

# Byzantium in the Religious, Political and Cultural Life of the Orthodox of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

## Historical Context

The years 1570-1630 were a difficult period in Ukrainian history, a period of religious struggle. In the sixteenth century, ethnic Ukrainian lands were part of various states, in particular, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland. In 1569, Poland and Lithuania united to form the federal state of Rzeczpospolita (Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). As a result of this union, most of the Ukrainian lands became part of the Kingdom of Poland.

Poland was a Catholic state, while the Ukrainians at that time had an Orthodox Metropolitanate in Kyiv, subordinated to the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. The King of Poland, Sigismund III Vasa (1566-1632) and his government had the idea of uniting the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. This idea was supported by the Kyiv Metropolitan Mykhailo Rahoza (1540-1599) and most of his bishops, who wanted to consolidate their rights in the Catholic state. Thus, the attack of the Roman Catholics ended with the proclamation of the Uniate Greek Catholic Church in Brest in 1596. After the Union of Churches, the question of religious self-identification became relevant for every Ukrainian. Most of the Ukrainian magnates became Roman Catholics or accepted the new Greek Catholic Church, while the burghers and peasants remained faithful to Orthodoxy. The union of the churches provoked a religious war. With the creation of the Greek Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church officially lost its metropolitan and hierarchs because they accepted the union.

The Patriarch of Jerusalem Theophanes III, returning from Moscow in 1620, had been living in Kyiv for almost a year (March 1620-January 1621). With credentials from three Eastern patriarchs – Timothy II Marmarinos of Constantinople, Cyril Lucaris of Alexandria, and Athanasius II Dabbas of Antioch – he restored the Orthodox hierarchy in the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands of the Rzeczpospolita, which Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics considered illegitimate. The recognition of three churches – Orthodox, Roman Cath-

olic, and Greek Catholic – did not take place until 1632. The difficult religious and political circumstances of that time led to the consolidation of the Ukrainian people. In Ukrainian historiography, the period spanning from the last quarter of the sixteenth century to the first half of the seventeenth century is called the period of Ukrainian national and cultural renaissance. The Greek-Byzantine trend played an important role in it. The Orthodox in the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands of Rzeczpospolita turned to the Byzantine religious and cultural heritage as a source of their national, religious and cultural identity. Constant contacts with the Eastern Greek church hierarchy, the establishment of Stauropegial church fraternities, the development of Hellenistic studies and the appearance of Greek church chants in monasteries and parish churches testify to the importance of the Greek-Byzantine influence. One of the initiators and promoters of the »Greek revival« was Prince Kostiantyn Vasyl Ostrozkyi, Voivode of Kyiv. Religious and political component of »Greek revival« was covered in Ukrainian historical works. Instead, its musical component is usually not mentioned, which determines the relevance and novelty of our research. The purpose of our article is to show how the ideas and activities of Prince Ostrozkyi indirectly influenced the development of Ukrainian church music.

## Prince Kostiantyn Vasyl Ostrozkyi (1526-1608)<sup>1</sup>

In the late sixteenth century, Ostrozkyi family was among the most powerful Orthodox magnates of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: only the Polish king had more lands than Prince Kostiantyn Vasyl Ostrozkyi. His great wealth allowed him to maintain a large court, which numbered about 2000 Catholic nobles and Orthodox boyars<sup>2</sup>. The Ostrozkyi family gained great fame and respect by constantly protecting Ukrainian lands from the Crimean Tatars and defending the Orthodox faith and the rights of its people.

1 Comprehensive bibliography is here: <https://heritage.ua.edu.ua/resursy/lib> (01.05.2023).

2 Perlshtejn, Neskolklo slov 44.

A contemporary of Prince, the anonymous author of the anti-Uniate work »The Warning« (»Perestoroha«, 1605-1606) wrote, that the goal of the Prince's life and activity was the confirmation of the Orthodox faith. To achieve it, with the support of the Eastern Greek patriarchs, he developed Greek-Slavic education, printed church and polemical books and defended the rights of the Orthodox in Poland: »At that time, by God's permission, the pious Prince Konstantyn Konstantynovych, in holy baptism named Vasylii, Prince Ostrozkyi, [...] stirred up by the Holy Spirit, intended to affirm the Orthodox faith, established everywhere by his ancestors. First of all, he asked His Holiness the Patriarch to send teachers to spread the sciences of the Orthodox faith, and he did not spare his estates, because he had already built a school, a hospital, and donated his estates to them. In Ostroh, he started Slavic and Greek sciences, founded a printing house, and with the blessing and epistle of the Ecumenical Patriarch, he established all that. [...] After it our Orthodoxy began to shine like the sun. Learned people began to appear in the Church of God, printed books of the Church of God's teachers and builders began to multiply«<sup>3</sup>.

### Ostroh Scientific Circle (the Late 1570s-1608)

Describing the activities of the Prince K.-V. Ostrozkyi since late 1570 onwards, historians refer to a scientific circle in his Ostroh residence. It united the activities of the lyceum (academy), printing house and scientists. The latter were school teachers, authors, translators and editors of printing house publications.

In around 1576, Prince Kostiantyn established a trilingual Slavic-Greek-Latin school, emulating the trilingual schools of Europe that had been conceptualized by Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536). European trilingual schools were established as educational and scientific institutions in which the sacred languages (ancient Hebrew, Greek, and Latin) were taught for textual study and translation of the Bible. The Ostroh School taught Church Slavonic instead of Old Hebrew, which ensured the preservation of Slavic self-identity and proved to Western polemicists that the Church language of the Slavs, developed by Saints Cyril and Methodius, was also sacred<sup>4</sup>. Until the death of Prince Ostrozkyi in 1608, the Ostroh lyceum (academy) was a center of Orthodox education, which trained teachers, church preachers and polemicists.

Ivan Fedorov (c. 1510-1583) founded a printing house in Ostroh in 1577-1579 on the initiative and at the expense of Prince Ostrozkyi. Its first publication became the Greek-Slavic »Primer« of 1578. It provided the Cyrillic and Greek alphabets and the text of prayers in Greek and Church Slavonic languages. The most significant print of Ostroh printing house was the Church-Slavonic Bible of 1581. The Church-Slavonic

translation of the Bible was checked against many Old Slavic copies and corrected on the basis of Greek, Latin, Polish, Czech and Jewish sources.

In the late 1570s and early 1580s, the prince engaged Greek scholars to prepare the publication of the Bible: Dionysius Ralli-Paleologus, Eustathius Nathanael, Emmanuel Moschopoulos, the Bishop of Meglena Theophanes the Greek and others. The Cretan Dionysius Ralli-Paleologus, Metropolitan of Cyzicus, brought a manuscript of the Slavic Bible from Pope Gregory XIII and unsuccessfully persuaded the prince to unite with Rome. Later, in the principality of Ostroh, he became the archimandrite of the Dorohobuzh monastery. The Cretan Eustathius Nathanael worked on the translation of the Bible and also taught the prince's children, Alexander and Constantine.

From the late 1580s, Ostroh's circle of scholars focused on the struggle against the Greek-Catholic religious union. Among the famous Greeks of that period were graduates of the University of Padua Cyril Lucaris and Nikephoros Parasches Kantakuzin, as well as a graduate of the Greek College of Saint Athanasius of Rome Emmanuel Achilleas from Lviv. Among the outstanding Ruthenians were a graduate of the University of Padua Blessed Cyprian of Ostroh and Isakiy Boryskovych, a disciple and syncellus of the Patriarch of Alexandria St. Meletius Pegas (1535/1540-1601), the future Bishop of Lutsk and Ostroh<sup>5</sup>.

Prince Ostrozkyi corresponded with Meletius Pegas, Patriarch of Alexandria from 1590 to 1601 and locum tenens for the Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople in 1597/1598, a famous Orthodox teacher, preacher and theologian of the Greek East. Already in 1594, Meletius Pegas sent to the Prince Kostiantyn his protosyncellus hieromonk Cyril Lucaris (1572-1638), who would later become Patriarch of Alexandria and then of Constantinople<sup>6</sup>. Cyril Lucaris taught in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from 1594 to 1600. He was a Greek teacher and rector of the Ostroh Academy and of the Wilno (now Vilnius) Orthodox Fraternal school. In 1597, Ostrozkyi sent the monk Cyprian of Ostroh to Meletius Pegas with a request to come to his residence, however, this project was not implemented<sup>7</sup>.

After the Union of Brest, which left the Orthodox Church of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth without a metropolitan and most bishops, in 1597, Meletius Pegas appointed three exarchs of the Ecumenical Throne of Constantinople: his protosyncellus Cyril Lucaris, the bishop of Lviv Hedeon Balaban, who did not accept the union, and the Prince Ostrozkyi. The exarchs were given full power, even the authority to choose the metropolitan and bishops<sup>8</sup>. In his letters, Saint Meletius called Prince Ostrozkyi »a victorious leader« and »the new Great Constantine«<sup>9</sup>.

3 Krekoten', *Ukrainska literatura* 28-29.

4 Isaievych, *Lycaeuum trilingue* 8-12.

5 Mytsko, *Akademiia* 17; Kempa, *Akademia i Drukarnia* 25-26.

6 Malyshevskij, *Meletij Pigas* 27.

7 Malyshevskij, *Meletij Pigas* 74.

8 Malyshevskij, *Meletij Pigas* 66. 78. 93.

9 Malyshevskij, *Meletij Pigas* 73.

Nikephoros Parasches Kantakuzin (1537-1599) received the title of Protosyncellus from the Patriarch of Constantinople Jeremias II Tranos (1536-1595) in the early 1580s. In 1583 he visited Ostroh, where he taught at the Academy. Later, together with Prince Ostorozkyi, they became leaders of anti-Union activities in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. They prepared the Orthodox Council (Brest, 1596), which condemned the apostate hierarchs of the Kyiv Metropolitanate<sup>10</sup>.

Among other church hierarchs of the Orthodox East and the Balkans who visited the prince in Ostroh were Metropolitan Jeremias of Pelagon, Bishop Avraam Gatsidou of Stagon, Archimandrite Theophanes (later the Patriarch of Jerusalem), Archbishop Athanasius I of Ohrid<sup>11</sup>. Historian Ihor Ševčenko noted that the authority of the Greek hierarchs on the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands was indisputable. The Greeks were required by the Orthodox of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which were under the storm of Catholic expansion. The Greeks helped them to create schools and to restructure the local system of the Orthodox hierarchy. At that time, Greeks and Ukrainians were united not only by a common faith, but also by a similarity of fate. In the Ottoman Empire the Turks ruled over the Greeks, and in the Commonwealth the Poles pursued the Orthodox Church<sup>12</sup>.

K.-V. Ostrozkyi established permanent contacts with the monasteries of Mount Athos. The graduates of the Ostroh academy, Reverend Job Kniahynytskyi and Isakiy Boryskovych, reached the Holy Mountain, where they spent much time. Subsequently, they reformed the Ukrainian Orthodox monasteries in Derman and Univ on the Athos model.

The residence of Prince Kostiantyn Vasyl in Ostroh became an anti-Catholic center, the most active among Romanians, Moldavians, Eastern and Southern Slavs in the early seventeenth century. Along with the Patriarchal academy in Constantinople and the Venice Exarchate, whose influence extended to Greek lands and Mediterranean colonies, it became one of the leading Orthodox centers of Europe<sup>13</sup>. In the late sixteenth century, the Ostroh academy and the Fraternal School of Lviv were important centres of Orthodox education.

## Greek Chant in the Ukrainian and Belarusian Church Chant Tradition of the Late Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Chants with the remarks »Greek« (грецкий, грецкое), »in Greek« (но грецкы) appeared in Ukrainian and Belarusian church musical manuscripts (Heirmologia<sup>14</sup>) in the sixteenth – seventeenth centuries and remained in the liturgical repertoire until the end of the eighteenth century<sup>15</sup>. Not only remarks but also the Greek verbal text transcribed in Cyrillic indicate the oriental origin of these chants. Some chants have a Church Slavonic text and only the remark »Greek« indicates their foreign origin. In the Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts Greek chants were written not in Byzantine, but in Kyiv square notation.

Greek chants from Ukrainian and Belarusian Heirmologia have not yet been cataloged and published. There is a general catalog of Ukrainian and Belarusian staff-notated Heirmologia by Yuriy Yasynovsky, from which the scholar should select information about Greek chants<sup>16</sup>.

Greek chants were not collected in the separate books. Manuscripts with traditional Ukrainian-Belarusian repertoire (not all, about 10 %; altogether about 100 manuscripts) contain additional Greek chants. Most of these manuscripts have only one, two, sometimes three Greek compositions. Trisagion, Cherubic Hymn and Axion Estin are the most common. However, there are few musical manuscripts with a dozen and more Greek chants. These are manuscripts of the monasteries in Supraśl, Kuteino, Kyiv-Mezhyhiria, Univ, Lavriv and Manyava:

- Supraśl 5391: Supraśl Heirmologion of 1596-1601<sup>17</sup>
- Kuteino 1381: Kuteino Heirmologion of the 1620-1630s<sup>18</sup>
- Kyiv-Mezhyhiria 112/645: Kyiv-Mezhyhirskyi Heirmologion of the 1640s<sup>19</sup>
- Univ 490503: Univ Heirmologion of around 1650<sup>20</sup>
- Lavriv 1902: Lavriv Heirmologion of 1677<sup>21</sup>
- Manyava 10846: Manyava Heirmologion of 1675-1676<sup>22</sup>
- Manyava 10845: Manyava Heirmologion of 1684<sup>23</sup>
- Manyava 525: Manyava Heirmologion of 1731-1733<sup>24</sup>.

Until recently, the question, whether or not the chants with the remark »Greek« from the Ukrainian and Belarusian Heirmologia are really Greek remained without answer, as they are all anonymous. As a result of our comparative study of

10 Kempa, Proces Nicefora 145-168.

11 Mytsko, Akademiia 17.

12 Ševčenko, Ukraine 1-11; 92-111.

13 Mytsko, Akademiia 19.

14 Ukrainian and Belarusian Heirmologion is a chant collection, similar to the Byzantine Anthology.

15 Yasynovskyi, Repertuar 107-117; Ignatenko, Istorychni vidomosti 7-19.

16 Yasynovskyi, Kataloh.

17 Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv, fond I, unit 5391.

18 State Historical Museum, Moscow, Synodal chant collection, unit 1381.

19 Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine. Collection of the Saint Sophia Cathedral of Kyiv, fond 312, unit 112/645.

20 Andrey Sheptytsky National Museum in Lviv, Unit 58, Heirmologion 490503.

21 National Library of Russia, Saint-Petersburg, A. Titov's collection, fond 775, unit 1902.

22 National Library of Romania, Bucharest, Ms. slav. 10846; Toncheva, Holiam Skyt.

23 National Library of Romania, Bucharest, Ms. slav. 10845; Toncheva, Holiam Skyt.

24 Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest, BAR 525; Toncheva, Holiam Skyt.

Ukrainian-Belarusian and Greek-Byzantine manuscripts, we attributed a significant number of Greek chants, in particular, the kalophonic works of the prominent Byzantine composers of the thirteenth – fifteenth centuries, such as Ioannes Glykys, Ioannes Kladas, Manuel Chrysaphes<sup>25</sup>:

- Ioannes Glykys, Cherubic song of the plagal second mode Иѡа херовѣм / Οἱ τὰ Χερουβεῖμ,
- the Monk Longin, Cherubic song of the Presanctified Gifts' liturgy of the plagal second mode Нине динамись / Νῦν αἱ Δυνάμεις,
- Ioannes Kladas, Communion verse of Wednesday and of the Virgin holidays of the first mode Ποτιριων σοτιριοу / Ποτήριον σωτηρίου,
- Manuel Chrysaphes, Communion verse of Sunday of the first mode Εὐῆτε τονъ Кириων / Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον<sup>26</sup>,
- Manuel Chrysaphes, Communion verse of Tuesday and of the days of the Saints' remembrance of the third mode Изъ мнимосиωνъ еѡнѡнъ / Εἰς Μνημόσυνον Αἰώνιον,
- Manuel Chrysaphes, Cherubic song of the first mode Иѡа херувим / Οἱ τὰ Χερουβεῖμ, (fig. 1),
- Joakeim Harsianites, Communion verse of Sunday of the second mode Εὐῆτε τονъ кириѡнъ / Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον,
- Manuel Gazis, Matins' Prokeimenon of the plagal fourth mode Паса пнои / Πᾶσα πνοή<sup>27</sup>,
- Anthimos Lavriotes, Cherubic song of the fourth mode Иѡа херувимъ / Οἱ τὰ Χερουβεῖμ.

The preservation of the Greek text of borrowed Greek chants in the conditions of the religious war had political meaning: language served as a confessional indicator. Slavic and Greek referred to the Orthodox, Latin and Polish – to the Catholics and Greek Catholics. Discussions about the advantages of these languages accompanied religious disputes. The tension that existed at that time in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth around the language issue was evidenced by the episode with the school of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, founded in 1631 by Petro Mohyla (Petru Movilă, 1596-1647) the future Orthodox Metropolitan of Kyiv. As soon as classes began, the people rose up against the teachers. Rumors spread among the Kyivans that the teachers were not Orthodox, but Greek Catholics. One of the reasons for such speculation was the fact that they taught Latin and Polish. The anger of the people was so strong that the teachers confessed before their death, expecting that the stomachs of the Dnieper sturgeons would be stuffed with their bodies<sup>28</sup>. The people believed that the study of Latin sciences led to apostasy of Orthodoxy. Knowledge of Greek was respected, whereas Latin looked suspicious.

Sylvester Kossov († 1657), the Orthodox metropolitan of Kyiv after Petro Mohyla in his polemic work »Exegesis«, published in 1635, convinced that the knowledge of Latin was necessary for the Orthodox living in a Catholic state: »Why do our people need Latin sciences? Firstly, for poor Rus not to be called stupid Rus. Learn, says the cheater, in Greek, not in Latin. The advice is truly good, but more useful in Greece than in Poland, where Latin is most important. [...] No need to drive us to learn Greek: we care and will take care about it near Latin, so with God let it be Greek in the choir and Latin at the market« (Coby zaś za potrzeba łacinskich nauk narodowi naszemu była? Ta napierwsza, żeby biedney Rusi naszej głupią Rusią nie zwano. Uczżesię, prawi udawca, po graecku, a nie po łacinie. Dobra rada wprawdzie, ale nawięcey pożyteczna w Graecyey, niż w Polsce, gdzie ięzyk łacinski nawięcey płuży. [...] Nie trzeba nas zaganiać y do graeki: staramy się y postaramy się o onę przy łacinie, że, da Bog, będzie *graeca ad Chorum*, a łacina *ad forum*)<sup>29</sup>. The bishop's proposal to use Greek in church choir is a valuable historical testimony about the Ukrainian-Belarusian church chant tradition of the seventeenth century.

Cyrillic transcription of Greek texts of borrowed Greek chants, typical for the Ukrainian and Belarusian musical manuscripts of the late sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, indicates that scribes and singers could not write and, accordingly, read Greek. Despite this, they did not replace the Greek text with its Church Slavonic translation. Singing in Greek demonstrated their belonging to the Byzantine religious and cultural heritage<sup>30</sup>.

The attribution of Greek chants showed that Ukrainian and Belarusian singers preferred the works of early Byzantine composers to those of their contemporaries. Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts from the late sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries include the works of Greek-Byzantine composers from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. On the one hand, this fact proves their long-term popularity in the Greek East and in the territories under Byzantine religious and cultural influence. On the other hand, it is a marker of a certain liturgical and stylistic selection, since these are kalophonic compositions of the Divine Liturgies, which are the most important and difficult. What were the reasons for it?

The kalophonic style of Byzantine church chant was formed in the era of the Palaiologan Renaissance (1261-1453) under the influence of the hesychastic theology<sup>31</sup>. It can be expected that the genetic connection between kalophony and hesychasm was preserved when Byzantine kalophonic works enriched the Ukrainian-Belarusian church repertoire. Indeed, the Ukrainian historians noted the significant role of hesychasm in the development of Ukrainian spiritual culture

25 Ignatenko, Die byzantinischen Gesänge 189-210; Ignatenko, Metodolohiia atrybutsii 64-80.

26 Ignatenko, Hretskyi repertuar 17-31.

27 Independently of us, this work was authorized by Eustathios Makris: Makris, Two Unusual Cases 291-317.

28 Kossow, Exegesis 423.

29 Kossow, Exegesis 444. Obviously an allusion to the saying: *neque ad chorum neque ad forum* = »Ni do rady ni do zwady« (Rysinius, Centuria [59]), »Ani žak ani dvořak« (Komenský, Didaktika 252).

30 Ignatenko, Hretskyi spiv 51-69.

31 Alexandru, Kalofonicheskoe penie 578-582.



**Fig. 1** Supraśl Heirmologion of 1596-1601, fol. 516<sup>r</sup>. The beginning of Manuel Chrysaphes Cherubic song *Ἰτα χερυμ / Οἱ τὰ Χερουβεῖμ* of the first mode. – (Photo © Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv, fond I, unit 5391).



of the sixteenth – seventeenth centuries. The influence of the hesychastic ideas is traced in works and activities of Saint Ivan Vyshenskyi, Saint Job Kniahynytskyi, Saint Job Pochaivskyi (Zhelizo), Isakiy Boryskovych, Blessed Cyprian of Ostroh, Univ Archimandrite Isaiah Balaban, Dubno abbot and poet Vitaliy, Kyiv Metropolitan Job Boretskyi, Kyiv Metropolitan Isaiah Kopynskyi, Wilno Archimandrite Leonty Karpovych and others<sup>32</sup>. Almost all of them were connected with Ostroh.

Ivan Vyshensky belonged to the scientific circle gathered by the Prince Ostrozkyi. Job Kniahynytskyi, Isakiy Boryskovych, Cyprian of Ostroh, Kyiv Metropolitan Job Boretskyi, Kyiv Metropolitan Isaiah Kopynskyi were graduates of the Ostroh

Academy. Job Pochaivskyi (Zhelizo) was the priest of the Prince Kostiantyn Vasyl Ostrozkyi! From the late 1580s for about twenty years, he was the abbot of the Dubno monastery of Exaltation of the Holy Cross. In this family monastery, Prince Kostiantyn, as monk, annually celebrated Lent.

With the support of Princes K.-V. Ostrozkyi and Andriy Kurbskyi († 1583) the elder Artemij (Troitskyi, † 1575) lived in Ostroh and Lutsk. He was a representative of the hesychastic school of Nil Sorsky (c. 1433-1508). »Elder of Ostroh« Artemij had connections with Athos, from where he received books. Ukrainian historian Serhij Shumylo suggested that the elder Artemij influenced the life and worldview of religious

32 Shumylo, Ioann Vishenskij; Harat, Idei isykhazmu.

philosopher and polemicist Ivan Vyshenskyi (c. 1550 – after 1620)<sup>33</sup>. Saint Job Kniahynyskyi (1550-1621) was a friend of Ivan Vyshenskyi. Their lives are closely intertwined: both belonged to the Ostroh Orthodox center; both lived for many years in Athos monasteries; both took care of the renewal of Orthodox monasteries in the Ukrainian lands. Job Kniahynyskyi founded the famous Manyava monastery (Galician Great Skete), whose musical manuscripts contain the richest collection of borrowed Greek kalophonic chants<sup>34</sup>.

It seems paradoxical that Byzantine kalophonic chant, which is the most difficult in the Greek-Byzantine church repertoire, became relevant in the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands in the circumstances of the religious war. In our opinion, Greek kalophonic chant in the Ukrainian and Belarusian

Orthodox monasteries was a hesychastic response to the challenges of the time: not only to defend one's church and identity with weapons, not only to plunge into the debate, but to delve deeper into oneself to find the way to God and thus to affirm the faith.

## Conclusion

Our research has shown that the borrowed Greek chants from Ukrainian and Belarusian musical manuscripts of the late sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries were an important component of the Greek revival, powerfully initiated in the late 1570s by Prince Kostiantyn Vasyl Ostrozkyi, Voivode of Kyiv.

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## Summary / Zusammenfassung / Résumé

### Byzantium in the Religious, Political and Cultural Life of the Orthodox of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

The years 1570-1630 were a difficult period in the history of the Kyiv Metropolitanate: The Catholic attack ended with the proclamation of the Uniate Greek Catholic Church in 1596. The activities of the Protestants in the Ukrainian-Belarusian lands were very successful. Thus, the Orthodox of Rzeczpospolita turned to the Byzantine religious and cultural heritage, which led to the »Greek revival«. Constant contacts with the church hierarchy of the Greek East, the establishment of Stauropegian church fraternities, the development of Hellenistic studies and Greek chant in the churches testify to the importance of the Greek influence.

It is well known that the religious and political component of the »Greek Revival« has been covered in historical writings. However, its musical component is usually not mentioned.

In the Ukrainian and Byelorussian church music manuscripts of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, chants with the note »Greek« appeared in the liturgical repertoire until the end of the eighteenth century.

The question of whether or not the chants marked »Greek« in the Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts are really Greek remains unanswered, since they are all anonymous, but a considerable number of them can be attributed to certain authors. Among them are kalophonic works by prominent and lesser-known Byzantine composers from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, such as Ioannes Glykys, Ioannes Kladas, Manuel Chrysaphes, or the monk Longin and Joakeim Harsianites. The appearance of Greek chant in the Ukrainian-Belarusian church repertoire was a response to the challenges of the time, a step towards the Greek East. The attribution of Greek chants to certain authors materialises this step with names and facts hitherto unknown to the historians of Ukrainian and Belarusian church music.

### Byzanz im religiösen, politischen und kulturellen Leben der Orthodoxen im polnisch-litauischen Commonwealth im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert

Die Jahre 1570 bis 1630 waren eine schwierige Zeit in der Geschichte der Metropole Kiew: Der katholische Vorstoß endete 1596 mit der Proklamation der griechisch-katholischen Kirche. Die Aktivitäten der Protestanten in den ukrainisch-weißrussischen Gebieten waren sehr erfolgreich. Daher wandten sich die Orthodoxen der Rzeczpospolita dem byzantinischen religiösen und kulturellen Erbe zu, was zu einer »griechischen Renaissance« führte. Ständige Kontakte zur kirchlichen Hierarchie des griechischen Ostens, die Gründung von stauropegialen Bruderschaften, die Entwicklung der hellenistischen Studien und des griechischen Gesangs in den Kirchen zeugen von der Bedeutung des griechischen Einflusses.

Es ist bekannt, dass die religiöse und politische Komponente der »griechischen Renaissance« in historischen Schriften behandelt wurde. Ihre musikalische Komponente wird jedoch in der Regel nicht erwähnt.

In den ukrainischen und weißrussischen Kirchenmusikhandschriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts tauchten Gesänge mit der Bezeichnung »griechisch« auf und behaupteten sich bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts im liturgischen Repertoire.

Die Frage, ob die in den ukrainischen und weißrussischen Handschriften als »griechisch« bezeichneten Gesänge tatsächlich griechisch sind, bleibt unbeantwortet, da sie alle anonym sind, aber eine beträchtliche Anzahl davon kann bestimmten Autoren zugeordnet werden. Darunter befinden sich kalophonische Werke von bekannten und weniger bekannten byzantinischen Komponisten aus dem 13.-15. Jahrhundert, wie Ioannes Glykys, Ioannes Kladas, Manuel Chrysaphes oder der Mönch Longin und Joakeim Harsianites. Das Auftauchen griechischer Gesänge im ukrainisch-weißrussischen Kirchenrepertoire war eine Antwort auf die Herausforderungen der Zeit, ein Schritt in Richtung des griechischen Ostens. Die Zuordnung griechischer Gesänge zu bestimmten Autoren konkretisiert diesen Schritt mit Namen und Fakten, die den Historikern der ukrainischen und belarussischen Kirchenmusik bisher unbekannt waren.



## Byzance dans la vie religieuse, politique et culturelle des orthodoxes de la Pologne-Lituanie au XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles

Les années 1570-1630 ont été une période difficile dans l'histoire de la métropole de Kiev: l'attaque catholique s'est terminée par la proclamation de l'Église grecque-catholique uniate en 1596. Les activités des protestants dans les terres ukrainiennes et biélorusses ont été très fructueuses. Ainsi, les orthodoxes de la Rzeczpospolita se sont tournés vers l'héritage religieux et culturel byzantin, ce qui a conduit à la «renaissance grecque». Les contacts constants avec la hiérarchie ecclésiastique de l'Orient grec, la création de confréries ecclésiastiques staupégiques, le développement des études hellénistiques et du chant grec dans les églises témoignent de l'importance de l'influence grecque.

Il est bien connu que la composante religieuse et politique du «renouveau grec» a été traitée dans les écrits historiques. Cependant, sa composante musicale n'est généralement pas mentionnée.

Dans les manuscrits de musique sacrée ukrainiens et biélorusses des XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles, des chants portant la mention »grec« ont figuré dans le répertoire liturgique jusqu'à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

La question de savoir si les chants marqués »grec« dans les manuscrits ukrainiens et biélorusses sont réellement grecs reste sans réponse, car ils sont tous anonymes, mais un nombre considérable d'entre eux peuvent être attribués à certains auteurs. Parmi eux, on trouve des œuvres kalophoniques de compositeurs byzantins éminents et moins connus du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, tels que Ioannes Glykys, Ioannes Kladas, Manuel Chrysaphes, ou encore le moine Longin et Joakeim Harsianites. L'apparition du chant grec dans le répertoire ecclésiastique ukrainien et biélorusse était une réponse aux défis de l'époque, un pas vers l'Orient grec. L'attribution des chants grecs à certains auteurs concrétise cette avancée en apportant des noms et des faits jusqu'alors inconnus des historiens de la musique sacrée ukrainienne et biélorusse.