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P R E F A C E

THE Slavic Institute of Marquette University regards the opportunity to publish this Paper of Professor Francis Dvornik as a great honor. It was delivered during the 1962 Convention of the American Historical Association under the title: "The Slavs Between East and West."

It would be completely unnecessary to introduce this Paper by a preface to historians, because they all respect the author as one of the great historians of Eastern Europe who, after the Second World War, made significant contributions to American historical scholarship, especially in the fields of Byzantinology and Slavistics. However, since our Papers are also read by non-historians we feel it appropriate to give the most important data of his biography.

Reverend Francis Dvornik was born on August 14, 1893. He studied theology at the Faculty of Theology of Olomouc and was ordained in 1916. In 1920 he completed studies for the Doctor of Divinity degree at the same faculty. He continued his studies at Charles IV University in Prague, the *ecole des Sciences Politiques* in Paris and earned his Ph.D. degree (*Docteur ès Lettres*) at the Sorbonne in Paris in 1926. He was Professor of Church History at Charles IV University in Prague in 1928 and was elected Dean of the Faculty of Theology in 1935. Father Dvornik has also served as a guest lecturer in French and English universities.

World War II surprised him in Western Europe, and he joined the Czechoslovak exiles in England, where he experienced all the hardships of the war.

Since 1948, Professor Dvornik has been in the United States. In 1949 he became Professor of Byzantine History at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies of Harvard University in Washington, D. C. He is Fellow of the leading European Academies of Sciences and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Boston.

His research and publications are dedicated to the relations of the Slavs with Byzantium and Rome in the IX century, to the great personality of St. Wenceslas, Duke of Bohemia, to the legends about the Apostle of the Slavs, St. Constantine and St. Methodius, to the rise of national Churches, and to the making of Central and Eastern Europe. He also devoted considerable study to the Slavs, and their early history and civilization. Pioneering was his research and its results about the Photian Schism, on the ideas of apostolicity in Byzantium, and recently on the Ecumenical Councils.

Professor Francis Dvornik is noted not only for stimulating historical research in America with new concepts, but for educating a whole group of fine scholars of the younger generation.

Over the years Marquette University's Slavic Institute has been honored repeatedly by his guest lectures. We are especially grateful to him for his memorable contribution to our Institute for the Historical Examination of Eastern and Western Christianity, entitled "Christian Disengagement and Reunion Trends," held during the 1962 Summer Session before the Vatican II Council.

An evaluation of the proceedings of the Vatican II Council presents a miraculous change in the mutual attitudes of the Western and Eastern Churches, climaxed in the memorable meetings of His Holiness Pope Paul VI and His Holiness Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople. This was made possible—even spearheaded—from the Catholic side, by the voluminous objective research and publications of this great American scholar of Czech descent. Thus his contributions to the revival of the ecumenical spirit in the best traditions of the Velehrad Conferences on American soil demand our special tribute to Professor Francis Dvornik.

Roman Smal-Stocki
Director, Slavic Institute

THE SLAVS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

DURING 1963 the Slavic world commemorated the eleven hundredth anniversary of the arrival in Moravia of two Greek brothers—Constantine Cyril and Methodius. The year 863 is regarded by the Slavic nations as the opening up of a new era in Slavic civilization, characterized by the invention of a special Slavic alphabet by Constantine Cyril, the introduction of the Slavic liturgy, and the birth of Slavic literature. By introducing the Southern and Eastern Slavic groups into the sphere of the Eastern, Byzantine cultural field this Byzantine initiative into Moravia, however, had an unexpected and unforeseen effect on the whole future of the Slavs. In contrast, the Western Slavs (the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Polabians), Slovenes, and the Croats were destined to remain under the influence of the Western Latin civilization.

The often hostile relations between Rome and Byzantium, which cities represented the two spheres, were strongly reflected in the cultural, religious, and political development of the two Slavic groups and frequently stirred up bitter enmity among some of the Slavic nations.

In this short review I will examine the influences which the development of the Roman and Latin West and the Byzantine East had on the Slavic nations of the two groups. The initiative, coming from the East, was not limited, however, only to Byzantium. Other nations and other civilizations originating in the Far East had interfered with the evolution of the Slavic peoples from the beginning of their history. Even the Byzantine civilization had its roots not so much in Classical Greece as in the Hellenistic world in which Greek elements had blended with oriental, especially Egyptian and Persian components.

The importance which the East played in early Slavic history can be explained geographically. Already in the prehistoric period the Slavs were strongly influenced by their neighbors, the Indo-European Iranians. This was reflected in their pagan myth-

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ology and even in the basic religious terminology common to all the Slavs. The barbarian invasions from the Far East left deep marks on the history of the Slavic peoples. The Hunic invasion seems to have forced the Sarmatian Croats and Serbs to take refuge among the Slavic population of what is now Galicia and Saxony. In the sixth century some Turkic tribes, under the name of Avars who were their former masters, moved out from Mongolia, crossed the Volga and the Danube and subjugated the Slavic tribes living in the lands we know today as Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary and Yugoslavia. The consequence of their appearance in Central Europe was the formation of the first Slavic political organization. It was the first ephemeral empire of Samo whose center was Moravia, and of the Croatian and Serbian states, when the slavized Croats and Serbs, at the invitation of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, moved from Galicia and expelled the Avars from the territory which then became their new homeland.

The Avars were followed by another Turkic tribe, the Khazars, who established a mighty empire on the Volga and the Azov Sea, thus extending their sway over the Caucasus and the Slavic tribes living in what is modern Ukraine. Kiev was occupied by them until the arrival of the Scandinavians in the ninth century.

The invasions of the Avars and Khazars are also responsible for the formation of the Bulgarian state; for the Bulgars, another Turkic tribe, having freed themselves from Avar domination and being pressed by the Khazars, moved from their territory north of the lower Danube to Bessarabia and, crossing the Danube, settled among the Slavic tribes between the Danube and the Balkans. They thus founded a new state of which they formed the upper and military class and were gradually slavized.

As I mentioned before, the cultural life of the Slavs began in Greater Moravia which then comprised also Slovakia and a part of Austria. Excavations underway in Moravia since 1948 have revealed some extremely sensational discoveries. The foundations of more than sixteen stone churches and the existence of several large fortified places have been discovered. Jewelry and

other objects found in thousands of graves also testify to a high level of civilization. Carolingian and Byzantine features characterizing the objects produced by native artisans show us that the West and the East had met in Central Europe in the ninth century. They also show, however, that the first Christian foundations in Moravia were laid, not by Byzantium as has often been believed, but by the Frankish clergy from Bavaria. Even the presence of Irish missionaries from the Iro-Scottish monasteries in Bavaria is considered as possible in ninth century Moravia. The chief purpose of the Byzantine mission was to replace the Frankish clergy and to give the young nation the foundations of a Slavic culture.

New vistas opened up. The penetration of Byzantine culture into Central Europe at that period seemed to open the way for its appreciation by the West. There appeared the possibility of a fusion of Latin and Greek cultural elements as is shown by the introduction of the Slavic liturgy according to both the Roman Latin rite and the Byzantine one, and by the translations into Slavic of not only Greek but also Latin religious literature.

But these hopes did not materialize. The national and political interests of the Franks were opposed to these innovations and blocked the way by which Byzantine culture could have fertilized the young but growing civilization of the Western peoples. A new wave of invaders coming again from the East engulfed the youthful Slavic state. The Magyars of Mongolian race settled definitely on the Danubian plains, destroying the bridge between East and West being built in Moravia and separating forever the Western and Eastern Slavs from the southern branches.

In spite of its short duration, this first contact of the Slavic world with the Christian East produced positive results which survived the Moravian catastrophe. Bohemia inherited the Moravian Slavic literary achievements and continued to develop them, although she was already part of the Frankish, later the German, Roman Empire. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, new and original religious works in Slavic were composed, and the translation of Latin religious literature continued. Almost

all of these works reached the Kievan Rus' state by the eleventh century and have been preserved in manuscripts up to modern times. The Slavic liturgy of the Roman rite also flourished together with the Latin rite, not only in Bohemia, but, as we learn from recent archaeological finds, in southern Poland as well.

This interesting coexistence was balked at the end of the eleventh century by the centralization which became more pronounced in Western Christianity under Gregory VII. Both Czechs and Poles were definitely incorporated into the Western sphere of influence.

The Slavic liturgy of the Roman rite has survived in Dalmatia, although this country as a part of Croatia, was also under the sphere of Western influence. The legendary tradition that it was introduced in the fourth century by St. Jerome, the great Latin Father, and a native of Dalmatia, preserved this inheritance from suppression in the Middle Ages.

But it was in Bulgaria, however, that the work of the two Greek brothers produced its richest fruits. Their disciples, chased from Moravia by the Franks, found refuge in this new Christian country and their work prepared the way for the Golden Age of Bulgarian and Slavic literature in the tenth century under Symeon the Great. Symeon's ambition to become Emperor of Byzantium wrought havoc in his nation which, in the eleventh century, lost its independence and Bulgaria became a province of Byzantium.

Slavic literature together with the liturgy, however, was preserved and refugees from Bulgaria brought these treasures with them to Kiev, the capital of the newly Christianized Rus' state. Byzantine Christianity was definitely implanted in Rus' by missionaries from Byzantium, and by the treasury of Slavic liturgy and literature which had been introduced both from Bulgaria and Bohemia. On this foundation was built the great culture which characterizes the Kievan period of Rus' history. Great monuments were built by Byzantine architects in Kiev and Novgorod, and native architects and artists continued to produce remarkable works which revealed both Byzantine and Rus' features. The literary treasure house was further enriched by new

translations from the Greek, and the lives of national saints were written. The Song of Igor's Regiment and the *Zadonščina* are examples of the high level which national poetry had reached.

In spite of this orientalizing of Rus' cultural and religious life, the Kievan period is perhaps the only one in which Rus' lived consciously as an integral part of Europe. The Kievan court maintained lively relations with the chief Western dynasties, not excepting England and France. Commercial relations with Germany and the rest of the West, through Ratisbon in the South and Novgorod in the North, opened up the Rus' market and Western goods were found in Kiev. At the end of the thirteenth century, Rus' was better known to the West than she was at the beginning of the modern period. Even the veneration of Western Latin saints, as revealed in old Slavonic prayers preserved in Rus' manuscripts, can be traced up to the sixteenth century.

In her political development the Kievan state was able to preserve her own national institutions. Western feudalism did not appeal to the Rus' and the Byzantine Emperor was regarded only as the head of the Eastern Christian commonwealth. No other European nation had developed at such an early stage of its history the democratic institutions found in the Kievan state at this time. Flourishing cities had their national assemblies—*večes*—which, together with their princes, decided all important matters connected with the principalities, the election of the princes, and the conclusion of agreements with them. Novgorod even claimed the right to depose an elected prince. This hopeful evolution was ended suddenly and brutally, however, by a further intervention from the Far East. This was the Mongolian invasion which took place toward the end of the thirteenth century. Kiev was devastated and Rus' swept from the stage of European politics and commerce for more than two centuries. Echoes of this catastrophe are heard in English Chronicles and in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

It was a great misfortune for the Eastern Slavs and Europe that the young Kievan Rus' state could neither transmit nor absorb the intellectual treasures preserved in Byzantium. Almost all the translations from the Greek made in Kiev are of a re-

ligious character. It is true that the Russian language developed an excellent philosophical terminology. This, however, is based not on translations of Greek philosophical works, but on Old Slavic translations of the works of the Greek Holy Fathers so familiar with the classical philosophy. What a difference there is between the Russian and Arabic translations from the Greek! Before St. Thomas Aquinas, the works of Aristotle were known to the West only in Arabic translations, for the Arabs rivalled the Byzantines, not only in philosophy, but also in mathematics, geometry, and other sciences. The Eastern Slavs became acquainted with certain sayings of Greek philosophers only from translations of encyclopaedic works, particularly the Greek Melissa-Bee and other similar writings. Only in historical composition were the Kievan clergy able to develop a literature, based on the Byzantine model, but sometimes surpassing them, as we see particularly in Nestor's Primary Chronicle. Very few Western nations possess so many mediaeval chronicles composed in Old Slavonic as do the Eastern Slavs, which up to the twelfth century was the literary language of all the Slavs.

In the meantime, the Western Slavs were facing the danger which threatened them from their nearest neighbor—Germany. The Polabian Slavs were overflowed by German colonists, and, in spite of fierce opposition, were rapidly losing their national character. Only small remnants of them still exist in Saxony and in Pomerania. Czech dukes managed to play a prominent role in Germany supporting their favored dynasty of Hohenstaufen even during the struggle between Henry IV and Pope Gregory VII. Their reward was a royal title, but the Hapsburgs prevented the Czech King Přemysl Otakar II from becoming the Roman Emperor, deprived him of his conquests in the lands of the Alps, and instead, formed their own "Hausmacht" for the conquests of the Bohemian and Hungarian thrones. Western influences, coming through Germany, transformed the primitive Czech political organization, creating an aristocratic class, introduced the feudal system, formed the class of burghers in cities founded by German colonists on the basis of the law of Magdeburg. Literary initiative came from Italy, Germany, and Vienna, and the Pro-

vençal and German *Minnesang* was popular both at the royal court and in the palaces of Czech magnates.

The Poles, protected in some way by the Czech curtain, were able to preserve their independence. It is interesting to see how stubbornly Old Poland tried to draw to herself Western cultural incentives without a German intermediary. Her first writers and scholars were trained in the West, especially in Liège, and her first historian was a French clergyman. Social changes introduced from the West resulted in the formation of an influential aristocratic class based on the Czech model. Unfortunately, the burghers, although quite powerful in the early period, did not develop as they did in the West, in Germany, and in Bohemia. They were excluded from an active political life by the aristocracy.

As in Bohemia, the Romanesque style of architecture was introduced into Poland, to be soon followed by the Gothic. In the literary field Poland developed more slowly than did Bohemia; compositions in Polish were few and often adapted from the Czech. The fidelity which Poland had always shown to the papacy, whose influence in the Western Christian world was growing steadily, was rewarded by the protection of the Holy See toward the Polish kings in their struggles with Germany, especially with the Teutonic Order established in modern Prussia. It is a pity that the contest for the possession of Silesia alienated the Czechs from the Poles at a time when the common danger of Germany threatened them both. One of the consequences was the Germanization of this country which was originally Polish.

The cultural development of the West in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the growth of the papacy into a most important factor in the whole West impressed the Bulgarians and the Serbians, who had freed themselves from the yoke of Byzantium and were laying a solid foundation for their own empires. This attraction is illustrated by the fact that the founders of the two states asked Innocent III for royal crowns which were granted. Papal legates performed the coronations.

This new orientation did not last. The two nations had been too long under the spiritual and cultural leadership of By-

zantium, and their rulers could not understand the papal claims of rulership over all secular power and the demand for complete submission. They therefore returned to Byzantine obedience and the new cultural growth of both nations was inspired by Byzantium. However, even these two nations continued to be attracted by Western culture. We notice traces of Western productions in Serbian literature; the magnificent frescoes in Serbian and Bulgarian churches of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries reveal a combination of Byzantine and Italian artistic traditions producing pieces of art of magnificent beauty.

But a new intervention coming from the East ruined this promising development. The Southern Slavs had to wait for their liberation from the Turkish yoke until modern times.

The Western Slavs were able to develop under happier conditions. Italian humanism found a particularly warm response in Bohemia during the reign of Charles IV of Luxembourg, a man well known to contemporary Italian humanists especially to Petrarch. His father, King John of Luxembourg, introduced Bohemia to the scene of European policy. (His contemporaries used to say that nothing could happen in Europe without the presence of God and of the King of Bohemia.) He attempted to mediate between the excommunicated Emperor Otto IV of Bavaria and the Pope, and he died in France at the battle of Crécy. His European policy prepared the way for his son to mount the thrones of the Roman Emperors and of the Kings of Germany. During Charles' reign Bohemia played the main political role in the West. Germany owed to him her only kind of constitution, The Golden Bull, the content of which shows, at the same time, that Charles' Ideal was that of a peaceful symbiosis of the Czechs with the Germans.

This symbiosis was realized to some extent in the literary and cultural field. Czech and German scholars wrote elegant Latin humanistic treatises; *The Ploughman*, the best German mediaeval poem was written in Bohemia, the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas were translated into Czech and explained. Czech and German scholars taught at the University of Prague founded in 1348. The roots of the *Devotio Moderna* which flour-

ished in Holland and gave to Christianity its best mystical writings, *The Imitation of Christ*, seem to have been planted in Prague. Czech, German, and French architects built the gothic monuments of Bohemia, artists created the numerous gothic madonnas and other masterpieces, the illuminations of manuscripts painted in Bohemia are looked upon as the best products of contemporary Europe.

However, the social troubles which the Western feudal system could not solve, together with the tension existing between German burghers, the Czech aristocracy, and the peasants, as well as religious upsets caused by the decadence of church life and the cries for reform, all combined to ruin Charles' work. The first attempt at a reformation was made in Bohemia by the disciples of John Hus. The flames of the stake which consumed his body in Constance kindled the fiery blaze of the Hussite wars which ruined the country and buried Charles' dream of a peaceful symbiosis of Germans with Czechs. The nation was divided into two hostile camps, the Roman Catholics and the Utraquists, and the appearance of the Czech Brethren who were sincere Christians and, in many ways, predecessors of Calvin, complicated the situation.

Poland was preserved from a similar upheaval. Western humanism also took firm root in Polish lands, and knowledge of Latin was more widespread in Poland than elsewhere. This hampered the development of Polish national literature. French, German, and Czech Gothic art spread over Poland during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The struggle with the Teutonic Order on the Baltic coast, which was supported by Germany, forced the Poles to form a political union with the Lithuanians who had founded an important empire after the liberation of a number of Rus' principalities from the Mongol yoke. This, and the prior occupation of Galicia, brought the Poles nearer to the East. This fact opened up many possibilities of spreading Western culture in the Slavic East; possibilities which, however, could only be exploited in part.

The Golden Age of Poland, of her literature and her art,

was initiated as a result of the influence of the Renaissance coming from Italy and France. She produced her greatest Latin historian, John Dlugosz; the University of Cracow, reconstructed in 1400, educated Nicholas Copernicus who brought fame to Poland by the publication of his epoch-making works of astronomy. Ideas coming from the West and the interest engendered in classical literature, inspired prominent Polish noblemen to speculate on political theory. By reviving certain Roman republican ideas and in combining them with humanistic individualism, Polish statesmen and writers such as Ostroróg, Zamoy-ski, and Modrzewski, created a constitution without parallel in the history of Europe.

Most remarkable was the influence of the Renaissance on the growth of Polish national literature. The long list of prominent Polish writers was led by Nicholas Rey, a poet and prose writer with a lively style, healthy humor, and sharp satiric criticism.

This Golden Age of literature attained its highest level in the poetry of John Kochanowski. Already his first hymn, composed in Paris and in Polish, which begins, "What do you want from us, O Lord, for all your generous gifts" had made him famous in his own country. His works, often of profound religious sentiment, are still read and admired by his people. They have been matched only by Mickiewicz. Many great works of art were created, characterized by the blending of the Gothic style with Renaissance features.

There is yet another Slavic nation which owes the revival of its literature to the inspiration of the Italian Renaissance, namely, the Croats. The Serbian kingdom had perished, the Croation kingdom under Hungary was in constant danger of being engulfed by the advancing Turks, but Dalmatia was saved, at least in part, by Venice. Very important for the national life of the Southern Slavs was the city-Republic Dubrovnik (Ragusa) which had kept her autonomy under the Turks and had flourished, thanks to her commerce with Italy and the Ottoman Empire. Inspired by the classics and by Italian models, many poets and writers created lyric poetry, pastoral dramas and epic

masterpieces. The greatest poet in Ragusan literary history was Ivan Gundulić. The struggle to break away from the Turkish yoke is often echoed in his works. Once liberated, modern Croatia and Serbian cultural life could build on the firm foundation laid by the Ragusan school of poetry.

In the sixteenth century the wave of the Reformation surged up in the West and engulfed the Slavic world. It first took roots among the Czechs and Slovaks, the ground having been laid by the consequences of the Czech Reformation. The Utraquists, although fundamentally Catholic, were weary of the repeated refusals of Rome to accept the compromise conceded to them by the Council of Basel, and, finally, they joined the Lutherans. The Czech Brethren, however, kept apart, although impressed by German humanism with which their leaders had become acquainted in Wittenberg. Their common faith mitigated the national friction between the Czechs and the Germans. This was manifested also by the election of a German prince, Frederick of the Palatinate, to the Czech throne. The triumph of the reformers, however, did not last in Bohemia. The victory of the Hapsburg Ferdinand II at White Mountain, near Prague, in 1620, resulted in the execution of their leaders and the expulsion of the Czech aristocracy, which refused to abandon the new faith. Bohemia lost her independence to become a province of the Hapsburg monarchy up until 1918.

The Poles were not so much attracted by Luther as by Calvin and the Swiss Reformers. Many leading aristocrats embraced the new doctrine, and among the writers of the Golden Age, there were several who defended the new faith. The Protestant propaganda was supported especially by the Duke of Prussia, then under nominal Polish suzerainty. The Czech Brethren, expelled from Bohemia, founded one of the best schools in Poland in Leszno, where the famous Bishop John Amos Komensky, who first introduced modern teaching methods into contemporary Europe, had taught.

The splitting up of the reformed Church into several branches, and the indifference of the population to the innovation, help to explain why the Reformation did not take firm root

in Poland. The conversion of leading families by the counter-Reformists resulted in a mass return to the traditional religion. It should be stressed, however, that both conversions were achieved in Poland without the use of force. In fact, Poland was the only land in which freedom of conscience was observed.

The Reformation had a more profound influence on the national life of the remnants of the Polabian Slavs, the Sorbs living in what is modern Saxony. The Reformers spread their ideas in vernacular writings. The creation of a Sorb literary language and of the first attempt at a Sorb literature are due to the Reformers. Of course, the Counter-Reformation used the same methods and so it came about that this tiny remnant of the Polabian Slavs was saved from extinction.

Deeper traces had been left by the Reformation in the national life of the Slovenes. The Slovene Luther was Primož Trubar who began to preach Luther's doctrine as canon in Ljubljana. When the Hapsburgs started their offensive against the Reformers, he took refuge at Urach, near Tübingen. There he founded a printing office, translating, together with his followers, the Bible and protestant literature, into Slovene. These books which he printed were the first compositions in Slovene. In his zeal to spread the new doctrine among the Slavs, he also printed in glagolitic and cyrillic letters for the Croats and Serbs. The all-Slavic idea which was already alive in Croatia was propagated by the Reformers, who hoped to win even the Turks to the new faith. Their methods were adopted also by the members of the Counter-Reformation, but the origins of the Slovene literary language and literature is due to the Reformation.

The new movement also spread into Croatia, but did not penetrate the Croats as deeply as it had the Slovenes. In spite of this Croatia gave some of her most talented men to the cause of the Reformation, such as, Vergerius, Stephen Konzul, Mathias Garbitius, and especially Flacius Illyricus (Vlasić), author of the *Centuriae Magdeburgenses*, the first scholarly Protestant Church history. The Croat Counter-Reformation also further developed the all-Slav idea, thanks to the zeal of the Croat priest Krizanić.

Unfortunately, all the great cultural incentives which originated in the West, and which had attracted the Western and Southern Slavs, could hardly reach the Eastern Slavs. The political center had shifted from Kiev to Moscow whose princes, favored by the Mongol Khans, were using all possible means to gather the Rus' principalities under their sovereignty. As in France and England a monarchic régime was forming in Muscovy, but its ideological basis and form was different. Its growth was favored by the Church which, in this, followed the example of the Mother Church of Byzantium. The Byzantines had only one political system—a monarchy governed by an absolute ruler instituted by God. Democracy, or rule by the people, was defined as political chaos. While the basis of Muscovite monarchy is Byzantine, its forms and autocratic régime developed as a result of the inspiration and example of the Mongols. And after liberation from the Mongol yoke and the disintegration of the Golden Hord, the Grand Princes of Moscow considered themselves the successors of the Khans in Kazań, Astrachań, and Siberia. In spite of the fact that Ivan III had married Zoe-Sophia, the niece of the last Byzantine Emperor, he was not interested in freeing Constantinople from the Turks, even though both the Pope and the Emperor had declared that Constantinople was his rightful inheritance. He accepted the escutcheon of the Byzantine emperors, but directed his interest to the Rus' principalities under Lithuania and Poland.

The long isolation of Russia from the West had disastrous consequences on the cultural development of Muscovy. They clung desperately to the incomplete inheritance from Byzantium of the Kievan period and rejected every effort coming from the West, because they could reach Moscow only through Poland and Lithuania who were holding the Rus' principalities considered by Moscow as rightly belonging to the Muscovite princes. Religious differences made mortal enemies of the Poles and the Russians. The religious isolation of Muscovy had been accentuated by the rejection of the Union of Florence and by the declaration that Moscow, as the third Rome, was the only true Christian center. So it happened that the Renaissance had a very

limited influence in Muscovy as can be seen in the buildings in the Kremlin constructed by Italian architects. The voices of the Reformers were echoed among the Ukrainians, but not in Moscow. Ivan the Terrible manifested his disdain for the Reformation when, after the conquest of Polock in 1563, he personally gave a good thrashing to the captured Protestant preacher Thomas and ordered him to be drowned in the icy waters of the Dvina.

Only under the first Romanovs did Western influence begin to penetrate Muscovy. The intermediaries were the Southern and Eastern Slavs, the Ukrainians, under Lithuanian and Polish rule. Their teachers, at the Academy of Kiev, had been trained by Polish scholars and under Polish inspiration, created their own literature. Baroque culture, so characteristic of the Counter-Reformation, particularly impressed them. It had swept also over Bohemia, had revived the dying Czech literature and spread to Poland reaching into Ukrainian lands. It was through this center in Kiev that the literary treasures of the Polish Renaissance and the Baroque period reached Moscow.

It is surprising to see how this new stream of Western influences fertilized Russian cultural life during the reign of the first Romanovs. Not only poetry flourished but also romances, and novels of Czech, Italian, and Serbian origin found their way to Moscow, mainly through Poland. The first attempts at dramatic compositions found a good acceptance and soon even Molière's and Corneille's comedies were adapted to the Russian. New incentives were also traceable in political speculation, administration, and in other respects. It is to be regretted that the hostility between Poland and Muscovy had prevented an earlier penetration of Western ideas into Moscow. One is tempted to speculate as to what would have happened if Jagiello of Lithuania had married the daughter of Dmitrij Donskoj as was planned, instead of Jadwiga of Poland. Poland would then have remained a friendly neighbor and could have transmitted her splendid Renaissance culture to Muscovy.

Anyhow, the West had already found its way to Moscow before Peter the Great. A slower penetration of Western ideas

might have profited the nation better than did the rash, unprepared transformation of Russian ways of life and thinking. This Westernization continued under Catherine the Great, and the spread of Western political and philosophical theory among Russian intellectuals in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries resulted in the Tsarist régime, after Peter the Great, being dominated by two contradictory principles. On one side was the absolute autocracy instituted by God. This concept was supported by the Church which had helped to develop it and which saw in it the inheritance of Byzantium. On the other side was the idea of a secularized state which regarded the Church as a means of assuring its own worldly welfare. The Russian Church has paid a heavy price for this development in the blood of her clergy and of her faithful in the revolution of 1917. Therein lies the roots of the Russian tragedy of today.

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- Meysztowicz, Very Reverend W.: *Outline of the History of the Catholic Church in Poland* 996-1396.

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