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**SEARCHING FOR THE TRUTH:
RUTHENIAN LAND, PEOPLE, AND LANGUAGE
IN JOHN HERBINIUS' *RELIGIOSAE KIJOWIENSES CRYPTAE*
(JENA 1675)**

Knowledge about Eastern Slavdom in West-European writings of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries

The information concerning the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which belonged to the world of Latin culture, was theoretically accessible for West-Europe. In the first geographical and historical treatises by Polish authors Ukrainian lands were described as well. The treatise *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatis Europiana et Asiana et de contentis in eis* (1517) by Polish Renaissance author Maciej Miecowita became the basis material for one of the first empirical investigations of Ruthenia, its history and geography¹. A lot of information about Ukraine and its inhabitants was contained in Marcin Kromer's chronicle written by official order of Polish king. The chronicle was published 1555 in Latin by the name *On the Origin and Significance of the Poles*. The success of the chronicle exceeded author's expectations, and shortly after five Latin editions came out in Basel. The most complete edition of the work was released in 1589 in Cologne; this version served as the basis for further reprints. The German translation of the chronicle came out in Basel in 1562².

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Grand Duchy of Moscow were frequently visited by West Europeans, especially since the sixteenth century. Some of them, describing their trips, did not omit Ruthenian lands. A kind of revolution in the spreading information about Eastern Europe in the German intellectual circle was made by Sigismund Herbestein's *Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii* (1549), where the author briefly mentioned the contemporary Belarusian and Ukrainian

¹ Л. Штайндорфф, *Наследие Киевской Руси в восприятии «западных» авторов раннего Нового века*, [в:] *Древняя Русь после Древней Руси: дискурс восточнославянского (не)единства*, ред. А. В. Доронин, Москва 2017, с. 45.

² С. Walewski, *Marcin Kromer*, "Biblioteka Warszawska", 1874, № 1–2, s. 2–4.

lands as well³. However, most of West European authors of the early modern period paid much more attention to Moscovite state than to Ruthenian. It is caused both by a usual itinerary of the travellers and the political significance of Moscow in contrary to Ruthenia⁴. Those who visited both Moscow and Ruthenia concluded that the common spoken language and religion were there the same. However, the authors could clearly distinguish two lands; Ruthenia was taking closer look at the West European civilization in the term of culture, whereas Moscow seemed to be more exotic and often with the negative connotation⁵.

Ukraine and its inhabitants became the subject of special interests in West Europeans only by the end of the sixteenth century. Mainly Cossacks, who were from time to time appearing in military plans of European monarchies and wars that took place on the Ruthenian territories in the middle of the seventeenth century, made Ruthenian lands of some interest from the point of view of the foreign authors. Giles Fletcher, Paul Mucante, Jakub Henckl von Donnersmarck and Eryk Lassota von Steblau wrote about Ukraine in their diplomatic reports. Some authors (e.g. Laurentius Müller, criticized by Herbinus) wrote about Ukrainian lands after making some adventurous trips striving to share their travel experiences. The book *Description des contrées du Royaume de Pologne* (first edition 1651) of French engineer William le Vasseur de Beauplan gained great popularity. The author of the book lived in Ukraine for several years and purported to be a reliable eyewitness of its history and geography⁶.

Bohdan Khmelnytsky's war stimulated even more interests in Ukraine. Information about Cossack troops, devastating the main cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, reached German and French flyers and newspapers⁷. Moreover, the brief description of Ukrainian lands appeared in numerous political and geographical encyclopedias, general history books and vocabularies. Another object of Herbinus' critique was *Florus polonicus*⁸, a several times re-edited schoolbook, which was very popular both in Prussian Protestant gymnasiums and Jesuit colleges.

By the time Religiosae Cryptae appeared, the book "Anderte Beschreibung des königreichs Polen und Großherzogthums Litaven; aus den neulichsten Polnischen und andern Scribenten aufs nue nach den unterschiedlichen Ländern zusammen getragen und auf diese gegenwertige Zeit gerichtet; wie aus der Borrede zuersehen" (Ulm 1647) had already been published in the German Protestant intellectual milieu. Its author Martin Zeiller (1589–1661) aimed to create a historical compilation about the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, broadly

³ A.V. Doronin, *Das Bild der Russen bzw. Moscoviter auf der historischen und kognitiven Landkarte der Deutschen Humanisten 1490–1530*, "Orbis terrarium", 2015, bd. 13, p. 85.

⁴ S. Mund, *Orbis Russiarum. Genèse et développement de la représentation du monde «russe» en Occident à la Renaissance* (= Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance; CCCLXXXII), Genève 2003, p. 459–463.

⁵ Л. Штайндорфф, *op. cit.*, с. 43–44.

⁶ T. Chynczewska-Hennel, *Rzeczpospolita XVII wieku w oczach cudzoziemców*, Wrocław 1993, s. 149.

⁷ І. Борщак, *Україна в літературі Західної Європи*, Київ 2000, с. 54–59.

⁸ H.J. Bömelburg, *Früneuzeitliche Nationen im östlichen Europa. Das polnische Geschichtsdenken und die Reichweite*, Wiesbaden 2006, p. 210.

using a comparative method.

There is no doubt that some information about Ukrainian lands could be found in West Europe general literature and especially in German one by the time *Religioase Cryptae* appeared. However, most of West-European authors did not read Slavic sources. And here Herbinus had an unanswerable advantage. He stressed several times, that in his times the knowledge about Kyiv and Ruthenia among Germans was very poor and sometimes it was far-fetched⁹, thus he wanted to correct and widen it.

History and geography of Eastern Slavdom from the Herbinus' point of view

Herbinus referred to Ruthenia as to “the land of Cossacks” or “Ukraine”. The last term, as he noticed, was popular in his days in the everyday speech: *Ukraina vulgo hodie appellatur*¹⁰. The same names we can find in the diary of Herbinus' contemporary – the clergyman Paul of Aleppo who travelled to Ukraine as a member of Antiochian Patriarch' court¹¹.

Herbinus special interests were rivers and existing on them cataracts. No wonder, he paid a lot of attention to the Dnieper River, calling it in the Greek manner *Βορυσθένης*. According to him, from the geographical point of view there are two important objects on the Dnieper River: cataracts and the city of Kyiv. Dnieper's cataracts – rocks that were called Porozi (*ποροζι*) served as a natural border between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the wild steppe inhabited by nomadic tribes of Tatars who were often devastating Ukrainian lands. Herbinus mentioned the importance of this barrier: *quod cataractae illae tartarorum excursiones, instar obicis sufflaminant, eumque illis opponunt limitem, aut limina, quae transilire nequeunt*. However, there is no detailed description of this natural phenomenon that proved once more Herbinus' absence in Ukrainian lands.

Much more attention is paid to the city of Kyiv. Here Herbinus had a certain source of information – Innocent Gizel. Despite the communication with Ruthenian ecclesiastical leader, he did not know Ruthenian narratives popular in seventeenth century and legends about the city origins and its founder – prince Kyi and his brothers that became a part of Ruthenian historical narrative by that time. Instead, he investigated the popular in the German-speaking milieu legends about Kyiv. First of them describes the Trojan origin of the city and the tombs of Hector, Priam, Achill and other Troyans in the Caves¹².

In the early modern European society Troy was a kind of place of memory. The legend was well-known among common readers. It comes as no surprise that the German tradition depicts the unprofaned bodies of famous ancient heroes inside the Kyiv caves. In his rhetorical questions - *Quis Trojae vestigia non lustraret lubens?*; *Quis Priamos, Hectoras, Achilles, Ajaces, aliosque Dardanorum aequae ac archivorum Heroas, etiam maxima sumptuum jacturam, ad Borystenem spectatum*

⁹I. Herbinus, *Religiosae Kijovienses cryptae, sive Kijoviasubterranea, in quibus labyrinthus subterra, et in eo mortua, a sexcentis annis, divorum atque heroum Graeco-Ruthenorum*, Jena 1675, praefatio.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 12.

¹¹ *The Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch: Written by his Attendant Archdeacon, Paul of Aleppo, in Arabic*, transl. F.C. Belfour, vol. 1, London 1833.

¹² Ibid., p. 8.

*non iret peregre?*¹³ – Herbinus stressed the popularity of such ideas. The idea that Troy was localized in Ukrainian lands must have been immensely popular, since the works of the East European humanists had to overcome it. The pre-national thinking of Ukrainian authors in the early modern period did not allow assumption that Kyiv, the sacral and political centre of Ruthenia, was built or inhabited by not connected with Ruthenians Trojans. Sebastian Klonowic in his *Roxolania* (1584) and Ivan Dombrovsky in *Dniper's stones* (1620) showed the untrustworthiness of such rumours, and stressed the indigeneity of Kyiv's inhabitants¹⁴. That is why he intended to investigate the truth starting from geography. If Kyiv has been Troy, Greeks and Aeneas would have been not able to cross the cataracts on the Dniper River with their light boats and this trip would have been mentioned in the superannuated sources, argued Herbinus¹⁵.

Second popular legend was about the location of Ovid's grave in Kyiv. It appeared due to the records of superannuated sources of Ovid's exile in Scythia. The idea of Ovid's tomb in Kyiv was not supported by the local elite as Herbinus mentioned himself¹⁶. Obviously, it was the West European milieu where such idea was common. The information about the connections between Ukrainian land and ancient Roman world was popularized by Laurentius Müller (1558–1598) in his *Polnische, Lifflandische und andere Historien* (Frankfurt am Mein, 1585), where he tells about his attempts to find Ovidius' grave in Ukrainian lands. The fact that this search was done is even stressed 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 lessen”. Müller even reported that with the help of a local nobleman he had managed to find Ovidius' tomb¹⁷. Furthermore, the description of attempts to localize Ovidius' grave in Ukrainian steppes, exactly in the village Vidovo, could be found in popular Michalon Litwin's treatise *De moribus Tartarorum, Litanorum et Moschorum* (Basel 1615): *unde haud procul ostia Dnestri, cognomen habent Vidovo, ab Ovidio poeta, qui ea in parte ponti exulasse creditur*¹⁸. Later, such rumor was transferred by Venetian diplomat Alberto Vimina (1603–1667): *paese, che s'estende sin'all'Eufinio, non lunge da quei siti, doue stette Ouidio in bando, e doue affermano trouarsi una Citedella detta Ouidoua, che si puo interpretare Citta d'Ouidio, nella qual vien detto trouarsi sepolte le ceneri di lui*¹⁹. Thus, the information was rather popular in the West-European writings.

According to Herbinus, the information about Ovid's grave in Ukrainian lands was still vulgo praedicantur in his times,²⁰ and he intended to investigate the truth. He assumed, basing on his knowledge of Ovid's elegies, it could be the

¹³ Ibid., praefatio.

¹⁴ М. Трофимчук, «Київська» тема у латиномовних творах XVI–XVIII ст.: боротьба міфологем, «Слово і час: науково-теоретичний журнал», 2016, № 10 (670), с. 77–84.

¹⁵ I. Herbinus, op. cit., p. 8–9.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 10–11.

¹⁷ L. Müller, *Polnische, Lifflandische und andere Historien*, Frankfort am Meyn, sine paginatio.

¹⁸ M. Litvanus, *De moribus Tartarorum, Litanorum et Moschorum*, Basilae 1615, p. 35.

¹⁹ A. Vimina, *Historia delle guerre civili di Polonia*, Venezia 1671, p. 7.

²⁰ I. Herbinus, op. cit., p. 8.

seaside city Tomos, which was mentioned by the author as a place of his exile²¹. Besides that, Herbinus stated that the locals had no knowledge about Ovid and spread the story about Apostle Andrew visiting Kiev instead²².

The legend of Apostle Andrew's mission on Rus' could be found already in *Russian Primary Chronicle* (ca 1113). According to it, Apostle Andrew after his preaching in the ancient Chersonese, moved on by the Dnieper River to Kyiv and put there a Cross predicting the Christian future of the city²³. The cult of the Apostle Andrew was actively promoted in the sixteenth century in Novgorod and Moscow writings. Interestingly enough, there is a legend about St Andrew's preaching in Kyiv and Novgorod, which was turned into another legend about the first baptism of Rus' performed by him. However, Kyiv spiritual literature interpreted the mission of the Apostle very differently – with assumptions that his mission is just an omen, not a baptism. Instead of this Kyiv works actively use the Apostle's image in contra-catholic polemics: unlike in medieval vita of apostle Andrew from Prolog, a new version of the legend says that after the preaching in Rus' Apostle has returned to Thrace, rather than headed toward Rome. Later, some Kyiv authors (e.g. Lavrentij Zizaniia or Zacharija Kopystenskyi) deepened this ideological point emphasizing the seniority of the Apostle Andrew, who was considered to be a founder of Constantinople Patriarchy, and his celibacy as opposed to the Apostle Peter – the founder of the Apostolic See in Rome. By such comparison between the images of the apostles Peter and Andrew Kyiv authors attacked the core of Catholic ecclesiological argument concerning hierarchical superiority of St Peter, the monarchical principle of the Church and the primacy of Rome over Constantinople²⁴.

For Herbinus, the legend about Apostle Andrew's preaching in Kyiv is entirely reliable²⁵. Protestant tradition unlike Catholic or Orthodox ones did not have a clear and well-developed idea of the “apostolic geography”, except the itinerary of St Paul mentioned in “New Testament”. The latter was also considered the apostle of Slavs by Kyiv authors – 1661 *Paterikon* mentioned St Paul's preaching in Illyria²⁶. This statement proved with the Bible authority (Rom 15: 19) was also repeated by Herbinus; apart from that, he mentioned Apostle Paul's and his disciple Andronicus' missionary activity among Slavs²⁷.

Moreover, Herbinus highlighted the apostolic baptism of Ruthenians. However, he did not consider it to be final one, but merely the first step of baptizing. Following his main source, *Paterikon*, Herbinus included in his book the story about “five-steps baptism” of Rus'.

It must be stressed here that the *Paterikon* paid special attention to the

²¹ Ibid., p. 11–12.

²² Ibid., p. 13.

²³ A.L. Schlözer, *Нескоп. Russische Annalen in ihrer Slavonischen Grundsprache*, bd. 2. Göttingen, 1802, p. XIII.

²⁴ More about it: Н.О. Сінкевич, «Никгда бовем апостолове надаремно не ходили»: кілька спостережень щодо культу апостола Андрія у Київській митрополії першої половини XVII ст., «Болховітінівський щорічник», Київ 2011, с. 144–159.

²⁵ I. Herbinus, op. cit., p. 12–13.

²⁶ *Патерик или отечкии пещерский*, Киев 1661, к читателю.

²⁷ I. Herbinus, op. cit., p. 18.

history of the baptism of Rus. The main reason was that this event was one of key contention in the Orthodox-Catholic polemics. Catholic authors (Peter Skarga and Leon Krevza) tried to prove that Rus was baptized before the Great Schism and, thus, accepted Christianity from Constantinople, when it was still in Unity with Rome²⁸. Krevza's historical tale about a triple baptism of Rus was written particularly to serve this purpose. According to it, the first step took place at the time of Rus' princes Askol'd, Dir and Constantinople Patriarch Ignatius, who was not in "Schism" with Rome; the second baptism of Rus' took place in the days of the princess Olga and patriarch Theophylact Lekapenos – a protégé of Pope John XII (and therefore not "schismatic"); for the third time Rus' was baptized at the time of prince Vladimir and patriarch Nicholas II Chrysoberges, who also stayed in unity with Catholic Church. To oppose this theory, Orthodox authors wrote another version of the tale to prove the independence of the Kyivan Christianity from the See of Rome. The starting point of this plot is the Apostle Andrew's famous trip to Rus'. The other steps were borrowed from Krevza, however under replacement of the names of Constantinople patriarchs. The second step is related not to the Patriarch Ignatius, but Photios. Talking about the baptism of Olga, orthodox authors proposed Patriarch Basil Scamandrenus as an alternative to Theophylact Lekapenos and in the case of prince Vladimir Patriarch Sergius II the Studite instead of Sisinnius II. The reason for such a replacement is clear: Patriarchs Nicholas II Chrysoberges and Theophylact Lekapenos could be suspected of catholic sympathies. While Basil Scamander and Sisinnius II were neutral, Patriarch Sergius II the Studite, according to the sixteenth century historiography, destroyed the church unity. Thus, in his *Paterikon* Kossov provides such information as the dates of baptism and the names of patriarchs, so his audience could not have any doubts that the Kyivan Metropolitan See wasn't in Church Unity with Rome from the very beginning of its history²⁹.

Herbinus repeats this polemic narrative practically word by word, using even Kossov's words and expressions, rarely adding the information of other authorities. However, he did not understand the polemic direction of the plot completely: unlike for *Paterikon*, for Herbinus the names of Patriarchs, that were the contemporaries of each step of baptizing, did not really matter. He intended to give his reader only historical facts that he borrowed from his sources.

Thus, the second stage of the Christianization of Rus' is dated by Herbinus 863 (according to *Paterikon*) or 861 (according to Funcius or Piccolomini). This stage is connected with mission of St Cyril and Methodius. According to the medieval tradition two brothers from Thessaloniki, invited by Moravian princes, evangelized Slavic Moravia and translated the Gospel and liturgy into the Old-Slavonic. Herbinus, however, spread the area of brothers' mission up to Poland, proclaiming the brothers Apostles of Poles and Slavs (*Sclavorum ac Polonorum Apostolis*³⁰) and portrayed Moravian princes as Russian ones. The third step of

²⁸ N. Sinkevych, *The 1635 "Paterikon" by Sylvestr Kossov. Its Purposes, Originality, Sources and Interpretation*, "Jahresbuch Geschichte der Osteuropa", 64 (2016), 2, p. 177–198.

²⁹ S. Kossow, *Paterikon abo Zywoty SS. Oycow Pieczarskich, obszernie słowieńskim ięzykiem przez Świętego Nestora Zakonnika y Latopisca Ruskyigo przedtym napisany, teraz zaś z Graeckich, Łacińskich, Słowińskich y Polskich Pisarzow obiasniony y krocey podany*, Kijów 1535, s. 11–16.

³⁰ I. Herbinus, op. cit., p. 19.

the baptizing of Rus' took place, according to Herbinus, in 886. At that time Byzantine Caesar Basil I the Macedonian sent the bishop to evangelize and baptize Ruthenians, they asked for a miracle – the bishop threw the Gospel into the fire and it did not burn³¹. The fourth step of the baptizing in *Religiosae Cryptae* is connected with the personal baptism of the princess Olga in Constantinople in 958. The Vladimir's baptizing is depicted especially vividly. It was preceded by philosopher Cyrus' teaching, the comparison of all world religion, Vladimir's blindness, and the promise of a marriage between Vladimir and Byzantine Princess Anna. However, after the baptism Vladimir saw the light and proclaimed the final acceptance of the true God: *Nunc primum Deum verum cognovi*³². Since the moment of the baptizing onwards, Rus' has been rejecting idolatrous rulers and paganism³³. It is interesting that Byzantine Caesars Basil and Constantine who promoted Vladimir's baptism, are called Germans (*Imperatores Graecorum fratres germanos Basilium et Constantium*³⁴). In such way Herbinus brought the story of the baptizing of Rus' closer to the German reader.

It is very interesting that Herbinus stated that the title of Cesar was bestowed upon Kyiv prince Vladimir³⁵. He distorted here the famous legend of Monomakh's cap used by Moscow authors to proclaim the conception of Moscow as the third Rome. According to Moscow version of the legend, the crown was passed on by Constantine IX Monomachos of Byzantium (1000–1055) to his grandson, Vladimir Monomakh, and it was used as a symbol of *translatio imperii* from Constantinople to Moscow³⁶. Herbinus, however, gave an alternative: Vladimir, saint and baptizer of Rus', started a war against Byzantium in Thrace; forced by military circumstances, Constantine IX Monomachos sent to Russian prince the crown, sceptre and the relics of Holy Cross, creating thereby the Russian monarchy³⁷. The confusing of St Vladimir with Vladimir Monomakh is probably caused by the great importance of the Saint Vladimir's cult in the seventeenth-century Kyiv that was reflected in Herbinus main source. Sylvester Kossov in his *Paterikon* pointed out the importance of the mission "of the great monarch of all Russia" Vladimir. Discovering the relics of St Volodymyr, his glorification as a Baptist of Russia and a patron of education and the Church, the attitude towards the saint as a personal patron of the Metropolitan Mohyla – all this makes the figure of the saint extremely important for the *Paterikon*.

Herbinus, however, knew about the Moscow claims to Cesar title and could not disregard them considering the German readers of the book, for whom there was only one monarch to lay claims to Cesar's title – the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. Using the authority of Lithuanian Jesuit Albert Wijuk Kojalowicz, Herbinus noticed that the Russian word "Tzar" means not "Cesar" but "ruling Lord" (*Dominum regnantem*); it is never used by the

³¹ Ibid., p. 19–20.

³² Ibid., p. 20–23.

³³ Ibid., p. 17.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 22.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 14.

³⁶ D. Cizevskij, *History of Russian Literature: From the Eleventh Century to the End of the Baroque*, Mouton 1960, p. 251–252.

³⁷ I. Herbinus, op. cit., p. 14.

Russians concerning other monarchs³⁸. Moreover, as Herbinus argued, only in 1548, thus 540 years after Vladimir' death, the Moscow prince Ivan, following the Polish example, started to call himself a "Tzar"³⁹. Probably, there is a reflection of Innocent Gizel's ideas in this statement. Kyiv intellectuals had not approved Moscow claims on Kyiv historical heritage.

Thus, Herbinus supported popular in the seventeenth-century Kyiv cult of St Vladimir and showed his skepticism toward the Moscow continuity with Constantinople.

Mental characteristics of Ruthenians, Slavic languages and culture in Religiosae Kijoviensium Cryptae

Studying of the Slavic language and Ruthenian habits was very important for Herbinus. Among others, it allowed Herbinus to conclude the righteousness of Ruthenian faith⁴⁰. The locals are called by Herbinus mainly Roxolans or Cossacks. Since the fourteenth century some authors were trying to connect East-European nations with mentioned in the antique sources tribes of Sarmatians, Scythes, and Roxolans⁴¹. Some Renaissance German authors took Sarmatians and Scythes as the part of the mystical *Germania magna*⁴². On the contrary, Polish noblemen since the end of the sixteenth century used the "Sarmatia theory" of Polish "szlachta's" descent in order to substantiate their identity, political rights and dignity; thereby an original Polish cultural phenomenon called Sarmatism was created⁴³. Within the "Sarmatia theory", early modern Ruthenian historiography developed the myth about Roxolans – Sarmatian tribe that was direct ancestry of the inhabitants of Ukrainian lands. Some of them identified with the descendants of the Sarmatians of all Slavic nations, whereas another bordered Sarmatia only to the limits of the Kiev land⁴⁴ or contrasted the Moscovites to the "brave tribe of the Roxolan land"⁴⁵. "Roksolan people" in the early modern Ruthenian historiography primarily meant exactly the inhabitants of Ukrainian lands.

Term "Cossacks" was also in broad use. At the very beginning it had no ethnical connotation. The military people, who lived on the Muslim-Christian border, were called Cossacks. After Khmelnytsky's uprising, however, the term was spread on all inhabitants of Cossack state – Hetmanate that occupied the territory of contemporary Central Ukraine. It is interesting, that Cossacks, according to Herbinus, originated not from Sarmatian but Scythes – agriculturists⁴⁶. Thus, he did not identify them with the rest of Ruthenians. He also examined the etymology of the word "Cossack" that originated, according to popular Ruthenian and

³⁸ Ibid., p. 15–16.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 16.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 17.

⁴¹ Л. Штайндорфф, op. cit., c. 44.

⁴² A.V. Doronin, op. cit., p. 117–128.

⁴³ More about it: A. Zamoyski, *The Polish Way*, New York 1987, p. 163–164, 187, 196.

⁴⁴ H.J. Bömelburg, *Frühneuzeitliche Nationen im östlichen Europa: das polnische Geschichtsdenken und die Reichweite einer humanistischen Nationalgeschichte (1500–1700)*, Wiesbaden 2006, p. 381–383.

⁴⁵ A. Kalnofoyski. *Teraturgima, ludo cuda...*, Kijów 1638, s. 43.

⁴⁶ Ibid., c. 10–11.

Polish authors of the seventeenth-century,⁴⁷ from the word “goat” (Ruthenian “koza”) and used because of the velocity of these people. Herbinus even tried to find references about Cossacks ancestry among Alexander the Great’s army. This search, however, seemed to him to be incomplete, and he left it open for a discussion: *disquirant eruditi*⁴⁸.

Cossacks were traditionally considered to be protectors of Ukrainian lands from the Tatars’ invasions. Herbinus also stressed the importance of Cossacks in the protection of Ukrainian lands: *Cosaci Zaporovienses dicuntur incolae Roxolani et milites, qui in illo tractu perpetuas contra Tartarorum excursiones et latrocinia agunt excubias*⁴⁹.

Borysthenidae was neologism coined by Herbinus. He used it regarding the inhabitants of Ukrainian lands. It was clear to him that Ruthenians belonged to the Slavic community. The idea that they originated from the same ancestors had been already widely developed by Maciej Strykowski⁵⁰. It is interesting, however, that the term “Slavs” in *Religiosae Cryptae* obtained only the meaning of East and South Slavdom; Poles are enumerated separately⁵¹.

Herbinus highly appreciated Ruthenian culture admiring their education and hospitality: *Rutheni Borysthenidae moribus elegantiores sunt, utpote, qui in scholam artibus humanioribus passim fideliter emolliuntur: quare erga externos humaniores Paulo sunt, eosque benigne habent*⁵². He also contemplated about an abstinent life and fasting that was very popular among the Ruthenians and in such way explained their health and prosperity. In Ruthenia, noticed Herbinus, a pharmacy or a doctor hardly could be found: *Quisque sibi aeger et medicus est, piper aut vinum sublimatum deficiendi stomacho medetur*⁵³. Thus, they became healthy, lived longer and died in the natural time of life, he concluded⁵⁴.

Religion is the part of Ruthenian everyday life, claimed Herbinus: *Et quia Rutheni duntaxat sibi suisque affectum et benevolentiam omnem debere se arbitrantur, hincinter eos tituli fratrum et sororum, votaue Christi gratiam et amorem spirantis, ultro citroque comitant. Obviam, enim sibi facti haec formulam affantur: Bohn a pomoc! Id est, Deus te adjuvet!*⁵⁵ The presence of Christ in everyday communication and the way of celebrating of Christmas and Easter – all these features, wrote Herbinus, should be a pious example for Germans⁵⁶.

Herbinus clearly distinguished citizens of Grand Duchy of Moscow (northern Ruthenians) from inhabitants of Ukrainian lands (*Borysthenidae*): *Ingenium Russiae observare molismagnae est, qua maxime adhibita assequi datur cum Russi Septentrionales barbarie efferati, exterorum curam finibus, urbibus templisque suis arceant; Meridionales vero seu Borysthenidae, rerum suarum*

⁴⁷ T. Chynczewska-Hennel, op. cit., s. 160.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 7.

⁴⁹ I. Herbinus, op. cit., p. 7.

⁵⁰ M. Strykowski, *Kronika polska, litewska, zmudzka i wszystkiej Rusi*, Królewiec 1582, s. 89.

⁵¹ I. Herbinus, op. cit., p. 19.

⁵² Ibid., p. 177.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 178.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 178.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 177–178.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 178.

*invidiam, pectoris sui viscera inspicere vix tantem patiuntur*⁵⁷. He mentioned the barbarism of Muscovites in opposition to Ukrainians in several aspects: low educational level and inertness of their priests, as well as idolatry, which he observes among people in Moscow⁵⁸. He entirely confirmed the negative image of Muscovites that existed in the previous West-European literature⁵⁹. Probably, such a negative attitude is caused by the fact that Vilnius was occupied by Moscow army in 1655–1661. During that time a lot of Vilnius Lutherans fled away from the city; yet, some of them were captured or even killed⁶⁰. It could have been influenced also by Innocent Gizel's attitude toward Moscow. Gizel's personal attitude to Moscow is still a subject of discussion among scholars. Nevertheless, it was Gizel who headed the embassy of the Ukrainian clergy with a request to Moscow Tsar in Smolensk to confirm the rights of the Kyiv Metropolis and its subordination not to Moscow but to Constantinople. In 1675 the Patriarch of Constantinople Parthenius IV proposed Polish King Jan III Sobieski the candidature of Gizel for the Kiev metropolitan. Sobieski, however, preferred Joseph Shumlyansky⁶¹. Only after the left-bank clergy changed his position, he turned to Constantinople with a request to ordain Gizel in Moscow⁶².

Switching to the problem of Ruthenian language, Herbinius distinguished the “mother” (*lingua sclavonica*) and the “daughters” (*linguae Ruthenica, Polonica, Vandalica, Moscovitica, Bohemica, Croatica, Illyrica, nec non Bulgarorum Walachorum etc.*) languages that certainly differ from each other⁶³. According to Herbinius, the Slavic language is one of the main European tongues because of its wide expansion: *a mari Adriaticoper Illyricum, Dalmatiam, Traciam, Bulgariam et nunc regno Astracam a Magno Duce Moscoviae occupato, ultra Mare Caspium*⁶⁴. From the very beginning, wrote Herbinius, of its existence Slavic language had remained unaltered, recently, however, it used a lot of idioms borrowed from other languages⁶⁵.

It must be mentioned that the question of language appeared in the Orthodox-Catholic polemics as well. Famous Polish Jesuit Piotr Skarga in his polemical treatise “On the Church unity” doubted the capacity of Slavic language for theological and liturgical purposes⁶⁶. Herbinius was the adherent of Georg Cruciger's theory about four cardinal languages: Latin, Greek, Hebrew and German⁶⁷. Because of this Herbinius proposed the theory about Slavic language,

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 144–145.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 159, 166, 177.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 177.

⁶⁰ D. Frick, *Kith, kin, and neighbors : communities and confessions in seventeenth-century Wilno*, Ithaca, NY [u.a.] 2013, p. 292–305.

⁶¹ В.М. Лурье, *Русское православие между Киевом и Москвой – Очерк истории русской православной традиции между XV и XX веками*, Москва 2009, с. 193.

⁶² К.В. Харлампович, *Малороссийское влияние на великорусскую церковную жизнь*, т. 1, Казань 1914, p. 213; В.М. Лурье, *op. cit.*, с. 193.

⁶³ I. Herbinius, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 168.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 177.

⁶⁶ P. Skarga, *O jedności Kościoła Bożego*, [в:] Русская историческая библиотека, т. 7, Санкт-Петербург 1882, col. 485–486.

⁶⁷ I. Herbinius, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

which was used for Ruthenian sacral texts and originated from the old Hebrew: *Ego autem, Biblia Hebraea, cum cura legendo, attonitus mysterio, observavi, idioma Sclavono-Polonicum in vocabulis multis... plura me annotaturum, atque in lucem publicam editurum polliceor*⁶⁸. Illustrating his statement Herbinus drew a list with similarities between Polish and Slavic Church on the one hand and ancient Hebrew on the other⁶⁹. These comparisons are far from nowadays linguistics, e.g. he compared the Hebrew word אב ("father") and Polish "baba" that means "an old woman"⁷⁰. However, Herbinus outlined some words that directly originated from Hebrew, e.g. Myron, Aloe, Hyssop⁷¹, etc. Herbinus was even going to edit a special book *Hebraismi Sclavono Polonici* proving his theory⁷². Probably, in such way, he wanted to raise the significance of Slavic language and strengthen his Orthodox friends in their polemics against Catholics.

Let us summarize. Approaching to the book *Religiosae Kijoviensium Cryptae* (1675) protestant pastor John Herbinus was completely unsatisfied with the information about Ruthenia spreading in the German intellectual milieu. He refuted the popular legend about Kyiv as ancient Troy and Ovid's burial place. The second direction of Herbinus polemics was the denying of some Catholic myths about Ruthenian language and historical connection between Kyiv and Constantinople. Instead, he provided trustworthy, from his point of view, information about the five-steps baptizing of Rus' and prince Vladimir's great role in the process. The third Herbinus' task was the polemics with Moscow historiography and its attempts to assign Moscow Tsar a Cesar's status. In such way Herbinus was searching and arguing for the historical truth.

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⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 169.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 170–176.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 170.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 170.

⁷² Ibid., p. 177.

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**SEARCHING FOR THE TRUTH: RUTHENIAN LAND, PEOPLE,
AND LANGUAGE IN JOHN HERBINIUS' *RELIGIOSAE
KIJOWIENSES CRYPTAE* (JENA 1675)**

Summary: Approaching to the book *Religiosae Kijoviensium Cryptae* (1675) Protestant pastor John Herbinus was completely unsatisfied with the information about Ruthenia spreading in the German intellectual milieu. He refuted the popular legend about Kyiv as ancient Troy and Ovid's burial place. The second direction of Herbinus polemics was the denying of some Catholic myths about Ruthenian language and historical connection between Kyiv and Constantinople. Instead, he provided trustworthy, from his point of view, information about the five-step baptism of Rus, and prince Vladimir's great role in it. The third Herbinus' task was the polemics with Moscow historiography and its attempts to assign Moscow Tsar a Cesar's status. In such way Herbinus was searching and arguing for the historical truth.

Keywords: John Herbinus, Kyiv, historical narrative, Ruthenians, Ruthenian language.

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**POSZUKIWANIE PRAWDY: RUSKA ZIEMIA,
SPOŁECZEŃSTWO I JĘZYK W *RELIGIOSAE KIJOWIENSES
CRYPTAE* (JENA 1675) JANA HERBINIUSZA**

Streszczenie: Praca zawiera analizę rozprawy *Religiosae Kijoviensium Cryptae* (1675) autorstwa protestanckiego duchownego Jana Herbinusza. Poddał on krytyce rozprzestrzeniające się w niemieckim środowisku intelektualnym informacje na temat Rusi. Przede wszystkim obalił popularną ówczesnie legendę przedstawiającą Kijów jako starożytne miasto Troja i miejsce pochówku Owidiusza. Drugim kierunkiem polemiki Herbinusza było zaprzeczanie niektórym mitom na temat języka ruskiego i historycznego związku Kijowa z Konstantynopolem. Przytoczył on wiarygodne, wedle własnej wiedzy, informacje o pięciostopniowym chrzcie Rusi i rolę, jaką odegrał w nim książę Włodzimierz. Trzecim zadaniem Herbinusza była polemika z moskiewską historiografią i jej próbą nadania carowi moskiewskiemu statusu cesarza. W tenże sposób Herbinusz poszukiwał i dążył do historycznej prawdy.

Słowa kluczowe: Jan Herbinusz, Kijów, narracja historyczna, Rusini, język ruski.