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**JOHN HERBINIUS' RELIGIOSAE KIJIVIENSIIUM
CRYPTAE (1675) IN THE CONTEXT OF KNOWLEDGE
TRANSFER AND INTER-CONFESSIONAL SITUATION
IN THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH**

***Abstract:** Books, not less than people, are transmitters of new ideas and new knowledge. John Herbinus' book *Religiosae Kijoviensium Cryptae* (1675) significantly contributed to knowledge transfer between Protestant and Orthodox parts of Europe. Investigated work strongly reflected the personal features and intellectual interests of our author. Also we can call this Herbinus' treaty the most autobiographical among his other works. Kyiv-Pechersk Paterikon, which was popularized in Kyiv-Pechersk monastery through several editions, was broadly used by Iohannis Herbinus. Although Kyiv-Pechersk abbot Innocentyj Gizel advised Herbinus to use the most recent edition, the last was using the edition of 1635. In such way in *Religiosae Crayptae* were transferred a lot of Sylvester Kossov's ideas, narratives, data and even his expressions and quotations. Herbinus doesn't pay attention to anti-protestant polemic in this work. Moreover it seems that confession of his authors as well as adversaries don't matter much to him. This book explicitly demonstrates that while religious wars had just ended in Western Europe, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth cultivated fundamentally different practices of peaceful coexistence and intellectual communication among representatives of various denominations.*

***Key words:** John Herbinus, Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, transfer of knowledge, religious tolerance.*

History of the Early Modern times presents plentiful paradoxes in interdenominational relations. One of these paradoxes is the publishing of John Herbinus' book *Religiosae Kijoviensium Cryptae* (1675) in German Protestant Jena describing an important Orthodox center of intellectual and spirituallife – the Kyiv Cave Monastery.

Herbinus' book significantly contributed to knowledge transfer between Protestant and Orthodox parts of Europe. Books, not less than people, are transmit-

ters of new ideas and new knowledge¹. With his book, Herbinus made an attempt to broaden the intellectual horizons of a West-European (mainly German protestant) reader introducing information about the Ruthenians², their Church customs, language and most of all the Kyiv Cave Monastery.

Previous studies on knowledge transfer were often limited to the transfer of scientific knowledge and primarily regarding European natural sciences. The processes of the importation of knowledge into Western Europe and the interaction between knowledge systems are practically not researched³. Until the appearance of Sigismund Herbestein's *Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii* (1549), a reader in the West-European intellectual space knew almost nothing about Eastern Europe⁴. This concerns also knowledge about Orthodoxy. Since the Great Schism (1054) and the IV Crusade (1202–1204), Eastern and Western Christianity had considered each other heterodox. An interest towards the Eastern Christianity appeared only in humanists' milieu. Johann Fabri's *Moscovitarum religio* (1526) were, in fact, the first studies about the Orthodox Slavdom and based on author's communication with Moscow envoys. Later, several Protestant authors described the Orthodox doctrine, ecclesiastical life, based on their travels to Orthodox Greece⁵. Moscow Christendom was the topic of Polish Protestant author Jan Łasicki's book *De Russorum, Moscovitarum et Tartarorum religione, sacrificiis, nuptiarum funerum ritu* (Spirae 1582), specially directed to the West-European reader. The author admired the lack of appropriate knowledge about Orthodoxy among Lutherans⁶; however, his statements are based only on his observations of the powerful Moscow state and there is practically no information about Eastern Christendom in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Herbinus was one of the few Latin-writing authors, who clearly distinguished citizens of Moscow Dutchy from the Ruthenians – inhabitants of Ukrainian and Byelorussian lands⁷. Several times he stressed, that in his times the existence of knowledge about Kyiv and Ruthenia among Germans was very poor and sometimes it was far away from the truth⁸, thus he wanted to correct and widen it.

Herbinus' book has little religious polemic. It should be mentioned here that religious tolerance (or rather toleration⁹) in the Kingdom of Poland and the

¹ M. Ash, „Wissens – und Wissenschaftstransfer: Einführende Bemerkungen“, *Berichte zur Wissenschafts-geschichte*, vol 29, issue 3, 2006, p. 185.

² Under the Ruthenians I mean often used in the 17–18 c. sources name for inhabitants of contemporary Ukraine and Byelorussia.

³ V. Lipphardt, D. Ludwig, “Knowledge Transfer and Science Transfer”, *EGO. European History on-line*, 2011–12–12.

⁴ A. V. Doronin, „Das Bild der Russen bzw. Moscoviter auf der historischen und kognitiven Landkarte der Deutschen Humanisten 1490–1530“, *Orbis terrarum*, vol 13, 2015, p. 85.

⁵ E. Benz, *Die Ostkirche im Lichte der Protestantischen Geschichtsschreibung von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart*, München 1952, pp. 23–24.

⁶ J. Łasicki, *De Russorum, Moscovitarum et Tartarorum religione, sacrificiis, nuptiarum funerum ritu*, Spirae 1582, praefatio.

⁷ I. Herbinus, *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae, Sive Kijovia Subterranea In quibus Labyrinthus Sub Terra, Et in eo emortua, a sexcentis annis, Divorum atque Heroum Graeco-Ruthenorum*, Jena 1675, p. 159, 166, 177.

⁸ Ibidem, praefatio.

⁹ D. Frick, *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors. Communities and Confessions in Seventeenth-Century Wilno*, Ithaca 2013, p. 400.

Grand Duchy of Lithuania had a great impact on the society, allowed to avoid religious wars and gave many interesting examples of coexisting of different religious denominations. Already before the Reformation, the Polish Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had not been mono-confessional for a few centuries. Since the joining of Ruthenian lands to the Polish Kingdom and Grand Duchy of Lithuania, an active interaction of this country of several religions and Christian denominations (first of all the Catholics and the Orthodox) existed on the territory of both states. After the unsuccessful Orthodox-Catholic Union of Florence (1439), the Orthodox Church in Polish Kingdom and Grand Duchy of Lithuania became little by little limited in its rights. However, supported by old Ruthenian nobility, Orthodoxy remained the religion of the majority of the Ruthenians. In the middle of the sixteenth century, Orthodox nobility was put on par with the Catholic one. The reason for this was a success of Protestant Reformation and following it liberation of the religious policy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

In the middle of the sixteen century, the Reformation had already won considerable social support in the Polish Kingdom, first of all in Silesia, Pomerania and then in Great Poland. The main adherents of Lutheranism here were represented by bourgeois; yet, they actively participated in political and interdenominational discussions. In bigger and wealthier towns of Lower Silesia, German-speaking Lutheran communities were dominant; among the Lutherans Polish was commonly spoken only in Upper Silesia¹⁰. A different situation can be observed in Small Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where Reformation found support from the nobles – reach and middle gentry (*szlachta*). The most famous of them was from Nicolaus Radziwiłł Czorny (death in 1565), who established an epistolary contact with Jan Calvin and was a patron of first reformed communities. 1562 Reformed Church was divided into the biggest one (Calvinists) and the smallest one (Arians). By the end of XVI c. the process of consolidation of the Reformed Church was finished and its communities (first of all Vilnius one) obtained rather a big influence in society¹¹. Even such an ultraradical protestant movement like Anabaptism found its place in the denominational palette of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. A personal sympathy to the protestant movement from the side of Polish King Sigismund II August (1520–1572) strengthened the position of all protestant communities; by the end of his reign, religious liberty became the important part of *szlachta*'s political rights that were secured in the Warsaw Confederation (1573) and since that time were constantly defeated by Polish, Lithuanian and Ruthenian nobility.

The sixteen-century protestant theologians themselves were wondering about such kind of religious tolerance in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth¹². The situation of the seventeenth century was a bit different. Instead of *golden age* of polish tolerance came the *silver* one. Polish King Sigismund III Vaza (1566–1632) started to realize the program of Post-Trent Catholicism. The Orthodox-Catho-

¹⁰ P. Musioł, „*Literatura śląsko-polska XVII wieku*”, *Zaranie Śląskie*, vol. 3, 1930, pp. 122–125.

¹¹ K. Daugirdas, „Entstehung, Krise und Konsolidierung der reformierten Kirche im Großfürstentum Litauen“, [in:] *Die evangelische Diaspora. Evangelische Diaspora in Estland, Lettland und Litauen (Jahrbuch des Gustav-Adolf-Werks, 77. Jahrgang)*, Leipzig 2008, pp. 85–100.

¹² J. Tazbir, *Państwo bez stosów. Szkice z dziejów tolerancji w Polsce XVI i XVII w.*, Warszawa 1967, pp. 7–9.

lic Union of Brest (1596) and following it the prohibition of a not united (or, as hereafter, Orthodox) Church provoked strong Uniat-Orthodox polemics and social confrontation. Only in 1632–1633 the Orthodox Church, supported by Orthodox and Protestant nobility, was rehabilitated in its rights.

Russo-Polish (1654–1667) and Polish-Sweden (1655–1660) wars emphasized the denomination question. Both the Sweden and the Muscovites were adherents of *another religion* – this fact provoked an antipathy to gentiles in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In 1658, the community of Polish Brethren (Arians) was officially recognized as outlaws and was forced to leave the country. Most of the Reformed Communities were also closed. In 1668, it was a law forbidding conversion from Catholicism. Nevertheless, anti-protestant movements in the middle and in the second half of the seventeenth century were virtually harmless to the Lutherans, who represented themselves as a foreign merchant community (this aspect made the Lutheran community different from the Reformed one, which clearly declared its «polishness») and had not such powerful noble patrons as the Radziwiłłs that in the second half of the seventeenth century were the best allegiance for community survival¹³. In Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth about 80 Protestant (mainly Lutheran) communities had survived till the end of the eighteenth century¹⁴.

However, the interconfessional situation of the second half of the seventeenth century was still much different from the West-European one. The intellectual space and printing houses were open for interconfessional discussion, Church schools and libraries – for people of other denominations. It was not mandatory for the partners to convert to another denomination in frequent interdenominational marriages (as it often happened, a wife attended services at the Orthodox Church, while a husband kept going to the Catholic or Protestant Church). Such categories as trade contacts, friendship and neighborhood were free of confessional judgments, and only puppets imitating heretics were openly burned¹⁵.

Especially famous for multiconfessional and multiethnic diversity was Vilnius – the second capital of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where the *Religiosae Cryptae* was written. The multicultural phenomenon of this city was shown in the recent book of David Frick, where he shows on the micro historical level the process of everyday interaction between adherents of five Christian confessions (Genevans, Lutherans, Catholic, Uniate and Orthodoxy), Muslims, and Jews. Such situations of peaceful existence of several denominations in one city space along with active interconfessional polemics completely differs from that one, established in cities of Holy the Roman Empire after the 1555 Religious Peace of Augsburg, which had built a strict separation along confessional lines of corporations, guilds and families¹⁶. This very toleration allowed Herbinus' book to appear and made a great impact on his ideas.

Herbinus' first acquaintance with Kyiv was quite occasional. In Sweden he had met polish noble woman Apolinia Naglowska, who asked him to find her son

¹³ G. Schramm, „Protestantismus und städtische Gesellschaft in Wilna (16-17 Jahrhundert)“, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, neue Folge, Band 17 (Jahrgang 1969), Helf 1(März 1969), pp. 192–193, 214.

¹⁴ J. Tazbir, op. cit., p. 257.

¹⁵ Ibidem, pp. 162–184.

¹⁶ D. Frick, op. cit., p. 25.

from the first marriage. In 1648 she lived eastwards of the Dnieper and sent her 12-year-old son John Fabricius to Kyiv to get educated by Jesuits. Fleeing from Khmelnyzkyj apprising (1648), she and her husband lost the connection with their son. Herbinus promised to help her. Supported by priest of the Vilnius Sviato-Duhivsky Cathedral Martin Woloszowycz, he established contact with Kyiv Pechersk Lavra archimandrite Innocent Gizel.

Innocent Gizel was born in 1600 in Königsberg in the family of Lutheran priest. He stayed some time in Vilno and later came to Kyiv. Here influenced by Kyiv Metropolitan Petro Mohyla, he converted into Orthodoxy and became a monk. After Mohyla's death (1 December 1647), Gizel headed the Kyiv Orthodox college and in 1656. appointed Archimandrite at the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra (kept his position till he passed away in 1683)¹⁷. So, Gizel's protestant origin, staying in Vilno together with the high position in Kyiv Caves monastery enabled Herbinus the access to information about Kyiv and he started to search John Fabricius. This search however turned out to be fruitless, and Herbinus concluded that the boy was dead. Herbinus' letters to Apolonia were published in his treatise «About the Kyiv Caves¹⁸». It was this tragic event which brought Herbinus' attention to Kyiv and its caves.

The reason why the Lutheran author got interested in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra is trivial from the first sight. At the very beginning he was interested only in the origins – natural or man-made – of the caves. Nevertheless, having making sure that the caves were artificial, Herbinus continued to study them as a cultural and religious phenomenon. There is a wide range of issues raised in his treatise: relics conservation (in this case he made a good use of his knowledge of the Egyptian mummification techniques), the character of Ruthenians, Orthodox religious practices and even linguistic connections between the Slavic languages and the Old Hebrew.

The question whether Herbinus actually was in Kyiv is still open to discussion. Some researches claim that Herbinus himself was in the Kyiv region. This statement is actively supported by Dmytro Chyzevsky in particular. The scholar criticizes Bendel for his statement that Herbinus' knowledge was gained in the course of his trips across Europe in 1664–1670 only. In fact, according to Chyzevsky, Herbinus travelled much more and actually visited the Ukrainian lands¹⁹. Later the statement that Herbinus visited Kyiv was repeated for several times in serious scholarly works. Thus the editor of reprint of *Religiosae Kijoviensium Cryptae* in *Harvard library of Ukrainian Early-Modern literature* Paulina Lewin alleges that Lavra archimandrite Innocent Gizel personally invited Herbinus to Kyiv and allowed him to visit caves and see the relics there²⁰. However, in the preface to his edition Herbinus writes that he received information about Kyiv, first of all, from Woloszowycz and Gizel: *ex Viris illis humanissimis de Kijovia-*

¹⁷ *Sinopsis. Kiev, 1681: Facsimile miteiner Einleitung*, ed. H. Rothe, Köln 1983, pp. 49–50.

¹⁸ I. Herbinus, op. cit., pp. 39–42.

¹⁹ D. Čyževský, „Magister Johannes Herbinus. Ein Gelehrtenleben aus dem XVII. Jahrhundert by Heinrich Bendel“, *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie*, vol 5, no 3/4, 1928, pp. 491–492.

²⁰ “Seventeenth-Century writings on the Kievan Caves Monastery. With an Introduction by Paulina Lewin”, [in:] *Harvard Library of early Ukrainian literature*, vol. 4, Cambridge 1987, p. XXIX.

*cognovi*²¹. Gizel's letter, sent to Herbinus and published in *Religiosae Kijovien-sium Cryptae*, doesn't contain an invitation; moreover it is finished with the very significant phrase *beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt*²². We know for sure that Herbinus was in the Moscow prince-dom to visit the Pechora monastery²³ (monastery like Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra is interesting because of the caves). In the case with Kyiv case he speaks only about *autoyyja-multorum*²⁴, that doesn't allow us to assume Herbinus was in Kyiv himself.

In his work, Herbinus extensively referred to the Kyiv-Pechersk Paterikon - a work based on the 13th century correspondence of the Bishop of Vladimir and Suzdal, Simon, and a monk of the Kyivan Cave monastery Polykarp; later the vita of St. Theodosius and historical works of chronicler Nestor were added to this correspondence. In the process of text development the Kyivan Cave Paterikon was also redacted for several times. By the time of Herbinus' work there were two printed editions of the Paterikon: one in Polish, 1635 edited by Sylvester Kossov and another in Old Ukrainian, published in 1661.

Herbinus described his main written source this way: *The Slavic book Paterikon..., in which Ruthenian Chronograph Nestor told amply and poorly [sic] about the lives of the Kyiv-Pechersk saints. This book was published in the Slavic language in Kyiv in 1661*²⁵. This edition, published in Old Ukrainian, was very popular in the Orthodox circles. Innocent Gizel in his letter to Herbinus in 1674 recommended him to study Nestor's «Vitas of the Holy Fathers» published in 1661. And this is not surprising – this edition was completed in the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra during the abbotship of Gizel, who was the initiator of writing and probably even editor of the book. Obviously, exactly because of popularity of the 1661 edition and in gratitude to Gizel, Herbinus put it in the top of his sources. *Religiosae Cryptae* referred to the Introduction of this *Paterikon* edition, from which he took some historic data and statements, e.g. the general list of the Kyivan hermits²⁶. It is also from here he borrows and translates into Latin (probably the translation of the text as well as verification and correction of Biblical references belong to Herbinus himself) the tale about the oil-oozing heads²⁷.

However, Herbinus' major source of information was the *Paterikon*, published in 1635 by Sylvester Kossov, an associate of Metropolitan Petro Mohyla, bishop of Mahilioŭ, Orsha and Mstislaŭ and future Kyiv Metropolitan (1647–1657)²⁸. Herbinus mentioned this edition as *translated into Polish by bishop Klossovio [sic]*²⁹. It was the first printed edition of the Kyiv-Pechersk Fathers' vitas, ruled by the idea to create a hagiographic cycle to reach the widest audience, such as the Ruthenians and Poles, Catholics, Lutherants or Orthodox. It was the

²¹ I. Herbinus, op. cit., praefatio.

²² Ibidem, p. 46.

²³ Ibidem, p. 75.

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 121.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 13.

²⁶ Ibidem, pp. 81–83.

²⁷ Ibidem, pp 123–127.

²⁸ S. Kossow, *Paterikon abo Zywoły SS. Oycow Pieczarskich, obszernie słowieńskim językiem przez Świętego Nestora Zakonnika y Latopisca Ruskiego przed tym napisany, teraz zaś z Graeckich, Łacińskich, Słowiańskich y Polskich Pisarzow obiasniony y krocey podany*, Kijow 1635.

²⁹ I. Herbinus, op. cit., p. 14.

text for reading at home, in monastic cells, schools, preparing sermons, etc. Wide audience would determine not only the language of edition, but also including texts of different genres to serve hagiographic, polemical, didactic and belletristic purposes. In general, the Paterikon by Sylvester Kosov contains anti-Protestant and anti-Catholic polemics. However, Herbinus «doesn't notice» it. Moreover, he repeats some of the Paterikon arguments, thus entering into polemics with Joachim Pastorius de Hirtenberg, who tried to connect the Kyivan caves with Italians³⁰. From the Paterikon (1635) Herbinus takes also one of his biggest historical narratives – the tale about the five-time baptism of Rus and a comparison of Pechersk monks with celestial bodies: St. Anthony is the Sun, St. Theodosius – the Moon, St. Moses the Hungarian – Mars, St. Hilarion – Venus, St. Simeon – Mercury, St. Mykola Sviatosha – Jupiter³¹. The Protestant author even borrows from 1635 edition the famous Pechersk legend about the dead Kyiv Pechersk fathers who had responded to the Easter greetings. This legend is regarded by Herbinus as *res sane mira*³² (a truly astonishing thing), although he is inclined to believe it, emphasizing his respect to the Bible authority: Jews highly respected the prophets' tombs (Math 23:29), after Jesus's crucifixion the women visited His tomb (Mar 16:1-2); and with the argument of high respect to the relatives' tombs in the Copenhagen Protestant community (in 1669–1670 Herbinus was in the Copenhagen Academy several times) and to the Martin Luther's tomb in Wittenberg and his cell in the Augustinian monastery in Magdeburg [sic]³³.

It is important to stress that the Paterikon information is fully trustworthy for Herbinus. He rarely mentions Kosov's and Gizel's names and considers St. Nestor to be the author of his sources³⁴. However, sometimes Herbinus strengthens it with the biggest authorities – he inserts to Paterikon's text the information from the works of Johann Funck, Sclavus (?) and Enea Silvio Bartolomeo Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)³⁵. In some cases Herbinus reads Paterikon's information not correctly: Kossov notices that 878 was, according to Baronius, the year of the death of Patriarch Photius³⁶, while Herbinus put under this year the date of Rus' baptism, also mentioning Baronius³⁷.

Among other sources of «Kyiv origin» Herbinus mentions the book of Orthodox rituals, given him by Wolosowych: *rituum Graeco-Ruthenorum in Ecclesiis ipsorum usu receptorum spectandi subinde facta est mihi copia*³⁸. Probably, he means the famous Trebnik, edited by Kyiv Metropolitan Peter Mohyla (1646) and sent by Gizel³⁹. Also from Gizel our author received two plans of Kyiv caves⁴⁰, which he put in his book. Other engravings (Herbinus calls them *schematae*⁴¹),

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 26.

³¹ S. Kossow, op. cit., p. 10.

³² I. HerbinusI., op.cit., p. 69.

³³ Ibidem, p. 71.

³⁴ Ibidem, p. 35.

³⁵ Ibidem, p. 18.

³⁶ S. Kossow, op. cit. , p. 13.

³⁷ I. Herbinus, op. cit., p. 19.

³⁸ Ibidem, praefatio.

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 44, 47.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 47.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 61.

probably, are also by Kyiv origin, however they were slightly redone and their inscriptions were translated into Latin.

What are the other sources? Probably, *de visu* was used by Herbinus also *Historiae Lithvaniae* (1650) of the Jesuit (famous, by the way, because of anti-protestant polemics) Albertus Kojalowicz⁴². The books of other historians are in fact the repetition of Paterikon's footnotes (Kossov refers to Baronius and the Polish Chronicles of Mathew Strykowski, Martin Kromer, Mathew Miechowski, Abraham Bzowski).

Herbinus was familiar with the other work of Protestant author, dedicated to East-European lands – Adam Olearius' (1599–1671) *Persianische Reisebeschreibung* (first edition 1646). Probably, Herbinus knew Olearius personally – he could meet him during his trip through Northern Europe and work in Duke of Holstein's library in Gottrop (1664–1665)⁴³. Herbinus advises his readers Olearius's work⁴⁴, but between two books there is not much in common. Despite the fact that Olearius mentions negligence of Russian clergy in serving liturgy and other duties, as well as a poor knowledge of the Holy Scripture among Orthodoxes, his attitude to Muscovites is rather positive: he calls them real Christians, admire spiritual ground in icons' veneration etc.⁴⁵. On the contrary Herbinus mentions the barbarism of Muscovites in opposition to Ukrainians, the low educational level and inertness of their priests as well as idolatry, which he observes among people in Moscow⁴⁶.

However in the book we cannot observe textual correspondences with books of the leader of German Reformation, Martin Luther is the biggest authority for Herbinus. Luther himself did not regard the Greek Church as heretical and referred to its practical experience and tradition which he saw universally ecclesiastical. Moreover, Luther considered the Greek Church as more powerful compared to the Roman Church which had lost its spiritual influence because of Pope's superiority⁴⁷. Herbinus highly appreciates Luther seeing him as «a truly divine figure» and calling him the «Saint»⁴⁸. Taking this into account, it can be concluded that it was Luther's view of the Orthodox Church which had such a remarkable impact on the author.

One of the main Herbinus opponents was Joachim Pastorius (1611–1681) – Polish preacher and historian, who several times changed his confession (from Lutheranism he converted first to Socinianism and later to Catholicism), but his book *Florus polonicus seu polonicae historiae epitome nova* (first edition 1641) was reedited for several times and was a schoolbook both in Prussian Protestant gymnasiums and Jesuit Colleges⁴⁹. The legends about the long distance length of Kyiv caves (till Moscow or Chernihov) were very popular among the West-European

⁴² Ibidem, p. 15.

⁴³ *Seventeenth-Century writings...*, p. XXVIII

⁴⁴ I. Herbinus, op. cit., p. 178.

⁴⁵ A. Olearius, *Moskowitzische und Persische Reise*, Berlin 1959, pp. 143–149.

⁴⁶ I. Herbinus, op. cit., p. 159, 166, 177.

⁴⁷ E. Benz, op. cit., pp. 10–14.

⁴⁸ I. Herbinus, op. cit., p. 28.

⁴⁹ H. J. Bömellburg, *Früneuzeitliche Nationen im östlichen Europa. Das polnische Geschichtsdenken und die Reichweite*, Wiesbaden 2006, p. 210.

authors, who visited or wrote about Kyiv at the end of 16-the beginning of 17 ct.⁵⁰ First published denial of this legend was given in *Teraturgima*⁵¹ (1638), written by the Kyiv-Pechersk monk Athanasius Kalnofojski (? - after 1646). However, Herbinus didn't know this work and he answered from Gizel words and his own natural-philosophical knowledge: *Quae autem laudandus infra Archimandrita Kijoviensis negat; forsan, quia meatus illi simuosi non eam sunt profunditate, ut infra Borysthenis alveum abdere sese queant, quod quidem procul dubio ita est*⁵².

Who did spread the information about the ancient Troy and Ovidius' tomb in Kyiv? Among others there were several attempts to localize these significant places in Ukrainian lands. One of the first authors, who could spread the idea in German-speaking area, was Michalon Litwin (1490–1560) – the ambassador of Great Duchy of Lithuania to Tataria. His work *De moribus Tartarorum, Lituatorum et Moschorum* was published in Basel in 1615 and contains the following information about Ukrainian steppe: *unde haud procul ostia Dnestri, cognomen habent Vidovo, ab Ovidio poeta, qui ea in parte ponti exulasse creditur. Ita et Ilium seu Troiam quidam existimant fuisse in territorio Kioviensi in campis fertilissimis, nemoribusque amaenissimis. Ubi cernuntur monumenta, extantibus adhuc multis ruinis, fornicibus, cryptis, pavementis marmoreis, et magnorum murorum reliquiis, qui locus pridem desertus, sed ad habitandum commodissimus, vocatur nunc Torgovitza*⁵³. Probably, the later oral tradition (this information, according to Herbinus, was *vulgo praedicantur*⁵⁴) moves ancient Troy and Ovidius' prison directly to Kyiv. Another author – Laurentius Müller – confirms the popularity of such ideas in his *Polnische, Lifflandische und andere Historien* (Frankfurt am Mein, 1585), where he tells about his unsuccessful attempts to find Ovidius' grave in Kyiv. This search he stressed even in the title of his book – *Polnische, Lifflandische und andere Historien... In gleichen von der undeutschen Völcker in Liffland Sitten und Leben, so wol auch der Tarterey, deß Fluß Boristhenis, der alten Statt Kyoff Gelegenheit und vom warhafften Ort deß Exilii Ovidiani sehr nützlich und lüstig zu lesen*.

Investigated work *Religiosae Kijoviensium Cryptae* strongly reflected the personal features and intellectual interests of our author. First of all, his interest in natural philosophy, broad horizons, formed during his travels, and a large circle of communication. Herbinus often speaks from the first person and shows his deep interests in the things he described. Also we can call this Herbinus' treaty the most autobiographical among his other works. Kyiv-Pechersk Paterikon, which was popularized in in Kyiv-Pechersk monastery through several editions, was broadly used by Iohannis Herbinus. In his possession were two editions of this medieval monument: one in Polish language, edited in 1635 by Sylvester Kossov and another in old-Ukrainian, published in 1661. Although Kyiv-Pechersk abbot Innocentyj Gizel advised Herbinus to use the most recent edition, the last was using

⁵⁰ “Свідчення про лаврські печери, взяті з оповіді мандрівників”, [in:] *Дива печер лаврських*, ed. В. М. Колпакова, Київ 1997, pp. 39–45.

⁵¹ A. Kalnofojski, *ТЕРАТУРГІМА lubo cuda, ktore byly tak w samym świętucodotwornym monasteru Pieczarskim Kiiowskim, iako y w obudwu świętych pieczarach, w ktorych po woli Bożey Błogosławieni Oycowie Pieczarscy pożywszy, y ciężary Ciał swoich złożyli*, Kijow 1638.

⁵² I. Herbinus, op. cit., p. 32.

⁵³ M. Litvanus, *De moribus Tartarorum, Lituatorum et Moschorum*, Basiliae 1615, p. 35.

⁵⁴ I. Herbinus, op. cit., p. 8.

the edition of 1635. In such way in *Religiosae Crayptaewere* transferred a lot of Sylvester Kossov's ideas, narratives, data and even his expressions and quotations. Herbinus doesn't pay attention to anti-protestant polemic in this work. Moreover it seems that confession of his authors as well as adversaries don't matter much to him. This book explicitly demonstrates that while religious wars had just ended in Western Europe, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth cultivated fundamentally different practices of peaceful coexistence and intellectual communication among representatives of various denominations.

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