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## **A FRENCH PAGE IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNION OF BREST: THE RUTHENIAN PSALTER OF JACQUES DAVY DU PERRON<sup>1</sup>**

### **Summary**

Until now, the mission carried out in Rome by the Ruthenian bishops Hipacy Pocij and Cyryl Terlecki between November 1595 and March 1596 was mainly known by a few scattered notes and reports left by the various members of the Curia, which were brought together in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in sources editions of Atanasij Velykyj. This is why the Ruthenian psalter found in the library of Évreux (Normandy) offers a new perspective on this founding stage of the Union of Brest. The book annotated by the hand of Pocij himself and offered to the French bishop Jacques Davy Du Perron, who was then in Rome, reflects both the ecclesiological conceptions of the Ruthenian bishop of Volodymyr and his desire to place the unionist polemic in a wider confessional context, well beyond the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The apparent failure of this initiative also comes as a testimony to the challenges faced by supporters of local Unions from the post-Tridentine period.

Key words: Union of Brest; Ruthenian Cyrillic prints; 16<sup>th</sup> century; Kievan metropolitanate; Jacques Davy Du Perron

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In the evening of 15<sup>th</sup> November 1595, a procession of twenty-three people entered *Borgo Nuovo* Street which linked Castel Sant'Angelo to Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome<sup>2</sup>. The purpose of this delegation, sent at the end of September and

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to Bernard Heyberger for having put me on the trail of the Ruthenian psalter from Évreux and to thank Lana Martyshcheva for the bibliographic indications about the activities of Jacques Davy Du Perron in Rome.

<sup>2</sup> DUB, n<sup>o</sup> 119, pp. 176-177.

led by the Ruthenian bishops Hipacy Pocij and Cyryl Terlecki, was to conclude the Union between the Polish-Lithuanian Orthodox Church and the Holy See. The two bishops remained in the papal capital until the beginning of March of the following year, i. e. more than two months after the solemn ceremony of December 23, which placed the metropolis of Kiev in the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church. This episode, however central, remains still today a blurred area in the history of what was later designated as the “Union of Brest”, due to sparse and very succinct documentation. Indeed, the course of the Roman stay of the Ruthenian delegation remained largely on the fringes of the polemical literature which focused its attention on the heated debates of the local synod of Brest of October 1596 and on the subject of the ecclesiological relationship between the Eastern and Latin dogmas and traditions<sup>3</sup>. The Roman authors, for their part, remained laconic about the discussions which could take place between the two bishops and the prelates of the Curia, concentrating their narrative on the documents presented by the Ruthenian embassy, the historical considerations on the Eastern Slavs or the description of the pontifical ceremonial<sup>4</sup>. Thus, the sources available on the activities of the Ruthenian ambassadors refer to brief and sporadic notes from the Secretariat of State, to a few passages from the journals of the masters of ceremonies Paolo Alaleone da Branca and Giovanni Paolo Mucante as well as from an anonymous journal attributed by Atanasij Velykyj to a familiar of the Pope, to short mentions written by the Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santorio about his audiences with the sovereign pontiffs and to the registers of the Papal Treasury responsible for covering the living expenses of the Ruthenian delegation<sup>5</sup>. The point of view of the Eastern bishops themselves appears only in two letters dated respectively 29 December 1595 and 13 January 1596, whose authenticity remains uncertain<sup>6</sup>.

The nature of such a disparate corpus, containing materials which mainly provide some factual elements, explains why historiography could only produce an incomplete and partly superficial picture of this founding act played out during

<sup>3</sup> This subject has produced an abundant historiography, which is irrelevant to our study and thus is not mentioned exhaustively. We therefore refer the reader to the bibliography listed in Jan Stradomski’s monography (*J. Stradomski, Spory o »wiarę grecką« w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Krakow 2003) and in his recent article (*J. Stradomski, Spór o historię i wartości w świetle katolicko-unicko-prawosławnej polemiki religijnej w Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej (koniec XVI – początek XVIII wieku)*, in: *Między Wschodem a Zachodem. Prawosławie i unia*, ed. M. Kuczyńska, Warsaw 2017, pp. 238-276.).

<sup>4</sup> See for example the text inserted in the 7<sup>th</sup> tome of Cesare Baronio *Annales ecclesiastici* first published in 1596: C. Baronius, *De Ruthenis ad communionem Sedis Apostolicae receptis monumentum*, in: *Annales ecclesiastici*, t. 7, Rome 1596, pp. 677-687.

<sup>5</sup> All this documentation is gathered in DUB, *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> The first was addressed to the Ruthenian bishop of Lviv Gedeon Bałaban (DUB, n° 149-150, pp. 235-239). The original seems to have been written in Ruthenian and is known by a copy kept in the registers of the Castle court of Volodymyr (AJuZR, n° 116, pp. 482-485). The second document, which contains many chronological mistakes, was sent to the Primate of Poland Stanisław Karnkowski (J.U. Niemcewicz, *Dzieje panowania Zygmunta III*, t. 1, Krakow 1860, pp. 274-277).

the four months spent by the Ruthenian bishops in Rome<sup>7</sup>. Such a perspective is reduced to assumptions about the content of the discussions and the possible solutions expressed by the parties<sup>8</sup>. The papal bulls and briefs, addressed to the Ruthenian episcopate and to the different dignitaries of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, provided very few explicit details about how the Union was to be put in practice. The chronology itself shows that Pociiej and Terlecki were aware of these ambiguities and of the abusive interpretations that they could engender. Indeed, while from the first days of February everything seemed ready for the return journey, the Ruthenian delegation remained for almost another month in Rome<sup>9</sup>.

In the briefs dated February 7 and addressed to the Metropolitan of Kiev and to the Eastern bishops who remained in the Commonwealth, the Union was described as a “conversion” which had made it possible to “dispel the darkness of old errors”<sup>10</sup>. This discordance with the position expressed in the conditions of the Kievan episcopate (called the *XXXII Articles*)<sup>11</sup> could indeed push the ambassadors to start new discussions. Whatever their reaction could have been, the bull *Decet Romanum Pontificem* of 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1596 abandoned the term conversion to speak rather of *communio cum Romana Ecclesia* and addressed several institutional aspects, as, in particular, that of the election and the consecration of the Uniate bishops<sup>12</sup>. Furthermore, the Ruthenian envoys came back to some practical issues such as the printing of Paschal tables or the use of particular litur-

<sup>7</sup> Among the most detailed studies, see Makarij (Bulgakov), *Istorija Russkoj Cerkvi*, book 5, Moscow 1996, pp. 338-347; A.M. Ammann, *Der Aufenthalt der ruthenischen Bischöfe Hypathius Pociiej und Cyrillus Terlecki in Rom im Dezember und Januar 1595-96*, „Orientalia Christiana Periodica”, 11 (1945), pp. 103-140; O. Halecki, *From Florence to Brest (1439-1596)*, Rome 1958, pp. 315-341; A. Pekar, *Ipatij Potij – provisyk z’edynennja*, „Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni”, 15 (1996), pp. 169-174; B. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, Cambridge MA, 1998, pp. 230-238; M. V. Dmitriev, *Meždu Rimom i Car’gradom. Genezis brestskoj cerkovnoj unii 1595-1596 gg.*, Moscow 2003, pp. 198-211; L. Tatarenko, *La naissance de l’Union de Brest: la curie romaine et le tournant de l’année 1595*, „Cahiers du monde russe”, 46/1-2 (2005), pp. 345-354.

<sup>8</sup> However, sources suggest that still in January 1596 the bishops strongly insisted on meeting the pope, asserting that several issues had not been resolved (DUB, n° 157, p. 244).

<sup>9</sup> As of February 7, the pope ordered to pay 2 000 *scudi* to the Ruthenians in order to cover their return costs (DUB, n° 171-186, pp. 264-288). On this issue, see: M.V. Dmitriev, *Meždu Rimom i Car’gradom*, pp. 204-207. The author points out that the decision to leave Rome, without having resolved the many pending questions, could be explained by the news received from Warsaw at the end of January. Indeed, the nuncio to Poland, Germanico Malaspina, informed the Curia (probably erroneously) that the main leader of the Orthodox camp – Prince Konstanty Ostrogski – had finally showed his willingness to accept the Union. Considering this turn of events, one could legitimately assume that the two bishops wanted to seize this opportunity, hoping to renegotiate afterwards some concrete aspects of the Union with the support gained from the Ruthenian prince.

<sup>10</sup> DUB, n° 181, p. 278. A similar but less explicit formula already appeared in the bull *Magnus Dominus* of 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1595, but it is likely that Pociiej (the only one who knew Latin) was not invited to consult this document with close attention.

<sup>11</sup> DUB, n° 41-42, pp. 61-75.

<sup>12</sup> DUB, n° 193, pp. 291-294.

gical vestments, the creation of new seminaries for the Eastern clergy or the thorny question of ecclesiastical benefices<sup>13</sup>. These elements show that it would be excessive to confine Pocij and Terlecki to a simple passive role in their contacts with the Roman Curia, even if it is obvious that the respective positions were very unequal. However, in the absence of documentary proofs, such actions can only be regarded as a hypothesis.

Under these conditions, any new source – even indirect – becomes an extremely precious clue to understand the mutual expectations, the possible steps of the Kievan envoys and their perception of the Union process itself. While the Roman archives have not, for the moment, brought any new elements to the massive archival inquiry carried out by Atanasij Velykyj, a book kept in France, in Évreux (Normandy), seems to provide some original insights on the topic. It refers to a psalter published in Vilnius in November 1593 and given by Hipacy Pocij to the bishop of Évreux and future Cardinal Jacques Davy Du Perron in January 1596<sup>14</sup>. Apart from the unexpected identity of the recipient, the book is also interesting by the presence of a few short annotations in Latin made by the hand of Pocij himself. Thus, the object represents an original testimony to the unionist model as it was formulated by the bishop of Volodymyr. This is why it should be examined through a triple reading grid which would resituate the book in the history of the Ruthenian religious printing, present the context of the donation and, finally, reveal the meaning and the goals of Pocij's gesture.

The copy of the Ruthenian psalter kept in Évreux is not entirely unknown as it had already been noted in a short article from 1913 and then mentioned again in a collection of studies devoted to Cardinal Du Perron, published in 1956<sup>15</sup>. However, these indications remained simple references for bibliographers, which did not attract the attention of the historians of the period<sup>16</sup>. By examining this text, we therefore hope to restore it to its proper place in the documentary corpus available to study the beginnings of the Union of Brest. It should also be stressed that, without even discussing its provenance, this book represents a very valuable example of the Ruthenian printed text as the eleventh complete copy of this edition<sup>17</sup>. What is then the place of this document in the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Cyrillic book? The volume corresponds to the only copy found in Western Europe of the psalter with a supplement (*psaltryś vossledovaniem*) described in the recent

<sup>13</sup> DUB, n° 157, 194-197, 200, pp. 245, 294-302.

<sup>14</sup> Today, the book is kept at the *Multimedia Library Rolland-Plaisance* of Évreux (Patrimonial collection, Foreign manuscripts n° 3: Fonds patrimonial, Ms. Etr. 3).

<sup>15</sup> M.N. Schweitzer, *Pamjatka o kardinale Dju-Perron (1556-1618). Primoniali on učastie v popytke ob'edinenija cerkvej?*, „Russkij bibliofil”, 4 (1913), pp. 53-57 ; Y. Nédélec, *Notes bibliographiques sur le cardinal Jacques Davy du Perron (1556-1618)*, in : *Le cardinal Jacques Davy Du Perron. Mélanges publiés à l'occasion du IV<sup>e</sup> centenaire de sa naissance par la société d'Archéologie et d'histoire naturelle de la Manche*, Saint-Lô 1956, pp. 128-129.

<sup>16</sup> The catalog of Cyrillic editions published by Nemirovskij mentions Schweitzer's work but completely ignores the French copy of the book: E. L. Nemirovskij, *Slavjanske izdanija kirillovskogo (cerkovnoslavjanskogo) šrifita 1491-2000*, t. 2-2, Moscow 2012, p. 22.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*.

work of Nemirovskij under the number 214<sup>18</sup>. The edition made in Vilnius on the Mamonicz family presses on the 30<sup>th</sup> of November 1593 has a quarto format and includes 374 folios. It is a classic type of Slavonic religious book. Unlike the “small psalter” (*psaltyr’ malaja*), used normally for individual prayer, the psalter with a supplement is rather intended for liturgical service. As far as the psalms are concerned, it contains in particular the book of hours (*časoslov*), a selection of *troparia* and *kontakia*, the diurnal services extracted from the *octoechos* and the various Paschal tables. This version of the psalter is among the first books printed in Cyrillic characters since the first known edition dates from 1495 and was published in Cetinje by the hieromonk Makarije, on the presses of the lord of Zeta Đurađ Crnojević<sup>19</sup>. During the following decades, the model was taken up by printers based in Serbia and Venice. On Polish-Lithuanian territory, the first psalter with a supplement came out in Zabłudów thanks to the work of the Moscow printer Ivan Fedorov in March 1570<sup>20</sup>.

In Vilnius, Cyrillic editions appeared in the mid-1570s on the initiative of the Ruthenian brothers Mamonicz (Kuźma and Łukasz), who initially cooperated with the printer Piotr Mścisławiec<sup>21</sup>. The collaboration between the latter and the Mamonicz stopped, however, after a few years and the company gradually evolved into a family printing house. At the beginning of the year 1580, it probably attracted some skilled printers as Hryń (Grzegorz) Iwanowicz trained by Fedorov<sup>22</sup>. This success was largely due to financial resources of the family and to the knowledge of Kuźma’s son, Leon Mamonicz, who, after studying for several years at the Greek College in Rome from 1578, returned to Lithuania to work alongside his father<sup>23</sup>. In 1586, the printing house strengthened its market presence thanks to the privilege granted by King Stephen Báthory with the right to publish

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>19</sup> E.L. Nemirovskij, *Slavjanskie izdanija*, t. 1, pp. 58-68, 238-247.

<sup>20</sup> E.L. Nemirovskij, *Slavjanskie izdanija*, t. 2-1, n° 131, pp. 251-255. Beyond this typology *stricto sensu*, it should be mentioned that the first edition of a Church Slavonic psalter, destined especially for the Polish-Lithuanian market, dates back to the so-called “psalter” (*Pesni čarja Davyda eže slovut’ Psaltyr’*) published in Prague on the 6<sup>th</sup> of August 1517 by Franciszek Skoryna, a native of Polack (E.L. Nemirovskij, *Slavjanskie izdanija*, t. 1, n° 14, pp. 270-275). Furthermore, the part of the psalter with a supplement which strictly concerns the liturgy of the Hours can already be found in the *horologion*, whose Church Slavonic version (*časoslov*) was printed for the first time in Krakow in 1491 by Schweipolt Fiol (*Ibidem*, pp. 198-202). This proximity between the two books was even at the origin of a confusion – born in 1721 from the pen of the Russian bishop of Nižnij Novgorod Pitirim and often repeated thereafter – which asserted that Fiol himself had published a “psalter with a supplement” in 1491 (*Ibidem*, pp. 51, 572-573).

<sup>21</sup> See especially A.S. Zernova, *Tipografija Mamoničej v Vil’ne (XVII vek)*, „Kniga. Issledovanija i materialy”, 1 (1959), pp. 167-223; Z. Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, *Druki cyrylickie z oficy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI-XVIII wieku*, Olsztyn 2003, pp. 59-92.

<sup>22</sup> A.S. Zernova, *Tipografija Mamoničej*, p. 177. A. Mironowicz, *Hryń Iwanowicz: nieznanymalarz, grawer i drukarz*, Białystok 2016.

<sup>23</sup> Leon’s younger brother Jan (Iwan) also studied at the Pontifical College in Olomouc (D. Błażejowski, *Byzantine Kyivan Rite Students in Pontifical Colleges, and in Seminaries, Universities and Institutes of Central and Western Europe (1576-1983)*, Rome 1984, pp. 82, 117; MPV, n° 38, p. 50).

Greek, Ruthenian and Slavonic books and to sell them freely throughout the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth<sup>24</sup>. The sovereign's support enabled the Mamonicz family to rise to the position of the major printers in the Lithuanian capital with, during some periods, a situation of almost exclusive position regarding Cyrillic texts in Slavonic and Ruthenian. In the same year, they also published their first edition of the psalter with a supplement<sup>25</sup>. The text was the subject of two new editions in 1591 and in 1593, the last corresponding to the copy kept in Évreux<sup>26</sup>.

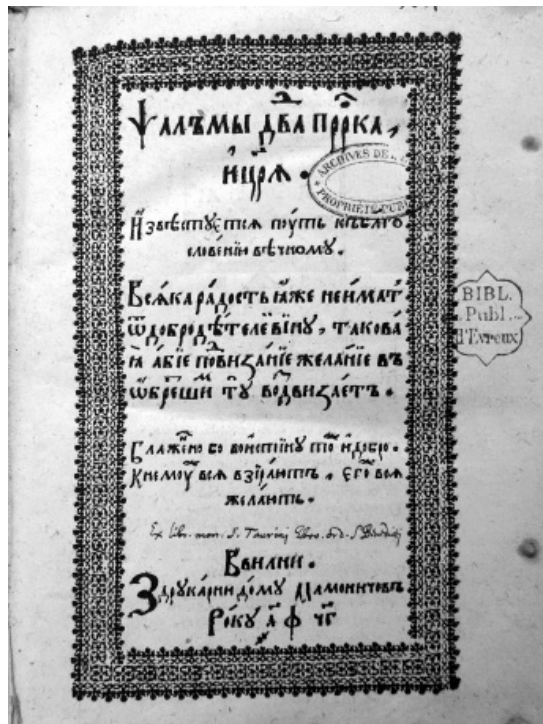


Fig. 1: the first page of the psalter. Bibliothèque-médiathèque Rolland-Plaisance d'Évreux, fonds patrimonial, Ms. Etr. 3. / photographed by the author.

Thus, the book taken by Pociej to Rome corresponded at that time to the last edition of the psalter used in the liturgical services of the Kievan metropolitanate and represented one of the best examples of the cultural fervour which animated the Ruthenian community in the second half of the sixteenth century. On the other hand, the Mamonicz family, which maintained close links with official structures

<sup>24</sup> I.I. Lappo, *K istorii russkoj staropečati. Vilenskaja tipografija Mamoničej*, „Sbornik Russkogo Instituta v Prage”, 1 (1929), pp. 161-184.

<sup>25</sup> E.L. Nemirovskij, *Slavjanskije izdanija*, t. 2-1, n° 187, pp. 443-444.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, t. 2-1, n° 206, p. 493 and Ibidem, t. 2-2, n° 214, pp. 21-22. Around 1593, their presses published another shorter version of the psalter completed with the book of hours (Ibidem, t. 2-2, n° 215, pp. 23).

– secular as well as clerical – showed themselves as supporters of the unionist currents, unlike some of the local elites “of the Greek rite” close to the Orthodox brotherhoods which expressed explicitly their disagreement with the initiatives of the Ruthenian episcopate. In this manner, the promotion of this printed production served to testify that the scholarly culture remained in the unionist camp, implying that its Orthodox opponents would ultimately not be able to face the challenges posed by the new spiritual currents, initiated by the breakup of Latin Christianity and its echoes among the Eastern Slavs. The psalter from 1593 therefore became both a showcase for the Ruthenian Church and a way to reassure the Romans about the future developments of the Union.

However, how can one explain in this case that the book was not deposited at the Vatican Library but given to a French prelate who had just received his episcopal consecration? The exact answer to this question unfortunately hides behind Pocij’s enigmatic dedication:

Ill[ustrissi]mo ac R[everendissi]mo D[omi]no Iacobo Davii de Perron D[ei] G[ratia] E[pi]sco[po] Ebroicensi in Normandia, in perpetuam officiorum suorum memoriam. Adamus Hypathei Episcopus Ruthenus Wladimiriensis Brestensis q[ue] ritus Græci obtulit. Manu p[ro]p[ria]. Anno D[omi]ni 1596 Ianuarii 6 die.

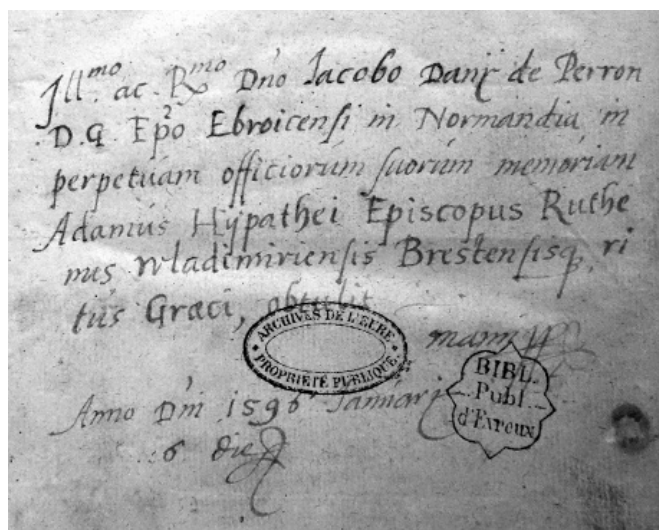


Fig. 2: Hipacy Pocij’s dedication to Jacques Davy Du Perron. Bibliothèque-médiathèque Rolland-Plaisance d’Évreux, fonds patrimonial, Ms. Etr. 3. / photographed by the author.

The formula clearly suggests that Du Perron supported the Ruthenian ambassadors. However, no other document mentions their meeting or the issues they were able to deal with on this occasion. Indeed, their respective missions and the very status of the two men had apparently nothing in common.



Jacques Davy Du Perron was a Calvinist converted to the Catholic religion, who had for a time approached the Holy League before joining Henry of Navarre. He had quickly become a close collaborator of the King and was one of the actors in his rallying call to Catholicism. He had been in Rome since 12 July 1595 where he had arrived to work, together with the Cardinal protector “of French affairs” François de Joyeuse and especially his secretary Arnaud d’Ossat, to obtain the reconciliation of King Henry IV with the papacy<sup>27</sup>. Thanks to their negotiating skills and after long talks, the French representatives managed to convince Clement VIII to proceed with the absolution of their sovereign, which took place during a skilfully orchestrated ceremony on 17 September 1595<sup>28</sup>. After this success, Du Perron did not leave the papal capital until the end of March 1596 as the Pope wanted to keep him there while awaiting the appointment of a new “official” ambassador of the King of France. During his stay, he was consecrated a bishop of Évreux on 27 December 1595<sup>29</sup>. Published letters of Arnaud d’Ossat, which represent one of the most detailed sources on the activities of French envoys to the Holy See, indicate that Du Perron was very appreciated at the court of Rome for both his qualities as a diplomat and his erudition<sup>30</sup>. However, despite this informal proximity and the credit that Du Perron could enjoy with important figures of the Curia, or even with the pope himself, the status of French representatives still remained fragile. For this reason, it is unlikely that the French diplomat could have intervened directly in the negotiations on the Ruthenian question, and all the more so since Ossat’s correspondence says nothing on this point<sup>31</sup>.

On the other hand, Du Perron could have been called upon occasionally as one of the experts during the congregations which were examining the case of

<sup>27</sup> He had already abjured the Calvinist religion on 25 July 1593 but Rome refused to recognize this act.

<sup>28</sup> On the ceremonial deployed on this occasion see L. Martyseva, *Représenter un événement : l’absolution romaine d’Henri IV (1595)*, „Revue Mabillon”, 25 (2014), pp. 231-264. The factual account of this matter is given in V. Martin, *Reprise des relations diplomatiques entre la France et le Saint-Siège en 1595*, „Revue des sciences religieuses”, 1 (1921), pp. 338-384 et 2 (1922), pp. 233-270. Among recent works see A. Tallon, *Henri IV and the Papacy after the League*, in: *Politics and Religion in Early Bourbon France*, ed. A. Forrestal and E. Nelson, Basingstoke 2009, pp. 21-41.

<sup>29</sup> This delayed ordination, considering that he was nominated by the King for his Norman bishopric three years earlier, was due precisely to the long conflict between the papacy and the French monarchy.

<sup>30</sup> A. d’Ossat, *Lettres de l’illustrissime et reverendissime Cardinal d’Ossat, evesque de Bayeux au roi Henry le grand et à Monsieur de Villeroy. Depuis l’année MDXCIV jusques à l’année MDC III*, Paris, 1624, pp. 137-138.

<sup>31</sup> His letters, however, mention the Ruthenian embassy by relating the significant events which occurred in Rome during the months of November and December 1595 (A. d’Ossat, *Lettres*, pp. 104, 107, 111). A similar note appears in a published letter of Du Perron itself written to the pope in August 1597: “Vidit Ruthenas gentes schismaticas Græci coloniam, populos non minus extinctæ charitatis torpore, quam hyemis gelu frigentes, ad primos ortus sui radio recalescere, & per procuratores Episcopos superatis itinerum asperitatibus, & commutate cæli inclemnetia ad Clementis VIII clementiam Romam aduolare” (J. Du Perron, *Les diverses oeuvres de l’illustrissime cardinal du Perron*, Paris 1622, p. 864).

the Ruthenian Union. Another hypothesis would be to consider that the bishop of Évreux could have personally helped Pocij in the steps taken before the Roman authorities<sup>32</sup>. Indeed, the Ruthenian bishops were unfamiliar with the procedures of the Curia and, on this point, the advice of Du Perron – who had just proven his dexterity during the negotiation of the affairs of the King of France – could have been invaluable to them. Thus, it is not impossible that the French prelate helped Pocij to prepare the memoir addressed to the pope at the beginning of January 1596 to deal with several points that remained unresolved<sup>33</sup>. The dedication seems to refer to a service which would have been provided by Du Perron directly to Hipacy Pocij<sup>34</sup>.

Apart from being a gift of gratitude, it is likely that the Ruthenian psalter also appealed to the scholarly interests of the French bishop, which would partly explain the presence of Latin translations inserted by Pocij. In fact, Du Perron was a seasoned Hellenist and a good connoisseur of the Greek Fathers as well as of the great texts of the Byzantine tradition. To fuel his controversial work, he even asked French ambassadors in Constantinople to search for Greek manuscripts in the region<sup>35</sup>. At the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, he also maintained correspondence with some Eastern bishops of the Ottoman Empire<sup>36</sup>. However, it must be admitted that the psalter received from Pocij probably remained for Du Perron – who did not read Slavonic – a simple object of curiosity. The excellent condition of the volume suggests that it was never used and even very rarely opened, considering the preservation of the colours of the ink. Before his death, the Cardinal –

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<sup>32</sup> The highlighting of the French in the letter sent by the Ruthenian bishops to Gedeon Bałaban suggests a certain closeness between the ambassadors: »a przy Jego Świątobliwości senat wszystkich: kardynali, arcybiskupi, biskupi a osobliwie poslowie króla francuskiego i z inszych państw [...]« (DUB, n° 149-150, p. 236).

<sup>33</sup> DUB, n° 157, p. 244.

<sup>34</sup> This assumption is also supported by another element. Until the year 1970, the Departmental Archives of Eure (located in Évreux) kept a “pax” in gilded bronze, found in the garden of the former Capuchin convent following an aerial bombing which occurred during the Second World War. An inventory of 1969 thus described it as being of Slavic origin and dated it to the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (J.-P. Babelon, *Répertoire des objets historiques conservés dans les archives départementales et communales*, „Gazette des Archives”, supp. 68 (1970), p. 11). Unfortunately, this object was lost during the institutional reorganization which occurred in the 1970s and, for the moment, we have not been able to trace it. However, if the attribution proved to be correct, it would be possible to suppose that this “pax” (or more likely a travel icon – common in Eastern tradition) was also offered by Pocij to Du Perron who then brought it back to his episcopal capital.

<sup>35</sup> P. Férét, *Le cardinal Du Perron, orateur, controversiste, écrivain. Étude historique et critique*, Paris, 1879, pp. 237-241. The library of Évreux holds many books in Greek dated from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, which probably belonged to Du Perron.

<sup>36</sup> Y. Nédélec, *Notes bibliographiques*, p. 129. At the same time, in his polemics on the Eucharistic matter, he addressed the subject through the Eastern liturgies (J. Du Perron, *Traité du saint sacrement de l'eucharistie*, Paris 1622, pp. 816-836).

in his capacity of abbot *in commendam* – had bequeathed his rich book collection to the Benedictine abbey of Saint Taurinus<sup>37</sup>.

Fig. 3: one of the paschal tables. Bibliothèque-médiathèque Rolland-Plaisance d'Évreux, fonds patrimonial, Ms. Etr. 3. / photographed by the author.

The unordinary history of this book invites us to wonder what the intentions pursued by Pociej were. The margin notes left by the bishop of Volodymyr – despite their very terse character – reveal that he was not considering it just to be a symbolic present of courtesy<sup>38</sup>. Indeed, more than real translations, the sentences consist in explanatory statements in Latin, intended to show the reader the main structure of the text and to give some details about the use of the documents placed at the end of the volume. In this manner, the manuscript annotations could be classified into two types: the first indicating the name of the canticles including some specificities of the “Greek rite” and the second corresponding to general clarifications on the functioning of the calendar tables (as the so-called

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, p. 18. As written on the first page (see fig. 1), the Ruthenian psalter was also given to the monastic library and remained there apparently “untouched” almost for two centuries. During the French Revolution, in 1790, it was confiscated and transferred to the local State collections.

<sup>38</sup> See the Appendix below.

“hand of Damascene”) traditionally used by the Eastern Churches in order to determine the date for Easter and for the other feasts of the liturgical year. The rhetoric hidden behind these seemingly banal sentences unfolded in two parallel directions. On the one hand, it insisted on the closeness between Ruthenian and Latin liturgical practices and, on the other hand, it raised the question of the calendar differences, inviting to formulate a solution to this discordance.

The problem of introducing the Gregorian calendar in the Eastern Christian communities was indeed an issue which was already fueling passionate polemics for more than a decade, especially in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth where they were all the more exacerbated by the debates about the Union and were in the center of an intense discussion at least until the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>39</sup>. Pocij himself had also approached the topic on the eve of his departure for Rome in a short treatise written in Ruthenian and entitled *Unija Hrekov s Kostelom rymskym* (Vilnius, 1595). He recalled that the calendar was not an “article of faith” and that it seemed wise to correct any errors that may have crept over time into the calculations<sup>40</sup>. However, he did not hesitate to express his attachment to the formal aspects of the Eastern traditions and to the use of the Cyrillic *Paschalia*, knowing the consideration of the Ruthenian faithful for those liturgical tools. In 1599, by answering the anti-unionist work *Apokrisis*, written under a pseudonym of Christophor Philaleth by the Protestant Marcin Broniewski, Pocij tried to unmask his adversary by launching: “one can know that Philaleth is not a Ruthenian, as he doesn’t know the Paschal key [...] one can know then that Philaleth didn’t consult the Ruthenian *Paschalia*”<sup>41</sup>.

This emphasis on the outward appearance of ancient worship practices also emerged during Pocij’s stay in Rome. The request addressed to the Pope asking to print a new *Paschalia*, established in accordance with the Gregorian calendar, led in February 1596 to the publication of a booklet which, despite the changes introduced in the method of calculation, reproduced in every way the format and the structure of the old Orthodox tables<sup>42</sup>. Even if this initiative did not seem to have achieved the expected result, it perfectly reflected the general approach of the bishop of Volodymyr who insisted on preserving the specific expression of the Ruthenian rites and practices while adapting their content to the Roman models<sup>43</sup>. One can thus suppose that the psalter printed on the Mamonicz press

<sup>39</sup> See J. Stradomski, *O merytorycznych i konfesyjnych problemach reformy kalendarza w świetle XVI- i XVII-wiecznej polemiki religijnej w Rzeczypospolitej*, in: “Pokazanie Cerkwi prawdziwej...”. *Studia nad dziejami i kulturą Kościoła prawosławnego w Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. P. Chomik, Białystok 2004, pp. 37-72.

<sup>40</sup> RIB, p. 144.

<sup>41</sup> „znać, iż Philalet nie rusin, bo nie zna klucza paschalnego [...] znać tedy, iż Philalet paschały ruskiej nie czytał” (*Antirresis*, p. 148).

<sup>42</sup> J. Krajcar, *The Paschalia Printed in Rome in 1596*, „Oxford Slavonic Papers”, 3 (1970), pp. 107-118.

<sup>43</sup> The booklet, which explicitly mentioned its Roman origin and featured the arms of the Pope Clement VIII on the first page, was strongly criticized by the Orthodox authors (AZR, n° 149, p. 225) and does not seem to have been distributed in more than a few copies.

served as a practical reference when composing and laying out this Roman version of the Paschal tables.

Should one assume that Du Perron took part in this calendar revision? Even though the French bishop had a solid knowledge of mathematics, his direct involvement seems unlikely, especially since this matter did not appear in any of his later writings. In choosing such a recipient, Pocij was therefore pursuing a somewhat different goal. Apart from his skills as a negotiator and his knowledge of Roman procedures, Du Perron was already a renowned controversialist and consequently a valuable asset in disseminating the Unionist vision defended by the Ruthenian bishop. More than initiating the French prelate into the subtleties of the Ruthenian rite, Pocij probably wanted to draw his attention to the very existence of the Kievan metropolitanate and its new confessional status. Doing so, he could hope not only to gain an ally, well introduced to the influential figures of the Roman Curia, but also to shift to a whole new level the debates which were dividing the Eastern Christians from Polish-Lithuanian territories.

Trying to give a new audience to the “Union of the Ruthenians” also appeared as an attempt to build an ecclesiological interface between Rome and the local Kievan Church, placing the latter in the confessional space shaped by the Catholic Reformation. From this point of view, Pocij’s gesture led undeniably to a failure due to linguistic difficulties but even more because he had poorly assessed the socio-political context of the kingdom of France still largely entangled in the problems created by several decades of bloody religious conflicts. Another reason, less explicit but also more profound, was the marginal place granted by the Latin scholarship to the Slavonic culture, generally regarded as a vernacular and altered version of the Greek heritage<sup>44</sup>. However, despite these meager results, Pocij’s initiative showed all the variety of possibilities explored to face the social and cultural challenges which affected the Ruthenian Uniate Church from the first years of its existence and until far into the following century.

Even if the scarcity of information does not allow to reconstruct all the elements composing the singular history of the Slavonic psalter from Évreux, one can legitimately assert that the book represents a sort of archaeological artefact of the first moments of the Union of Brest. Its value lies above all in the original and shifted place it occupies within the classic narratives of the Ruthenian mission to Rome. In other words, this volume can be regarded as a material and concrete application of the Union model, as it was developed in the treaties of its main architect<sup>45</sup>. At the same time, it offers the testimony of an aborted encounter, revealing the distance that separated the original expectations of the Kievan bishops and the situation in which they were forced to reshape their institution within new jurisdictional barriers.

<sup>44</sup> Alongside the famous reflections set forth by the Polish Jesuit Piotr Skarga in his work *O jedności Kościoła Bożego*, published in 1577 (see RIB, pp. 485–486), Du Perron himself did not hesitate to qualify the Ruthenians as a “Greek colony” (see above note n° 31).

<sup>45</sup> Thirteen years after publishing *Unija Hrekov s Kostelom rymckym*, Hipacy Pocij wrote another treatise that broadened the discussion by addressing the similarities between the Roman and Greek rites in the dispensation of the sacraments and the worship traditions: *Harmonia, albo concordantia wiary, sakramentów y ceremoniey Cerkwi Ś. Orientalney z Kościołem Ś. Rzymskim*, published in Vilnius in 1608 (RIB, pp. 168–222).

## APPENDIX

*Hipacy Pocij's notes in the Ruthenian psalter from Évreux*

Pagination	Manuscript notes
1	2
[p. 1]	Ill[ustrissi]mo ac R[everendissi]mo D[omi]no Iacobo Davii de Perron D[ei] G[ratia] E[pis]co Ebroicensi in Normandia, in perpetuam officiorum suorum memoriam. Adamus Hypatheï Episcopus Ruthenus Wladimiriensis Brestensisq[ue] ritus Græci obtulit. Manu pp. Anno D.ni 1596 Ianuarii 6 die.
[p. 5]	Prefacio in Psalterium
[p. 25]	Informatio quomodo can[ta]ntur psalmi
[p. 29]	Psalterium Ps[a]lm[us] .I.
ⲁ <sup>v</sup>	Canticum Mariæ sororis Moisi // ca[n]ti[cum] I canemus <sup>a</sup> d[omi]no
ⲓ <sup>v</sup>	Canticu[m] 2
ⲗ <sup>v</sup>	Canticum 3 Annæmatris Samuelis
ⲁ <sup>r</sup>	Canticum 4 Oratio Abacuc
ⲁ <sup>r</sup>	Canticu[m] 5 Oratio Isaïæ Prophetæ
ⲕ <sup>r</sup>	Canticu[m] 6 Oratio Ionæ Prophetæ
ⲓ <sup>r</sup>	Canticu[m] 7 Oratio trium puerorum
ⲓ <sup>v</sup>	Idem
ⲥ <sup>r</sup>	Idem
ⲗ <sup>v</sup>	Beatæ Virginis Mariæ magnificat
ⲏ <sup>r</sup>	Canticum Zachariæ <del>prophetæ</del> patris Ioannis Baptistæ
ⲁ <sup>v</sup>	Himni qui can[ta]ntur diebus solemnis festivis D[omi]ni nostri Iesu Chr[ist]i et Beatissimæ Mariæ et aliorum sa[n]ctor[um] c[um] psalmis permixti quos laudes apellant
Ⲓ <sup>r</sup>	Preces vespertinæ
Ⲓ <sup>v</sup>	Horæ: tertia
ⲟ <sup>v</sup>	Sexta
ⲟ <sup>r</sup>	Nona
ⲟ <sup>r</sup>	Loco missæ cum n[ost]ro canitur missa
ⲏ <sup>r</sup>	Matutinu[m]
ⲏ <sup>r</sup>	Hora prima
ⲏ <sup>r</sup>	Completori ut magnum quod solet fieri in quadragesima
ⲓ <sup>v</sup>	Himni quo[s] canon Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ appellatur in completorio canitur

<sup>a</sup> Instead of *cantemus*.

ⲑⲏⲓ	Himni quos troparia Græcæ apellant diebus dominicis dicuntur
ⲑⲏⲓ	Alia troparia Deipare et sanctis
ⲑⲏⲓ	Himni in laude[m] Beatæ Virginis Mariæ
ⲑⲏⲓ	Nocturnum singulis feriis
ⲑⲏⲓ	Nocturnum die sabbati
ⲑⲏⲓ <sup>v</sup>	Paschalia antiqua ad annos 532 et cum finitur vicissim eternuo incipitur Litteræ nigre significant annum comunem, rubeæ vero bissextilem
[ⲑⲏⲓ]	Annus 1595 +
[ⲑⲏⲓ <sup>v</sup> ]	Manus Damasceni ad calendariu[m] utilis
[ⲑⲏⲓ]	Alia tabula calendarii
ⲑⲏⲓ	Hic autem destribuntur festa secundu[m] literas quæ sunt in traticula inscriptæ
[ⲑⲏⲓ]	Impressum in civitate Vilna Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae. Anno quem Rutheni numera[n]t a condito Orbe 7101 & redemptione autem generis humani 1593 novembrii 30 die.

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### **FRANCUSKA STRONA W HISTORII UNII BRZESKIEJ: RUSKI PSALTERZ JACQUES'A DAVY DU PERRONA**

#### **Streszczenie**

Do dziś, misja prowadzona w Rzymie przez biskupów ruskich Hipacego Pocięja i Cyryla Terleckiego od listopada 1595 do marca 1596 roku, znana była głównie z nielicznych i rozproszonych notatek i relacji różnych członków Kurii, zgromadzonych w drugiej połowie XX wieku w źródłowych wydaniach Atanaziego Welykiego. Z tego powodu, ruski psalterz znaleziony w bibliotece Évreux (Normandia) pozwala na nowe rozważanie tego założycielskiego etapu w historii unii brzeskiej. Starodruk, opatrzony adnotacjami samego Pocięja i ofiarowany przebywającemu wówczas w Rzymie francuskiemu biskupowi Jacques'owi Davy Du Perronowi, odzwierciedla zarówno koncepcje eklesjologiczne ruskiego biskupa włodziimerskiego i jego pragnienie wpisania unijnej polemiki w szerszy kontekst wyznaniowy, daleko poza granicami Rzeczypospolitej. Widoczne niepowodzenie tej inicjatywy występuje również jako świadectwo wyzwań, przed którymi stali zwolennicy unii lokalnych w czasach potrydenckich.

Słowa kluczowe: unia brzeska; ruskie druki cyryliczne; XVI wiek; metropolia kijowska; Jacques Davy Du Perron

### **UNE PAGE FRANÇAISE DANS L'HISTOIRE DE L'UNION DE BREST: LE PSAUTIER RUTHÈNE DE JACQUES DAVY DU PERRON**

#### **Résumé**

Jusqu'à présent, la mission menée à Rome par les évêques ruthènes Hipacy Pocięj et Cyryl Terlecki entre novembre 1595 et mars 1596 était principalement connue par quelques notes et rapports éparses, laissés par les différents membres de la Curie, qui ont été réunis dans la seconde moitié du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les éditions de sources d'Atanasij Velykyj. C'est pourquoi, le psautier ruthène retrouvé dans la bibliothèque d'Évreux (Normandie) permet d'offrir un nouveau regard sur cette étape fondatrice de l'Union de Brest. L'ouvrage annoté de la main de Pocięj lui-même et offert à l'évêque français Jacques Davy Du Perron, qui se trouvait alors à Rome, reflète à la fois les conceptions ecclésiologiques de l'évêque ruthène de Volodymyr et sa volonté d'inscrire la polémique unioniste dans un contexte confessionnel plus large, bien au-delà des frontières de la République polono-lituanienne. L'échec apparent de cette initiative apparaît également comme un témoignage des défis auxquels se sont confrontés les partisans des Unions locales au cours de la période post-tridentine.

Mots clés: Union de Brest; imprimés cyrilliques ruthènes; XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle; métropole de Kiev; Jacques Davy Du Perron