it has been so far, and thus it will continue. If any opposing publications happen to appear, you should not be surprised or fall into temptation when some err and swagger with their little minds; of such people the apostle says, “However, there is not in every man knowledge.”^b Hence, “be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.”^c Amen.¹⁵¹

Τῷ Θεῷ Δόξα

Hieromonk Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj, hegumen's epitropos, in his own hand.¹⁵²

^a Ex 7:12. ^b 1 Cor 8:7. ^c Rv 2:10.

¹⁵¹ End of the text in *G*.

¹⁵² Replaced anachronistically in *S* by “Archimandrite of the Caves Monastery in Kiev.”