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*The Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*  
by Johannes Herbinus (1675):  
a Description of Kyiv  
and Its “Sacral Space” in Early  
Modern Multiconfessional Discourse



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Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijoviensium Cryptæ* (Jena, 1675).  
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## INTRODUCTION

The history of early modern times presents us with many paradoxes in intercultural relations. One of these paradoxes is the publishing of the book *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*<sup>1</sup> (Jena 1675), a treatise dedicated to the Kyivan Cave Monastery (or Kyiv Pechersk Lavra), which was founded circa 1051 and has been an important Orthodox religious center up to the present day. The author of the book, Johannes Herbinus (1626–1679), was a well-known Lutheran theologian and writer. Living for a long time within the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, he stayed in epistolary contact with the Ruthenian ecclesiastical elite, and wrote the above-mentioned book that examined stories about the Kyiv Church he had learned earlier, giving his own opinion on the topic. Johannes Herbinus' *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, written in the middle of the seventeenth century, is an interesting piece of theological writing because it includes a description of an Orthodox sanctuary, yet Herbinus himself was Protestant. Herbinus described Orthodox monastic life and the origins of the Kyiv cults, characterized the Orthodox religion, and provided several interesting facts from Ruthenian ecclesiastical history. On the other hand, the author polemicized against the veneration of saints and icons, and other theological contradictions. The book is, therefore, an interesting piece of writing for both Orthodox and Protestant traditions.

The *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* has not been overlooked in scholarship. Although the German pre-war scholar Heinrich Bendel (1845–1931) gathered together all the biographic data found in Herbinus' works and analyzed his intellectual heritage,<sup>2</sup> he paid very little attention to the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*. Underlining this,<sup>3</sup> the German historian of Ukrainian origin Dmytro

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<sup>1</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ, sive Kijovia Subterranea: In quibus Labyrinthus Sub Terra, Et in eo emortua, à sexcentis annis, Divorum atque Heroum Græco-Ruthenorum, & nec dum corrupta, corpora, ex nomine atque ad oculum, e Πατερικῶ Sclavonico detegit*. Jenae 1675.

<sup>2</sup> Heinrich Bendel. *Magister Johannes Herbinus: Ein Gelehrtenleben aus dem XVII. Jahrhundert*. Berne 1924.

<sup>3</sup> Dmytro Čyževskyj. Magister Johannes Herbinus. Ein Gelehrtenleben aus dem XVII. Jahrhundert by Heinrich Bendel // *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie* 5, 3/4 (1928) 490.

Chyzhevsky (1897–1977) analyzed Herbinus' writings about Kyiv in great detail, considering them to be a well-placed source of seventeenth century Ruthenian history.<sup>4</sup> Herbinus' literary works also attracted Polish scholars, who considered him to be one of the most prominent historical figures in Silesia.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, Russian scholars only briefly mentioned Herbinus' attitude to the Orthodox Church.<sup>6</sup>

Starting with the reprint of the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* in the Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian literature,<sup>7</sup> Herbinus' book is considered to be an important part of early-modern heritage dealing with Ukrainian lands. The contemporary Ukrainian scholar Evgen Kabanets wrote several important articles about Herbinus, paying special attention to his treatise dedicated to Kyiv's caves.<sup>8</sup> However, because the treatise is written in the Latin language, Herbinus' book is limited in its use. This problem may have been resolved thanks to a new translation of the text by Kostiantyn Balashov and Lyudmyla Shevchenko-Savchynska, which provides much valuable scholarly detail; it can be accessed on the Medievalist web-platform.<sup>9</sup>

Despite the fact that all of the above-mentioned scholars have made significant contributions to the research on the treatise, Herbinus' book has never been investigated using a comprehensive approach. Such issues as his attitude towards the veneration of saints and relics has gone completely unresearched. And there are many other points of view from which Herbinus' treatise has never been analyzed.

*Habent sua fata libelli*; this prominent expression underlines the importance of the history of books, not only before but also after they are published.

<sup>4</sup> Дмитро Чижевський. Магістер Йоган Гербіній та його книга про київські печери 1675 р. // *Книголюб* 3 (1927) 20–34.

<sup>5</sup> Jan Reychman. Herbinus Jan // *Polski słownik biograficzny*. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1960/61, vol. 9, p. 437; Paweł Musioł. Literatura śląsko-polska XVII wieku // *Zaranie Śląskie* 6/3 (1930) 122–125.

<sup>6</sup> Иван Соколов. *Отношение протестантизма къ Россіи въ XVI и XVII вѣкахъ*. Москва 1880, p. 68, 78, 216, 231–238.

<sup>7</sup> Paulina Lewin. Introduction // *Seventeenth-Century Writings on the Kievan Caves Monastery*. Cambridge 1987, pp. XI–XXXV.

<sup>8</sup> Євген Кабанець. Україна козацька та сакральна в працях пастора Йоганна Гербінія // *Матеріали науково-практичної конференції «Історія запорозького козацтва: в пам'ятках та музейній практиці»*. Запоріжжя 2008, pp. 177–185; Евгений Кабанец. Гербиний // *Православная энциклопедия*. Москва 2006, vol. XI, pp. 191–192; Євген Кабанець. Пам'ятка епіграфіки з церкви св. Спаса на Берестові // *Лаврський альманах* 29 (2014) 173–177; eadem. Пастор Йоганн Гербіній – дослідник Лаврських печер // *Medievalist* (www.medievalist.org.ua/2015/10/blog-post\_24.html).

<sup>9</sup> Йоган Гербіній. Священні Київські печери, або Підземний Київ (фрагменти) // *Medievalist* (www.medievalist.org.ua/2015/10/2.html).

Writing about the reception of Herbinus' work, I would like to start with the audience to whom the book was initially addressed – those who were German and Protestant; and finish with the intellectual space containing the greatest number of surviving exemplars, Central and Eastern (Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, and Russia). Was Herbinus' book disseminated, and did it find interested readers in Germany, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and the Russian Empire? How many copies of the book were in use, and do existing copies contain any marginalia? In what field of contemporary knowledge – theology, history, or natural philosophy – was it considered useful? What was the evaluation of the treatise and its author? All these questions will be answered in the last chapter of this book.

Taking into account the variety of Christian and non-Christian denominations within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the middle of the seventeenth century, Herbinus' book should be analyzed within a multiconfessional context. According to Janusz Tazbir and the scholarship that has been following his concept, religious tolerance (or rather toleration) in the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (both states were united as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1569) had a great impact on society, which allowed it to avoid religious wars and provided many interesting examples of the coexistence of the different religious denominations.<sup>10</sup> Religious freedom, as a part of early modern civil rights, could be observed across the whole Eastern European region,<sup>11</sup> yet, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth it could certainly be observed on a large scale. This situation was due to historical reasons. A few centuries before the Reformation, the Polish Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had become non mono-confessional. From the time Ruthenian lands became joined to the Polish Kingdom (middle of the thirteenth century) and Grand Duchy of Lithuania (middle of the fourteenth century), there existed within the territory of both these states an ongoing interaction between several of the religions and Christian denominations; the first of these being the Catholics and the Orthodox. In the middle of the sixteenth century, however, Orthodox nobility was put on a par with the Catholic nobility. The reason for this was the success of the Protestant Reformation, and following it, the gradual liberation of religious policy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

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<sup>10</sup> Janusz Tazbir. *Państwo bez stosów. Szkice z dziejów tolerancji w Polsce XVI i XVII wieku*. Warszawa 2009; David Frick. *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors: Communities and Confessions in Seventeenth-Century Wilno*. Ithaca (NY) 2013.

<sup>11</sup> Winfried Eberhard. Reformation und Luthertum im östlichen Europa. Konflikte um konfessionelle und ständische Selbstbehauptung im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert // *Der Luthereffekt im östlichen Europa: Geschichte – Kultur – Erinnerung* / ed. J. Bahlcke, B. Störkuhl, M. Weber. Berlin 2017, p. 11.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Reformation had already won considerable social support in Prussia, Silesia, Courland (Latvia), and Pomerania, followed by Greater Poland. The bourgeoisie represented the main adherents of Lutheranism, yet they actively participated in political and interdenominational discussions. In the bigger and wealthier towns of Lower Silesia, German-speaking Lutheran communities were dominant. Among these Lutherans, Polish was commonly spoken only in Upper Silesia.<sup>12</sup> A different situation could be observed in Lesser Poland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and Ruthenia, where the Reformation found support from both the magnates and middle gentry (*szlachta*). Here the predominant influence was Calvinism; and the German-speaking population was not the only one involved in the Reformation, so to were the Polish-speaking inhabitants.

In 1562, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's Reformed Church was divided into two groups, the Calvinists, making up the bigger group, and the Arians (or Antitrinitarians), the smaller one. By the end of the sixteenth century, the process of consolidating the Reformed Church had finished, and its communities (Vilnius being the first) had acquired a rather considerable influence within society.<sup>13</sup> Apart from the above mentioned streams of the Reformation, it should also be mentioned that after 1548 the Czech Brethren communities left Bohemia for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Moreover, even such an ultra-radical Protestant movement as the Anabaptists found their place in the multi-denominational palette of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In 1570, the Lutheran, Reformed, and Czech Brethren nobility united (Sandomierz Confederation) to fight for their political and religious rights.

The *szlachta's* great influence on the political life of the Polish-Lithuanian "noble republic" became the prime mover for the Reformation. In addition, the Polish king, Sigismund II August's, (1520–1572) personal sympathy for the Protestant movement strengthened the position of all Protestant communities. By the end of his reign, religious liberty had become an important part of the *szlachta's* political rights, which had been secured by the Warsaw Confederation (1573), and from that time they were constantly defeated by the Polish, Lithuanian, and Ruthenian nobility, who appealed to the Warsaw Confederation as the legal source of their religious liberty.

However, the situation during the seventeenth century was a bit different. Instead of a *golden age* of Polish tolerance there came a *silver* one. The Polish king, Sigismund III Vasa (1566–1632), supported by the Jesuits, began to enact

<sup>12</sup> Paweł Musioł. *Literatura śląsko-polska* (1930) 122–125.

<sup>13</sup> Kęstutis Daugirdas. *Entstehung, Krise und Konsolidierung der reformierten Kirche im Großfürstentum Litauen // Die evangelische Diaspora. Evangelische Diaspora in Estland, Lettland und Litauen* / ed. Wilhelm Hüffmeier. Leipzig 2008, pp. 85–100.

the program of post-Trent Catholicism. Educated in Jesuit schools, nobility now converted to Catholicism, and the number of Protestant churches was, therefore, notably reduced.<sup>14</sup> During this time, when the idea of internal peace was being strongly praised in the Commonwealth, and after the anti-monarchical uprising called the Zebrzydowski Rebellion (1606–1608) had failed, the coalition between the king and the Catholic clergy became even stronger. From this time onwards, Protestants were limited in their political rights, the number of Protestants in the Senate was scaled down, and even their churches were given over to the Catholics.<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile, during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), the number of Lutheran communities increased in Greater Poland in the newly-founded Lutheran emigrant towns.<sup>16</sup> Protestants continued to be a strong party of “dissidents.” As a result of political negotiations and constant appeals to the Warsaw Confederation, the new Polish king, Władysław IV Vasa (1595–1648), was forced to confirm the rights of religious minorities before his election in 1632. The political pressure forced the main streams of the Reformation movement into a consolidation, and the Polish king's strong desire to preserve religious peace within his state pushed theologians of all confessions to search for confessional dialogue. On August 28, 1645, theologians from the Reformed, Lutheran, Orthodox, and Catholic groups met in Toruń (Thorn) for a religious discussion (*Colloquium charitativum*) that aimed to find agreement on the most controversial dogmatic questions.<sup>17</sup> Despite the fact that the discussion did not succeed, this meeting is certain proof of the readiness of the Polish-Lithuanian Christian community to take part in religious dialogue, even at a time of confessional tensions in Western Europe.<sup>18</sup>

Religious tolerance deteriorated markedly during the middle of the seventeenth century, when the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was troubled by numerous military conflicts, and both domestic and external wars. After the Muscovite-Polish (1654–1667) and Polish-Swedish (1655–1660) wars had practically destroyed the country, the question of denomination came to the fore in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Both Swedes and the Muscovites were adherents of a different religion, and this provoked antipathy towards non-Catholics within the country. In 1658–1660, the communities of Polish Brethren (Arians)

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<sup>14</sup> More about: Eduard Kneifel. *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Ausburgischen Kirche in Polen*. Winsen (Luhe) 1962; Kazimierz Bem. *Calvinism in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth 1548–1648: The Churches and the Faithful*. Leiden – Boston 2020.

<sup>15</sup> Eduard Kneifel. *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Ausburgischen Kirche*, p. 34.

<sup>16</sup> Jan Harasimowicz. Lutheran Churches in Poland // *Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe* / ed. Andrew Spicer. Farnham – Burlington 2012, p. 409.

<sup>17</sup> Иван Соколов. *Отношение протестантизма къ Рощии*, p. 364.

<sup>18</sup> Eduard Kneifel. *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Ausburgischen Kirche*, p. 61.

were officially recognized as outlaws; their churches and printing houses were closed, and adherents persecuted. Finally, they were totally expelled from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>19</sup> Several laws from the second half of the seventeenth century limited the rights of Protestants: in 1663, renovating Protestant churches was prohibited and the Warsaw Confederation was officially canceled, and in 1668 a law was passed forbidding Catholics from converting to other religions. Also at this time, Protestants began to be officially recognized as heretics and their social status became considerably reduced.<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless, the anti-Protestant actions carried out in the middle and second half of the seventeenth century caused almost no harm 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”). Furthermore, Lutherans did not have such powerful patrons as the Radziwiłł noble family, who had been supporting Calvinist communities, and the loss of protectors was not a catastrophe for them.<sup>21</sup>

In general, the interconfessional situation of the second half of the seventeenth century was still very different from that of Western Europe. The intellectual space and printing houses were open for interconfessional discussion, and church schools and libraries were available for people of other denominations. In the frequently occurring interdenominational marriages, it was not mandatory for the partners to convert to another denomination (as often happened, a wife might have attended services at an Orthodox church, while the husband kept going to their Catholic or Protestant sanctuary). Categories such as trade contacts, friendships, and neighborhood relations were free of confessional judgment, and, as vividly noted by Janusz Tazbir, it was only effigies of heretics that were openly burned.<sup>22</sup> Within Polish-Lithuanian society, the Counter Reformation never reached the success it was supposed to. This is vividly shown in a book by Magda Teter, who has concluded that the aspiration of the Roman Catholic Church to become the religion of the majority in the Commonwealth failed, and disobedient Catholic nobility, Protestants, and Jews “continued to remind the Polish Catholic Church of the real limits to its authority and influence.”<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Eduard Kneifel. *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Ausburgischen Kirche*, p. 58.

<sup>20</sup> Wojciech Kriegseisen. *Protestanten in Polen-Litauen (1696–1763): Rechtliche Lage, Organisation und Beziehungen zwischen den evangelischen Glaubensgemeinschaften*. Wiesbaden 2011, pp. 38–39.

<sup>21</sup> Gottfried Schramm. Protestantismus und städtische Gesellschaft in Wilna (16–17. Jahrhundert) // *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 17/1 (1969) 214.

<sup>22</sup> Janusz Tazbir. *Państwo bez stosów*, pp. 172–219.

<sup>23</sup> Magda Teter. *Jews and Heretics in Catholic Poland: A Beleaguered Church in the Post-Reformation Era*. Cambridge 2005, p. 144.



A town that was especially famous for its multiconfessional and multiethnic diversity was Vilnius – the unofficial second capital of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – in which the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* was written. The multicultural nature of this city was demonstrated in a recent book by David Frick, in which he depicts, at the microhistorical level, the process of everyday interaction between adherents of different confessions: Genevans, Lutherans, Catholics, Uniates and Orthodox, Muslims, and Jews. Such situations involving peaceful coexistence between several denominations in one city space, along with active interconfessional polemics, differed completely from those established in the cities of the Holy Roman Empire after the 1555 Religious Peace of Augsburg, which had built strict separations along confessional lines within corporations, guilds, and families.<sup>24</sup> This very toleration had a great impact on Herbinus' ideas and produced the conditions in which his book could appear. Lacking the formal restrictions and being welcomed in the Orthodox churches in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Herbinus could freely gather the information and analyse it without the confessional hostility.

The *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* was written in the context of the early modern practice of knowledge transfer. Books, no less than people, are transmitters of new ideas and new knowledge.<sup>25</sup> Discovering new geographical areas and lands, the people of the seventeenth century were deeply interested in the customs, religion, and habits of indigenes. Among Europeans, meeting these strangers evoked a strong feeling of historical awareness.<sup>26</sup> As a result, many books were written and published that introduced “these others,” and their past and present to European readers.<sup>27</sup> The *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* can be considered one of these. With this book, Herbinus was making an attempt to broaden the intellectual horizons of the Western European reader (mainly German Protestant), introducing information about Ruthenian lands, the Orthodox Church, and most of all, the Kyiv Cave Monastery. Herbinus, as a member of the German Protestant milieu and a resident of Eastern Europe, clearly distinguished himself as a facilitator of knowledge to the Western European reader. This allows his book to be researched within the history of the shaping of Eastern Europe's image in the Western European intellectual sphere.

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<sup>24</sup> David Frick. *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors*, p. 25.

<sup>25</sup> Michael Ash. Wissens- und Wissenschaftstransfer: Einführende Bemerkungen // *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 29/3 (2006) 185.

<sup>26</sup> More about it: Judith Becker, Bettina Braun. Die Begegnung mit Fremden und das Geschichtsbewusstsein – Einleitung // *Die Begegnung mit Fremden und das Geschichtsbewusstsein* / ed. Judith Becker. Göttingen 2012, pp. 7–12.

<sup>27</sup> Daniela Hacke. Contact Zones: Überlegungen zum sinneshistorischen Potential frühneuzeitlicher Reiseberichte // *Praktiken der frühen Neuzeit: Akteure – Handlungen – Artefakte* / ed. Arndt Brendecke. Köln – Weimar – Wien 2015, p. 423.

Last but not least, the early modern period was a time in which confessional and proto-national identities were being formed. Ruthenian lands were no exception. Confessional divisions of Ruthenians provoked among them the search for new identities. After negotiations with Rome were effectively completed, the main part of the Orthodox hierarchy signed the 1596 Union of Brest. But some of the monasteries, brotherhoods, and bishops launched an active, polemical campaign against it. The activities of the anti-union campaign significantly increased after the resumption of the Orthodox hierarchy in 1620, when Theophanes, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, proclaimed a new Orthodox Metropolitan for Kyiv.

Between 1632 and 1633, the Orthodox Church had its rights officially rehabilitated. Elected in 1632, the Orthodox metropolitan, Petro Mohyla, was deeply involved in the search for a *modus vivendi* between Catholic Warsaw and Ottoman controlled Constantinople, which was still very important for Kyiv. What we would have observed at the same time among the circles of Ruthenian intellectuals was the rising influence of the idea of searching for support from Moscow, a state with the “same faith.”

The Uniate Church was, however, not abolished; moreover, it had already gained considerable support and preserved a large number of monasteries, churches, and latifundia in Ruthenian lands (mainly on the territory of contemporary Belarus). From this time onwards, there were two official Churches of the Eastern rite within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which initiated a polemical “Rus’ against Rus’” campaign. Multiple efforts to reunite the Ruthenian Church, thus creating a condition of dual protection under both Rome and Constantinople, or even establishing an independent Patriarchate of Kyiv, did not succeed, producing, however, several interesting attempts to distinguish between the terms “Ruthenian Church” and “Ruthenian tradition.”<sup>28</sup>

The Orthodox Church, however, found military support in the Ruthenian Cossacks. Since the Cossack hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1596–1657) had started his war against the Polish gentry in 1648, the question of the Orthodox Church’s possession of equal rights was raised at every Diet. Khmelnytsky, aiming, among other things, to bring about a Cossack autonomy in which Orthodoxy would have a predominant role, and to totally prohibit the Union, asked the tsar of Moscow for political protection.<sup>29</sup> The Muscovite decision to incorporate Ruthenian territories and to wage war against Poland was approved and resulted in the Treaty of Pereyaslav (1654), which established a relationship between

<sup>28</sup> For example, in the works of Meletij Smotryc’kyj (1577–1633): Meletius Smotrycki. *Apologia Peregrinathey do Kraiow Wschodnych przez mie Meletivsza Smotryskieo [...] Roku P. 1623 y 24. obchodzonej, przez falszywą Bracią słownie y na pismie spotwarzoney, do przezacnego Narodu Ruskiego [...] sporządzona y podana*. Dermań 1628, pp. 82–83.

<sup>29</sup> More about it: Serhii Plokhyy. *The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine*. Oxford 2001, pp. 176–206.

Moscow and the Ukrainian Cossack Hetmanate that fluctuated between a protectorate and vassalage. The ensuing Moscow-Polish War (1654–1667) ended with the Peace Treaty of Andrusovo (1667), according to which, Ruthenia east of the Dnipro river and Kyiv fell under Moscow's ownership, while the western part remained in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This territorial division resulted also in a confessional one: the Uniate Church could only assert itself in the Polish part of the Kyivan Metropolitanate. Given this, in Ruthenian lands, the confessional question became a matter of political and even proto-national identity.

Influenced by various religious and political centers, the early-modern Ruthenian ecclesiastical writers were forced to declare an independent Kyivan historiographical, hagiographic, and polemical tradition. This was hidden behind special rhetorical tricks and narrative constructions, and proclaimed as a return to "ancient times" and original sources. Moreover, the works of the Ruthenian ecclesiastical elite included sites of memory and historical narratives expressing supra-regional identities, which in turn played a fundamental role in the formation of modern Eastern European nations.

That is the third context for the appearance of the book, which I consider to be a well-placed source of information about the ideological situation and political opinions of the Ruthenian ecclesiastical elite, as well as about the ecclesiastical and spiritual life of the Kyivan Metropolitanate and the Kyivan Cave Monastery. This research will shed light on this problem through the study of the historical and hagiographical narratives that were constructed by Kyiv Church intellectuals for the purpose of polemically persuading their flock, or even simply for the purpose of creating common texts for ecclesiastical and private reading.

Therefore, my research belongs to a field that is at the junction of church and interconfessional relational history; social, political, and intellectual history; comparative theology; regional studies; and cultural anthropology. The *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* was written within three relevant historical contexts: confessional tolerance in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, knowledge transfer in early modern Europe, and the rise of the Ruthenian national and confessional identity. These contexts have determined my study's three research questions.

### ***Research questions***

In response to the contexts described above, the investigation consisted of three main research questions. The first concerns the interconfessional context of the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*. Whether, and if so how, were the Protestant author's values and aims reflected in his description of the Orthodox sanctuary, and what issues of Orthodox theology, rites, and church customs provoked a critique or polemic from Herbinus, and which aspects earned his approval?

My second research question is as follows: How were Ruthenian hagiographical narratives, historical chronicles, the oral information of contemporaries,

and his own observations interpreted and transmitted further by Herbinus, taking into account his biography and the worldview of potential readers of the text?

The last research question asks: Whether, and if so on what scale, Herbinus' information is relevant to the history of Ukrainian spiritual, intellectual, and political history; what kinds of places of memory, ideas, and mythos were reflected in the book; and how can this be helpful in reconstructing the general Ruthenian historical narrative of the mid-seventeenth century?

### **Objectives**

The objectives of this research were, first of all, Herbinus' biography, the circumstances of the appearance of the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, the conceptual orientation of its author, and his work methodology with earlier texts. Second, to analyze information concerning Ruthenian lands and culture in the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, and its epistemological value in terms of knowledge both about the middle seventeenth century and contemporary humanities. Third, was to focus on the central topic of the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*: the Kyiv caves, as presented to the German Protestant reader, from both the cultural and natural-philosophical points of view. Fourth, another of the purposes of this research was to contribute to the further understanding and interpretation of church history and interconfessional relations within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the middle of the seventeenth century, highlighting Herbinus' views on the Orthodox faith. Fifth, to study the theological tendencies and ideas of the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* from the perspective of saint and relic veneration, taking into account the theological views of the leaders of the Reformation and the previously mentioned character of interconfessional relationships within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the middle of the seventeenth century. And sixth, attempts at knowledge transfer also influence cultural divides, strengthening or weakening them;<sup>30</sup> and this is why I have investigated the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*'s influence on the further development of German and Eastern European intellectual traditions during the mid-seventeenth through to the eighteenth century. In particular, an important task in my work was to investigate the distribution of the copies of the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* and the reception of the book on both sides of *the cultural border* by analyzing marginalia and the further use of the text in the works of later authors.

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<sup>30</sup> Veronika Lipphardt. Knowledge Transfer and Science Transfer // *European History Online* ([ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/knowledge-transfer/veronika-lipphardt-david-ludwig-knowledge-transfer-and-science-transfer](http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/knowledge-transfer/veronika-lipphardt-david-ludwig-knowledge-transfer-and-science-transfer)).

### **Sources, terminology and methodology**

This study was accomplished by focusing on the printed version of Johannes Herbinus' book, entitled *Religiosæ KIJVIENSES CRYPTÆ, Sive KIJVIA SUBTERRANEA: In quibus LABYRINTHUS SUB TERRA, Et in eo mortua, à sexcentis annis, Divorum atque Heroum Græco-Ruthenorum, & nec dum corrupta, corpora, ex nomine atque ad oculum, è ΠΑΤΕΡΙΚΩ Sclavonico detegit. M. Johannes Herbinus. JENÆ, Impensis MARTINI HALLERVORDI. Literis Johannis Nisii. Anno M. DC. LXXV. 8°. [13] f., 178 p.*

The book is paginated with both Roman and Arabic numbers at the top, middle of the page, as well as in the upper outer corners. On the first five sheets of each booklet, there are signatures below the text, headers above the text, and a catchphrase at the bottom right below the text. The print is in two-colors and has 19, 22, 26, or 38 lines per page, placed in one column. The size of the typeset column is 127–130 x 70 mm, and the height of the line spacing is 10 mm. The languages and fonts used are Latin, Cyrillic, Greek, and Hebrew. The book is decorated with several engravings (copperplate and woodcuts), initials, and vignettes.

The contents of the book is as follows:

Preface, f. 3r.–3v. (“Illuftrifimo, ac Celfifimo Principi ac Domino...”)

Introduction I, f. 4r.–6v. (“Si verè quidam prifcorum...”)

Index, f. 7r.–7v. (“Index Caputum”)

Introduction II, p. I: (“Συν θεω...”)

Chapter I, p. 2–5 (“Caput I. De voce sclavonica Pieczara”)

Chapter II, p. 5–13 (“Caput II. De loco cryptarum Kijoviensium”)

Chapter III, p. 13–24 (“Caput III. De origine cryptarum Kijoviensium”)

Chapter IV, p. 24–30 (“Caput IV. De auctoribus cryptarum Kijoviensium”)

Chapter V, p. 30–33 (“Caput V. De materia cryptarum Ruthenicarum”)

Chapter VI, p. 34–58 (“Caput VI. De forma cryptarum Kijoviensium”)

Chapter VII, p. 59–63 (“Caput VII. De ratione seu modo Fodiendi Cryptas”)

Chapter VIII, p. 63–73 (“Caput VIII. De usu cryptarum”)

Chapter IX, p. 73–79 (“Caput IX. De speciebus cryptarum Ruthenicarum”)

Chapter X, p. 79–89 (“Caput X. De corporibus in Cryptis Kijoviensibus repositis”)

Chapter XI, p. 90–120 (“Caput XI. In qvo problema Proponitur”)

Chapter XII, p. 121–128 (“Caput XII. De capitibus seu Craniis Oleiferis in Cryptis Kijoviensibus”)

Chapter XIII, p. 128–143 (“Caput XIII. De argumentis Ruthenorum pro miraculo olei cryptani”)

Chapter XIV, p. 144–166 (“Caput XIV. De Ruthenorum ingenio”)

Chapter XV, p. 166–178 (“Caput XV. De Admirandis Ruthenorum Rebus”)

The treatise was studied on three levels: the narrative (concentrating on Herbinus' narration), the polemical-apologetic (dealing with the interconfessional

polemics), and the moral-exhortative (focusing on the didactic message of the text). As additional sources, I consider historical documents reflecting Herbinus' activities, the manuscript marginalia in books and catalogues in libraries that show the dissemination of the book, and the historiographical, polemical, and hagiographical writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that allow the treatise to be investigated within the appropriate context.

This book is divided into six chapters. The first chapter is dedicated to Herbinus' biography, sources, and the circumstances of the book's appearance. Each subsequent chapter – except for the last one – starts with an introduction giving the general historical and theological background of a problem, and then continues with Herbinus' information and his appraisals. In these chapters, I have looked for a specific feature in Herbinus' work within the historical context and highlighted original and relevant information. The last chapter is dedicated to the book's reception. On the basis of the manuscript's marginalia about the book, library catalogues, and seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholarship, I have shown how the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* was received by the intellectual milieu in both German and Eastern European lands.

The methodology of this work applies to the theory of intertextuality. The main source is compared with another text that aims to single out Herbinus' original writings. My methods included mainly textual (quotations and quotations with small or secondary literal changes) and contextual (references, allusions, and inaccurate quotations) analysis. When comparing the texts, I used the historical-critical method, which includes synchronous (the search for similarities between sources of a particular time and region), diachronic (consideration of sources with regard to their chronological development), and functional (concerning the historical situation in which the sources originated) approaches. The interdenominational polemics were analyzed mainly using the theological-hermeneutic method. Analyzing Herbinus' activities, I also used interconfessional, heuristic, and biographical approaches. A reader-oriented approach is used in writing about the book's potential influence on the development of further Western and Eastern European traditions. In order to locate the results of the study in a pan-European context, the paradigm of "confessionalization,"<sup>31</sup> places of memory,<sup>32</sup> and invented traditions<sup>33</sup> have, particularly, also been used.

Approaching the question of the terminology that is used in this work, it should be underlined that by "Ruthenia," I mean the name often used in seventeenth

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<sup>31</sup> Thomas Kaufmann. *Konfessionalisierung // Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, vol. 6. Stuttgart 2007, pp. 1053–1070.

<sup>32</sup> Norra Pierre. *Les Lieux de mémoire*: in 3 vols., vol.1: *La République*. Paris 1984; vol. 2: *La Nation*. Paris 1986; vol. 3: *Les France*. Paris 1992.

<sup>33</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge 1983.

and eighteenth-century sources for the lands of contemporary Ukraine and Belorussia: the territory of the Kyivan Metropolitanate. The Grand Duchy of Moscow is called “Muscovy.” By the term “Rus’,” I mean the state of Kyiv Rus’ related to the times of the middle-ages, while “Russian” refers to the times of the Russian Empire and the contemporary Russian state. For the early-modern period, the inhabitants of the Princedom of Moscow are known by the term “Muscovites.” Geographical names are given in their native form with regard to currently recognized international borders; after the mention, however, other historical names are also given. Personal names are written mostly in their original-language forms with regard to usage in the sources, except in cases where the English form is well-known. Greek and Cyrillic letters are Latinized in the text, but preserved (omitting diacritics and titlos) in the quotations and footnotes. All quotations are given with their original orthography and punctuation.

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## Chapter 1

# JOHANNES HERBINIUS AND THE *RELIGIOSÆ KIJOWIENSES CRYPTÆ*

### Johannes Herbinus: biography and the intellectual horizons of his personality

#### *Biography*

Johannes Herbinus was born in the Silesian town of Byczyna (Pitschen). The Lutheran community in Byczyna was one of the oldest in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; it is mentioned in historical documents from 1557.<sup>1</sup> Johannes Herbinus was descended from a Lutheran bourgeois family; his mother was a step-daughter of the Protestant pastor Christoph Süssenbach (1599–1631), who is known for having translated Luther's Catechism into Polish (the translation was published in 1622).<sup>2</sup> Herbinus mentioned his maternal grandfather, who was in charge of the clergy in Byczyna, several times.<sup>3</sup> His father's original name was Elias Kapusta (literally translated: "Cabbage"). He was a teacher at the local school, and some years later Latinized his name and came to be known as Herbinus. The exact date of Herbinus' birth was for a long time unclear. The Latin epitaph on his grave mentions 1627,<sup>4</sup> but Bendel believed he was born around the end of the 1630's to the beginning of the 1640's.<sup>5</sup> Recently, his true birth date, December 10, 1626, was proved from original sources.<sup>6</sup>

For a long time, Silesia was a territory in dispute where both Germans (mainly in the north-west region of Silesia) and Poles (predominantly in south-east)

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<sup>1</sup> Christine Absmeier. *Das schlesische Schulwesen im Jahrhundert der Reformation: Ständische Bildungsreformen im Geiste Philipp Melanchthons*. Stuttgart 2011, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Jan Reychman. Herbinus Jan.

<sup>3</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, pp. 52–54.

<sup>4</sup> Paweł Musioł. Literatura śląsko-polska XVII wieku // *Zaranie Śląskie* 8/1 (1932) 3.

<sup>5</sup> Heinrich Bendel. *Magister Johannes Herbinus*, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Włodzimierz Kaczorowski. Johannes Herbinus. Gelehrter-Dichte-Übersetzer // *Die ober-schlesische Literaturlandschaft im 17. Jahrhundert* / ed. Gerhard Kosellek. Bielefeld 2001, p. 331.

lived. Despite the clear Polish origins of his father, Herbinus identified himself as German, yet, at the same time, he wrote about “our Poland.”<sup>7</sup> Obviously, the author’s “German” self-identification was first of all a confessional one (the Lutheran Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was considered to be the “Saxon Church”<sup>8</sup>).

By the time Herbinus was born, Silesia had been devastated by several Polish-Swedish wars (1558–1583, 1600–1611, 1617–1618, 1621–1626, 1626–1629), in which local Catholics and Lutherans had also been involved.<sup>9</sup> Losing both parents and inheritance, Herbinus was saved by his tutors in the Hungarian district of Spiš (Zips).<sup>10</sup> Back in Silesia, Herbinus managed to get a decent education. In sixteenth-century Silesia, supported by city communities and the dukes, there were already many junior high schools and primary schools offering local Protestants a good education in the spirit of the Reformation.<sup>11</sup> Herbinus first studied at Byczyna’s local school, and then continued at the gymnasiums (junior high schools) in Toruń and Gdańsk.<sup>12</sup> The Lutheran Church within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was part of a Europe-wide Protestant network,<sup>13</sup> and Herbinus’ educational trips demonstrated this perfectly. On moving to Wittenberg to study philosophy in 1648, he took a particular interest in the natural philosophy taught by Johannes Sperling (1603–1658)<sup>14</sup> – one of the most celebrated philosophers of his age. Herbinus stayed for a little while in Wittenberg, the main center of Lutheran theology, and was awarded a Master of Arts degree; in 1653, he congratulated Frederick Viccius on behalf of “our philosophical faculty”<sup>15</sup> on receiving the position of adjunct.

He later moved to the university in Leiden. Specifically, he matriculated at Leiden University as a student in Calvinist theology in 1653.<sup>16</sup> However, his main interest was still the physical science. It was in Leiden that Herbinus formed his conclusions about ebb and flow. He also researched Egyptian mum-

<sup>7</sup> Wincenty Ogrodziński. *Dzieje piśmiennictwa polskiego*, vol. 1. Katowice 1946, p. 69.

<sup>8</sup> Lietuvos valstybes istorijos archyvas, f. 1008, ap. 1, b. 347, l. 28.

<sup>9</sup> Paweł Musioł. *Literatura śląsko-polska* (1930) 122–125.

<sup>10</sup> Дмитро Чижевський. Магістер Йоган Гербіній, p. 21.

<sup>11</sup> More about this: Christine Absmeier. *Das schlesische Schulwesen im Jahrhundert der Reformation*.

<sup>12</sup> Włodzimierz Kaczorowski. Johannes Herbinus, p. 331.

<sup>13</sup> Kęstutis Daugirdas. The Reformation in Poland-Lithuania as a European Networking Process // *Church History and Religious Culture* 97, 3/4 (2017) 358.

<sup>14</sup> Heinrich Bendel. *Magister Johannes Herbinus*, p. 9.

<sup>15</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Επίχαρις καὶ παραίνησις*. Wittebergae 1656.

<sup>16</sup> Edyta Grzesik. Johannes Herbinus (1626–1679) – een vergeten humanist tussen Silezië en de Lage Landen // *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Neerlandica Wratislaviensia* 17 (2008) 29.

mification techniques there. In 1654, he moved to Utrecht University where he continued his studies in theology and natural sciences under the supervision of the teachers Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676), Heinrich Regius (1598–1679), and Antonius Aemilius (1589–1660).<sup>17</sup> Both Leiden and Utrecht universities were very popular among Silesians.

It is difficult to follow his later travels. In 1655 he was back in Wittenberg,<sup>18</sup> but did not stay there for long, as he travelled a lot across Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands, visiting universities, making scientific observations of natural phenomena, taking part in theological debates, and collecting money for the needs of Polish-Lithuanian Protestants.

Later, Herbinus might have completed his studies at Copenhagen University; his name can also be found in relation to a matriculation dated May 25, 1665; here he is mentioned as a pastor and rector of the school in Bojanowo.<sup>19</sup> This is where he finished his dissertation about cataracts, which received a positive evaluation from professors Georg Witzleben and Erasmus Bartholinus (1625–1698).<sup>20</sup>

Thus, Herbinus obtained a broad education. He was especially good at languages: apart from Polish, German, Latin, and Ruthenian, he also knew Swedish, Biblical Hebrew, Ancient Greek, and even a little Arabic and Turkish (these last two he probably acquired in Vilnius while communicating with Tatars and Karaims<sup>21</sup>). In 1658, Herbinus married Ann Marie Turbian, the daughter of the Lutheran archdeacon Johannes Turbian from Oleśnica. The event was glorified by three panegyrics. One of them, written by Wrocław professor David Camerarius, compared the bride to a Muse, and that the groom was regarded as an expert in languages and arts whose talent made his contemporaries jealous.<sup>22</sup> Another glorified his self-sacrifice for education and the way in which he treated the school he headed like his own home.<sup>23</sup> The third, written by various

<sup>17</sup> Heinrich Bendel. *Magister Johannes Herbinus*, p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> Włodzimierz Kaczorowski. *Johannes Herbinus*, p. 332.

<sup>19</sup> *Kjøbenhavns Universitets Matrikel* / ed. Sophus Birket-Smith, vol. 1: 1611–166. Copenhagen 1890, p. 329.

<sup>20</sup> Heinrich Bendel. *Magister Johannes Herbinus*, p. 99.

<sup>21</sup> Elżbieta Świącicka. Nauka, zabawa, dyplomacja i wojna w trójkącie szwedzko-polsko-tureckim. Na podstawie listów Zachariasza i Ewy Gamockich a także Jana Herbiniusa z Riksarkivet // *Stockholm Slavic Papers 14: Polonika w Archiwum Narodowym Szwecji. Kolekcja Skokloster i inne zbiory* / ed. Alina Nowicka-Jeżowa, Ewa Teodorowicz-Hellman. Stockholm 2007, p. 92.

<sup>22</sup> David Camerarius. *Auff Hn. M. Johannes Herbinus Rectors zu Bitschen: und Jungfrauen Annen Marien Turbianin Hochzeit, Glück- und Freuden-Wunsch*. Brieg 1658.

<sup>23</sup> David Camerarius. *Melismata Gamica, Quibus fortunatas M. Johannis Herbinii, Rectoris Scholae Bicinensis, Sponsi, & Honestissimae Virginis Annae Mariae, Reverendi & Doctissimi Viri Dn. Johannis Turbiani, olim Archidiaconi Olsnensis relictæ Filiae, Nuptias, Bicinii 21. Maji 1658. Celbr. Honorant infra indicati*. Brieg 1658.

prominent people in Byczyna's community, stressed Herbinus' acquaintance with natural philosophy and the education he received in Wittenberg: "respondet agens Herbinus (viam Christus secundet) Leucori in incluta et disputando et differendo, frangere mens mea anhelat horas: cultor Camoenarum et studiosior insanientem non ego Bosphorum Horresco, nec trux Balthicum aequor, nec Batavi loca pertimesco."<sup>24</sup> However, despite attending plenty of educational institutions, Herbinus never received a degree in theology.

Herbinus was a very versatile person and, during his short life, took part in many different activities. To begin with, he made his name as a famous educator. In 1657, he took over a school in his hometown of Byczyna on recommendations from Wittenberg University. Since it was important to Herbinus to spread Protestant education, he founded a Lutheran school in Wołów (Silesia) in 1661 and taught there for three years. Wołów was under the direct possession of the Silesian branch of the Piast family that was famous for its Calvinistic sympathies.<sup>25</sup>

In 1663, Herbinus built a school in Bojanowo (Greater Poland) with money collected in Germany. The Lutheran community there had been founded in 1638.<sup>26</sup> Due to Herbinus' activity, the school became known as a famous educational center, where "good arts and study of languages as well as the Orthodox theology" were flourishing<sup>27</sup> Around 1667, Herbinus was temporally nominated for the positions of rector and pastor at the German school in Stockholm; however, he preserved his title in Bojanowo.<sup>28</sup>

Scandinavian Lutheranism, which had developed its own character, was very strong at that moment,<sup>29</sup> and Herbinus might have been totally satisfied with his position in the field of education. Around 1670, however, he lost the title of primary rector at Bojanowo because of a conflict with the local community,

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Joachim Bahlcke. *Turbilatores tranquillitatis publicae? Zur Frage der Religionsfreiheit für die Reformierten in Schlesien im Umfeld der Altranstädter Konvention von 1707 // Die Reformierten in Schlesien: vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Altpreußischen Union von 1817* / ed. Joachim Bahlcke. Göttingen 2016, p. 216.

<sup>26</sup> Jan Harasimowicz. *Lutheran Churches*, p. 410.

<sup>27</sup> Io. Herbinii ad Balthas. Bebelium epistola, historiam Luthenanismi in Polonia illustrans // *Bibliotheca Lubecensis*, vol. 1. Lubecae 1725, pp. 67–68.

<sup>28</sup> The main proof of this fact is the title of Herbinus' book *Προπεμπτικά, quibus Virum Praecellentissimum atque Clarissimum Dn. M. Johannem Herbinium, Ecclesiarum Invar. Aug. Conf. in Majori Polonia addictarum ad exterarum Ecclesiarum Oratorem deputatum, gymnasii Bojanoviensis professorem primum, nec non interea Scholae Germanorum Holmiensis Rectorem Meritissimum, Cum confecto in Suecia Ecclesiarum suarum negotio Anno M.DC. LXVII. die 25. Junii Scholae Holmiensi publice ac solemniter valediceret, moxque in Livoniam solveret, τεκμηρίω gratulantur Scholae Holmia-Teutonicae Collegae*. Stockholmiae 1667.

<sup>29</sup> Eric Lund. *Nordic and Baltic Lutheranism // Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550–1675* / ed. Robert Kolb. Leiden 2008, p. 454.

who were unsatisfied with his long absences as school rector and the results of his money-collecting activities.<sup>30</sup>

Up until the end of the seventeenth century, graduating in theology was not considered an indispensable condition for pastoral activity,<sup>31</sup> and despite not having obtained a degree in theology, Herbinus became famous as a preacher and a pastor. Between 1669 and 1670, he preached several sermons in Copenhagen; and while staying in Stockholm, he converted two Turks to Christianity who had arrived from Constantinople. Here, he also confessed the famous Muscovite political emigrant Grigorii Kotoshykhin (1630–1667) before his death. Kotoshykhin, who had changed his name to Ivan Selitskyi while in exile, converted to Lutheranism and was acknowledged by Herbinus as being an extremely pious man.<sup>32</sup>

During this time, Herbinus gained significant authority in Protestant Europe. Having travelled a lot, he was often a guest at various city halls and courts of the nobility. Around 1664, he was received by the Duke of Württemberg, Eberhard III (1614–1674). During 1665 to 1670 he was sent by the Polish Lutherans as their representative to meet the kings of Denmark, Frederick III (1609–1670) and Christian V (1646–1699).<sup>33</sup> And while in Sweden, Herbinus gained the support of several local intellectuals; in the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* he mentions the Swedish humanist Johannes Schefferus (1621–1679) as being his friend and patron in Sweden.<sup>34</sup> Herbinus also actively corresponded with Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie (1622–1686), a Swedish statesman of high standing.<sup>35</sup>

On July 30, 1672, by order of the archbishop of Uppsala, Laurentius Stigzelius (1598–1676), and the bishop of Estonia, Johannes Jacobus Pfeiffer, Herbinus was ordained as a preacher in the Lutheran Church in Vilnius.<sup>36</sup> The Vilnius Lutheran community was the oldest and one of the largest in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Lutherans established a place of worship there in 1555, and a grammar school – teaching in Latin, Polish, and German languages – was founded in 1588<sup>37</sup> and reformed according to Johannes Sturm's Protestant gymnasium in Strasbourg.<sup>38</sup> At the time Herbinus arrived in the city, the Lutheran

<sup>30</sup> Heinrich Bendel. *Magister Johannes Herbinus*, pp. 102–104.

<sup>31</sup> Luise Schütte-Schorn. *Evangelische Geistlichkeit in der Frühneuzeit. Deren Anteil an der Entfaltung frühmoderner Staatlichkeit und Gesellschaft*. Heidelberg 1996, pp. 152–226.

<sup>32</sup> *О Россіи въ царствованіе Алексія Михайловича, соврем. соч. Григорія Котошихина*, 3-rd ed. Санкт-Петербургъ 1884, p. XXVIII.

<sup>33</sup> Herbinus (Johannes) // *Dansk-norsk Litteraturlæxicon*, vol.1. Kjøbenhavn 1818, p. 246.

<sup>34</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 92.

<sup>35</sup> Riksarkivet, De la Gardieska samlingen, Magnus Gabriel De la Gardies samling, RA/720222.006, vol. E 1436.

<sup>36</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, pp. 36–37.

<sup>37</sup> David Frick. *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors*, p. 159.

<sup>38</sup> Gottfried Schramm. *Protestantismus*, p. 208.

community was still numerous: in 1667, it numbered 300 burghers.<sup>39</sup> The city's Lutheran Church consisted of a German-speaking majority and Polish-speaking minority.<sup>40</sup> From the end of the sixteenth century a position was created in the community for a Polish pastor, however, the purpose of the position was not to practice missionary work (as was done in the Poznan community), but instead to minister to Polonized Germans. Herbinius took up this position when he moved to Vilnius. In this case, Herbinius was, in a way, an exception, since he managed to quickly establish friendly lasting relations with the locals; organized several public sermons and debates;<sup>41</sup> preached in both Polish and German five times a week, which assisted the community's main preacher;<sup>42</sup> and developed good, private relations with the Orthodox clergy.

Although having the status of pastor in the Vilnius community was more than prestigious, the position was not well paid. In its book of expenses, the Vilnius Lutheran Church is mentioned as being poor, and the only donation made to the pastor that researchers could find was the 1668 testament of Mayor Jakub Gibel, an influential member of the Lutheran community, who bequeathed the small sum of 100 florins (złoty).<sup>43</sup> While staying in Vilnius, Herbinius also taught at the local church school, and in 1672 the community paid him 54 florins for his annual teaching work<sup>44</sup> (for comparison, a teacher in the Lviv Catholic diocesan school received 100 florins a year in 1611<sup>45</sup>). In addition to this, Herbinius received 125 florins during Lent and the same sum before Easter.<sup>46</sup> The community also covered Herbinius' small expenses, such as a doorbell, handle, window, gutter etc.<sup>47</sup> We can compare these sums with prices in the seventeenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where a riding horse in 1653 cost around 115 florins.<sup>48</sup> Despite the fact that he had little money, Herbinius was satisfied with his social and ecclesiastical position and was still subscribed on documents as a Vilnius pastor, a title he kept even after he left the city in 1674 due to an unknown reason. He was not astonished about this fact; furthermore, he considered he had obtained his position "as I believed, in a legal way" ("legi-

<sup>39</sup> Lietuvos valstybes istorijos archyvas, f. 1008, ap. 1, b. 347, l. 33.

<sup>40</sup> David Frick. *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors*, p. 7.

<sup>41</sup> Paulina Lewin. Introduction, p. XXIX.

<sup>42</sup> Eduard Kneifel. *Die Pastoren der Evangelisch-Ausburgischen Kirche in Polen*. Egging 1967, p. 223.

<sup>43</sup> Lietuvos valstybes istorijos archyvas, f. 1008, ap. 1, b. 303, l. 7.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, ap. 1, b. 42, l. 133.

<sup>45</sup> Stanisław Hozzowski. *Ceny we Lwowie w XVI i XVII wieku*. Lwów 1928, p. 93.

<sup>46</sup> Lietuvos valstybes istorijos archyvas, f. 1008, ap. 1, b. 42, l. 146.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, ap. 1, b. 42, l. 134v, 147.

<sup>48</sup> Stanisław Hozzowski. *Ceny we Lwowie*, p. 86.

time tum credebam”<sup>49</sup> and considered himself to be exiled.<sup>50</sup> Some researchers suppose that Herbinus’ exile could have been due to his sympathetic teaching of Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520–1570), a theological adversary of Philip Melancthon (1497–1560).<sup>51</sup> I will mention this discussion, and Herbinus’ attitude to it, later. It is only important to note here that the Vilnius Lutheran community’s stance on the discussion between Flacianists and Philippists is unclear. Moreover, Matthias Flacius Illyricus’ books were in the community’s library.<sup>52</sup> Due to the content of one of the documents from the Vilnius archive, I propose Herbinus’ exile was for more trivial reasons.

Shortly after Herbinus left Vilnius, Jan and Gottfried Schlagman accused the elders of the community of “usurping justice;” moreover, they made complaints against the elders for “abusing their influence with regard to our citizens and their pastors.”<sup>53</sup> Herbinus was probably among these pastors. In Vilnius, the Lutheran community was headed by the representatives of the “old” Lutheran families: Johannes Fehltner (the community’s leader), Johannes Heinrich Sant, Christoph Sztrunk, Adam Ness, Zachariasz Bez, Petro Streiter Passamonick, and Johannes Buchner.<sup>54</sup> Laics held immense prestige in the life of Protestant Churches in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; they did not pay much attention to the Protestant pastors or even the hierarchs.<sup>55</sup> Having traveled a lot, Herbinus was used to a different form of relation between pastors and laics. As with the Lutheran communities in Germany, he expected more obedience from his flock and this could have been the reason for the conflict.

In 1674, Herbinus moved to Königsberg (Królewiec, Kaliningrad) University, which became a large center for Lutheranism in Eastern Europe.<sup>56</sup> The university, founded in 1544, was often visited by Lithuanian Protestants<sup>57</sup> and played an important role in the spread of the Reformation in Eastern Europe.<sup>58</sup> Here he was matriculated as a Vilnius pastor and studied law.<sup>59</sup> In addition to this, he gathered information for his scholarly works, having traveled widely throughout the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Here, in Königsberg, he finished the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* and gave it to a print house in Jena. This description

<sup>49</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 37.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, praefatio.

<sup>51</sup> Heinrich Bendel. *Magister Johannes Herbinus*, 107.

<sup>52</sup> Lietuvos valstybes istorijos archyvas, f. 1008, ap. 1, b. 407, l. 1.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, ap. 1, b. 347, l. 46.

<sup>54</sup> Lietuvos valstybes istorijos archyvas, f. 1008, ap. 1, b. 303, l. 10 and ap. 1, b. 347, l. 46.

<sup>55</sup> Janusz Tazbir. *Państwo bez stosów*, p. 55.

<sup>56</sup> Jan Harasimowicz. *Lutheran Churches*, p. 405.

<sup>57</sup> David Frick. *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors*, p. 166.

<sup>58</sup> Kęstutis Daugirdas. *The Reformation in Poland-Lithuania*, p. 359.

<sup>59</sup> Eduard Kneifel. *Die Pastoren der Evangelisch-Ausburgischen Kirche*, p. 223.

of the Kyiv caves was dedicated to the duke and bishop of the Pomeranian Lutheran Church, Ernst Bogislaw von Croÿ (1620–1684), who Herbinus called “my most merciful lord” (“Domino meo Clementissimo”), and six other high Prussian statesmen.<sup>60</sup> Von Croÿ was a broadly educated person who contributed to the development of the arts and education in Pomerania,<sup>61</sup> and might have been interested in the subject of Herbinus’ book. Unfortunately, nothing is known about his reaction to the treatise or his personal attitude towards Herbinus. Herbinus did not stay in Prussia for very long. Due to political circumstances, he moved to Gdańsk in the same year and entered the Warsaw court of the Swedish envoy, Baron Andreas Lilliehoek (1635–1685), as a preacher.<sup>62</sup> According to information from eighteenth-century Protestant sources, Herbinus was also a pastor in Wildon (Styria, Austria) for some time.<sup>63</sup>

In 1676, Herbinus became a pastor in Grudziądz (Graudenz), where the local Lutheran community, deprived of its own church, was located in the city hall.<sup>64</sup> On March 7 (or February 14), 1679 Johannes Herbinus died. The Grudziądz Protestant community commemorated him with a rich baroque gravestone,<sup>65</sup> which, unfortunately, has not survived to the present day.

Thus, Herbinus, though he did not live a long life (53 years), lived a full life. Thanks to his education, his many travels, the variety of his activities, and a broad circle of acquaintances, he was a well-known person throughout Protestant Europe and beyond, and was counted as an extraordinary person among his contemporaries. Even his death, however, was under a veil of some mystery. According to one of the inscriptions in the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* (see Chapter 6), he had predicted the exact day of his death and told it to his wife. Another legend says that people could hear a voice coming from Herbinus’ grave, and shortly after the funeral, it was opened to exclude the possibility of lethargy.<sup>66</sup>

### ***Herbinus’ intellectual interests, writings, and theological views***

Herbinus’ books were published in Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Jena, and Gdańsk, some of them even after his death. He wrote on many different topics: theoretical

<sup>60</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, praefatio.

<sup>61</sup> Roderich Schmidt. Ernst Boguslaw, Herzog v. Croÿ // *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 3. Berlin 1957, pp. 426–427.

<sup>62</sup> Heinrich Bendel. *Magister Johannes Herbinus*, pp. 117–122.

<sup>63</sup> This is a manuscript note written on one of the copies of the book (now stored in: Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України ім. В. Стефаника НАН України, Відділ рідкісної книги, СТ-I 29795) that belonged to the physician Karl Philipp Gesner (more information about it see in the Chapter 6).

<sup>64</sup> Jan Harasimowicz. *Lutheran Churches*, p. 422.

<sup>65</sup> Paweł Musioł. *Literatura śląsko-polska* (1932) 4.

<sup>66</sup> Heinrich Bendel. *Magister Johannes Herbinus*, p. 123.





Johannes Herbinus. *Dissertationes de admirandis mundi cataractis supra et subterraneis, earumque Principio, Elementorum circulatione, ubi eadem occasione aestus maris reflui vera ac genuina causa asseritur, nec non terrestri ac primigenio paradiso locus situsque verus in Palaestina restituitur* (Amsterdam 1678)

and pastoral theology, schooling, history, politics, literature, and linguistics, among others. However, his main passion was natural philosophy. From the middle of the sixteenth century, we can observe repeated attempts by Protestant intellectuals Jean Calvin (1509–1564), Lambert Daneau (c. 1530 – c. 1590), Girolamo Zanchi (1516–1590), Otto Casmann (1562–1607), Johannes Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638) to meld theological views of creation with existing physical knowledge, and first of all, with Copernicanism.<sup>67</sup> Martin Luther, however, refused to accept Copernicus' doctrine of heliocentrism.<sup>68</sup> In Herbinus' first published treatise *Famosae, de Solis vel Telluris Motu, controversiae Examen, Theologico-Philosophicum, ad S. Sanctam Normam institutum* (Utrecht 1655), he made a competent survey of Copernicus' theory and rejected it. In the preface to this book, the author was glorified by Lyon's professors Fridericus Tattinghof and Gothofridus Seeler as a pious and intelligent man who had combined astrology and mathematics and confirmed his theories by the authority of the Holy Scripture.<sup>69</sup>

Another one of Herbinus' natural-philosophical treatises – on waterfalls – *Dissertationes de admirandis mundi cataractis supra et subterraneis, earumque Principio, Elementorum circulatione, ubi eadem occasione aestus maris reflui vera ac genuina causa asseritur, nec non terrestri ac primigenio paradiso locus situsque verus in Palaestina restituitur*, was published in 1678 in Amsterdam. In fact, it was the first scientific research of water movement during low tide, the influence of the moon on seas and oceans, the creation of waterfalls on rivers, cyclones, volcanoes etc.<sup>70</sup> – a result of Herbinus' year-long examination on under and over-ground river cataracts in Asia, Africa, and Europe. Apart from investigating nature, by writing the book, Herbinus was looking for the geographical location of the Biblical Eden.<sup>71</sup> Some of the information (about the Dniro River and Cossacks) was, in fact, a reproduction of that included in the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* (see Chapter 2). A separate chapter in the treatise was dedicated to the problem of underground caves,<sup>72</sup> which proves that the topic of Kyiv's caves was an integral part of Herbinus' natural-philosophy interests.

<sup>67</sup> David S. Sytsma. Calvin, Daneau, and 'Physica Mosaica': Neglected Continuities at the Origins of an Early Modern Tradition // *Church History and Religious Culture* 95/4 (2015) 457–459.

<sup>68</sup> Scott H. Hendrix. *Martin Luther: Visionary Reformer*. London 2005, p. 12.

<sup>69</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Famosae, de Solis vel Telluris Motu, controversiae Examen, Theologico-Philosophicum, ad S. Sanctam Normam, institutum*. Ultrajecti 1655.

<sup>70</sup> Heinrich Bendel. *Magister Johannes Herbinus*, p. 3.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

<sup>72</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Dissertationes de admirandis mundi cataractis supra et subterraneis, earumque Principio, Elementorum circulatione, ubi eadem occasione aestus maris reflui vera ac genuina causa asseritur, nec non terrestri ac primigenio paradiso locus situsque verus in Palaestina restituitur*. Amstelodami 1678, pp. 259–267.

PETRI LAURENBERGII  
**CHRONIUS,**  
 SIVE  
**HISTORIÆ UNI-**  
**VERSALIS EPTOME,**  
 Olim in Academia Rostochiensis  
 ab eodem propofita.

Nunc vero continuatæ.

JOHANNÉ HERBINIO  
 Illustrata, & triplici Praxi: Didactica,  
 Polemica & Axiomatica aucta.

Cui operi nunc

Nomina Regum Suetia cum nominibus eorum Gene-  
 sis, ex Historia LOCCENI, Delimitatio Historiæ  
 Synoptica & Tabule Chronologica ex Historia Universa-  
 lis HARTNACCI, item nomina Regum, Trib.  
 Mil. & Consulatum Romanorum, ex Falso Cen-  
 sularibus CAROLI SIGONII,  
 addita sunt.

Cum Gratia & Privilegio S. R. M.:is

A B O Æ,

Excudit JOHANNES SMITTE / Typogra-  
 phus Regius, Anno 1695.

164 180

Dura sines tantam deponit pondera regni:  
 Tunc MICHAËL WILHOEVICIUS diadema recepit,  
 Sub quo Turca capit Camineccam. Clade Johannes  
 TURCARUM affectu Turca, juvanteque Viennam.

TURCARUM Imperium.

Condit Otomanum à quo nomen sortita est Porta  
 Ottomanica.

Perdixit ad subigium Mahometes II.  
 defecit à tempore Osmanii II. quo, ut & Ibrahim,  
 postea strangulatis, maxima Imperii potestas pe-  
 nes Janizares esse cepit.

Series Imperatorum his verbis continetur:  
 Notio Turcarum, ad Tanaim diffusa vestigia,  
 Tartarice gentis coluit tutamina, donec  
 Caput Oguzbanes gentis distinguere regna.

Otomanus primus Turcarum conditor, armis  
 Pentium & Pamphiliam subigit. Dum Cantacuzenus  
 Atig. Palaeologi certans, sua regna propagat  
 Urchanus Gasi, studis Arabibus colendis

Gymnasium condit. Muratus, ad arma Johannis  
 Preffa Palaeologi socius vindictæ vocatur,  
 Baje Philippopolis, Adrianopolingve domabat.  
 Constantinopolin Bajazethes obsidet, illum  
 Sed Tamerlanes captum spectacula secti.

Danubium primus Mahomet trajicit, & armis  
 Sigismundam Hungaria Regem devicit acuta,  
 Hanniadem generosum Amurathes lesit, averaque  
 Rarem, æst Eugenius dissuadens fœdera, perdit

Uladis.

265 280

Uladislaus: Max Scanderbergica castra  
 Hanniadisq; premium Turcam, got dat Janizaris.  
 Aliter cum Mahamet sequatur, qui plurime regna  
 Picit, victoribus prius sibi subjacet hostes,  
 Pacis amans Bajazeth, gaudens fructibus, secundus,  
 Pannorici Venetosq; premit, sed genatus eundem.

Ejecit solis, tandem meditrusq; peremit,  
 Indiæ Setim per Judæam Syriamq; triumphat

Ægyptumq; capit. Solimannus Marte Viennam.

Dum quærit, à Carolo Quirico depulsus abibat,  
 Cepit apud Persas tamen hic Babylone coronam.

Hungariam acquiritur videt ultima fœda Zigeibi.  
 A Venetis Selim capiebat dominus secundus.

Tertius in Persas Amurathes bella gerebat.  
 Canisiamq; petens superatur Marte Rudolphi.

Batbarum cepit Mahometus Tertius hostem.  
 Achmet cum Parthiæ bellat, Passumq; recepit.

Ex vincis trahit Nustapha videtur ineptus,  
 Unde Osman lectus solium conscendit, adortus

Polonos patitur cladem, Lagveoque necatur.  
 Imperium recipit Murath Mullapha, at vincula lentis.

Quarvus hydrops Amurath Ferdinando fœdera serpsit.  
 Valde Ibrahim vexans Babylona, sed omnia frustra.

Et Meliten frustra. Janizarum fure peribat.  
 Tum Venetis Quiricus Mahometus Cavdiam ademit.

Polonis rapuit Camineccam, Podoliomq;  
 Celaris æst armis linquit cum clade Viennam.

Hungaricæq; urbes, Veneti repetuntque rapinas.

FINIS.

TAB.

Johannes Herbinus. Petri Laurenbergii Chronius, sive historiae universalis epitome,  
 olim in Academia Rostochiensis ab eodem propofita (Stockholm 1694)

Herbinus' theological views were presented in his work *Symbola fidei Christianae catholica: to iest Powszechne Nauki y Wiary Chrześciańskiej wyznania, z cudownymi ich historyami* (Gdansk 1675, Brzeg 1730). Here, he criticized Fausto Sozzini (1539–1604) for his negation of Christ's divine nature, and Catholicism for its doctrine about the necessity of merits.<sup>73</sup> Also to his pen belongs a historical explanation and translation of the Augsburg Confession, *Confessio Auszpurska, albo Wyznanie Nauki y Wiary Ewanjelickiej od Kurfirstow, Xiążat, y niektórych w Rzeszy Niemieckiej, a w mieście Ausspurku na walnym Seymie, Roku po Narodzeniu Pańskim 1530 [...]* (Gdansk 1675), and an explanation of the ecumenical Creeds *Symbola fidei Christianae catholica: to iest Powszechne Nauki y Wiary Chrześciańskiej wyznania, z cudownymi ich historyami* (Gdansk 1675).<sup>74</sup>

Herbinus was also the author and translator of several catechisms. The most important of these was the translation of Luther's small catechism (*Katechizm błogosławionego Ojca D. Marcina Luthera mnieyszy: Do czego się przywiązały* (Gdansk 1675)), which served as a textbook in Lutheran schools.<sup>75</sup> He also published a simplified version of the Lutheran doctrine: *Zygar Katechizmowy, albo Katechizacya Wilenska* (Gdansk 1675).<sup>76</sup>

Herbinus was inspired by the aforementioned conversion to Christianity of the Muslim ambassador to Stockholm. He wrote and published the trilingual (Polish, Turkish, and Latin) Catechism *Katechizacya Turecka, albo Turczyzna niejakięgo w Sztokholmie, Roku 1672, Dnia 30, Lipca, jawnie ochrzczonego [...]* (Gdansk 1675),<sup>77</sup> which aimed to convert Turks living in Sweden to Christianity.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, he created a general plan of conversion for many of the Turkish captives that were in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The main theologi-

<sup>73</sup> Paweł Musioł. *Literatura śląsko-polska* (1932) 4.

<sup>74</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *I. Symbola fidei Christianae catholica: to iest Powszechne Nauki y Wiary Chrześciańskiej wyznania, z cudownymi ich historyami: a po nich II. Confessio Auszpurska, albo Wyznanie Nauki y Wiary Ewanjelickiej od Kurfirstow, Xiążat, y niektórych Miast w Rzeszy Niemieckiej, a w mieście Ausspurku na walnym Seymie, Roku po Narodzeniu Pańskim 1530. Dnia 25 Czerwca, Carolowi Piątemu ś. p. Cesarzowi Rzymskiemu podane y jawnie czytane, według Exemolarza Lacińskiego na język Polski wiernie przetłumaczone, a z Historyą jego świeżo wydane: III. Katechizm błogosławionego Ojca D. Marcina Luthera mnieyszy: Do czego się przywiązały IV. Zygar Katechizmowy, albo Katechizacya Wilenska. V. Katechizacya Turecka, albo Turczyzna niejakięgo w Sztokholmie, Roku 1672, Dnia 30, Lipca, jawnie ochrzczonego, krótkie w Wierze Chrześciańskiej czwiczenie, Językiem Tureckim podane y zpisane*. Gdańsk 1675.

<sup>75</sup> Gerhard Bode. *Instruction of the Christian Faith by Lutherans after Luther // Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture (1550–1675)* / ed. Robert Kolb. Leiden 2008, p. 184.

<sup>76</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *I. Symbola fidei Christianae catholica*.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> Elżbieta Święcicka. *Nauka, zabawa, dyplomacja i wojna*, p. 90.

cal controversy in his book was the Christian vision of the Holy Trinity, which was discussed by Herbinus based on the Qur'an.<sup>79</sup> Here we can also observe a common trend for Protestant thinkers of the time. Protestant polemics against Muslims had been started by Martin Luther (1483–1546), who paid great attention to reading Qur'an, while being convinced, however, that Turks and Islam were instruments of Satan.<sup>80</sup> In 1666, Czech theologian Jan Amos Komenský (1592–1670) tried to implement a Turkish translation of the Bible in the Ottoman Empire; he strongly believed that Turks could and would be converted, and expressed a conciliatory approach towards Islam.<sup>81</sup> Obviously, Herbinus also shared this attitude and missionary plan, focusing not on the Ottoman state, but on Turkish captives, which seemed a more realistic goal.

Before practicing as a preacher, Herbinus published a couple of books on the topic: [...] *De Sponsalibus, Nuptialibus ac Funebribus Orationibus* [...] (Wittenberg 1656),<sup>82</sup> which explained the specifics of preaching for different occasions; and [...] *De genere deliberativo: et in specie, de orationibus politicis, quae in legationibus ob eundis maxime frequentantur* (Wittenberg 1656),<sup>83</sup> which was, in fact, the text of his speech concerning his public dispute in Wittenberg. Preaching was very important for seventeenth-century Lutheranism; numerous theoretical guides for preachers and sermons were often published,<sup>84</sup> and so the later publishing of Herbinus' sermons was not an exception. Some of Herbinus' writings expressed his political views, for example, *Admiranda serenissimi Ducis Michaelis Koributhi Wisniowieckij in regem Poloniae et Magnum Ducem Lithuaniae electio* (Copenhagen 1669), and *Appendix duarum disputationum politicarum de Quatuor summis et praecipuis orbis terrarum imperijs*

<sup>79</sup> Ananiasz Zajączkowski. *Glosy tureckie w zabytkach staropolskich*, vol. 1: *Katechizacja turecka Jana Herbiniusa*. Wrocław 1948, pp. 28–32.

<sup>80</sup> More about this: Adam F. Francisco. *Martin Luther and Islam: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Polemics and Apologetics*. Leiden 2007, pp. 67–231.

<sup>81</sup> More about this: Noel Malcolm. Comenius, the Conversion of the Turks, and the Muslim-Christian Debate on the Corruption of Scripture // *Church History and Religious Culture* 87/4 (2007) 477–508.

<sup>82</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *In Honorem Benedicti Seminis Collegii Oratorii Disputatio III. De Sponsalibus, Nuptialibus ac Funebribus Orationibus: Quam sub umbone Altissimi, ad diem 9. Julij. Anni Salvatoris M.DC.LVI. in Illustri ad Albin Academiā, Praeside M. Johanne Herbinio, publicae Eruditorum disquisitioni sistit, Respondens Zacharias Rohleder*. Wittebergae 1656.

<sup>83</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *In Honorem Benedicti Seminis. Collegii Oratorii Disputatio IV. De genere deliberativo: et in specie, de orationibus politicis, quae in legationibus ob eundis maxime frequentantur*. Wittebergae 1656.

<sup>84</sup> Mary Jane Haemig. *Preaching in Lutheran Pulpits in the Age of Confessionalization // Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture (1550–1675)* / ed. Robert Kolb. Leiden 2008, pp. 117, 126, 148.

(Wittenberg 1655). Searching for financial support for the Bojanowo school, he published *Status ecclesiarum invariatae Augustanae Confessioni in Polonia addictarum* [...] (Copenhagen 1671),<sup>85</sup> in which he described the difficult situation of the Protestant Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Herbinus shared his experiences in the field of education in *Dissertatio de educatione principis aliorumque illustrium* (Wittenberg 1657) and *In Honorem Benedicti Seminis, Larva sophistica, facili methodo et per exempla tironibus scholae Woloviensis detecta* (Oleśnica 1663). His experiences in teaching logic were published in *In Honorem Benedicti Seminis, Clavis ad felicitatem et usum logicae* [...] (Oleśnica 1663).<sup>86</sup> In addition to these works, Herbinus published several books on linguistics, and some translations and literary pieces. His book on female intelligence *In Honorem Benedicti Seminis. Dissertatio Historica I. De foeminarum illustrium eruditione* (Wittenberg 1657) is a very interesting scholarly text, and was inspired by the scientific accomplishments of the Dutch scholar Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678) and the Silesian astronomer Maria Cunitz (1610–1664).<sup>87</sup> Herbinus was in personal contact with Cunitz, proven by his letter to her that was published at the end of his astronomical treatise *Famosae, de Solis vel Telluris Motu, controversiae Examen, Theologico-Philosophicum, ad S. Sanctam Normam, institutum* (Utrecht 1655). Here, Herbinus praised Maria's intellectual abilities and scientific achievements as being the most famous in Europe.<sup>88</sup>

Some of Herbinus' books were published shortly after his death, for example, an epitome of Peter Lauremberg's (1585–1639) chronicle, *Petri Laurenbergii Cronius, sive historiae universalis epitome, olim in Academia Rostochiensi ab eodem proposita* (Stockholm 1694), which was used as a schoolbook in the Stockholm school for a long time. Besides these works Herbinus published calendars, liturgical songs, dramas, and poems,<sup>89</sup> which clearly underline the variety of his intellectual interests.

<sup>85</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Status ecclesiarum invariatae Augustanae Confessioni in Polonia addictarum, nec non earundem supplex petitio ad Venerabiles Superintendentes, Praepositos, Pastores et Symmystas Ecclesiarum Megapolitanarum. Quam, qua par est observantia, Die 13. Februarij Anno M. DC. LXXI. instituit.* Gustroiae 1671.

<sup>86</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *In Honorem Benedicti Seminis. Clavis ad facilitatem et usum logicae: Quae tironibus praecepta artis commode et ad captum adultioribus vero usum fructumque logicae in praxi varia dextre et mira facilitate aperit: Inventa et proposita in Schola Woloviensi.* Oels 1663.

<sup>87</sup> Heinrich Bendel. *Magister Johannes Herbinus*, p. 19.

<sup>88</sup> Włodzimierz Kaczorowski. List Jana Herbinusa do Marii Cunitz, astronomki byczyńskiej // *Studia Śląskie* 58 (1999) 227–242.

<sup>89</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Calendae Festivae anni 1667, quas Archiepiscopo, Episcopis, Academiae Upsaliensi, Superintendentibus, eorumque Ecclesiis nuncupat.* Holmiae 1667; idem.



Grudziadz. Post-Evangelical Church. Contemporary view

A very interesting question arises about Herbinus' attitude towards the already mentioned discussion within Protestant theology, particularly towards Philippism and GnesioLutheranism. Discussions over questions of original sin, free will, and salvation that began after Luther's death, were enacted between the theologians of the Magdeburg circle (later, called GnesioLutherans) on the one side, and the adherents of Philip Melanchthon and Kaiser Charles V (1500–1558) on the other. Wittenberg Hebraist Matthias Flacius Illyricus was one of those who pretended to transfer “pure Luther[an] doctrine” on the question of free will and the original sin.<sup>90</sup> Most Lutheran communities in Silesia during the sixteenth century maintained a Flacianist (or GnesioLutheran) position, rejecting Philip Melanchthon's attempt to find a theological compromise with the Catholics. The Silesian Philippists were close to Reformed theology on many doctrinal and ecclesiological questions.<sup>91</sup> At the beginning of the seventeenth century, most of the Lutheran schools in the region moved to pure Melanchthon theology, supporting his idea of irenicism from both the political and religious aspect.<sup>92</sup> The Flacianist position, however, was still accepted.<sup>93</sup>

As Heinrich Bendel has shown, Herbinus did not see “any contradiction between Flacius' doctrine of the original sin and Luther's one.”<sup>94</sup> I will investigate Herbinus' views on the history of salvation in Chapter 4. Here I would like to highlight that, despite the fact that Herbinus studied Calvinist theology for several years and had broad contact with Calvinist theologians and noblemen,<sup>95</sup> he unambiguously called himself a Lutheran<sup>96</sup> and proclaimed the doctrines *Sola Fide* and *Sola Scriptura*,<sup>97</sup> while the *Confessio Augustana invariata* (1530) was proclaimed to be the theological guiding line in his works.<sup>98</sup>

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*Tragico-Comoediam & ludos innocuos de Juliano Imperatore Apostata, Ecclesiarum et Scholarum eversore, idiomate Latino.* Holmiae 1668.

<sup>90</sup> Robert Kolb. Gnesiolutheraner // *Das Luther-Lexikon*, 2nd ed. / ed. Volker Leppin e.a. Regensburg 2015, pp. 265–269.

<sup>91</sup> Joachim Bahlcke. Einführung // *Die Reformierten in Schlesien: vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Altpreußischen Union von 1817* / ed. Joachim Bahlcke. Göttingen 2016, p. 8.

<sup>92</sup> Christine Absmeier. *Das schlesische Schulwesen im Jahrhundert der Reformation*, pp. 301–303.

<sup>93</sup> Henning P. Jürgens. Innerprotestantische Streitschriften in und über Schlesien // *Die Reformierten in Schlesien: vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Altpreußischen Union von 1817* / ed. Joachim Bahlcke e.a. Göttingen 2016, p. 137.

<sup>94</sup> Heinrich Bendel. *Magister Johannes Herbinus*, p. 108.

<sup>95</sup> Edyta Grzesik. *Johannes Herbinus*, p. 32.

<sup>96</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 30.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.



## The *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*: appearance and internal characteristics

### *The circumstances of the book's appearance*

It was in Vilnius that Herbinus started on his work describing the Kyivan monastic caves. His first acquaintance with the topic was quite accidental. In Sweden, he was introduced to Apolonia Naglowska, a Polish noblewoman, who asked him to find her son from her first marriage. In 1648, she had lived east of the Dnipro river and sent her twelve-year-old son, Jan Fabricius, to Kyiv to be educated by Jesuits. Fleeing from Bohdan Khmelnytsky's uprising (1648–1654), she and her husband lost contact with their son. Herbinus promised to help her. While in Vilnius, Herbinus and some other citizens of the Lutheran community (Stephan and Michael Kuszelicz) testified in the Vilnius city hall that they had sent Cornelius Adamowicz to Ruthenia to look for the boy in Kyiv and Chernihiv.<sup>99</sup>

Moreover, in trying to find the young Fabricius, Herbinus became acquainted with Martin Wolossowycz (Woloszowycz), the abbot of the Vilnius Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Spirit, with whom he became good friends.<sup>100</sup> Martin, or his close relatives, lived in Kyiv – an autograph with the name Wolossowycz was found on the wall of the Kyiv Transfiguration Church at Berestovo.<sup>101</sup> Supported by Wolossowycz, Herbinus established contact with Innocent Gizel (1600–1683), the archimandrite of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra. It should be mentioned here that Gizel might have been, a priori, sympathetic to Herbinus. According to some researchers, he was born in 1600 in Königsberg to the family of a Calvinist priest.<sup>102</sup> In another version of his biography, he descended from an Orthodox bourgeois family of Vilnius origin.<sup>103</sup> In any case, we know from trustworthy sources that Gizel studied at Protestant universities,<sup>104</sup> he lived some time in Vilnius and knew many of the inhabitants of that city. Having moved to Kyiv, he was influenced by Kyiv metropolitan Petro Mohyla (1596–1647) and became an Orthodox monk. After Mohyla's death, Innocent Gizel became head of the Kyiv Orthodox College, and in 1656, he was elected

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., p. 40–41.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>101</sup> Євген Кабанець. Пам'ятка епіграфіки з церкви св. Спаса на Берестові, р. 175.

<sup>102</sup> Николай Сумцовъ. Иннокентій Гизель. (Къ исторіи южно-русской литературы XVII вѣка) // *Кіевская старина: ежемѣсячный историческій журналъ*, vol. X: октябрь, Кіевъ 1884, p. 183.

<sup>103</sup> Лариса Довга. Система цінностей в українській культурі XVII століття (на прикладі теоретичної спадщини Інокентія Гізеля). Київ – Львів 2012, pp. 53–68.

<sup>104</sup> Jacobus Susza. *Saulus et Paulus Ruthenae unionis sanguine B. Josaphat transformatus sive Meletius Smotriscius, archiepiscopus Hierapolitanus, archimandrita dermanensis ordinis S. Basilii M. Romae* 1666, p. 121.

to the position of archimandrite at the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, which he kept until he passed away in 1683.<sup>105</sup>

Herbinus formed an epistolary friendship with Gizel. Both intellectuals communicated with each other, writing several letters, which were also published in the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*.<sup>106</sup> The Kyiv archimandrite answered Herbinus in a warm and friendly manner, praising highly his “humanitas et benevolentia.”<sup>107</sup> This friendship enabled Herbinus to access information about Kyiv, and he began searching for Jan Fabricius. This search, however, was unsuccessful and Herbinus concluded that the boy was dead. Herbinus’ letters to Apolonia were also published in his *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*<sup>108</sup> treatise. It was this tragic event that directed Herbinus’ attention towards Kyiv.

The reason why the Lutheran author became interested in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra seems trivial at the first sight. At the very beginning, he was interested only in the origins – natural or man-made – of the caves. Nevertheless, there is a wide range of issues raised in his treatise: relic conservation (in this case, he made good use of his knowledge of Egyptian mummification techniques), the character of Ruthenians, Orthodox religious practices, and even linguistic connections between the Slavic languages and biblical Hebrew.

The question of whether Herbinus visited Kyiv has been open to discussion for a long time. Some researchers have claimed that Herbinus himself had been in the Kyiv region. This claim was actively supported by Dmytro Chyzhevsky in particular. The scholar criticized Bendel for his statement that Herbinus’ knowledge was gained only in the course of his trips across Western Europe in during 1664 to 1670. According to Chyzhevsky, Herbinus travelled much more widely and actually visited Ruthenian lands.<sup>109</sup> The statement that Herbinus had visited Kyiv was later repeated several times in serious scholarly works. Thus, the editor of a reprint of the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* in the “Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature,” Paulina Lewin, alleges that the Lavra archimandrite Innocent Gizel personally invited Herbinus to Kyiv and allowed him to visit the caves and see the relics there.<sup>110</sup> However, in the preface to his edition, Herbinus writes that he received information about Kyiv primarily from Martin Wolossowycz and Innocent Gizel. Gizel’s letter, sent to Herbinus and published in the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, finished with this Bible verse (Jo 20:29): “blessed are they that have not seen, and yet

<sup>105</sup> Hans Rothe. *Sinopsis, Kiev 1681: Facsimile mit einer Einleitung*. Cologne – Vienna 1983, pp. 49–50.

<sup>106</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, pp. 43–46.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39–42.

<sup>109</sup> Dmytro Čyževśkyj. *Magister Johannes Herbinus*, pp. 490–492.

<sup>110</sup> Paulina Lewin. Introduction, p. XXIX.

have believed,”<sup>111</sup> and this may have also been an indirect hint about Herbinus not travelling to Kyiv.

We know for sure that Herbinus was in the Moscow principality to visit the Pskov-Pechora Monastery<sup>112</sup> (this monastery, like Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, is interesting because of its caves). Both here and in Vilnius, he could draw his conclusions about Orthodox liturgy, which he shared in *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*.<sup>113</sup> However, when describing the Kyiv caves, he said that his main source had been the “observation of others” (*ἀποψία* multorum).<sup>114</sup> Herbinus also clearly wrote that the long distance to the Kyiv caves did not allow him to make appropriate observations for himself: “Et quia nobis adire eas per loci longum admodum intervallum atque distantiam non licet, hic eas contemplare, ac Roxolanorum hominum ingenium atque devotam religioni industriam mirare.”<sup>115</sup> Moreover, Herbinus wrote that he would have traveled to Kyiv only if he had believed in a supernatural cause of the non-corruption of the Lavra’s relics.<sup>116</sup> All of these pieces of evidence allow us to conclude that Herbinus had not been in Kyiv himself.

### ***The treatise’s patterns, authorities, sources, and adversaries***

When deciding to write his book about the Kyiv caves, Herbinus made use of some literary archetypes – descriptions of unknown lands full of exotic details that were a kind of early modern belletristic literature. Herbinus mentioned that he was familiar with the work of Protestant author Adam Olearius (1599–1671) called *Moskovitische und persianische Reisebeschreibung* (first edition 1647),<sup>117</sup> dedicated to Eastern European and Asian lands. Herbinus probably knew Olearius personally – he may have met him during his trip through Northern Europe and his work in the Duke of Holstein’s library in Gottorp (1664–1665).<sup>118</sup> Herbinus strongly advised his readers to pay attention to Olearius’ work.<sup>119</sup> In general, he was quite interested in the way of life and customs of other nations; he read a lot on the topic and patterned the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* on his reading.

Regarding those that Herbinus recognized as authorities, Martin Luther stood in first place. Martin Luther did not play any significant role in the Protestant

<sup>111</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 46.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78–79.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>117</sup> Andreas Olearius. *Moskowitzische und persische Reise. Mit zeitgenössischen Stahlstichen*, ed. by Eberhard Meißner. Berlin 1959.

<sup>118</sup> Paulina Lewin. Introduction, p. XXVIII.

<sup>119</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 178.

confessional identity in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>120</sup> For Herbinus, however, the leader of the German Reformation was his most significant authority, and had liberated the Western Churches from their human errors and the Antichrist's yoke: "Occidentales fermento humanarum traditionum infectas atque sub iugo Antichristi jam procumbentes Ecclesias pristinae sanctae et Apostolico-Catholicae Ecclesiae sinceritati atque libertati restituit."<sup>121</sup> Herbinus greatly appreciated Luther; he treated him as a truly divine figure, a saint,<sup>122</sup> and a vicar of the German Apostles ("vicarium Germanorum Apostolorum").<sup>123</sup> Thus, Luther was considered to be far above the ordinary man. A vision of Luther as a man of God or a prophet was very popular in the early Lutheran Church.<sup>124</sup> In fact, Herbinus used the same allegories in describing Luther as Matthew Flacius Illyricus had in his *Catalogus testium veritatis qui ante nostram aetatem reclamarunt Papae* (Basel 1556).<sup>125</sup> Simultaneously, Herbinus criticized those Lutherans who venerated Luther as a saint but did not follow his teaching.<sup>126</sup>

Herbinus mentioned two other theological authorities in his book: Pope Gregory I (540–604) (in particular his *Homiliae XI in Evangelia*<sup>127</sup>) and Augustine of Hippo (354–430).<sup>128</sup> In his linguistic search, he also referred to the book *Harmonia Linguarum quatuor cardinalium, hebraicae, graecae, latinae et germanicae. In qua praeter summum earum consensum* (1616), by the German Calvinist theologian George Cruciger (1575–1637).<sup>129</sup> Another important source of knowledge for Herbinus about Eastern Christianity was *Ευχολογιον sive rituale graecorum. Complectens ritus et ordines divinae liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum, consecrationum, benedictionum, funerum, orationum, etc. [...]*, edited by the Dominican Jacobus Goar (1601–1653) in 1647 in Paris.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>120</sup> Maciej Ptaszyński. Luther in Polen im 16. Jahrhundert. Luthertum ohne Luther? // *Luther: Zankapfel zwischen den Konfessionen und "Vater im Glauben"?* Historische, systematische und ökumenische Zugänge / ed. Mariano Delgado. Fribourg 2016, pp. 241–256.

<sup>121</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 27.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>124</sup> Volker Leppin. Martin Luther: von der Mystik zur Papstkritik // *Lebendige Seelsorge* 67/6 (2016) 374.

<sup>125</sup> Angelo Maffei. La prima storiografia della Riforma: la costruzione dell'immagine di Martin Lutero tra il 1546 e il 1617 // *Teologia* 42/3 (2017) 465–471.

<sup>126</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 27–28.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50–51.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88. See: Jacobus Goar. *Ευχολογιον sive rituale graecorum. Complectens ritus et ordines divinae liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum, consecrationum, benedictionum, funerum, orationum, etc. Cuilibet personae, statui, vel tempori congruos, juxta usum orientalis ecclesiae*. Venetiis 1730.

Among other sources used by Herbinus for his quotations and references, we should mention antique Latin and Greek literature, which had become popular in seventeenth-century Europe: *Histories* by Herodotus (c. 484 – c. 425 BC), *Epigrammata* by Marcus Valerius Martialis (40–102/104), *Historiae Alexandri Magni* by Quintus Curtius (first century AD), Pliny the Elder’s (23–79) *Naturalis Historia*, Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus’s (c. 69 – after 122) *De vita Caesarum*, Lucius Plutarchus’ (c. 46–120) *Vitae parallelae*, and Publius Ovidius Naso’s (43 BC – 17/18 AD) *Elegiae*.<sup>131</sup>

What were the sources about Kyiv and its relics exactly? As mentioned above, Herbinus’ book was based on information supplied by Martin Wolossowycz, the abbot of the Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Spirit in Vilnius, and Kyiv Pechersk Lavra archimandrite Innocent Gizel. It must be mentioned here that Herbinus greatly respected both Orthodox hierarchs; he called Martin Wolossowycz “vir humanissimus,”<sup>132</sup> and Innocent Gizel was characterized as a man who was “incomparable to other Ruthenian Fathers” (*inter Ruthenos Patres incomparabilis*).<sup>133</sup>

In his work, Herbinus extensively referred to the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*. This work was based on the thirteenth-century correspondence between Simon, the bishop of Vladimir and Suzdal, and a monk of the Kyivan Caves Monastery named Polycarp. Later, the vita of St. Theodosius and the historical works of the chronicler Nestor were added to this correspondence. In 1460, a cave monastery monk called Cassian ordered a new redaction of the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*, called the *Akakiev*, or the first Cassian redaction. Two years later (1462), Cassian independently carried out another redaction of the manuscript – the second Cassian redaction.<sup>134</sup> The earliest copies of any of the manuscript’s redactions date back to the fifteenth century.<sup>135</sup> By the time Herbinus’ work was written, there were two printed editions of the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*: one in Polish, edited in 1635 by Sylvester Kossov (1607–1657), the bishop of Mahilioŭ, Orsha and Mstislaŭ and a future Kyiv Metropolitan (1647–1657), who was also an associate of Metropolitan Petro Mohyla; and another in Old Ukrainian, published in 1661.

<sup>131</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 7, 9–11, 59, 61, 62.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, praefatio.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>134</sup> Дмитро Абрамович. Вступ // *Києво-Печерський Патерик*. Київ 1930, pp. XIII–XV.

<sup>135</sup> The full edition of the text: *Києво-Печерський Патерик* / ed. Дмитро Абрамович. Київ 1930. Detailed analyses of the history of the text: Лариса Ольшевская. *Києво-Печерський патерик. Текстология, літературна історія, жанрове своєобразие* Текст. Дисс. канд. філолог. наук. Москва 1979. The main bibliography: *Києво-Печерський патерик: бібліографічний указатель (1661–2008)*. Екатеринбург 2009.

Innocent Gizel found the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* to be the best source to show readers how significant the saints of the caves were.<sup>136</sup> Herbinus described the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* as being a unique and authoritative source about the lives of the Kyiv Pechersk saints: “Quod quidem certius aliunde cognosci no[n] potest, quam ex libro Sclavonico Πατερικον supra allegato: in quo Patrum Crypto-Kijoviensium vitas Nestor Ruthenorum Chronographus prolixè et paucis enarrat, qui liber Kijoviae A.C.M.D.C.L.X.I. typis editus est Sclavonicis. Initia autem Cryptarum Kijoviensium Nestor statuit in Anno Christi melleesimo.”<sup>137</sup> Thus, he often mentioned the 1661 edition, and this is not surprising, as this book was completed in the Kyivan Caves Monastery during the abbotship of Gizel, who initiated the writing and was probably even the editor of the text. Obviously, because of the popularity of the 1661 edition, and in gratitude to Gizel, Herbinus put it at the top of his sources. The *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* referenced the introduction of this edition of the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*, and it was from this source that Herbinus took the most important data.

However, Herbinus’ major source of information was not the 1661 edition of the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* (probably, he was less familiar with Ruthenian), but the edition published in 1635 by Sylvester Kossov.<sup>138</sup> It was the first printed edition of the vitas of the Kyiv Pechersk fathers, guided by the idea of creating a hagiographic cycle to reach the widest audience: Ruthenians and Poles, and Catholics, Protestants and Orthodox. In fact, Kossov created a text for reading at home, in monastic cells, and in schools, or for preparing sermons, etc. The intention to reach a wide audience determined not only the language of the edition, but also led to the inclusion of texts of different genres to serve hagiographic, polemical, didactic, and belletristic purposes. For this study, it was especially important that the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* by Sylvester Kossov contained anti-Protestant and anti-Catholic polemics. However, Herbinus “didn’t notice” these. Moreover, he repeated some of the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*’ arguments, entering into polemics against his own opponents. In some cases Herbinus read the *Paterik*’s information incorrectly: Kossov noted that 878 was the year of the death of Patriarch Photios (810–891) according to Cesare Baronio (1538–1607),<sup>139</sup>

<sup>136</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 44.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14.

<sup>138</sup> The text is written in Middle Polish and was originally called: *Πατερικον abo Zywoły SS. Oycow Pieczarskich, obszyrnie słowieńskim ięzyKyim przez Świętego Nestora Zakonnika y Latopisca Ruskiego przedtym napisany, teraz zaś z Graeckich, Łacińskich, Słowieńskich y Polskich Pisarzow obiasniony y krocey podany przez Wielebnego w Bogu Oyca Silvestra Kossowa, Episkopa MścislawsKyigo, Orszańskyigo y Mohilewskyigo*. Kijów 1635. Reprint: *Seventeenth-Century Writings on the Kievan Caves Monastery*. Cambridge 1987, pp. 3–116.

<sup>139</sup> Sylvester Kossov. *Πατερικον abo żywoły SS. Oycow Pieczarskich. Obszyrnie Słowieńskim ięzykiem przez Świętego Nestora Zakonnika y Látopiscá Ruskiego przedtym napisany*.

while Herbinus put 878 as being the date that Rus' was baptized, but also mentioned Baronio.<sup>140</sup>

In general, the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*' information was fully trustworthy as far as Herbinus was concerned. He rarely mentioned Kossov or Gizel's names and considered the legendary thirteenth-century chronicler Nestor to be the only author of this source.<sup>141</sup>

Among other sources of Kyiv origin, Herbinus mentioned a book of Orthodox rituals given to him by Wolossowycz: "rituum Graeco-Ruthenorum in Ecclesiis ipsorum usu receptorum spectandi subinde facta est mihi copia."<sup>142</sup> He probably meant the famous *Euchologion* (Kyiv 1646),<sup>143</sup> edited by Kyiv metropolitan Petro Mohyla and sent to him by Gizel.<sup>144</sup> Our author also received two plans of the Kyiv caves and some other engravings from Gizel,<sup>145</sup> which he also put in his book.

Herbinus used broad historical comparisons in his treatise. In particular, he demonstrated a good knowledge of humanist scholarship, quoting Johannes Vasaesus' (1511–1561) *Rerum Hispaniae Memorabilium Annales* (Cologne 1577) and Lucio Marineo Siculo's (1460–1533) *De Rebus Hispaniae Memorabilibus* (Alcalá 1530).<sup>146</sup> Herbinus also mentioned and admired his Swedish friend Johannes Schefferus and his *Lapponia* (1673)<sup>147</sup> – a description of the Sami people living in Northern Scandinavia. Another source recalled by Herbinus belonged to the Catholic ecclesiastic Olaus Magnus (1490–1557). His *Historia De Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (Rome 1555) contained a lot of information about Scandinavia, including its history and people. The book was translated into German and was known in the German intellectual milieu as *Historien der mitnachtigen Länder*. Notably, Olaus Magnus and Johannes Schefferus' books are also quoted in the early works of Herbinus.<sup>148</sup>

Among trustworthy authorities for Herbinus in ecclesiastical history, there was also the Roman cardinal Cesare Baronio (1538–1607),<sup>149</sup> Enea Silvio

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*Teraz zás z Græckich, Lácińskich, Słowińskich, y Polskich Piszarzow obiásniony, y krocey podány.* Kijów 1635, p. 13.

<sup>140</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 19.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, praefatio.

<sup>143</sup> *Еυχологиѡн, албо Молитвословъ или Требникъ, имѣли в себѣ церковнаа различнаа послѣдованїа іеремъ подобающаа.* [Kyiv] 1646.

<sup>144</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 44, 47.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 92–94.

<sup>148</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *In Honorem Benedicti Seminis Collegii Oratorii Disputatio III. De Sponsalibus, Nuptialibus ac Funebribus Orationibus*, fol. A IVv.

<sup>149</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 19.

Piccolomini (Pope Pius II; 1405–1464), and the Lutheran authority on ecclesiastical history Johann Funck (1518–1566).<sup>150</sup> Herbinius also recognized his predecessor, the former Jesuit Giovanni Botero (1540–1617).<sup>151</sup> Probably, he also used, *de visu, Historiae Lithvanæ* (1650) by the Jesuit Albertus Kojalowicz (1609–1677),<sup>152</sup> who was famous for his anti-Protestant polemics. Books by other historians of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were, in fact, copied from the *Paterik's* footnotes; that is, Herbinius repeated references to the chronicles of Maciej Strykowski (1547–1593), Martin Kromer (1512–1589), Maciej Miechowski (1457–1523), Alexander Gwagnini (1538–1614), and Abraham Bzowski (1567–1637).<sup>153</sup>

One of the reasons Herbinius wrote his book was because of the rumors that existed in the German-speaking intellectual space about Kyiv, its caves, and the preservation of its intact bodies. We do not know to what extent “false rumors [were spread] in Germany” (“mendacem in Germania famam”).<sup>154</sup> Germans were in Kyiv during the seventeenth century, mainly taking part in the military campaigns of Polish kings. Among others things, they visited sacral places in Kyiv; this is proved both by epigraphic<sup>155</sup> and written<sup>156</sup> sources. However, the main origins of these rumors might have been from written sources.

In particular, Herbinius criticized the book *Florus Polonicus*, the early editions of which belonged to the Polish author Joachim Pastorius (1611–1681), and the later ones to a German, Erasmus Francisci (Finx) (1627–1694).<sup>157</sup> The book gained popularity both in Prussian Protestant gymnasiums and Jesuit colleges, and was reedited several times. Herbinius called the book “Florus

<sup>150</sup> Johannes Herbinius. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 18.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103, 104.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, praefatio.

<sup>155</sup> В’ячеслав Корнієнко. Написи-графіті XVI–XVII століть центральної нави Софії Київської як джерело до біографістики та генеалогії // *Український археографічний щорічник* 15 (2010) 117–128.

<sup>156</sup> Johannes Herbinius. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, pp. 318–321.

<sup>157</sup> Erasmus Franciscus. *Neuer Polnischer Florus. Das ist: Richtige und glaubhaffte Erzehlung der blutigen Kriege, so die jetzt-herrschende Majestät in Polen, König Johannes Casimirus, von Anbeginn seiner Regierung, biß auf gegenwärtigen Tag, wiewol zu verschiedenen Zeiten, mit den Cossacken, Tartern, Russen, Schweden, ChurBrandenburgischen, und Siebenbürgern geführt; wie auch der einheimischen Unruh, so mit den Confoederirten, und dem Lubomirski noch anjetzo vorschwebt. Darbey nicht allein die Haupt-Treffen, Scharmützel, Parthey-Gänge und Belägerungen, Accords- und Friedens-Puncten, sondern auch viel andre Wichtigkeiten gemeldet, und vermittelt eines hindangefügten Blat-Zeigers registrirt worden, durch den Unpartheyischen. Nürnberg 1666.*



Polonicus Auctoris Indiferentis Germanice nuper editus,<sup>158</sup> meaning Erasmus Francisci as the author.

Herbinus also debated with the Hungarian David Fröhlich (1595–1648), accusing him of giving false information about the length of the Kyivan caves<sup>159</sup> (more on this in Chapter 3). There were sources that were not directly mentioned by Herbinus that, from his point of view, spread falsehoods such as the legends about ancient Troy and the Roman poet Ovid’s tomb being in Kyiv (see the next chapter). For example, the councilor of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia, Laurentius Müller’s (1558–1598) *Polnische, Liffländische, Moschowiterische, Schwedische und andere Historien, so sich unter diesem jetzigen König zu Polen zugetragen [...]* (Frankfurt 1585);<sup>160</sup> Lithuanian diplomat Michalon Litwin’s (ca. 1490–1561) treatise, *De moribus Tartarorum, Litanorum et Moschorum, Fragmina X. multiplici Historia referta [...]* (Basel 1615);<sup>161</sup> and the Italian ambassador Alberto Vimina’s (1603–1667) book *Historia delle guerre civili di Polonia divisa in cinque Libri progressi dell’arme moscovite contro Polacchi. Relatione della Moscovia, e Suetia, e loro Governi [...]* (Venice 1671).<sup>162</sup>

Thus, among Herbinus’ opponents were representatives of different confessions. He also criticized Lutherans, despite the fact he clearly identified

<sup>158</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 61.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>160</sup> Laurentius Müller. *Polnische, Liffländische, Moschowiterische, Schwedische und andere Historien, so sich unter diesem jetzigen König zu Polen zugetragen. Das ist, kurze und warhaffte Beschreibung welcher massen dieser jetzt regierender könig in Polen, Stephanus deß namens der Erste, zum Regiment kommen, Was für Krieg er geführet, und wie er dieselben geendiget, Was sich zu seiner zeit biß daher begeben, und auff den Reichstagen zu unterschiedlichen mahlen abgehandelt, und was von dem Türcken und Moschowiter für Werbungen und andere Anschläge fürgelauffen: Und was jetzund für ein zustand in Liffland, Polen, Littawen, und der Mosckaw sey. Darinnen auch die Schwedische Kriege wider den Moschowiter, und andere Schwedische und Dennemärckische hieher notwendig gehörende Händel mit vermeldet und beschrieben werden. Ingleichen von der Undentzchen Völcker in Liffland Sitten und Leben, so wol auch der Tarterey, deß Fluß Boristhenis, der alten Stadt Kyoff gelegenheit, und vom warhafften ort deß Exilij Ouidiani, sehr nützlich und lustig zulesen.* Frankfort am Mayn 1585.

<sup>161</sup> Michalon Litanus. *De moribus Tartarorum, Litanorum et Moschorum, Fragmina X. multiplici Historia referta. Et, Iohan. Lasiccii Poloni, de diis Samagitarum, caeterorumque Sarmatarum, et falsorum Christianorum, item de religione Armeniorum. Et de initio Regiminis Stephani Batorii.* Basileae 1615.

<sup>162</sup> Alberto Vimina. *Historia delle guerre civili di Polonia divisa in cinque Libri progressi dell’arme moscovite contro Polacchi. Relatione della Moscovia, e Suetia, e loro Governi. Di Don Alberto Vimina Bellunese. Dedicata all’Illustrissimo, et Eccellentissimo Signor Cavalier Michel Morosini, per la Serenissima Republica di Venetia ambasciatore ordinario appresso la Santità di Nostro Signore papa Clemente X. Con le Annotationi in Margine di Don Gio. Battista Casotti Dottor di Legge.* Venetia 1671.

himself with the Lutheran confession. He simply refuted the information of his co-believers, using the words of the Orthodox hierarch Innocent Gizel and the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* (which had been sent to him by Gizel).

In summarizing this chapter, I would like to underline that the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* strongly reflected the personal characteristics and intellectual interests of its author. First of all, it demonstrates his interest in natural philosophy, the broad horizons that formed during his travels, and his large circle of communication. Herbinus often wrote in the first person and showed his deep interest in the things he described. We can also call this treatise the most autobiographical of his works. Herbinus made use of many sources, the main one being the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*, which was popularized in the Kyiv Pechersk Monastery through its several editions. Two editions of this medieval manuscript were in his possession: one in Polish, edited in 1635 by Sylvester Kossov, and another in Old Ukrainian, published in 1661. Although Innocent Gizel, Kyiv Pechersk's abbot, advised Herbinus to use the most recent edition, he, in fact, used the 1635 edition. In this way, many of Sylvester Kossov's ideas, narratives, data, and even his expressions and quotations found their way into the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*. Herbinus did not pay attention to the anti-Protestant polemic in the work; moreover, it seems that the denominations of the authors he used as authorities in his book, did not matter much to him. This book explicitly demonstrates that, even though the 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 the various confessions, the free circulation of religious ideas, and a deep interest in the beliefs of "others."<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Nataliia Sinkevych. The Description of Kiev and Its "Sacral Space" in Early Modern Multiconfessional Discourse // *Kulturelle Wirkungen der Reformation. Kongressdokumentation. Lutherstadt Wittenberg. August 2017*, vol. 2. Leipzig 2018, pp. 287–297.

## Chapter 2

# RUTHENIAN LANDS, PEOPLE, AND LANGUAGE

### Knowledge about Eastern Slavdom in Western European writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

Information about the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which belonged to the world of Latin culture, was theoretically accessible to readers in Central and Western Europe. Ruthenian lands were also described in the first geographical and historical treatises by Polish authors. The treatise *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiatica et Europaea et de contentis in eis* (Augsburg 1517) by Polish Renaissance author Maciej Miechowski became one of the first empirical investigations of Ruthenia, its history, and its geography.<sup>1</sup> A great deal of information about Ruthenia and its inhabitants was contained in Martin Kromer's chronicle, written by official order of the Polish king in the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1555, the chronicle was published in Basel under the name *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum*. The success of the chronicle was much greater than the author had expected, and four further editions were published soon after. The work was published in its most complete and perfect form in 1589 in Cologne, with this edition serving as the basis for yet further reprints. The German translation of the chronicle was produced in Basel in 1562.<sup>2</sup>

From the sixteenth century onwards, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovite Principedom were frequently visited by Western Europeans, with some including descriptions of their travels to Ruthenian lands. A revolution in the spread of information about Eastern Europe within the German intellectual circle was started by Sigismund von Herberstein's *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* (Vienna 1549), in which the author, while focusing on Muscovy,

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<sup>1</sup> Людвиг Штайндорфф. Наследие Киевской Руси в восприятии “западных” авторов раннего Нового века // *Древняя Русь после Древней Руси: дискурс восточнославянского (не)единства* / ed. Андрей Доронин. Москва 2017, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Сурьян Walewski. *Marcin Kromer*. Warszawa 1874, pp. 2–4.

also briefly mentioned Ruthenian lands.<sup>3</sup> However, most of the Western European authors of early modern times paid much more attention to the Muscovite state than to Ruthenia. This was due to travelers' usual itinerary, which took them to Muscovy, and the political significance of Moscow in contrast to Ruthenia (only being part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), as well as the fact that Moscow was considered to be more "exotic" and difficult to reach compared to Ruthenia.<sup>4</sup>

Ruthenia and its inhabitants only came to be a subject of special interest for Western Europeans at the end of the sixteenth century. This interest was mainly due to the Cossacks, who, from time to time, appeared in the military plans of European monarchies. The wars that took place on Ruthenian territories during the middle of the seventeenth century made Ruthenian lands somewhat interesting from the perspective of foreign authors. Giles Fletcher (c. 1548–1611), Paul Mucante (1557–1617), and Erich Lassota von Steblau (1560–1616) all wrote about Ruthenian lands in their diplomatic reports. Some authors (e.g. the previously mentioned Laurentius Müller) wrote about Ruthenian lands after making adventurous journeys, and strove to share their travel experiences. A book that gained great popularity was *Description des contrees du royaume de Pologne* (first edition 1651; later editions were called *Description de l'Ukraine*<sup>5</sup>) by French engineer Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan (1595–1685), who stayed in Ruthenia for several years and claimed to be a reliable eyewitness of its history and geography.<sup>6</sup>

Bohdan Khmelnytsky's war stimulated even more interest in Ukraine. Information about Cossack troops devastating the main cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth reached flyers and newspapers in Germany and France.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, brief descriptions of Ruthenian lands appeared in numerous political and geographical encyclopedias, and general histories.

<sup>3</sup> Andrej Doronin. Das Bild der Russen bzw. Moscoviter auf der historischen und kognitiven Landkarte der deutschen Humanisten 1490–1530 // *Orbis Terrarum* 13 (2015) 85.

<sup>4</sup> Stéphane Mund. *Orbis Russiarum. Genèse et développement de la représentation du monde "russe" en Occident à la Renaissance*. Geneva 2003, pp. 459–463.

<sup>5</sup> Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan. *Description de l'Ukraine depuis les confins de la Moscovie jusqu'aux limites de la Transilvanie*. Paris 1861.

<sup>6</sup> Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel. *Rzeczpospolita XVII wieku w oczach cudzoziemców*. Warszawa 1993, p. 149.

<sup>7</sup> More about it: Ілько Борщак. *Україна в літературі Західної Європи*. Київ 2000; Дмитро Наливайко. *Козацька християнська республіка: Запорозька Січ у західноєвропейських літературних пам'ятках*. Київ 1992; Marshall Poe. The Zaporozhian Cossacks in Western Print to 1600 // *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 19 (1995): Камень краєжгльнь: *Rhetoric of the Medieval Slavic World: Essays presented to Edward L. Keenan on his sixtieth birthday by his colleagues and students* / ed. N. S. Kollmann, D. Ostrowski, A. Pliguzov, D. Rowland, pp. 531–547.

By the time the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* appeared, the German Protestant intellectual milieu had already produced the book *Anderte Beschreibung deß Königreichs Polen, und Großherzogthums Litauen; aus den neulichsten Polnischen und andern Scribenten, aufs neu, nach den unterschiedlichen Ländern, zusammen getragen, und auf diese gegenwertige Zeit gerichtet [...]* (Ulm 1647).<sup>8</sup> Its author, Martin Zeiller (1589–1661), wanted to create a historical compilation about the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth using, broadly, a comparative method. Zeiller provided minimal information on Ruthenia and its cities, inhabitants, and church customs, rather using information from other authors since he had never been to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth himself.<sup>9</sup>

There is no doubt that some information about Ruthenian lands could be found in Western European literature in general, and in German literature specifically, by the time the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* appeared. However, most Western European authors were not able to read Slavic sources. Here, Herbinus had an unanswerable advantage. He stressed several times that knowledge about Kyiv and Ruthenia among Germans was very poor and sometimes far from the truth,<sup>10</sup> he thus wanted to correct and broaden it.

### The people, history, and geography of Eastern Slavdom

Herbinus called Ruthenia “the land of Cossacks” or “Ukraine.” The latter term, as he noted, was popular in his day in everyday speech: “Ukraina vulgo hodie appellatur.”<sup>11</sup> We can find the same names – “the land of Cossacks” and “Ukraine” – in the diary of Herbinus’ contemporary, the Syrian clergyman Paul of Aleppo (1627–1669), who travelled to Ruthenia as a member of the Patriarch of Antioch’s court.<sup>12</sup>

In his treatise, Herbinus called the locals mainly Roxolans (“Roxolani,” “Russolani”) or Cossacks. Since the fourteenth century, a number of authors had been trying to connect Eastern European nations with the tribes of Sarmatians, Scythians, and Roxolans mentioned in ancient sources.<sup>13</sup> Some Renaissance

<sup>8</sup> Martin Zeiller. *Anderte Beschreibung deß Königreichs Polen, und Großherzogthums Litauen; aus den neulichsten Polnischen und andern Scribenten, aufs neu, nach den unterschiedlichen Ländern, zusammen getragen, und auf diese gegenwertige Zeit gerichtet; wie aus der Vorrede zuersehen.* Ulm 1657.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>10</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, praefatio.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>12</sup> *The Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch: Written by his Attendant Archdeacon, Paul of Aleppo, in Arabic*, part 4 / transl. Francis C. Belfour. London 1833.

<sup>13</sup> Людвиг Штайндорфф. *Наследие Киевской Руси*, p. 44.

German authors took Sarmatians and Scythians to be part of the mystical *Germania magna*.<sup>14</sup> In contrast, Polish noblemen, since the end of the sixteenth century, had used the so-called Sarmatian theory (which posited that Polish *szlachta* had descended from the Sarmatians) to substantiate their identity, political rights, and dignity; in this way, the original Polish cultural phenomenon called Sarmatism was created.<sup>15</sup> Within the Sarmatian theory, Ruthenian early modern historiography developed a myth about the Roxolans: a Sarmatian tribe that were the direct ancestors of the inhabitants of the Ruthenian lands. Some Ruthenians thought that all the Slavic nations descended from the Sarmatians, while others considered Sarmatia's borders covered only the lands of Kyiv,<sup>16</sup> and some contrasted the Muscovites to the "brave tribe of the Roxolan land[s]."<sup>17</sup> The "Roxolan people," in early modern Ruthenian historiography, referred exactly to the inhabitants of Ruthenian lands. However, the Roxolans, according to Herbinus, originated not from Sarmatian but Scythia, who were agriculturists; thus, he preferred Herodotus' testimony about the inhabitants of the Dnipro region<sup>18</sup> to the ideas of Ruthenian authors.

The term "Cossacks" was also in common use. At the very beginning it had no ethnic or confessional connotation. The Turkish name "Cossack" applied to the military people who lived on the Muslim-Christian border (particularly, on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Kingdom of Poland, and Muscovite Principedom). It was a social phenomenon that was rooted in military life and independence from central state authorities.<sup>19</sup> After Khmelnytsky's uprising however, the use of the term was associated with Ruthenians and covered all inhabitants of the Cossack State – the Hetmanate that occupied the territory of contemporary Central Ukraine.

Herbinus examined the etymology of the word "Cossack," which originated either from the word "goat" in Ruthenian, "koza" (an idea popular among the seventeenth-century Ruthenian and Polish authors<sup>20</sup>), and was used because

<sup>14</sup> Andrej Doronin. *Das Bild der Russen bzw. Moscoviter*, pp. 117–128.

<sup>15</sup> More about this: Adam Zamoyski. *The Polish Way. A Thousand-Year History of the Poles and Their Culture*. New York 1987, pp. 163–164, 187, 196.

<sup>16</sup> Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg. *Frühneuzeitliche Nationen im östlichen Europa. Das polnische Geschichtsdenken und die Reichweite einer humanistischen Nationalgeschichte (1500–1700)*. Wiesbaden 2006, pp. 381–383.

<sup>17</sup> Athanasius Kalnofoyski. *Тератопоргема lubo cuda, ktore były tak w samym świętocvdotwornym monastyru pieczarskim kiiowskim. iáko y w obudwu świętych pieczarach, w ktorych po woli Bożey Błogosłáwieni Oycowie Pieczárscy pożywszy, y ciężary Ciał swoich złożyli: Wiernie y pilnie teraz pirwşy raz zebrane, y światu podáne*. Kijów 1638, p. 43.

<sup>18</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 9–11.

<sup>19</sup> Serhii Plokyh. *The Cossacks and Religion*, p. 1–21.

<sup>20</sup> Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel. *Rzeczpospolita XVII wieku*, p. 160.

of the Cossacks' speed and fur clothes; or from the word "scythe," which sounds like "kosa" in Ruthenian, and which was the Cossacks' primary weapon. Herbinus even tried to find some mention of Cossack ancestry originating from Alexander the Great's army. This search, however, seemed for him unsatisfactory, and he left it open for discussion: "Disquirant eruditi."<sup>21</sup> We can assume that Herbinus meant the legend about Alexander the Great's privilege, according to which Slavs obtained the right to inhabit the lands of "European Sarmatia," to which Ruthenia also belonged. The works of the Polish humanists Stanisław Orzechowski (1513–1566)<sup>22</sup> and Stanisław Sarnicki (1532–1597) might have been the most reliable sources of this information for Herbinus. Cossacks were traditionally considered to be the protectors of Ruthenian lands from Tatar invasions. Herbinus also stressed the importance of the Cossacks in protecting Ruthenian borders: "Cosaci Zaporovienses dicuntur incolae Roxolani et milites, qui in illo tractu perpetuas contra Tartarorum excursiones et latrocinia agunt excubias."<sup>23</sup> Presumably, this reflected a "new" position taken by the Orthodox Ruthenian clergy who glorified Cossacks, whereas Petro Mohyla and his closest circle tried to dissociate themselves from Cossack rebellions.<sup>24</sup>

A kind of "Herbinus neologism" concerning the inhabitants of Ruthenian lands was the term "Borysthenidae,"<sup>25</sup> which originated from an antique name for the Dnipro River, but rarely mentioned in seventeenth-century sources. It was clear to him that Ruthenians belonged to the Slavic community. The idea of a genetic kinship between all Slavs (originating from a single first ancestor called Mosokh) had already been widely expressed by Maciej Strykowski,<sup>26</sup> and later developed by Herbinus' contemporaries, the Ruthenian Dominican Szymon

<sup>21</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Валерій Зема. *Київська митрополія перед викликами Ренесансу та Реформації*. Київ 2021, pp. 174–176.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Наталя Яковенко. Кого топчуть коні звитяжного Корибута: до загадки києво-могилянського панегірика 1648 р. "Maores Wiszniewiecciorum" // *Synopsis: A Collection of Essays in Honour of Zenon E. Kohut* / ed. Serhii Plokhly. Edmonton 2005, p. 217.

<sup>25</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 145.

<sup>26</sup> Maciej Strykowski. *Ktora przedtym nigdy swiatła nie widziała, Kronika Polska Litewska, Zmodzka, y wszystkiey Rusi Kijowskiej, Moskiewskiej, Siewierskiej, Wołyńskiej, Podolskiej, Podgorskiej, Podlaskiej, etc. Y rozmaite przypadki wojenne y domowe, Pruskich, Mazowieckich, Pomorskich, y inszych kráin Krolestwu Polskiemu y Wielkiemu Xiestwu Litewskiemu przyległych Według istotnego y gruntownego zniesienia pewnych dowodów z rozmaitych Historyków y Autorów postronnych, y domowych, y Kijowskich i Moskiewskich, Stawańskich, Liflantskich, Pruskich starych, Dotąd ciemnochną nocą zakrytych Kronik, y Latopiszcow Ruskich, Litewskich, y Długosza Oyca dzieiow Polskich z inszymi, z wielką pilnością y wezłowatą pracą (Osobliwie około dzieiow Litewskich y Ruskich od żadnego przedtym niekuszonych)*. Krolewiec 1582, p. 89.

Okolski (1580–1658)<sup>27</sup> and the Croatian Catholic missionary Yuriy Krizhanich (1618–1683), who is considered to be the first pan-Slavist.<sup>28</sup> In the same way, it was used by the Kyiv intellectuals of the seventeenth century: Bulgaria, Moesia, and Illyria, as well as all parts of Rus' (White, Black, Northern, and Southern) were all included in the confessional conglomeration *Slavia Orthodoxa*.<sup>29</sup> It is interesting, however, that the term “Slavs” in the *Religosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* only meant East and South Slavdom; Poles were counted separately.<sup>30</sup> Probably, “Slavs,” for Herbinus, was more of a confessional term than national one, and was used for Orthodox peoples.

In describing Ruthenia, Herbinus' special interests were the rivers, and the cataracts that existed on them. It was no wonder he paid a lot of attention to the Dnipro river, calling it “Βορυσθένης,” in the Greek manner. According to him, there were two important objects on the Dnipro river: the cataracts and the city of Kyiv. Dnipro's cataracts – called “Porohi” – served as the natural border between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the wild steppes, inhabited by nomadic tribes of Tatars who often devastated Ruthenian lands. Herbinus mentioned the importance of this barrier: “quod cataractae illae tartarorum excursionis, instar obicis sufflaminant, eumque illis opponent limitem, aut limina, quae transilire nequeunt.”<sup>31</sup> However, there is no special description of this natural phenomenon, which once more testifies to Herbinus' lack of actual presence in Kyiv.

Nevertheless, a lot of attention is paid in the book to the city of Kyiv. Here Herbinus had a specific source of information – Innocent Gizel. It should be mentioned here that Kyiv, as the sacral and former political capital of Rus', played a special role in the writings of the Ruthenian intellectuals of the seventeenth century. Moreover, by the time Herbinus' book had been written, Kyiv had, for a long time, been considered the second Jerusalem – a place of eschatological expectations.<sup>32</sup> Despite his communication with the Ruthenian ecclesiastical leader, Herbinus did not know (at least did not re-translate) many of the le-

<sup>27</sup> Szymon Okolski. *Rvssia florida rosis et liliis hoc est sanguine, praedicatione, religione et vita, antea FF. Ordinis Praedicatorvm peregrinatione inchoata, nunc conventuum in Rvssia stabilitate fundata*. Leopoli 1646, pp. 1–2.

<sup>28</sup> Michael B. Petrovich. Juraj Krizanic: A Precursor of Pan-Slavism (CA. 1618–83) // *The American Slavic and East European Review* 6, 3/4 (1947) 75–92.

<sup>29</sup> ΣΥΝΟΨΙΣΪΒ или краткое собраніе ѿ ра[з]личных льготописце[в]. [Kyiv] 1680, f. 13r; Sylvester Kossov. *Πατερικον*, pp. 15–16.

<sup>30</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 19.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>32</sup> Lilya Berezhnaya. Topography of Salvation: “The New Jerusalem” in Ruthenian Polemical Literature // *Litauen und Ruthenien. Studien zu einer transkulturellen Kommunikation-region (15–18. Jahrhundert) = Lithuania and Ruthenia. Studies of a Transcultural Communication Zone (15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Centuries)* / ed. Stefan Rohdewald. Wiesbaden 2007, pp. 246–271.



gends about the city: its origin and mythological founders, Prince Kyi and his brothers, who had become a part of Ruthenian historical narrative by that time. Instead, he investigated the Kyiv legends that were popular in the German-speaking milieu. One of this group told him about the Trojan origin of the city and the tombs of Hector, Priam, Achilles, and other Trojans in the caves.<sup>33</sup>

In early modern society, Troy was a place of memory. The legend of Troy was a well-known part of a popular reading-cycle in Eastern Europe (early-modern Vilnius was compared to the legendary city<sup>34</sup>). It is not surprising, therefore, that some authors believed the intact bodies in the Kyiv caves to be the well-known ancient heroes of Troy. In his rhetorical question – “Quis Trojae vestigia non lustraret lubens? Quis Priamos, Hectoras, Achilles, Ajaces, aliosque Dardanorum aequae ac Archivorum Heroas, etiam maxima sumptuum jacturam, ad Borystenem spectatum non iret peregre?”<sup>35</sup> – Herbinus stressed the popularity of such ideas.

The idea that Troy was located on Ruthenian lands had to be overcome, however. Searching for the roots of their own history, the European humanists tried to make these roots go back earlier than Troy.<sup>36</sup> The pre-national thinking of the Ruthenian authors during early modern times also did not allow for the assumption that Kyiv, the sacral and political center of Ruthenia, was built or inhabited by Trojans, who had no connection with Ruthenians at all. The Ruthenian humanists Sebastian Klonowic (1545–1602) in his *Roxolania* (1584),<sup>37</sup> and Ivan Dombrovsky (first half of the seventeenth century) in the poem *Camoenae Boristhenides* (1620),<sup>38</sup> showed the untrustworthiness of such rumors and stressed the native origin of Kyiv’s inhabitants.<sup>39</sup> Herbinus decided to investigate the truth, starting with the geography of Troy’s location. He argued that if Kyiv had been Troy, the Greeks and Aeneas would not have been able to cross the cataracts on the Dnipro River with their light boats and, besides, this trip would have been mentioned in the ancient sources.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 8.

<sup>34</sup> Леонід Тимошенко. *Руська релігійна культура Вільна. Контекст доби. Осередки. Література та книжність. XVI – перша третина XVII ст.* Дрогобич 2020, p. 526.

<sup>35</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, praefatio.

<sup>36</sup> Андрей Доронин. *Европа рубежа XV–XVI вв.: на пороге новой истории (взгляд с Запада) // Нарративы руси конца XV – середины XVIII в.: в поисках своей истории.* Москва 2018, p. 27.

<sup>37</sup> Sebastian Fabian Klonowic. *Roxolania Sebastiani Sulmyrcensis Acerni Civis Lublensis.* Cracow 1584, fol. G IV recto.

<sup>38</sup> [Ioannes Dąbrowski]. *Camoenae Borysthenides seu felices episcopalem Sedem Chioviensem ingressus, Dni Boguslai Radoszowski Voxa à Siemikowice, gratulatio.* S. l. et a., fol. A III recto.

<sup>39</sup> Микола Трофимчук. “Київська” тема у латиномовних творах XVI–XVIII ст.: боротьба міфологем // *Слово і час, науково-теоретичний журнал* 10/670 (2016) 77–84.

<sup>40</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, pp. 8–9.

The second most popular legend to be condemned by Herbinus was the location of Ovid's grave in Kyiv. This legend appeared because of the records of ancient sources describing Ovid's exile in Scythia. The idea that Ovid's tomb was in Kyiv was not supported by the local elite, as Herbinus himself mentioned;<sup>41</sup> obviously, it was in the Western European milieu that this idea had spread. The information concerning connections between the Ruthenian lands and the antique Roman world was popularized by the previously mentioned Laurentius Müller, who had made some attempts to find Ovid's grave in Ruthenia. The fact that this search had been carried out was even stressed in the title of his book: *Polnische, Liffländische, Moschowiterische, Schwedische und andere Historien [...] Ingleichen von der Undentzchen Völcker in Liffland Sitten und Leben, so wol auch der Tarterey, deß Fluß Boristhenis, der alten Stadt Kyoff gelegenheit, und vom warhafften ort deß Exilij Ouidiani, sehr nützlich und lustig zulesen*. Here, Müller reported that, with the help of local noblemen, he had managed to find Ovid's tomb. While attempts to locate Ovid's grave in the Ruthenian steppes in the settlement Vidovo (Ovidova) could also be found in Michalon Litwin's popular treatise *De moribus Tartarorum, Litanorum et Moschorum*: "Unde haud procul ostia Dnestri, cognomen habent Vidovo, ab Ovidio poeta, qui ea in parte ponti exulasse creditur."<sup>42</sup> Later, such rumors were transmitted by Venetian diplomat Alberto Vimina, who was sent to Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1650. In his book *Historia delle guerre civili di Polonia*, published in 1671, he also describes locating Ovid's grave in Vidovo (Ovidova): "paese, che s'estende sin'all'Eussino, non lunge da quei siti, dove stette Ovidio in bando, e dove affermano trovarsi una Cittadella detta Ovidova, che si può interpretare Città d'Ovidio, nella qual vien detto trovarsi sepolte le ceneri di lui."<sup>43</sup> Thus, information about Ovid's tomb being located in Ruthenia was rather popular in Western European writing.

These rumors about Ovid's grave were still popular in Herbinus' time,<sup>44</sup> and he decided to investigate the truth. Here he answered using his knowledge of Ovid's *Elegies*, in which the ancient author mentioned the seaside city of Tomis as being the place of his exile.<sup>45</sup> Besides, Herbinus argued that the locals knew nothing about Ovid, and had disseminated a story about Andrew the Apostle visiting Kyiv instead.<sup>46</sup>

The legend of Andrew the Apostle's mission to Rus' was already to be found in the *Rus' Primary Chronicle* (about 1113). According to the story, after preaching in ancient Chersonese, Andrew the Apostle travelled up the Dnipro

<sup>41</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, pp. 10–11.

<sup>42</sup> Michelo Litanus. *De moribus Tartarorum, Litanorum et Moschorum*, p. 35.

<sup>43</sup> Alberto Vimina. *Historia delle guerre civili di Polonia*, p. 7.

<sup>44</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 8.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

river to Kyiv and installed a cross there, thus predicting the Christian future of the city. The cult of Andrew the Apostle was actively promoted in the sixteenth century in Novgorod and Moscow writings, where the legend of St. Andrew preaching in Kyiv and Novgorod was turned into a legend about the Apostle performing the first baptism of Rus'. However, Kyiv's spiritual literature had their own interpretation of the mission of the Apostle – that the mission of the Apostle was just an omen, and not a baptism. Besides this, the written works from Kyiv actively used the Apostle's image in anti-Catholic polemics: unlike Andrew the Apostle's medieval vita from the liturgical calendar, the new version of the legend said that after the preaching in Rus', the Apostle had gone not to Rome, but had returned to Thrace. Later, some Kyiv authors deepened this ideological point by emphasizing both the seniority of Andrew the Apostle, who was considered the founder of the Constantinople Patriarchy, and his celibacy, in contrast to Peter the Apostle, the founder of the Apostolic See in Rome. In comparing the images of the Apostles Peter and Andrew, Kyiv authors attacked the core of the Catholic ecclesiological argument about the hierarchical superiority of St. Peter, the monarchical principle of the Catholic Church, and the primacy of Rome over Constantinople.<sup>47</sup> Later on, the image of the first Patriarch of Constantinople, Andrew the Apostle, was used by Kyiv clergy to deny Moscow's claims on the Kyivan Metropolitanate. In particular, Herbinus' friend, Innocent Gizel, used the legend of the Apostle preaching in Kyiv to defend Kyiv, and demonstrate it belonged not to Moscow but to Constantinople.<sup>48</sup>

For Herbinus, the legend of Andrew the Apostle preaching in Kyiv was totally reliable: “Namque cum S. Andreas Apostolus in Chersoneso Taurica partibus Evangelii defunctus, in Russiam Septentrionalem adverso Borysthene navigaret, forte in itinere montes Kijovienses ascendit. Cui loco bene precatus crucem sanctam in monte, ad cujus radices nunc porta Civitatis Kijoviae erecta est, defixit.”<sup>49</sup> Protestant tradition, unlike the Catholic and Orthodox ones, did not have a clear or well-developed idea of “apostolic geography,” except what was mentioned in the New Testament itinerary of St. Paul. Kyiv authors also considered St. Paul to be the apostle of the Slavs, and the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* mentioned St. Paul preaching in Illyria.<sup>50</sup> Paul the Apostle and his disciple Andronicus' missionary activity among the Slavs, proved with the Bible's authority (Rom. 15,19), was also repeated by Herbinus.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup> More about this: Наталя Сінкевич. “Никгды бовем апостолове надаремно не ходили”: кілька спостережень щодо культу апостола Андрія у Київській митрополії першої половини XVII ст. // *Болховітіновський щорічник* 2010 (Київ 2011) 144–159.

<sup>48</sup> Николай Сумцовъ. Иннокентій Гизель, pp. 188–189.

<sup>49</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, pp. 12–13.

<sup>50</sup> Sylvester Kossov. *Патериков*, p. 11.

<sup>51</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 18.

Thus, Herbinus highlighted the apostolic baptism of Ruthenians; however, he did not consider it to be the final act of baptism, but only the first step. Following his main source, the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*, Herbinus included the story about the five steps of the baptism of Rus' in his book.<sup>52</sup> The starting point of this plot was the aforementioned trip to Rus' by Andrew the Apostle. The second step was a missionary trip by two brothers from Thessaloniki, Cyril and Methodius, who were invited by the Moravian princes to evangelize Great Moravia and translate the gospel and liturgy into the Old Slavonic. The third step of the baptism of Rus', according to Kossov, took place in 886. At that time, the Byzantine Emperor, Basil I the Macedonian, sent a bishop to evangelize and baptize the Ruthenians, who then asked for a miracle; so the bishop threw the gospel into a fire, but it did not burn. The fourth step of the baptism according to the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*, was connected with the personal baptism of Princess Olga in Constantinople in 958. However, given the story of the baptism of Rus', the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* only pays special attention to the last baptism, that of Volodymyr. The previous facts of the Christianization of Rus', from Kossov's point of view, were either unsuccessful attempts, or only the personal baptisms of monarchs. Volodymyr's baptism was preceded by the teachings of the philosopher Cyril, as well as a comparison of all the world's religions, the healing of Volodymyr's blindness, and the promise of marriage between Volodymyr and the Byzantine princess Anna. After the baptism, however, Volodymyr saw the light and proclaimed the final reception of the true God.<sup>53</sup> Thus, the story of the five steps of the baptism of Rus' in the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* held very important ideological meaning: four stages of the Christianization of different "Slavic lands" had been completed with the creation of the Metropolia in Kyiv; that fact automatically leads the "Roxolans" to the vanguard of Slavic history.

Herbinus repeats this polemic narrative practically word for word, even using Kossov's words and expressions, rarely adding information from other authorities.<sup>54</sup> However, he understood very little of the polemical direction of the plot. He intended to give his readers only historical facts that he borrowed from his sources. Therefore, Herbinus dated the second stage of the Christianization of Rus' as either 863 (according to the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*) or 861 (according to Funck and Piccolomini).<sup>55</sup> Remarkably, Herbinus identified Moravian princes as Rus', and expanded Cyril and Methodius' mission into Poland, proclaiming the brothers to be the "Apostles of Poles and Slavs": "Imperante

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<sup>52</sup> Nataliia Sinkevych. The 1635 "Paterykon" by Sylvestr Kossov. Its Purposes, Originality, Sources and Interpretation // *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 64/2 (2016) 177–198.

<sup>53</sup> Sylvester Kossov. *Πατερικον*, pp. 10–14.

<sup>54</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, pp. 17–24.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

in Oriente Michaelae Caesare, Photio vero Constantinopoli sedente, quo seculo, imo anno Seculi eodem Poloni quoque Christi Evangelium ministerio Cyrilli et Methodii amplexi sunt; A quibus Sclavorum ac Polonorum Apostolis Cyrillo et Methodio religio, cultusque sacer linguam Sclavonum vernacular conscripta, ac praeterea multi alii libri in eandem lingvam translati sunt.”<sup>56</sup> Although these ideas were not directly borrowed from the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* (Kossov had avoided such bold historical manipulations), they clearly have a Ruthenian origin since they were popular in the earlier Orthodox polemical literature, which, from one side, stressed that all Slavs could be called “Rus’,”<sup>57</sup> while on the other, they carried on a controversy with Catholic Poles about the historical primacy of Rome or Constantinople in the Christianization of the Slavs.<sup>58</sup> Herbinus simply followed Kossov in all other details. Therefore, Volodymyr’s baptism in the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* was depicted especially vividly; since from that moment onward, stressed Herbinus, Rus’ had rejected idolatrous rulers and paganism.<sup>59</sup>

It is very interesting that Herbinus stated that Kyiv’s Prince Volodymyr, following his christening, received from Byzantium the title of Caesar. According to this plot, this future saint and baptizer of Rus’ started a war against Byzantium in Thrace. Forced by military circumstances, Constantine IX Monomachos (1000–1055) sent a crown, scepter, and relics of the Holy Cross to the prince of Rus’, creating, by this act, the monarchy of Rus’: “Ut itaque Constantinus arma ejus a se averteret, per Legatum suum Episcopum quondam Ephesinum coronam Caesaream, sceptrum et Crucis Sanctae lignum in disco aureo ei dono misit, adeoque hoc facto Ducem Wlodimirum, primum Magnae Russiae Caesarem creavit.”<sup>60</sup> Herbinus, in fact, confused St. Volodymyr the Baptizer, whose cult was very popular in seventeenth-century Kyiv, with Volodymyr Monomakh, who was glorified in Moscow, and distorted the famous legend of Monomakh’s Cap, used by Muscovite authors to proclaim the conception of Moscow as the third Rome. According to the Muscovite version of the legend, Constantine IX Monomachos of Byzantium presented the crown to his grandson, Volodymyr Monomakh (1053–1125), and this was used as a symbol of *translatio imperii* from Constantinople to Moscow.<sup>61</sup> Herbinus knew about the Muscovite claims to the title

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>57</sup> *Полное собрание русских летописей*, vol. 40: Густынская летопись / ed. Юрий Анхимюк. Москва 2003, p. 39, 41.

<sup>58</sup> Палинодія. Сочиненіє Захаріи Копыстенскаго, 1621 года // *Русская историческая библиотека, издаваемая Археографическою коммиссією*, vol. 4: *Памятники полемической литературы въ Западной Руси*, part 1. Санкт-Петербургъ 1878, coll. 986–999.

<sup>59</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, pp. 17–23.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>61</sup> Dmitrij Čiževskij. *History of Russian Literature: From the Eleventh Century to the End of the Baroque*. ’s-Gravenhage 1960, pp. 251–252.

of Caesar, and could not omit it: for a potential German reader of the book, there was only one monarch that could claim the title of Caesar – the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. Using the authority of Lithuanian Jesuit Albertus Kojalowicz (1609–1677), Herbinus noted that the word “Tzar” does not mean “Caesar” but “ruling Lord” (“Dominus regnans”); it was never used concerning other monarchs.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, Herbinus argued, that only in 1548, 540 years after Volodymyr’s death, Moscow’s Prince Ivan, following the Polish example, started calling himself “Tzar.”<sup>63</sup> There was a reflection of Innocent Gizel’s influence also: Kyiv intellectuals had not approved of Moscow’s claims on Kyiv’s historical heritage. Thus, Herbinus was strongly skeptical of Moscow’s belief in its continuity with Constantinople.

The Patriarchate of Constantinople, according to Herbinus, played a special role in the cultural and spiritual unity of the Slavs. Even after the Treaty of Pereyaslav (1654), the Ruthenian clergy still found itself under oath to both the Polish king and the Constantinople Patriarchate.<sup>64</sup> Gizel’s loyalty towards Constantinople began in 1675 when the patriarch, Parthenius IV of Constantinople, proposed Gizel’s candidature for Kyiv Metropolitan to the Polish king, Jan III Sobieski (1629–1696). Sobieski, however, preferred Yosyf Shumlyansky (1643–1708).<sup>65</sup> After this, Gizel changed his political position, and the left-bank clergy turned to Constantinople with a request to ordain Gizel in Moscow.<sup>66</sup> Gizel’s previous loyalty towards Constantinople, however, was reflected in Herbinus’ book, since he mentioned the sense of religious community between Greeks and Ruthenians (“fides Graeco-Ruthenica”<sup>67</sup>), and the importance of a Patriarchal city for the unity of Slavs, which was partially broken by some Ruthenians’ religious union with Rome: “[...] qui nexus, et communio, paucissimis Russorum, qui a Patriarcha Constantinopolitano secessu facto ad Romanum Pontificem hoc seculo defecere, exceptis, adhuc inter eos durat.”<sup>68</sup>

Thus, the *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae* mostly reflected the historical and geographical knowledge of the Ruthenian seventeenth-century intellectual elite. Being influenced by his correspondence and communication with the Orthodox hierarchs, Herbinus repeated their ideas in his treatise directed at the German reader.

<sup>62</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae*, pp. 15–16.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>64</sup> Лларіон Огієнко. *Українська церква: Нариси з історії Української православної церкви*. Київ 1993, p. 166.

<sup>65</sup> Вадим Лурье. *Русское православие между Киевом и Москвой: Очерк истории русской православной традиции между XV и XX веками*. Москва 2009, p. 193.

<sup>66</sup> Константин Харлампович. *Малороссійское вліяніє на великорусскую церковную жизнь*, vol. 1. Казань 1914, p. 213.

<sup>67</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae*, p. 168.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

## Ruthenians, Slavic languages, and culture

Studying the Slavic language and Ruthenian habits was very important for Herbinus. Among other reasons, it allowed Herbinus to confirm the orthodoxy of the Ruthenian faith.<sup>69</sup> Religion was part of Ruthenian everyday life, claimed Herbinus: “Et quia Rutheni duntaxat sibi suisque affectum et benevolentiam omnem debere se arbitrantur, hinc inter eos tituli fratrum et sororum, votaue Christi gratiam et amorem spirantis, ultro citroque commeant. Obviam, enim sibi facti haec formulam affantur: Boh na pomoc! Id est, Deus te adjuvet!”<sup>70</sup> The presence of Jesus Christ in everyday communication, and the ways in which Christmas and Easter are celebrated – all these features, wrote Herbinus, should be an example of piousness to Germans.<sup>71</sup> Herbinus also mentioned the unequivocal adherence of the Cossacks to the Orthodox Church,<sup>72</sup> which, by that time, had already become part of the Cossacks’ identity. While in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the sources mentioned Catholics and even Muslims as being members of the Cossack troops, the defense of the Orthodox Church became part of the official ideology of Khmelnytsky’s uprising in the seventeenth century.<sup>73</sup>

Herbinus’ purpose was also to refute the notion that was popular among Germans about Ruthenians being barbarians;<sup>74</sup> instead he greatly appreciated Ruthenian culture, admiring their education and hospitality: “Rutheni Borysthenidae moribus elegantiores sunt, utpote, qui in scholam artibus humanioribus passim fideliter emolliuntur: quare erga exteros humaniores paulo sunt, eosque benigne habent.”<sup>75</sup> He also wondered about a life of abstinence and fasting, which was very popular among the Ruthenians, and in this way explained their health and prosperity. Herbinus noted there was hardly any pharmacies or doctors to be found in Ruthenia: “Quisque sibi aeger et medicus est, piper aut vinum sublimatum deficienti stomacho medetur.”<sup>76</sup> Thus, according to him, they became healthy, lived long, and died a natural death.<sup>77</sup>

Herbinus clearly contrasted the inhabitants of Ruthenian lands with the citizens of Moscow, who were called barbarians: “Ingenium Russiae observare molis magna est, qua maxime adhibita vix tamen assequi datur cum Russi

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., pp. 177–178.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 152.

<sup>73</sup> More about this: Serhii Plokyh. *The Cossacks and Religion*, pp. 176–206.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p. 177.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

Septentrionales barbarie efferati, exterorum curam finibus, urbibus templisque suis arceant; Meridionales vero seu Borysthenidae, rerum suarum invidiam, pectoris sui viscera inspicere vix tandem patiuntur.<sup>78</sup> He mentions, several times, the low educational level of Muscovites and their hostility towards strangers, and underlines the absence of guest-houses in Muscovy.<sup>79</sup>

It is interesting to compare Herbinus' position with that of his predecessor, Adam Olearius. Despite the fact that Olearius mentioned the Muscovite clergy's negligence in delivering the liturgy and other duties, and the poor knowledge of the Holy Scripture among Orthodox people, his attitude to Muscovites was rather positive: he called them "real Christians," and admired their spiritual basis for icon veneration etc.<sup>80</sup> Herbinus, on the contrary, confirmed the negative image of Muscovites that had existed in earlier Western European literature.<sup>81</sup> This negative attitude was probably caused by the occupation of Vilnius by the Muscovite army in 1655–1661. During this time, many of Vilnius' Lutherans fled the city, but some of them were captured, and even killed.<sup>82</sup> It might also have been influenced by the personal negative attitude of the Ruthenian hierarchs towards Muscovy and its claim to incorporate the Kyivan Metropolitanate after the Pereyaslav Council (1654): as mentioned earlier, Sylvester Kossov, Dionissy Balaban (†1663), and Joseph Nelyubovych-Tukalsky (†1675) resisted Moscow's attempts to unite the Metropolia of Kyiv with the Moscow Patriarchate. Herbinus' informer, Innocent Gizel, personally headed the Ruthenian clergy's embassy to the Muscovite tsar in Smolensk with a request to confirm the rights of the Kyiv Metropolitan and its subordination not to Moscow, but to Constantinople.<sup>83</sup>

Switching to the problem of the Ruthenian language, Herbinus distinguished between the "mother" language, meaning "lingua slavonica," and "daughter" languages, the vernacular languages of Slavic origin, mistakenly counting among them Valachian (Romanian): "Etenim Lingua Slavonica est mater (derivata ab Orgine seu Radice sua Hebraea) Ruthenicae, Polonicae, Vandalicae, Moscoviticae, Bohemicae, Croaticae, Illyricae, nec non Bulgarorum Walachorum etc. quae omnes, e Matrice Slavonica tanquam a lingua sua cardinali, enatae, filiales discuntur; inter se tamen, ut sunt rerum vicissitudines, nonnihil

<sup>78</sup> More about this: Serhii Ploky. *The Cossacks and Religion*, pp. 144–145.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 75–76, 177.

<sup>80</sup> Andreas Olearius. *Moskowitzische und persische Reise*, pp. 143–149.

<sup>81</sup> More about this: Gabriele Scheidegger. *Perverse Abendland – barbarisches Russland: Begegnungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im Schatten kultureller Missverständnisse*. Zürich 1993.

<sup>82</sup> David Frick. *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors*, pp. 292–305.

<sup>83</sup> Zenon E. Kohut. 'Servant of the Tsar, Defender of Ukrainian Church Autonomy and Promoter of Kyivan Caves Monastery: The Political World of Inokentii Gizel' (1650s–1670s) // *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 32–33 (2011–2014) 442–443.





Portrait of Innocent Gisel (1600–1683), (19<sup>th</sup> century)

differentes.”<sup>84</sup> According to Herbinus, Slavic was one of the principle European tongues because of its wide coverage: “Cogita, quaeso Lector, et merite per tot genres linguae istius amplitudinem, a Mari Adriatico per Illyricum, Dalmatiam, Traciam, Bulgariam, et nunc regno Astracam a Magno Duce Moscoviae occupato, ultra Mare Caspium sese porrigendem.”<sup>85</sup> From the very beginning of its existence, wrote Herbinus, the Slavic language remained unaltered; however, recently it had made use of many idioms from other languages.<sup>86</sup>

In regard to Herbinus’ linguistic studies, it must be mentioned that the question of language also appeared in Orthodox-Catholic polemics. Isidore of Seville’s theory about there being only three sacral languages, according to which worship was only allowed in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, was recalled in the sixteenth century by the famous Polish Jesuit \ Skarga (1536–1612). In his polemical treatise *O jedności Kościoła Bożego pod jednym Pasterzem i o greckim od tej jedności odstąpieniu* (1577), Skarga doubted the capacity of the Slavic language to be used for theology and liturgy.<sup>87</sup> Ruthenian humanists, on the opposite side, showed that the Ruthenian language originated from ancient Greek.<sup>88</sup>

Being an adherent of Georg Cruciger’s theory about the four cardinal languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and German), Herbinus developed the theory further with the statement that the Slavic language originated from Biblical Hebrew. Even though Ruthenians did not recognize this fact and were indifferent to Hebrew, Herbinus made an appropriate investigation on the grounds of the Old Testament and was going to publish the results in the future.<sup>89</sup> In the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, he created two short lists, one with the similarities between Polish and Church Slavic verbs and nouns, and the other of their Biblical Hebrew equivalents.<sup>90</sup> Herbinus was even going to edit a special book (*Hebraismi Sclavono-Polonici*) proving his theory.<sup>91</sup> It should be noted that philological comparisons between Biblical Hebrew and other languages, among them Slavic, were quite popular in the sixteenth century.<sup>92</sup> These comparisons are far from being the linguistic science we use nowadays; for example,

<sup>84</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 167.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177.

<sup>87</sup> О единствѣ Церкви Божіей подь однимъ пастыремъ и о греческомъ отъ этого единства отступленіи. Сочиненіе Петра Скарги 1577 года // *Русская историческая библиотека, издаваемая Археографическою комиссією*, vol. 7. Петербургъ 1882, pp. 223–526, pp. 485–486.

<sup>88</sup> *Annales Stanislai Orichovioksi. Adiunximus vitam Petri Kmitae*. Dobromili 1611, pp. 8–9.

<sup>89</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 169.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 170–176.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177.

<sup>92</sup> Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg. *Frühneuzeitliche Nationen im östlichen Europa*, p. 148.

Herbinius compared the Biblical Hebrew word “father” (אב), to Polish “baba,” which means “the old woman.”<sup>93</sup> Nevertheless, Herbinius outlined some words that directly originated from Hebrew: “Myron,” “Aloe,” “Hyssop” etc.<sup>94</sup> In this way, he wanted to raise the authority of Slavic languages and strengthen the position of his Orthodox friends in their polemics against the Catholics.

In general, Herbinius gave a short but very precise review of the geography, history, and contemporary situation concerning the Ruthenian lands during the middle of the seventeenth century. He was completely unsatisfied with the information about Ruthenia that was spreading through the German intellectual milieu. He refuted the popular legend that Kyiv was the ancient Troy and Ovid’s burial place. The second direction for Herbinius’ polemics was in denying some of the mythoi about the Ruthenian language and about the permanent historical connection between Kyiv and Rome. Instead, he provided information he deemed trustworthy about the five-step baptism of Rus’, Prince Volodymyr’s great role in it, and the Kyivan Metropolitanate’s subordination to Constantinople. Herbinius’ third task was his polemical argument against Moscow’s historiography and its attempts to assign the status of Caesar to a Moscow tsar. In this way, Herbinius was searching and arguing for the “historical truth.”

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<sup>93</sup> Johannes Herbinius. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 170.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170.



## Chapter 3

### THE KYIV MONASTIC CAVES

#### **The Kyiv caves, their saints and relics: a historical overview**

Since prehistoric times, caves have held a sacral significance. Already by the Middle Paleolithic, cave dwellings had acquired ritual functions that were associated with the first death that occurred in the cave, and where they became the burial place of the deceased. Consequently, the domestic cave became connected with the “other world,” and acquired the functions of a sanctuary – the entrance to a different world. In the Late Paleolithic, the need for underground dwellings was evident in the Middle East region; underground dwellings, as well as the cave burials accompanying them, existed in the region before the Iron Age; for example, Abraham and Sarah were buried in a cave on the field of Machpelah near Mamre (Ge. 23:19, Ge. 25:9). The tradition of cave dwelling by the prophets influenced the prophet Elijah’s decision to dwell in a cave (1 Ki. 19:9–13), and was an accepted tradition by the early Christians (Heb. 11:28). After Bar Kokhba’s uprising was put down by the Romans in 135, the Christian communities of Palestine were forced to emigrate, like many of the Jewish communities. Hiding from the authorities in the abandoned underground “cities of the dead” was the easiest way for them to survive.<sup>1</sup>

Christ’s birth in a cave, described in the Protoevangelium of James, and its parallel in Isaiah’s prophecy (Isa. 33:16) sanctified caves and made them, for Christians, not a burial place but a symbolic sign of the baptizing water and rebirth in Christ.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Christ’s resurrection and ascension were also believed to have occurred in caves.<sup>3</sup> All these factors have determined that caves became places of great importance to Christians.

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<sup>1</sup> Юрий Шевченко. *Христианские пещерные святыни*, vol. 1. Санкт-Петербург 2010, pp. 157–162.

<sup>2</sup> Ernst Benz. Die heilige Höhle in der alten Christenheit und in der östlich-orthodoxen Kirche // eadem. *Urbild und Abbild. Der Mensch und die mythische Welt. Gesammelte Eranos-Beiträge*. Leiden 1974, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

The most famous Christian underground constructions in the Christian West were the Catacombs of Rome – a necropolis that was, from the second century, chosen by the growing local Christian community as a place of burial and worship.<sup>4</sup> In the East, caves of sacral importance for Christians have been known since the fourth century;<sup>5</sup> among them were also the first underground monasteries. According to the vita of St. Athanasius of Alexandria (296–373), St. Anthony the Great (251–356) spent two years in a cave fighting evil spirits, as did St. John of Egypt (305–394) and St. Sabas (439–532).<sup>6</sup> St. Athanasius himself hid from the Arians in the underground monasteries of Egypt; while early Egyptian monks used the underground constructions in the Valley of the Kings. Different types of ancient Egyptian cave structures served not only as residences for Christian monks, but also as places of Christian service, which created a precedent and provided a model for imitation in later Byzantine monastic practice.<sup>7</sup>

Long before the official Christianization of Kyivan Rus', cave monasteries had existed on the Dnipro, Bug, and Dnister rivers, as well as on the territory of Crimea.<sup>8</sup> The pattern for Kyiv monastic life in these caves still remains under scientific discussion: Christian cave monasteries in Syria,<sup>9</sup> Palestine,<sup>10</sup> or Crimea<sup>11</sup> could have become the prototype for the Kyiv underground monastic phenomenon. According to the *Rus' Primary Chronicle*, in the early eleventh century, a monk from Rus' named Anthony visited Mount Athos, then settled in Kyiv as a missionary of monastic tradition. Anthony began living in the cave that Ilarion, a future Kyiv Metropolitan, had excavated before 1051. The new cave monastery became very popular, and newcomers dug more caves and built churches both above and below ground. St. Anthony preferred a solitary life, so he proclaimed St. Theodosius abbot of the existing monastic community, and moved to another hill where he dug out another cave. Thus, the second cavern complex was started.

Although the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* does not contain an explicit theology of the caves, it brings them into the context of ancient Christian ascetic practices

<sup>4</sup> Gabrielle Sed-Rajna. *Catacombs // Religion. Past and Present: Encyclopedia of Theology And Religion*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. 2. Leiden 2007, pp. 416–419.

<sup>5</sup> Ernst Benz. *Die heilige Höhle in der alten Christenheit*, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 417–418.

<sup>7</sup> Юрий Шевченко. *Христианские пещерные святыни*, vol. 2: *Подземные святыни христианской Руси: генезис, функционирование*. Санкт-Петербург 2010, pp. 226–230.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11–92.

<sup>9</sup> Тимур Бобровський. Київська лавра (до питання культурно–історичної інтерпретації) // *Могилянські читання 1998 р.: Києво-Печерський патерик – як феномен монастирської культури*. Київ 1999, pp. 21–22.

<sup>10</sup> Мар'яна Нікітенко. *Святі гори Київські: побудова сакрального простору ранньохристиянського Києва (кінець X – початок XII ст.)*. Київ 2013, pp. 207–211.

<sup>11</sup> Юрий Шевченко. *Христианские пещерные святыни*, vol. 1, pp. 157–158.

and the struggle with evil.<sup>12</sup> Underground rooms that, in the beginning, served as cells for anchorites, were later used as burial caverns for their bodies.<sup>13</sup> The *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* tells several stories about monks digging graves for themselves and for others.<sup>14</sup> There were some specific burial traditions connected with the monastery: the unclothed parts of the body had to be wiped, while the face had to be covered. The burial ceremony was carried out over a few years. The bones, cleaned of flesh, were then carried to special rooms. Thus, the monks discovered the phenomenon of preserved bodies that remained intact (relics).<sup>15</sup>

Already by the Middle Ages, the protagonists of the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* had started to be venerated as saints. The commemoration of St. Theodosius as a saint was adopted in 1108. Next, in terms of commemoration, was the cave ascetic Nikita, bishop of Novgorod, who died in 1108. The *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* notes that the people of Novgorod began to revere him as a saint during his lifetime;<sup>16</sup> whereas, the first information about the monastery's founder, St. Anthony's commemoration as a saint only dates back to 1394. The beginning of the cult of the saint is connected with an intensification of contact between Kyivan Rus' and Byzantium, and the Balkan countries, and the development of the spiritual tradition of *hesychasm*, which had revived interest in St. Anthony – the monk of Mount Athos.<sup>17</sup> Later, the cults of St. Anthony and St. Theodosius were actively supported by the Kyiv, Lithuanian, and Northern Rus' princes as well as Church hierarchs. The cult of other cave saints at that time developed mainly around the relics that were kept in the caves.

From the eleventh century onwards, the Kyivan cave relics had attracted pilgrims, the city's own residents, and visitors. This was recorded, in particular, by people traveling during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Pilgrims actively popularized information about the caves and the intact bodies preserved there. During the seventeenth century, the monastery also tried to adapt the caves to accommodate the numerous visitors. At this time, the cave passages were strengthened and transformed into well-organized corridors that had almost identical widths and heights; the caves had now taken their contemporary form. The depth of the caves, which has been preserved until the present day, is from 5 to 15 meters below ground, the height of passages is 2.5 meters

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<sup>12</sup> Ernst Benz. *Die heilige Höhle in der alten Christenheit*, pp. 60–62.

<sup>13</sup> Мар'яна Нікітенко. *Святі гори Київські*, pp. 190–192.

<sup>14</sup> Ernst Benz. *Die heilige Höhle in der alten Christenheit*, pp. 62–63.

<sup>15</sup> Мар'яна Нікітенко. *Святі гори Київські*, pp. 176–177.

<sup>16</sup> Евгений Голубинский. *История канонизации святыхъ въ Русской Церкви*. Москва 1903, pp. 50-56.

<sup>17</sup> Richard David Bosley. *A History of the Veneration of SS. Theodosij and Antonij of the Kyivan Caves Monastery, from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century*. Ann Arbor 1982, pp. 141–144.

and their width is about 1.5 meters, and the overall length of the corridors is over 800 meters.<sup>18</sup>

During the seventeenth century, the cult of the Pechersk Fathers was actively promoted by special services being held in the cave of St. Anthony, which consisted of gathering the oil from the oil-oozing heads in glass bowls and anointing sick people with it.<sup>19</sup> None of the travelers of the time, however, mentioned details about a cult of this or that saint, nor mentioned their names. We can assume that information about the ascetics of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra was spread through stories retold by the monks (this fact, in particular, is emphasized in the diary of Petro Mohyla<sup>20</sup>) and the legends that existed among the pilgrims. Even Orthodox authors recognized that the cults were underdeveloped, and that there was a lack of clear understanding by the pilgrims of whose relics they were worshiping.<sup>21</sup>

Bringing order to the cult of the Cave Fathers, composing a clear pantheon for them, and establishing an official hagiographic tradition for each of the saints became a matter of necessity during the first half of the seventeenth century. This was the aim of Sylvester Kossov's previously mentioned *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*. In composing a pantheon of the saints of the caves, Kossov was inspired mainly by the rules of Western post-Trent hagiographic literature.<sup>22</sup> According to Volodymyr Peretts, the *Paterik* is a direct imitation of Piotr Skarga's *Żywoty świętych*, an Orthodox analogue of Skarga's *vitas*.<sup>23</sup> Ihor Isichenko, instead, sees in the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* not an imitation, but an antithesis of Skarga's book, and limits the amount of borrowing only to the stylistic features of the text.<sup>24</sup> Doubtless, the fact is, however, that the general methods and principles of the hagiographic genre established in the sixteenth century, influenced both the *Żywoty świętych* and the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*, and produced an indisputable similarity between the two works.

In general, Kossov rarely mentions the relics themselves. For him, the relics were not the initial starting point of the cult. Moreover, sometimes the *Paterik*

<sup>18</sup> Ірина Жиленко. Лаврські печери у XVII–XIX ст. // *Дива печер лаврських*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. / executive ed. Валентина Колпакова; ed. by Ірина Жиленко. Київ 2011, pp. 27–29.

<sup>19</sup> *Записки святителя Петра Могилы* / ed. Ірина Жиленко. Київ 2011, pp. 446–504.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 444.

<sup>21</sup> Sylvester Kossov. *Патериков*, praefacya; Athanasius Kalnofoyski. *Τερατουρημα*, pp. 127–129.

<sup>22</sup> Andrea Ceccherelli. *Od Suriusa do Skargi: Studium porównawcze o "Żywotach świętych"*. Warszawa 2003, pp. 48–61.

<sup>23</sup> Владимир Перетц. Киево-Печерский патерик в польском и украинском переводе // *Славянская филология. IV Междунар. съезд славистов*, vol. 3. Москва 1958, pp. 175–182.

<sup>24</sup> Юрій Ісиченко. *Києво-Печерський Патерик у літературному процесі кінця XVI – початку XVIII ст. на Україні*. Київ 1990, p. 154.



of *Kyivan Caves* text contradicted the possibility that some of the saints were buried in the Kyivan Cave Monastery. Kossov simply tried not to emphasize this fact or their anonymous nature. Thus, when writing about the martyrdom of St. Kuksha,<sup>25</sup> he ignores the information of his sources that the saint was beheaded, because this would allow “rationalists” to verify the identity (or not) of the relics.

Apart from the remains of particular saints, there was a great number of so-called oil-oozing heads in the Kyiv caves that belonged to unknown saints, but were famous for their miracle-working oil. The anonymity of these relics was a significant problem for early modern hagiographic discourse. The Catholic tradition generally rejected the possibility of canonizing unidentified relics. To theologially justify this cult, Sylvester Kossov used a rhetorical trick: “it is impossible to know all the names of the saints in the caves,” the main proof of the sanctity of these relics was the miracles themselves.<sup>26</sup> It was only occasionally that Kossov made a substantial concession to the rules of post-Trent hagiographic literature; so, in his book, the miracle is the reason for the recognition of holiness, and not vice versa.

A completely different approach to the formation of the Kyiv pantheon was manifested by Athanasius Kalnofoysky († after 1646), for whom the existing monastic tradition of the veneration of the relics was decisive and fundamental. The number of saints in his *Theraturgema* is impressive. Among others, Kalnofoysky included in his pantheon the names of saints that were never mentioned in medieval manuscripts, but that probably existed in oral monastic tradition. It is notable that not all the cults mentioned by Kalnofoysky were accepted by later monastic tradition, or were included in the text of canonization of saints in 1643,<sup>27</sup> which is considered to be the final stage of Pechersk’s canonization of saints. However, some differences between the relics venerated in the caves and the list of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra’s saints in the liturgical calendar can be observed till the present day.

The relics already had a certain place in the caves as well as certain rituals of veneration by the end of the sixteenth century; this is evident from the miracles recorded at the time. Miracles began to be purposefully fixed in writing at the end of the sixteenth century, and were reflected in the previously mentioned *Theraturgema* by Athanasius Kalnofoysky (1638). Miracles of healing and the expulsion of evil spirits were particularly popular. The healing miracles were clearly correlated with the cases of healing described in the New Testament. Kalnofoysky emphasized this through direct parallels and writing up appropriate behavior

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<sup>25</sup> Sylvester Kossov. *Патериков*, p. 144.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 164–165.

<sup>27</sup> Псалтырь. [Kyiv] 1643.

patterns; for example, he related the story of the mother of a sick daughter who tried to bring her to the temple first,<sup>28</sup> which obviously corresponds to the healing near the sheep gate in Bethesda (John 5: 1–47). The healing mechanism, as presented by Kalnofoysky, was directly proportional to the amount of faith: if a man's faith was strong, healing took place in the cave itself; if God wanted to test the faith of a man, he received healing on the way from the cave; and if a man had no faith, healing would not take place at all.<sup>29</sup> Among the diseases mentioned were blindness, deafness, tumors, dropsy, pain in the arms and legs, wounds, paralysis, bleeding, breathing problems, the "illness of fornication" etc. Among the miraculous healings there were even several cases of the resurrection of people previously pronounced dead. Characteristically, in most cases, Kalnofoysky noted that the disease was a consequence of sin and an impetus for repentance. Healing was done through prayer, worship, the use of miraculous oil, consuming monastic wine, or washing with water from the cross of St. Mark from the Caves. The result of healing was, necessarily, repentance, acceptance of the Sacraments, and a promise to make a donation or do some physical labor in favor of the monastery.<sup>30</sup>

As has been noted in the scholarship, the seventeenth century was a golden age for collecting stories of demonic possession.<sup>31</sup> It is, therefore, not surprising that exorcism stories played a significant role in the early modern cults of the caves. Kalnofoysky's book contained a huge number of exorcism stories, which is a significant number compared to the Byzantine miracles' collections<sup>32</sup> and the early modern Polish hagiography (for example, the wonders of Czestochowa's Mother of God recorded during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries<sup>33</sup>), in which the healings considerably out-numbered the exorcisms. Kalnofoysky wrote much about the kinds of evil forces and their manifestations, their behavior and influence on man, and emphasized the ability of the Apostles and their successors to cast out demons, which had been given to them by the Lord. According to Kalnofoysky, a person could be plagued by one, a few, or an entire horde of evil spirits; some of them were even identified by name (e.g. Misun and Sovala).<sup>34</sup> The manifestations of devil possession were seizures (what we would

<sup>28</sup> Athanasius Kalnofoyski. *Τερατουργημα*, pp. 283–287.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 276–277.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96–305.

<sup>31</sup> Philip Jenkins. Infidels, Demons, Witches and Quakers: the Affair of Colonel Bowen // *Fides et Historia* 49/2 (2017) 1.

<sup>32</sup> *Miracle tales from Byzantium* / transl. by Alice-Mary Maffry Talbot, Scott Fitzgerald Johnson. Cambridge 2012, pp. 1–184, 299–408.

<sup>33</sup> *Wiadomość historyczna o starożytnym obrazie Boga-Rodzicy Maryi na Jasnej Gorze*. Czestochowa 1847, pp. 150–205.

<sup>34</sup> Athanasius Kalnofoyski. *Τερατουργημα*, p. 300.

call epileptic fits), attacks of anger, abusive language, or loss of mind or orientation in space etc. In several cases, possessed people spoke in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, and through the possessed, demons talked to clerics. If people were returned to normal behavior, they were described as being quiet, lacking saliva in the mouth, and returning to reasonable behavior; if they were children, they did not laugh; and women stopped their shameless behavior. In the *Theraturgema*, the procedure for banishing demons was a typical one: the possessed person was tied to a special pillar in the cave of St. Anthony, special prayers were read over him, and he was left there overnight (children were left with their parents). The demons might be exorcized after only one implementation of this procedure, or may have required a weekly repetition, or even the maximum: repeating the procedure for half a year. In some cases, the miraculous icon of the Virgin or a piece of the Holy Cross would help, the authenticity of which was confirmed by the demons themselves.<sup>35</sup> Among the eyewitnesses of the miracles in Kalnofoysky's book, there were very few noblemen, that is, he did not neglect the tales of the peasants. Zaporozhian Cossacks were also frequent heroes in the *Theraturgema*; they witnessed the miraculous interaction of the Caves' Mother of God and the Pechersk Saints (mainly St. Anthony and Theodosius of the caves), and, remarkably, sympathized with them. Geographically, these witnesses to the miracles came from the Ruthenian area: the Kyiv, Podillia, and Volyn districts. Nevertheless, among them were several Poles and Muscovites. Representatives of different denominations – Orthodox, Catholics and Protestants – were present in the miracles as well. Conversions, however, took place only in a few cases, and were combined with the study of the Church Slavonic language and Orthodox doctrine. Therefore, the *Theraturgema* demonstrated the great popularity of the cult of the fathers of the caves in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and particularly in Kyiv, by Herbinus' time. No wonder they attracted his attention.

### **The maps and physical characteristics of the Kyiv caves**

Obviously, Herbinus' interest in the Kyiv caves occurred because of his previous study of the river cataracts mentioned in Chapter 1. Since some authors considered the Kyiv caves to be an old channel of the Dnipro River,<sup>36</sup> Herbinus asked for some information about them in his correspondence with Innocent Gizel. The latter clearly answered in the negative: "Nec putentur esse hae Cryptae naturales, verum diligenti operam illorum terrestrium Angelorum, hominum

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 300.

<sup>36</sup> Sebastian Fabian Klonowic. *Roxolania*, H recto.

coelestium, elaboratae sunt [...].<sup>37</sup> Having made sure that the caves were artificial, Herbinius nevertheless continued to study them, but mainly as a cultural and religious phenomenon; he called them no less attractive for a scholar than the caves of Crete, Lemnos, Egypt, and Italy described by Pliny the Elder in his *Naturalis Historia*.<sup>38</sup>

Being deeply interested in linguistics, Herbinius started his investigation with the etymology of the word “Cave.” He connected the Polish noun “pieczara” either initially with “piecza,” “pieczałowanie” (worry), explaining the digging of the caves’ connection with danger and trouble, or “piec” (stove), explaining this through the small size of the underground cells.<sup>39</sup> Both explanations are original and we could not find any parallels with contemporary sources.

A further objective in Herbinius’ work was typical of Western European scholasticism based on Aristotle’s doctrine that asked questions about the form and matter of every phenomenon. This doctrine, however, was used within the early modern philosophical approach. Here Herbinius compared the Kyivan caves to the caves in Egypt. The material used inside the caves was a damp and thick mud; it was, therefore, easy to dig and to shape the caves to an appropriate form, explained Herbinius: “Materia Cryptarum Ruthenicarum procul dubio est terra limosa, pingvior ac solide compacta, atque ita comparata, ut ligoni, et palae fodientis facile cedat, seque in varios anfractus duci patiatur.”<sup>40</sup> According to Herbinius, the form of the caves was typical of a labyrinth, and they had been excavated artificially using very simple tools.<sup>41</sup> To illustrate the excavation process, Herbinius provided a separate drawing of a digging monk.

Separately, Herbinius investigated the problem of the length of the Kyiv underground labyrinth. It should be mentioned that the legends about the great length of the Kyiv caves (reaching to Moscow or Chernihiv) were very popular among the Western European authors who visited or wrote about Kyiv between the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. The aforementioned Ruthenian author Sebastian Klonowic, in his *Roxolania* (1584), wrote about the Kyiv caves as an object of wonder and delight: “[...] est ibi Scrobs terris Hypogaea sub altis, Hic videas veterum prisca sepulchra Ducum: Heroumque stupenda solo Libitina sub imo, Indubia seruat corpora tota fide. Quae nulla carie consumi posse videntur, Quae praetensa vitro saecula longa vident. Talia sunt equidem multis Hypogea stupori, Cuius nam artificis foderit illa manus? Nam protenduntur longo infinita recessu, Non Regum sumptus tanta

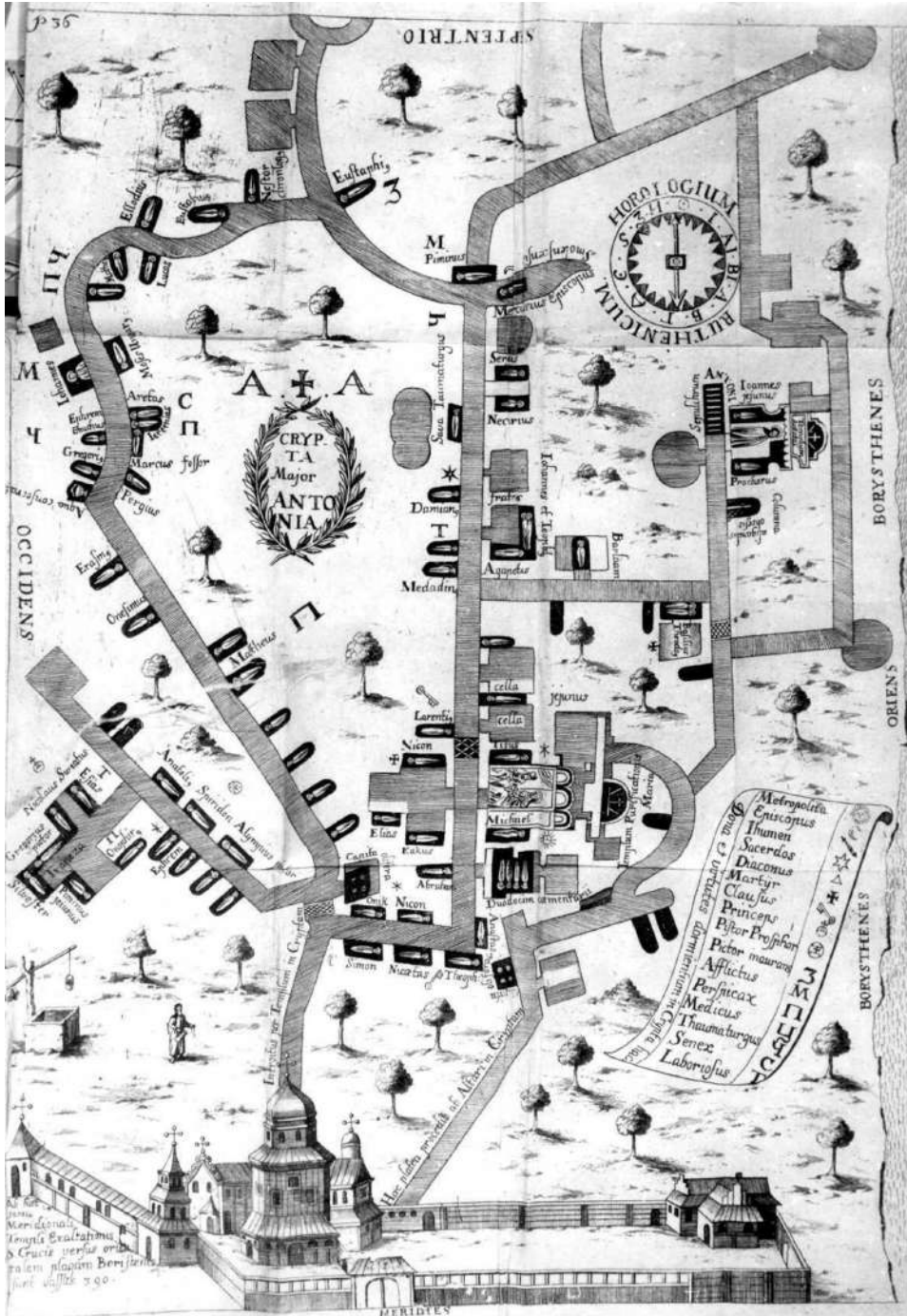
<sup>37</sup> Johannes Herbinius. *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae*, p. 44.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 34–35.



Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* (Jena, 1675).  
Engraving depicting St. Anthony's cave

parare potest.”<sup>42</sup> Klonowic also informed his readers about the great length of the cave labyrinth, and provided an answer to the circumstances surrounding how they were made: “it was water that had made the underground labyrinth.”<sup>43</sup> Later, the Italian Alexander Guagnini wrote about huge underground caves that extended for a great distance – up to 80 miles.<sup>44</sup> Polish authors Stanisław Sarnicki<sup>45</sup> and Szymon Starowolski<sup>46</sup> wrote about the extent of the Kyiv caves being as far as Moscow or Novgorod.

Laurentius Müller was the first author to bring these rumors into the German intellectual space.<sup>47</sup> Herbinus discussed with Erasmus Francisci his statement about the extent of Kyiv caves being as far as Smolensk, that they passed under the Dnipro or Dnister rivers, and that they were constructed of molten metal: “Sonst soll von hinnen ein Gang unter der Erden, biss nach Smolensko, und zwar unter dem Nieper oder Dnister-Strom durchgehen, und mit lauter gegossenem Metall inwendig gefuttert seyn [...]”<sup>48</sup> Francisci himself had never been to Kyiv; however, he cites the previously mentioned David Fröhlich, who had written in his encyclopedic guidebook to Europe that the Kyiv underground caves extend up to 80 Ruthenian miles: “Cavernae subterraneae ad 80 milliarum Russica ibi protendi dicuntur. In his plurima antiqua sepulchra illustrium virorum, cum cadaveribus integris ostenduntur peregrinis [...]”<sup>49</sup> Another legend mentioned by Herbinus connected the Kyiv labyrinth with other monastic underground constructions in the Chernihiv and Pskov-Pechora Monasteries, which were famous in Eastern Europe: “Alterum vulgi commentum est, Cryptas Kijovienses longitudine sua usque ad Cryptam Czernichoviensem, et (uti alii magis strenue mentientes affirmant) Smolensciam atque Pieczoriensem Moscoviticam sese porrigere.”<sup>50</sup>

The first published rejection of such legends was given in the aforementioned *Theraturgema* by Athanasius Kalnofoysky, who dedicated a separate chapter to the problem of the rumors about the extent of the Kyiv caves being

<sup>42</sup> Sebastian Fabian Klonowic. *Roxolania*, G IV verso-H recto.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, H recto.

<sup>44</sup> Документи до історії святих лаврських печер // *Дива печер лаврських*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. / executive ed. Валентина Колпакова; ed. by Ірина Жиленко. Київ 2011, p. 123.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>47</sup> Laurentius Müller. *Polnische, Liffländische, Moschowiterische, Schwedische und andere Historien*, L verso.

<sup>48</sup> Erasmus Franciscus. *Neuer Polnischer Florus*, p. 234.

<sup>49</sup> David Fröhlich. *Bibliothecae sev cynosurae peregrinantium, Hoc est: Viatorii liber primus, partis prioris: Proponens Peregrinationis praecepta specialissima, fructuosissima*. Ulmae 1643, pp. 328–329.

<sup>50</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 32.

as far as Moscow. Such rumors, in his opinion, were spread by the inhabitants of Moscow themselves. However, the plethora of rivers that were in between, the laborious digging process involved in constructing such a labyrinth, the lack of air condensation typical for long tunnels, and, most importantly, the lack of evidence in the vitas of the Pechersk Fathers – all these reasons were mentioned by Kalnofoysky to contradict the rumors about the enormous length of the Kyiv caves.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, Herbinus himself had been to the Pskov-Pechora Monastery; he knew the real distance from Kyiv to this city and dismissed such rumors: “Namque oppidum Moscoviticum Pieczora ab Urbe Kijovia fere septem gradibus elevat. Poli: hoc est, amplius centum milliaribus distat. At quis mortalium tantum perfodere, aut facere sub terra iter potest?”<sup>52</sup> According to Herbinus, if the construction of such a long underground system had been possible, Roman emperors such as Caesar, Nero, or Caligula would have succeeded in building similar tunnels: “Tentabant olim tot Principes, Imperatoresque Romani Caesar, Caligula, et Nero (Svetonius in suis locis) Isthmum inter mare Erythraeum (vulgo Rubrum) et Nilum perfodere, sed conatu irrito. Ruthenos autem Kijoviam Smolenscium vel Pieczaram usque Moscoviae oppidum, longe amplius centum milliaribus longitudine Cryptas effodisse, tonsores quidem aut lippi referunt, sed Rutheni hoc nesciunt, certe vix fungi credent.”<sup>53</sup>

In this way, Herbinus strongly criticized the legends about the enormous length of the Kyiv caves. Nevertheless, he was fascinated by the complexity of the underground constructions, which he called a real labyrinth where one could be lost without any chance to getting out.<sup>54</sup> Herbinus wrote that the complexity of the Kyiv caves was strengthened by their brachiate plan, and that the variety of separate rooms and even “streets” created a queer labyrinth, which was especially true of St. Anthony’s cave: “Pluribus magisque sinuosis flexibus, quas Rutheni plateas vocant, nec non cellis distinctior; imo Crypta Antonia Labyrinthus est perplexissima, adeoque Kijoviense Russorum miraculum: quippe ingressus eam homo meatuum ignarus, teste Archimandrita ibidem celeberrimo, sine ductore exire nequit.”<sup>55</sup> To illustrate his statements, Herbinus published two maps of the caves in his book.

The tradition of illustrating Kyiv’s underground labyrinths schematically had its roots in the aforementioned *Theraturgema*. Here, there was a prevailing tendency towards using full-scale images of the components of the monastic complex, with the advantage that the elements were drawn rather than being

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., pp. 32–33.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., pp. 62–63.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., pp. 77–78.

schematic representations. All the territory of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra was represented from a bird's-eye view, but with the image greatly inclined towards the reader and the horizon lifted almost to the top edge of the engraving. The buildings were depicted face-on, and the maps orientated so the axis was west at the top and east at the bottom.<sup>56</sup>

A further attempt at drawing a map of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra caves was carried out by a Kyiv engraver called Ilia, who had already made measurements (he also depicted his instruments: a compasses and a sun-clock) and composed his plan's axis with north at the top and south at the bottom, which was common in Western European cartography.<sup>57</sup>

The cave maps in Herbinus' book (see pages 77 and 81) are copies of the 1661 *Paterik* plans. Gizel sent clichés for printing to Herbinus that were slightly modified by engravers (probably in Jena). First, Herbinus "improved" some depictions: the segments of the sun-clock ("Horologium Ruthenicum") were made to be equally spaced; the depiction of St. Anthony's cave was turned 90° because the Ruthenian map with its azimuth orientation was already barely understandable for Western Europeans, among whom the traditional *wind rose* was popular.<sup>58</sup> The maps were also equipped with Latin inscriptions and short legends, in which Herbinus explained the abbreviations and special signs; there was also one Slavonic inscription – a quotation from the Psalms (Psalm 128:4) – that was added by Herbinus himself and remained untranslated (probably on purpose). In all other details (mapping of the underground labyrinth and its relics), Herbinus' maps precisely reflected the maps of the 1661 edition of the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*, giving Western European readers a visual image of the Kyiv sacral space.

### The history and use of the Kyiv caves

Having dismissed the legends about Troy being in the same place as contemporary Kyiv and the great length of the caves, Herbinus then refuted Erasmus Francisci's idea that Italians had constructed the caves: "Cedit igitur opinio Flori Polonici, qui Italos Cryptis elaborandis suam contulisse operam Kijoviensibus, forsan errore vulgi adductus, tradit."<sup>59</sup>

The idea that Italians had constructed the caves appeared, presumably due to some versions of early modern national mythologies in which Italians were

<sup>56</sup> Дмитро Степовик. *Українська графіка XVI–XVIII століть: еволюція образної системи*. Київ 1982, р. 186.

<sup>57</sup> Тетяна Люга. *Imago Urbis: Київ на стародавніх мапах*. Харків 2017, pp. 88–89.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>59</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijoviensæ Cryptæ*, pp. 26–27.





of Trojan ancestry.<sup>60</sup> Laurentius Müller in his *Polnische, Liffländische, Moschowiterische, Schwedische und andere Historien* spread the rumor that the Kyiv caves were built by Italian merchants: “Sie wollen auch daselbst sagen, das es Italianische Kauffleute erbawet haben.”<sup>61</sup> The author of *Florus Polonicus* also adopted this idea: “[...] und wird der Bau solches hochkostbaren verborgenen Ganges den Italiaenern zugeschrieben.”<sup>62</sup> In answering these rumors, Herbinus underlined that the real builders of the caves were Ruthenian monks: “Non Italos artifices, uti David Froelichius in suo Viatorio, et Florus Polonicus Auctoris Indifferentis Germanice nuper editus existimant, sed Viros religiosos seu Monachos Graeco Ruthenos effodisse Cryptas Kijovienses.”<sup>63</sup>

Recalling the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*, Herbinus concluded that the creation of the caves was in the times of pagan Rus’; that the caves could be used as refuges for the early Christians until the final baptism of St. Volodymyr: “Non enim, imperante Svviatoslao Wlodimiro, Cryptae in Russia fodi primum coepere: siquidem superioribus Roxolanorum baptismationibus Viri religiosi, metu Tyrannorum Ethnicorum, antra hujusmodi subterranea, quibus tuto laterent, forsitan fodiebant, quod ipsum e libro *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* in Vita S.S. Antonii et Theodosii divinare licet.”<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, he did mention the traditional division of the underground labyrinth into the caves of St. Anthony (the bigger caves) and St. Theodosius (the smaller ones), supporting the *Paterik* idea that there were two main founders of the underground monastery: “Sub monte autem Cryptae visuntur duae, altera Antonii, altera Theodosii, quo ambo, ut supra dictum est, Cryptarum istarum Auctores olim, nunc Patroni earundem a Ruthenis salutantur.”<sup>65</sup>

Herbinus compared the two main Kyiv labyrinths, assessing not only their length and complexity, but also their significance to potential pilgrims. St. Anthony’s cave had more relics and more important figures buried in it: “III. Crypta Antonia plurima Divorum Ruthenorum corpora possidet, cum in Theodosia pauciora quiescant. IV. Crypta Antonia illustriores dignitate ac meritis Viros ostentat, nempe Metropolitae, Episcopos, Principes, et alios commatis eminentioris, cum Theodosia tantorum Patrum atque Heroum Principum sterilis admodum

<sup>60</sup> Kathrin Mayer. Die Erfindung der italienischen Nation in den Schriftender Humanisten // *Nationenbildung: die Nationalisierung Europas im Diskurs humanistischer Intellektueller. Italien und Deutschland* / ed. Herfried Münkler e.a. Berlin 1998, pp. 90, 119.

<sup>61</sup> Laurentius Müller. *Polnische, Liffländische, Moschowiterische, Schwedische und andere Historien*, L verso.

<sup>62</sup> Erasmus Franciscus. *Neuer Polnischer Florus*, p. 234.

<sup>63</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 61.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76–77.

sit.”<sup>66</sup> St. Theodosius’ cave, in contrast, had more underground shrines: “V. Crypta tamen Theodosia, pluribus sub terra faberrime constructis Sacellis, quam quidem Antonia, gaudet.”<sup>67</sup> These conclusions were probably drawn from Herbinius’ investigation of the maps and the lists of names of the saints whose relics were venerated in the crypts. The most famous Kyiv Fathers, whose deeds and asceticism were described in the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* (St. Agapit, the twelve Greek builders, St. Alipy etc.), were indeed buried in St. Anthony’s cave; St. Theodosius’ cave, however, had more unidentified relics, the oil-oozing heads being among them.<sup>68</sup>

What did Herbinius mean by “shrines” (Sacellum)? We can assume that these were churches. These days, there are six underground churches in the caves – three in each complex. However, in the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ’s* maps, we can observe four churches in St. Theodosius’ cave (St. Andrew’s church, which has not survived to the present day, served as the entrance to the cave); while in St. Anthony’s cave, only two churches are marked as “templum.” Among all the other rooms and constructions that existed in the caves (cells, chambers, tombs, and beds), the underground churches provoked astonishment in Herbinius: “Quippe ibi cellae, conclavia, mausolea, cubilia, et, quod fidem publicam superat, templa quoque, Antonio et Theodosio auctoribus, faberrime constructa exstant: cujusmodi templum sub Kijoviae Veteri Monasterio hodiernum attonitis videre licet viatoribus.”<sup>69</sup>

Moving to the problems of the use of the caves, Herbinius first wrote about caves in general, and that they could have been used for four main purposes: 1) underground tunnels dug for civil purposes; here he quotes the epigram by Marcus Valerius Martialis about rabbits that lived under the earth: “Gaudet in effossis habitare cuniculus antris. Monstravit tacitas hostibus ille vias;” 2) the caves were a place for completing religious rites: “sacra [...] peraguntur;” 3) the caves were a refuge and a secluded place, here, Herbinius listed the places in the Bible where caves were mentioned as places of refuge: for the five kings persecuted by Joshua,” (Jos. 10:16), King David (1 Sam. 22:1), Elijah (1 Kings 19:9), Prophets (1 Kings 18:4) and the Apostles (Hebrews 11:38); and 4) the caves were a funeral place for the dead: “vita defunctorum cubicula seu conditoria camerata.”<sup>70</sup>

Herbinius was aware that the caves held a special sacral significance in the Christian East, and distinguished them from the other caves he had observed

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>68</sup> Експлікація до зведеного плану печер // *Дива печер лаврських*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. / executive ed. Валентина Колпакова; ed. by Ірина Жиленко. Київ 2011, pp. 30–51.

<sup>69</sup> Johannes Herbinius. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 35.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., pp. 4–5.

in Western Europe, for example, the caves of Mount Trollhetta described in his *Dissertationes de admirandis mundi cataractis*.<sup>71</sup> Unlike the Kyiv caves, that underground room was used not as a sacral place but as a refuge for robbers: “[...] furum et latronum receptaculum olim et hodiernum est, quod ego meo ipsius periculo comperi.”<sup>72</sup> He also referred to other underground labyrinths of sacral importance in Eastern Europe. In particular, he mentioned: 1) the primary cave of St. Hilary situated nearby the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra on the territory of the former principal village of Berestovo; 2) the cave of St. Nestor (the Varangian caves, transcribed by Herbinius as “Pieczara Barareska”), which, until the late seventeenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century, was a separate underground labyrinth but later became part of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra caves;<sup>73</sup> and 3) the caves of the Ruthenian city of Chernihiv, which, according to local tradition, were also made by St. Anthony.<sup>74</sup> He also mentioned his visit to the Pskov-Pechora Monastery, where he was not even allowed to enter the main church: “Cujus Cryptae videndae studio ardens cum anno superiore iter faciens in idem oppidum Pieczora divertissem, Monasteriumque loci illius sane munitissimum, atque templum Divae Mariae Sacrum, ingredi cum turba frequente vellem, a custodibus Portae non sine probrosis convitiis reiectus sum.”<sup>75</sup>

Writing specifically about the Kyiv caves, Herbinius explained to Protestant readers about their sacral use as places of refuge from the Tatars, who did not dare devastate sacral places: “Quo quidem se auctores earum Patronique Antonius, Theodosius et alii plures frequenter recipiebant, tutoque ibidem, etiam ab hostibus Tartaris, qui loca illa sacra violare non audebant, diu incolumes agebant.”<sup>76</sup> That the caves were put to such use was never mentioned in the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*. However, the crypt for the victims of Batu Khan’s invasion in 1240 has existed in St. Anthony Caves up to the present day, and Herbinius could have known about this from Innocent Gizel.

The Kyiv caves could have been used for the private religious practices of the monks, which was the second use of the caves: “Ut Monachi privatae religioni vocare ibidem commode possent.”<sup>77</sup> Herbinius understood this idea perfectly well. When the center of monastic life moved to the land above the caves in the middle 1070s, the caves became a place of solitary life for some monks. By the time Herbinius’ book was written, the caves were no longer used as cells

<sup>71</sup> Johannes Herbinius. *Dissertationes de admirandis mundi cataractis*, p. 244.

<sup>72</sup> Johannes Herbinius. *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae*, pp. 68–69.

<sup>73</sup> Тимур Бобровський. *Підземні споруди Києва від найдавніших часів до середини ХІХ ст. (спелео-археологічний нарис)*. Київ 2007, p. 51.

<sup>74</sup> Johannes Herbinius. *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae*, pp. 74–75.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.



Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* (Jena, 1675).  
Engraving depicting a monk digging a cave

anymore; however, they were still places for praying and ascetic practices; these will be described in the next chapter.

The third way the Kyiv caves were used, was as what Herbinus described as a cemetery: “Tandem et hoc animo religiosi illi Patres Rutheni propria effodiebant in Cryptis antra, ut vivis cellae aut sacella, mortuis vero certa essent Mausolea et dormitoria. Etenim ex Lege et consuetudine veteri sua quisque Crypta, atque cella fasciis instar infantium, et imitatione Aegyptiorum cadaverum, circumvoluti post fata reponebantur.”<sup>78</sup> The caves could still have been used as a burial place by the time Herbinus’ book was written. The *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* emphasized that being buried in the caves was a way for monks to achieve salvation.<sup>79</sup> However, both the prominent monks and the patrons of the monastery were buried mainly in either Dormition Cathedral or in one of the smaller monastery churches.<sup>80</sup>

As Herbinus’ primary interest was in the caves as a natural phenomenon, when he received the answer about their human-made origin, he switched the focus of his interest to the history of the caves and the purpose of their excavation. Continuing to argue with his contemporaries, Herbinus contended that the Kyiv caves were built not by Italians but by locals; the caves were not of unusual length and were not connected with any of the other underground labyrinths in Eastern Europe. Having solved these problems as a natural philosopher, Herbinus tried to give Western European readers a description of what the Kyiv caves looked like. He used both a typically medieval scholastic way of explanation, writing about their form and substance; and a method of early modern cartography, including schemes of the Kyiv underground labyrinth. Much attention in the book is paid to the problem of the history and religious use of caves in general. Herbinus studied the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* meticulously and provided even more information on the topic using Bible stories and his knowledge of underground sacral places in Eastern Europe. Concerning the Kyiv caves, Herbinus distinguished three ways in which they were used: as a place of refuge, for the monks’ religious practices, and for funeral ceremonies and burials. It is interesting that Herbinus omitted the main purposes for which the Orthodox monks used the caves – as a place of pilgrimage, praying to the caves’ saints, and performing exorcisms and other miracles.<sup>81</sup> Johann Ludwig Hartmann (1640–1680), a Lutheran theologian, recognized that demonic possession (both spiritual and physical) could occur with both pious and impious men either for

<sup>78</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 67.

<sup>79</sup> Sylvester Kossov. *Патериков*, Reiestr Litera W.

<sup>80</sup> Олена Чумаченко. “Тератургима” і некрополь Успенського собору Києво-Печерського монастиря // *Мистецтвознавство України* 2 (2001) 354.

<sup>81</sup> Sylvester Kossov. *Патериков*, Reiestr Litera T.

punishment or for God's glory. There was even a kind of exorcism in the Lutheran tradition – prayers “by the whole Church” for the healing of a possessed person. Moreover, there was even a legend about Martin Luther performing an exorcism on a young woman who suffered from possession by an evil spirit.<sup>82</sup> This is why Herbinus' attitude towards exorcism, and that they were being performed in the caves, might not have been such a negative one. Obviously, he did not want to emphasize exorcisms or pilgrimages because questions may have been raised about the invocation of saints and merits, which were unacceptable for Lutheran theology, to which I will pay more attention to in the next two chapters.

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<sup>82</sup> Benjamin T. G. Mayes. Demon Possession and Exorcism in Lutheran Orthodoxy // *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 81, 3/4 (2017) 331–336.





## Chapter 4

# THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

### **The Orthodox and Protestant Churches in theological dialogue: a historical overview up until the middle of the seventeenth century**

Since the Great Schism (1054) and the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), Eastern and Western Christianity had considered each other heterodox. The first list of differences between Eastern and Western Churches was contained in a letter by Pope Nicholas I (†867), according to which, the Byzantines reproved the Latins for fasting on Saturdays, introducing the Filioque, having celibate clergy, allowing confirmation only by bishops, mixing chrism with running water, fasting the wrong way for Lent, having the blessing and offering a lamb on the altar at Easter, shaving off their beards, and allowing deacons to be directly ordained as bishops.<sup>1</sup> Later on, these criticisms increased, with confessional polemics coming from both sides. In fact the Latin and Byzantine Churches actually knew little about each other.

Significant interest in Eastern Christianity was only apparent in the humanists' milieu. An admiration for the Greek language and for the patristic tradition created an opportunity for the humanists to broaden their knowledge of the Orthodox Church. Later on, the Reformation completely changed its own attitude towards the Orthodox Church in Western Europe, considering it an alternative to Roman Catholicism. Protestants had a great impact on the study of Orthodox theology and even on the development of Slavic languages.<sup>2</sup> Martin Luther himself did not regard the Greek Church as heretical, and referred to its practical experience and tradition, which he saw as universally ecclesiastical.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Luther considered the Greek Church as being more powerful than

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<sup>1</sup> Tia M. Kolbaba. *Inventing Latin Heretics: Byzantines and the Filioque in the Ninth Century*. Kalamazoo (Mich.) 2008, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Hans Lemberg. Zur Entstehung des deutschen Osteuropabegriffs im 19. Jahrhundert. Vom "Norden" zum "Osten" Europas // *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 33/1 (1985) 81.

<sup>3</sup> Ernst Benz. *Die Ostkirche im Lichte der protestantischen Geschichtsschreibung von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart*. Freiburg 1952, p. 10.

the Roman Church, which had lost its spiritual influence due to the Pope's attitude of superiority.<sup>4</sup> By 1519, Luther had already had a discussion with Johannes Eck about the existence of the Orthodox Church, rejecting the Pope's claim to represent the whole Christian community.<sup>5</sup>

Philip Melanchthon also had wide-ranging correspondence with Orthodox secular rulers, and scholars from Corfu, Serbia, and Wallachia, trying to find support from Constantinople for the Augsburg Confession.<sup>6</sup> Simultaneously, the Lutheran Joachim Westphal (1510–1574), when debating with Jean Calvin (1509–1564) about the physical presence of Christ in the sacraments, respected the authority of the Greek Church: “Et comperimus non tantum Romanam Ecclesiam affirmare corporalem praesentiam Christi, sed idem et nunc sentire, et olim sensisse Graecam Ecclesiam, ut testatur Canon Missae apud Graecos.”<sup>7</sup> *De statu ecclesiarum hoc tempore in Graecia, Asia, Ungeria Boemia [...]* (Straßburg 1574), a special examination of Greek Orthodox doctrine written by David Chyträus (1530–1600), underlined the main differences between Orthodox and Protestant theologians: the question of salvation through faith, the necessity of good deeds, the effects of redemption, and the veneration of icons.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, Chyträus acknowledged the correctness of Orthodox doctrine regarding the Trinity and the dual natures of Christ, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.<sup>9</sup>

The most famous contact between Lutherans and Orthodox during the sixteenth century happened during the 1574–1581 epistolary of Tübingen: between professors Jacob Andreae (1528–1590), Lucas Osiander the Elder (1534–1604), Jacob Heerbrand (1521–1600), and Martin Crusius (1526–1607) on the one side; and Ecumenical Patriarch Jeremias II Transos of Constantinople (1536–1595) on the other. This contact began with a German mission to the Ottoman Empire. The mission, headed by Stephan Gerlach (1546–1612), arrived in Constantinople in 1573 and delivered the first letter from the Tübingen Lutherans.<sup>10</sup> This, and two further letters, concentrated mainly on the theological questions of the *Confessio*

<sup>4</sup> Ernst Benz. *Die Ostkirche im Lichte der protestantischen Geschichtsschreibung*, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Sergiusz Michalski. *The Reformation and Visual Arts: the Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe*. London 1993, p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> More about this: Ernst Benz. *Wittenberg und Byzanz, zur Begegnung und Auseinandersetzung der Reformation und der Östlich-orthodoxen Kirche*. München 1971, pp. 4–93.

<sup>7</sup> Joachim Westphal. *Adversus cuiusdam Sacramentarii falsam criminationem, iusta defensio Ioachimi Vuestphali, ministri ecclesiae Hamburgensis: in qua et Eucharistiae causa agitur*. Francoforti 1555, p. 20.

<sup>8</sup> Sergiusz Michalski. *The Reformation and Visual Arts*, p. 110.

<sup>9</sup> Ernst Benz. *Die Ostkirche im Lichte der protestantischen Geschichtsschreibung*, p. 23–24.

<sup>10</sup> More about this: Dorothea Wendebourg. *Reformation und Orthodoxie: Der ökumenische Briefwechsel zwischen der Leitung der Württembergischen Kirche und Patriarch Jeremias II. von Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1573–1581*. Göttingen 1986, pp. 31–151.

*Augustana*. These were answered by the patriarch, in which he included arguments against the following theological issues: the proceeding of the Holy Spirit (Filioque), free will and good deeds, the veneration of saints and icons, monasticism, the sacraments, and Church tradition.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, the theological discussion between Tübingen's Lutherans and Constantinople's Patriarch Jeremias II might be called ineffective. Fifty years later, another Constantinople Patriarch, Cyril Loukaris (1572–1638), a man deeply involved in European and Ottoman politics, who had studied in Western European Protestant and Catholic universities and was searching for a way to reform the Orthodox Church, started to correspond with Calvinist and Anglican theologians. In Geneva in 1629, he published his *Confessio Fidei Orthodoxae*, whose connection to Protestantism has been discussed among theologians even to the present day. Obviously, Calvin's teaching about original sin, free will, baptism, good deeds, Purgatory, predestination, and even the veneration of icons, all had an influence on Loukaris.<sup>12</sup> These views, however, remained Loukaris' own, as in 1638, the Council of Constantinople excommunicated him; moreover, his *Confessio* was proclaimed several times to be non-Orthodox by Orthodox theologians.

Thus, the recurring contact between Protestant Europe and Orthodox Constantinople provoked a certain amount of dialogue between theologians of the two confessions, yet it did not develop into a consensus. Though still important in the Orthodox world, being subjugated by the Ottoman state, the Patriarchate of Constantinople was an uncertain and unsafe place for theological discussion.

In the sixteenth century, a new center for the Orthodox Church appeared on the north-eastern borderland of Europe. Visiting Moscow in 1589, Patriarch of Constantinople Jeremias II Tranos, under evident pressure, proclaimed the establishment of a new Orthodox Patriarchate with its center in Moscow. Protestant theologians had occasion to deal with the Muscovite Orthodox Church. One attempt at such dialogue was made in 1570 by a member of the Bohemian Brethren, Jan Rokita, who travelled to Moscow and had a discussion with the grand prince, Ivan IV the Terrible (1530–1584), about Christian dogma. The tsar recounted the 1570 anti-Lutheran treatise by Parfenii Iurodivyi of Suzdal, who, in fact, had very little knowledge about European Protestantism.<sup>13</sup> This polemic was later translated for readers through the work of a Polish Reformed author named Jan Łasicki (1534–1599) in *De russorum moscovitarum et tartarorum*

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp. 207–346.

<sup>12</sup> Aloysius Pichler. *Geschichte des Protestantismus in der orientalischen Kirche im 17. Jahrhundert oder: Der Patriarch Cyrillus Lucaris und seine Zeit*. München 1862, pp. 180–208.

<sup>13</sup> Sergiusz Michalski. *The Reformation and Visual Arts*, pp. 135–136.

*religione* [...] (1582). Łasicki himself demonstrated a strongly negative attitude towards the Muscovite Principedom and the Orthodox Church,<sup>14</sup> criticizing it mainly for iconodulism, the invocation of saints, and the falsification of miracles.<sup>15</sup>

The Baltic Protestants had frequent contact with the Orthodox Church from both Muscovy and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>16</sup> One of these Protestants, an evangelical priest in Vilnius (Herbinius' predecessor in fact), Paul Oderborn (1555–1604), wrote another treatise entitled *De russorum religione* [...] (1582), where he examined the Orthodox Church as a whole, and did not distinguish between the Moscow and Ruthenian branches.<sup>17</sup> Here he criticized Orthodox priests for falsifying the Holy Scripture, venerating saints, and taking part in a life of luxury and alcoholism.<sup>18</sup>

Another famous critic of the Orthodox Church was the Ruthenian reformer Szymon Budny (1533–1593), who attacked some of the practices Orthodox and Catholics had in common: monastic vows, fasting, and veneration of the Mother of God, saints and icons. The exhortation to reject monasticism, icons, and saints can be tracked in some others works of Protestant authors targeting Orthodox believers of Ruthenian origin.<sup>19</sup>

In the meantime, a close anti-Catholic political cooperation between the Orthodox and Protestant nobility was being shaped in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and was officially agreed in 1599 in Vilnius.<sup>20</sup> The question of the theological influence of Protestant doctrine on Ruthenian Orthodox writing at the end of the sixteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century has been little researched.<sup>21</sup> It is remarkable, however, that the first polemical answer from the Orthodox Church concerning the Polish Jesuit Peter Skarga's book *Opisanie i oborona sobora ruskogo berestejskogo* (Vilnius 1597) was given by a famous Protestant leader, Martin Broniowski (1568–1624). His *Apokrysis abo odpowiedź*

<sup>14</sup> Sergiusz Michalski. *The Reformation and Visual Arts*, p. 73.

<sup>15</sup> Johannes Łasicki. *De russorum moscovitarum et tartarorum religione, sacrificiis, nuptiarum, funerum ritu: Ex diversis scriptoribus, quorum nomina versa pagina indicat*. Spirae 1582, p. 2–4.

<sup>16</sup> Wilhelm Kahle. *Die Begegnung des baltischen Protestantismus mit der Russisch-Orthodoxen Kirche*. Leiden – Köln 1959, p. 17–46.

<sup>17</sup> Paul Oderborn. *De Rvssorum Religione, Ritibus Nuptiarum, Fvnerum, victu, vestitu, &c. Et De Tartarorum Religione ac moribus Epistola ...: Alia eiusdem argumenti De Sacrificiis, Nuptiis, & funeribus veterum Borussorum*. [S.l.] 1582.

<sup>18</sup> Wilhelm Kahle. *Die Begegnung des baltischen Protestantismus*, p. 32–33.

<sup>19</sup> Валерій Зема. *Київська митрополія*, pp. 178–186.

<sup>20</sup> Eduard Kneifel. *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Ausburgischen Kirche*, p. 62.

<sup>21</sup> Валерій Зема. Полеміко-догматичні збірки XVI – початку XVII ст. // *Український історичний журнал* 4 (2001) 43–74; Віталій Шевченко. *Православно-католицька полеміка та унійна проблематика в житті Русі-України доберестейського періоду*, in 2 volumes. Київ 2018.



Abraham van Westerveld (1620–1692).  
Engraving depicting the Kyivan Cave Monastery (1651)

*na księżki o synodzie brzeskim 1596* (Kraków 1597) not only defended the right of the Orthodox Church to exist, but also contained a theological refutation of Catholic doctrine from “the Orthodox” (in fact, Protestant) point of view.<sup>22</sup> In 1634, one of the main allegations against the Orthodox schools opened by Metropolitan Petro Mohyla, was their reproach to “Protestant deviations.”<sup>23</sup> The close Orthodox and Protestant cooperation continued throughout the seventeenth century and even led to cases of Protestants converting to Orthodoxy. The most famous of these was a Lutheran theologian, Adam Zernikaw (1652–1693), who, in 1680, converted to Orthodoxy, moved to Ruthenia, took monastic vows in Chernihiv, and became famous for his anti-Catholic polemics.<sup>24</sup> Another example might be the aforementioned, possible, Protestant descent of Innocent Gizel, whose support helped the *Reliosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* see the light of day.

### The dogma of the Orthodox Church

The question of Herbinus’ attitude towards Orthodox dogma is one of the most central for this work. Did Herbinus consider the Orthodox Church heterodox? First of all, it is remarkable that Herbinus called the division between Eastern and Western Christianity mournful (“deplorata”<sup>25</sup>) – he deplored it. Despite all of the criticism of the Orthodox Church that will be mentioned below, for him, Rus’ had been preserving the true faith of Christ, the Greek rites, and the patristic tradition.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, Herbinus planned to take part in one of the theological discussions with the Orthodox, using Holy Scripture and patristic tradition, concerning the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit.<sup>27</sup>

Here, it should be remembered that the question of the Filioque is one of the oldest and most important in the polemics between Eastern and Western Christianity. The statement that the Holy Spirit proceeds both from the Father and the Son was first added to the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed during the Middle Ages in Spain, and was slowly adopted by all of the Christian West.<sup>28</sup> This addition, however, was not accepted by Byzantine theologians and provoked a century-long discussion between Western and Eastern Churches.

<sup>22</sup> Jan Stradomski. *Spory o “wiarę grecką” w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*. Kraków 2003, p. 32.

<sup>23</sup> Степан Голубев. *Київській митрополитъ Петръ Могила и его сподвижники (опытъ историческаго изслѣдованія)*, vol. 2. Київъ 1898, p. 62.

<sup>24</sup> Vasył Bidnov. Zur Geschichte der deutsch-ukrainischen kulturellen Wechselbeziehungen Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts // *Elpis* 8/1 (1934) 151–174.

<sup>25</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Reliosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 14.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 146–147.

<sup>28</sup> Bernd Oberdorfer. Filioque // *Religion Past and Present: Encyclopedia of Theology and Religion*, 4-th ed., vol. 5. Leiden 2009, p. 115.

The strongest opposition towards the idea of Filioque was shown by Constantinople Patriarch Photios I. His second letter (*Ep. 2, Letter to the Eastern patriarchs*) and *Mystagogy about the Ascension of the Holy Spirit*, contained a statement of opposition to the Latin doctrine of Filioque. It used two main groups of arguments: ecclesiological and theological. The first included the allusion to Evangelical places in John 15:26 and the analysis of these places in John 16:15 and Galatians 4:6, which had been used by adversaries to testify to the origin of the Holy Spirit being from the Son. Here, Photios also refuted the assertion that Augustine and Jerome adopted the double origin of the Holy Spirit, writing about the inaccuracy of the interpretation of their works. In addition, the Church Fathers could also have been mistaken, said Photios. Instead, he called on the authority of Popes Damascus I (300–384), Leo I (390–461), John VIII (\*818–?), and Hadrian I (700–795). The theological arguments were as follows: the double-procession (*aitia*) of the Holy Ghost means two Gods, and hence polytheism; the double origin of the Holy Spirit mixes and confuses the hypostasis; and the dual origin humiliates the Holy Ghost.<sup>29</sup> Later, the Filioque provoked plenty of theological discussions between Catholic and Orthodox authors, and became one of the most disputed theological controversies in such ecumenical projects as the Union of Lyons (1274), the Union of Florence (1439), and the Union of Brest (1596).

The Wittenberg Reformation adopted the Catholic teaching of the Filioque, considering it to be part of the doctrine of the primary Church. In this way, the teaching was defended by Tübingen Lutherans in their correspondence with Patriarch Jeremias II. In this discussion, the patriarch argued that the Filioque had changed the Nicene Creed that was adopted during the First Council of Nicaea in 323, and asked for an explanation of the Lutheran teaching on the Holy Trinity. In their answer, the Tübingen Lutherans, quoting the *Historia Ecclesiastica* by Socrates of Constantinople (c. 380 – after 439) and other patristic sources, contended that the Council of Nicaea had not expressly proclaimed any doctrine on the problem, and that the statements of any ecumenical council were not unchangeable. Concerning the question of the Holy Trinity, the Protestant theologians appealed to the Holy Scripture and the lack of clarity concerning this problem, meaning it was not solvable using human reason. In general, the controversy about the procession of the Holy Ghost was rather superficial and was not strictly about the teaching of the Trinity or about pneumatology. According to Dorothea Wendebourg, the core of the misunderstanding between Patriarch Jeremias and the Tübingen theologians was the different vision of God's presence in the history of salvation: whereas in Orthodox theology, God is present

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<sup>29</sup> Tia M. Kolbaba. *Inventing Latin Heretics*, pp. 95–99.

as the Holy Trinity in eternity, the history of salvation for the Lutherans is God's presence in the world.<sup>30</sup>

Trying several times to discuss the problem of the Filioque with the abbot of Vilnius Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Spirit, Martin Woloszowycz, Herbinius proposed investigating the problem *ad fontes*, using the Holy Scripture, the acts of ecumenical councils, and the humanistic editions of patristic sources. This fact is very important as proof of Herbinius' readiness to argue confessional statements with representatives of the Orthodox clergy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Woloszowycz, however, rejected Herbinius' attempts at discussion, being deeply convinced of the corruption of the Fathers' writings that had been published "in Germany, Gallia, or England". The Acts of Councils and the Athanasian Creed (the most valuable argument in the Catholic defense of the Filioque), had been falsified by Western theologians who hated the Orthodox, argued Woloszowycz. Therefore, he wanted to discuss the question using solely Ruthenian texts. Moreover, he accused his Lutheran friend of hypocrisy, and this imputation was very confusing for Herbinius: "Disputans enim quodam tempore Vilnae cum venerabili Domino Abbate supra saepius laudato Woloszowicz de Processione Spiritus S. cum post evictam ex literis sacris Spiritus S. a Patre et Filio processionem, conciliorum quoque Nicaeni, Constantinopolitani, symboli Divi Athanasii, nec non S. Basili autoritatem in testimonium adducerem; ille, objecto falsi crimine, omnes Graecorum Patrum libros, Conciliorum decreta adeoque et Symbolum S. Athanasii, ab Ecclesiam Occidentali, odio Orientalium Graecorum corrupta esse contendebat, nec se nisi ex ipsorum Graeco-Ruthenorum libris, quos solos esse sibi intemeratos, convinci volebat."<sup>31</sup>

Woloszowycz's reaction to Herbinius' intention to discuss another "article of faith" that he had demonstrated in his work was the same.<sup>32</sup> Obviously, among those controversial questions were, first of all, the soteriological questions: the consequences of *the Fall*, the necessity of good deeds, and merits.

Based on Augustinian doctrine that the original sin was the full depravation of human nature, the Reformers strongly emphasized the influence of "original guilt" on human free will. The *Apologia Confessionis Augustanae* (1531) (II) defined the consequences of the Fall as a combination of the following flaws: an inability to believe in God, an inability to fear and love God, and a susceptibility to lasciviousness.<sup>33</sup> In contrast to the Lutheran tradition, Orthodox theologians

<sup>30</sup> Dorothea Wendebourg. *Reformation und Orthodoxie*, pp. 213–217.

<sup>31</sup> Johannes Herbinius. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, pp. 146–147.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>33</sup> Philipp Melanchthon. *Apologia der Konfession*. Aus dem Latein verdeutscht durch Justus Jonas ([www.glaubensstimme.de/doku.php?id=bekenntnisse:apologie\\_der\\_konfessionen#artikel\\_ii\\_von\\_der\\_erbsuende](http://www.glaubensstimme.de/doku.php?id=bekenntnisse:apologie_der_konfessionen#artikel_ii_von_der_erbsuende)).



have never accepted the Augustinian version of the Fall doctrine, considering the distortion of human nature after the Fall as not being an absolute but a partial one; it did not hinder human good will. The synergetic doctrine of the Orthodox Church, as criticized by Lutherans, teaches that although free will is too weak to turn man to God by its own force, nevertheless when the Holy Spirit commits man's desire, free will can find God, to a certain degree (though very weak).<sup>34</sup>

Herbinius shared the Orthodox Church's dogmatic view on human brittleness after the original sin; however, the consequences of the Fall were different for him than for Orthodox theology, firstly in terms of how it affected human will. Herbinius stressed this in a separate paragraph as follows: "Ea hactenus est post lapsum Originalem humanae naturae fragilitas atque ambition, ut, non usque adeo Parentum primorum degeneres posteri Paradisum sibi in sua patria plantent, inque eo aliquam humanitatis suae Majestatem incomparabili opponere Divinitati consilio contentur stultissimo."<sup>35</sup> Moreover, admitted Herbinius, human nature was spoiled to such an extent that some people believed they could achieve salvation by themselves: "Adeo altas potentesque peccati Originalis lues, in fibris hominum radices agit, ut multi gratia Dei ex naturali protervia insuper habita, ipsimet [incertum quo congrui uti loqvuntur aut condigni jure] coelum proprio arbitrio promereri, perque merita sua, ex adultero Pharisaeorum ingenio, salutem aeternam propriis elaborare sibi manibus, studio allaborent pertinacissimo. Scilicet, ne omnem felicitatis suae gratiam Deo ferre acceptam, sed in propriis meritis atque gloriosa luxuriare etiam, imo Orbem totum in sui admirationem et amores invitent."<sup>36</sup> It was an obvious taunt directed at the Orthodox, who believed in human merits.

Herbinius clearly called the belief in the importance of human merit an error that both the Orthodox and Catholics had in common.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, Herbinius condemned such views as shaming Christ's glory, and underestimating His merits in the history of human salvation: "Pudeat operarios istos Christi nominis! Indignus sane est gratia saluteque Christi, qui Meritum ejus sacratissimum putidis hominum meritis constuprat, et profanat."<sup>38</sup> Here, his position totally agreed with the *Confessio Augustana* (XX), which considered everybody who

<sup>34</sup> More about this: Frederick Robert Tennant. *The Sources of the Doctrine of the Fall and Original Sin*. Cambridge 1903; Norman P. Williams. *The Ideas of the Fall and Original Sin: A Historical and Critical Study*. London 1927, pp. 314–443; Jean-Claude Larchet. Ancestral Guilt according to St. Maximus the Confessor: a Bridge between Eastern and Western Conceptions // *Sobornost, incorporating Eastern Churches Review* 20/1 (1998) 26–48.

<sup>35</sup> Johannes Herbinius. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 118.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 118–119.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

tries to earn salvation through their own efforts as rejecters of Christ's merits and grace.<sup>39</sup>

From Herbinus' point of view, the recognition of Christ's merit denies the necessity of good deeds for salvation. However, this was not the same thing as denying their necessity for life in the Church community; here he refers to the Gospel of Luke (Luke 17:10), which mentions the servants who fulfil the Lord's will, but, nevertheless, should be called useless: "Utinam bonis vacantes operibus bene de Ecclesia mereamur, meritorumque gloriam in solum Deum transcribamus servi inutiles Luc.12. Sed ita justificata jam pridem est sapientia Dei a filiis hominum operibus manuum suarum gaudentium!"<sup>40</sup>

In general, Herbinus was critical of the Orthodox and Catholic beliefs regarding human merit and that they both saw them as a cause for sanctity. For him, this was an undoubtable reason for an accusation of idolatry: "Profecto criminis idololatriae reus est, qui, quam sibi soli Meritoque suo absolutissimo Christus vendicat gloriam, alienis Sanctorum meritis acceptam ita fert, ut omnia bonis hominum operibus miracula attribuat, nulla vero in Christum transcribat: ubique merita Sanctorum crepat, nusquam Christi Meritum auditur."<sup>41</sup> The Protestant author considered that this was the main mistake that Orthodox and Catholics had in common,<sup>42</sup> and that it could not be accepted by the adherents of pure Christianity.<sup>43</sup>

Human deeds, for Herbinus, were "dead things;" and the fascination with them was the Catholic Church's greatest error. This error, however, was rectified by Martin Luther, who assured all right-believers (here Herbinus meant Lutherans) of the salutary power of Christ's wounds: "Idem Sanctus Pater Lutherus, profligatis hominum meritis, certissimum nobis debitoribus in solius Filii Dei Jesu Christi vulneribus solutionis pretium atque peccatorum veniam, adeoque et omnem justitiae ac salutis viam in adorando solaque Fiducia apprehendendo Filii Dei Merito, sub Papatu illo tempore mortuis sanctorum operibus animas Christianorum fascinantibus, indice Apostolico, quasi postliminio demonstravit."<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> The Augsburg Confession (1530) by Philipp Melanchthon / transl. Gerhard Friedrich Bente ([en.wikisource.org/wiki/Augsburg\\_Confession#Article\\_XX:\\_Of\\_Good\\_Works](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Augsburg_Confession#Article_XX:_Of_Good_Works)).

<sup>40</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 119. Instead of Luk. 17 Herbinus mistakenly gave the reference to Luk. 12.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 115–116.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28–29.

### Church customs, confessional views, and the canonical law of the Orthodox Church

Herbinus noticed that exclusivist views concerning their own religion were very popular among the Orthodox; they considered only Eastern Churches to be of the right faith, while Western ones were spurious and filthy: “Religionis suae Tenacitas, atque Constantia ea ipsis est, ut solas Orientales Ecclesias, veras et puritate Apostolicam gaudentes, se quoque solos Orthodoxos, solos Christianos ingenuos; Occidentales vero Ecclesias atque Christianos spurios atque impuros esse censeant.”<sup>45</sup> Even the Slavic greeting *Prawosławny*, which was used in everyday communication among the Orthodox in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, meant nothing other than “Orthodox and canonical,” underlined Herbinus.<sup>46</sup> This exclusivist position was strictly criticized by Herbinus who, as shown above, had little confessional restriction: “Theologi Graeco-Rutheni falso, atque adeo malo nixi principio, solos se Orthodoxiae nomine celebres atque Canonicos gloriantur Christianos.”<sup>47</sup>

The confessional exclusivism of the Muscovite Orthodox Church developed to the extent that Lutherans were not even allowed to enter Orthodox Churches or monasteries in the Muscovite Principedom; as Herbinus mentions, along with Catholics, they had to be baptized again if they converted.<sup>48</sup> The Muscovite Principedom’s popular practice of being re-baptized has been proved by many sources; moreover, it concerned not only Protestants and Catholics but even Orthodox Greeks.<sup>49</sup> Being a Protestant however, did not prevent Herbinus’ visits to Orthodox churches in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In particular, he stressed that he had been present at an Orthodox baptism ceremony, where he had experienced “circa Liturgiam rationem administrandi sacramentum Coenae Dominicae, lotionem pedum die Viridium: Copulationem Neogamorum: Horas Canonicas, aliosque Graeco-Ruthenorum ritus Ecclesiasticos [...]”<sup>50</sup> While in Moscow, all heterodox (including Orthodox Greeks) had to be re-baptized, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth it was enough to perform a public rejection of ones “error.” Herbinus described this procedure as well as referring to Petro Mohyla’s *Euchologion*: “[...] adeoque Lutherani nostri, quos illi Saxones, et Reformati, quos Calvinianos vocant, ejurare duntaxat prava sua opinione errores coguntur: quo facto, precibus, aliisque paucis admodum ceremoniis adhibitis,

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 149.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 149.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 160.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>49</sup> Татьяна Опарина. “Исправление веры греков” в русской церкви первой половины XVI в. // *Россия и христианский Восток* 2–3 (2004) 288–325.

<sup>50</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, pp. 145–146.

in Ecclesiae suae gremium nullo negotio eos recipiunt, moxque Orthodoxiae nomine celebres sive Canonicos appellant.”<sup>51</sup>

The attitude of the Ruthenian Orthodox towards those who had accepted the 1596 Union with Rome was strictly negative, reported Herbinus; they were even ready to fight against them: “Deficientes vero ab Ecclesiae suae communi- one diris devovent atque execrantur. Unde Constantinopolitanos inter et Romanos, quos Unitos, sive Latino-Ruthenos cum Ecclesia Romana vulgo vocant, interne- cinum plane tantumque intercedit odium, ut ne umbram quidem illorum ferre velint.”<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, the adherents of the Union accused the Orthodox of being “schismatics.” Herbinus underlined the confessional character of Khmel- nytsky’s war, describing it as a conflict between two Ruthenian parties: Ortho- dox and Uniate.<sup>53</sup> Apparently, here Herbinus’ book reflected Innocent Gizel’s negative attitude towards Uniates and Roman Catholics, which had less to do with dogmatic contradictions, and more to do with being provoked by political situations and the negative experiences in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of Orthodox hierarchs in trying to emancipate their Church: the Zboriv peace agreement (August 18, 1649) guaranteed that the metropolitan, Sylvester Kossov, and two Orthodox bishops would have seats in the Polish Senate; yet the Catholic hierarchy built up a strong opposition and forcefully prevented the Orthodox metropolitan from participating in the Senate. Besides this, the exist- ence of a parallel hierarchy for the Eastern rite in the Polish-Lithuanian Com- monwealth created a very competitive situation for the Orthodox, forcing them to fight not only for souls, churches, and latifundia but also to be the successor to the old Kyivan Christianity.

Herbinus considered that the Ruthenians were so convinced of the right- ness of their ancestral religion that very few of them had decided to abjure it.<sup>54</sup> This statement, however, might simply have been an idealization developed by the Protestant author in describing the pious Ruthenians: in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, repeated conversions were part of the everyday lives of the noble in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; Ruthenian nobility had con- verted to both Protestantism and Catholicism, while only the petty gentry stayed with their “fathers’ religion.”<sup>55</sup> Only by taking into account all Ruthenian early modern society, including peasants and townspeople, could Herbinus’ calcula-

<sup>51</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae*, pp. 150–151.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 149–150.

<sup>55</sup> Михайло Довбищенко. Реалії та міфи релігійного протистояння на Волині в кін. XVI – I пол. XVII ст. // *Соціум: Альманах соціальної історії* 2 (2003) 57–82; Наталя Яковенко. Релігійні конверсії: спроба погляду зсередини // *eadem. Паралельний світ. Дослідження з історії уявлень та ідей в Україні XVI–XVIII ст.* Київ 2002, pp. 13–79;

tion of converts be understandable: “[...] de mille Ruthenos, certe vix unus a Religione sua degenerabit [...]”<sup>56</sup>

Herbinus was astonished at the strictness of the Orthodox Church’s discipline concerning excommunicated people, which could result in being refused a worthy burial, unless the offender’s friends were able to convince the land authority to deny the excommunication and to allow a Church funeral in the cemetery. Such practices, noted Herbinus, led to both sorrow and joy, and underlined the importance of the ecclesiastical discipline within the Orthodox Church: “Nec minus est stupendus ipsorum Disciplinae Ecclesiasticae rigor atque vigor: ac praecipue excommunicatio peremptoria sive Bannum majus, quo sacrilegii, aut alius cujuspiam criminis magni reus, in facie Ecclesiae, a Praesule ritibus ad terrorem compositis, excommunicatur publice ita, ut, ni resipuerit mature, etiam post mortem Banni illius fulmine percussi hominis corpus terram indignum insepultumque maneat, donec precibus amicorum exoratus Praesul excommunicatum reum a Banno illo peremptorio publice denuo atque solenniter absolverit: quo facto, ab Ecclesia, magna tum doloris ac simul laetitiae significatione, justa ei demum funebria in Coemiterio persolvuntur.”<sup>57</sup> In fact, the *great excommunication* and *anathema* in the Orthodox Church were applicable only for the most serious of crimes, such as heresy, apostasy, or sacrilege. The great excommunication meant complete exclusion from Church life; however, this could be lifted even after a person’s death.<sup>58</sup> We do not know much about excommunicative practices in the Orthodox Church of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Obviously, cases of excommunication due to heresy (conversion to another religion) occurred quite often. The practice of friends interceding on behalf of the deceased offender for a Church burial, as was described by Herbinus, corresponded with the mutual support that was well-known among the Polish *szlachta*’s corporation. This posthumous aspect of the excommunicative practice, which did not exist in the Lutheran Church, astonished the Protestant author most of all.

### The Eastern rite, sacraments, and piety

Herbinus explained some specific elements of Eastern rites, piety, and the sacraments to Protestant readers. The core of Orthodox ecclesiastical life, the liturgy, was described as being long and more elegant than the Catholic one.

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Максим Яременко. Міжконфесійні відносини в Україні та Білорусі у XVIII ст. (постановка проблеми) // *Соціум: Альманах соціальної історії* 3 (2003) 121–136.

<sup>56</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 150.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148–149.

<sup>58</sup> More about the excommunicative practice in the Orthodox Church: Μιχαήλῆρης Δ. Παναγιώτης. *Αφορισμός: η προσαρμογή μιας ποινής στις αναγκαίες της Τουρκοκρατίας, Σειρά Θεσμοί και Ιδεολογία στη νεοελληνική κοινωνία*. Αθήνα 1997.

It should be remembered here that the main focus of Lutheran worship during the seventeenth century was changing from the choral liturgy to the congregational liturgy.<sup>59</sup> This is why Herbinus paid a lot of attention to the Orthodox liturgical songs, praising them for their harmony and polytonality: “[...] Musica, in qua Discantus, Altus, Tenor et Bassus, harmonia suavissima et sonora distincte audiuntur [...]”<sup>60</sup> He admired the simplicity and harmony of Orthodox singing, which made it possible for everyone attending Orthodox churches to sing together and thus raise the faith of the believers. Herbinus compared Orthodox liturgical songs to his most beloved music, that of the Prussian Protestant composer Johann Stobäus (1580–1646), and contrasted it to the expressive Renaissance and Baroque music of some Italian or French composers.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, he considered Orthodox Ruthenian singing to be close to the original Christian liturgy: “Hinc omnes conjunctis Clero vocibus ea cantant harmonia ac devotione, ut audiens raptum me in εκκασiv, Hierosolymis esse, primitivaeque ibi Christianorum Ecclesiae faciem atque spiritum videre mihi viderer, eoque nomine Filium Dei, sacrorum Ruthenicorum simplicitati illachrymando, ex Symbolo Divorum Ambrosii et Augustini laudavi, inquires: Pleni sunt coeli et terra Majestatis gloriae tuae!”<sup>62</sup>

Remarkably, Herbinus treated the use of vernacular language during the liturgy in a positive way: “Intelligit apud eos plebs promiscua, quae Clerus lingua Slavonica vernacula aut canit, aut orat [...]”<sup>63</sup> Herbinus, therefore, openly appealed to Protestant readers to imitate the simplicity of Greek and Slavic liturgical songs.<sup>64</sup> At the same time, Herbinus mentioned the Ruthenians’ apathy toward church preaching and evangelizing. Herbinus mentioned that only the written homilies of the Church Fathers, and not the spoken word of the priests, could inspire some respect among the listeners: “[...] si Mysta sacer concionem in Ecclesia recitaret ex memoria, Rutheni eum mentiri existimarent, adeoque somnia et mendacia sua proponi sibi indignarentur. Si vero ipsis ex libro praelegeris homiliam, omnes te, aperto capite, manibusque complicatis, stantes vel bipennis suis innixi, subindeque suspirantes, audient attentissime.”<sup>65</sup>

Herbinus described in detail the shape and inscriptions on the altar breads (προσφορον), and showed Protestant readers an image of them.<sup>66</sup> It is important to mention that this image is a unique source of information about the baking of

<sup>59</sup> Joseph Herl. *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict*. Oxford 2004.

<sup>60</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae*, p. 153.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 155–156.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 153–154.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 85–86.

the Host in Kyiv Pechersk Lavra during the middle of the seventeenth century. In explaining the double-use of the Host, Herbinus referred to Jacques Goar's *Euchologion*, which contained two interpretations of the Holy Bread: as Eucharist bread, and as a substance for a special monastic Marian prayer (the so-called *Panagia*).<sup>67</sup>

The specifics of the Orthodox Eucharist was very important to Herbinus. In describing it, Herbinus emphasized the Orthodox way of performing Communion with two elements, which was thus similar to Lutheran one: "Quam Prosporam sive panem in ipso consecrationis sacramentalis actu Presbyter concisam minutim in calicem aureum vino plenum immittit, atque ita, peracta consecratio, Communicantibus utramque speciem, more apud ipsos receptor, cochleari aureo oblongiore, in os ingerit leniter: qua de re consule Euchologion Graecorum."<sup>68</sup> He also mentioned the practice of laics carrying home the Host along with the holy water as a commemoration of the Holy Sacrament. Herbinus (probably during his visit to Moscow) observed the practice himself, which was part of *Panagia*; he also skeptically mentions the participation of two-year old infants in the ritual: "Sed alius insuper est Prosporarum istarum usus: Nam simul atque Christianus sacra potitus est Eucharistia, assumpto praeterea panis et aquae vehiculo, adstans puer paropsidem argenteam vel stanneam susustinens, singulis sacri epuli convivis (inter quos etiam infantes bimulos non sine stupore observavi) unicam inde porrigit Prosporam, quam illi sudario involutam secum domum asportant, ut sit illis accepti S. S: Sacramenti monimentum."<sup>69</sup>

Traditionally, Eastern Christianity paid special attention to the veneration of the Mother of God and her icons. Due to the fact that the Marian cult was strongly promoted at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the most popular icons among Orthodox churches in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were those of the Mother of God. Kyiv Pechersk Lavra was not an exception; there, the icon of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary was actively venerated.

The attitude of Protestants towards Marian piety was rather ambivalent. Martin Luther, in his commentary on the medieval song Magnificat, stressed that Maria earned no merits due to her humility in becoming the mother of God, and also, that she was not an example for imitation. However, in relation to the Virgin Mary, he continued to use such adjectives as pure and loving, and this commentary, had, by the sixteenth century, already become a kind of bridge in Catholic-Protestant dialogue.<sup>70</sup> At the beginning of the Reformation, reformers

<sup>67</sup> Jacobus Goar. *Ευχολογιον*, p. 101.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87–88.

<sup>70</sup> Christoph Burger. *Marias Lied in Luthers Deutung: der Kommentar zum Magnifikat (Lk 1,46b–55) aus den Jahren 1520/21*. Tübingen 2007, pp. 19, 182.

had tried to lessen the importance of Mary's role in the history of salvation; a role that was highly praised in medieval practices. This is why a person's attitude towards the Marian cult became a kind of confessional detector.<sup>71</sup> Yet, later, Marian imagery was presented widely in Lutheran churches.<sup>72</sup>

Herbinius' attitude to the Marian cult is unclear. He mentioned "Divae Mariae virginis Deiparae"<sup>73</sup> several times, but does not reveal, however, his personal attitude to this extremely popular cult in the monastery. In particular, he mentioned the Kyiv Heaven icon, which represented the Cave Fathers as heavenly stars in the Mary's wreath.<sup>74</sup> This was a typical metaphor in Ruthenian Early Baroque literature, where the saints were associated with the celestial bodies (more about this in the next chapter). Such a depiction of the Virgin really existed on the wall by the Lavra's main gate, and was eventually circulated among the pilgrims as an engraving. Thus, it seems that Herbinius did not see anything superstitious in the Orthodox way of venerating the Caves' Mother of God.

However, this does not mean Herbinius demonstrated a positive attitude towards church depictions in general. On the contrary, he described it as being a great superstition of Orthodox piety that had developed into a popular belief that icons were alive (he observed this tendency in Moscow).<sup>75</sup> He called the veneration of icons barbaric and criticized the Orthodox side's counterarguments: "Accusati vero de sua plus quam barbara Iconolatria excusant eam vehementer, docentque se non colere statuas, sed sacras duntaxat Deiparae, Apostolorum et sanctorum Patrum imagines, adeoque haec duo *πεῶτα ψεύδα* principii loco adducunt."<sup>76</sup> The Orthodox theologians' two arguments – that icons are not statues and iconolatriy does not mean idolatry – did not convince the Lutheran author. He could agree that there were some depictions in the early Church, but this fact, in his eyes, did not justify the idolatry. He relied on the ecclesiastic authority of Epiphanius of Salamis (310–403), whose authority Protestant authors traditionally referenced in their polemics against the veneration of icons.<sup>77</sup> Herbinius did not trust the main source of theological argument about icon veneration for Orthodox theologians – the Second Council of Nicaea (787) – due to his skepticism towards the Byzantine empress Irene (752–803) who had headed

<sup>71</sup> Robert Christman. The Marian Dimension to the First Executions of the Reformation // *Church History and Religious Culture* 95/4 (2015) 408–410.

<sup>72</sup> Maria Crăciun. Marian Imagery and Its Function in the Lutheran Churches of Early Modern Transylvania // *Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe* / ed. Andrew Spicer. Farnham 2012, pp. 133–164.

<sup>73</sup> Johannes Herbinius. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 113.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 113–114.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>77</sup> Sergiusz Michalski. *The Reformation and Visual Arts*, p. 67.



it: “Qui lethalis Ruthenorum catarrhus ab Imperiali Irenes matris cum Filio Constantino VI. in Oriente regnantis capite profluxit.”<sup>78</sup> Moreover, Herbinus considered the decision of the Council to be nullified by the 794 Council of Frankfurt assembled by Charles the Great (742–814). As an extreme exaggeration of the practice of icon veneration, Herbinus mentioned the popular beliefs in Muscovy, where people believed icons were alive, and could think and talk.<sup>79</sup>

### Monastic life and the Orthodox clergy

Herbinus noted the great respect that Ruthenians paid the Orthodox clergy, and decided to look at it in more detail in a separate paragraph. He underlined the great authority gained by Orthodox priests due to their flocks’ esteem: “Praeterea tanta Reverentia sacerdotes suos (Sclavonice Pop dicuntur) colunt, ut Angelorum vicem eos revereantur, dictoque ipsorum sint audientissimi. Hinc etiam promiscuos sacerdotes, raro aut nunquam nominibus propriis, semper autem summis fere Pontificum titulis, Venerabiles, Deiferos, Sanctos, Patres, beatosque semper cernui atque humiles, salutant: ipsorum studia et conciones sunt illis cogitationes Dei.”<sup>80</sup> Herbinus greatly admired the Orthodox clergy because of their altruistic ways and lack of greed. In general, Herbinus’ attitude towards the Orthodox clergy was positive; he considered them totally different to the Roman Catholic clergy: they did not sell indulgences, relics of saints, altars, icons, or statues; and they did not earn money from proclaiming teachings about purgatory or from holding private masses; the only donation they took was a voluntary door tax (“eleemosynis ostiariis”).

However, Herbinus claimed that the grand titles used by the Orthodox clergy in his times were exaggerated. At the same time, he especially criticized the ignorance of the Orthodox priests and their pretense to the name “Lord,” that is, God’s name (“Dominus,” “Vladyka”): “Tanti aestimant Rutheni suos Praesules et Sacerdotes, qui tamen plerumque rudes scientiarum ac inertes, praesertim in Moscovia, sunt; secus ac quidem apud nos quidam Politici male feriati Pastores animarum suarum vocant Dominos, quo titulo ipsos tacite illudunt, eosque habent despiciatui, ignari Christum omnia haec opprobria in se transcripturum, atque olim severe vindicaturum.”<sup>81</sup>

Herbinus’ book was focused on the Kyivan Cave Monastery. Though he rarely used the term “monasterium,”<sup>82</sup> mainly writing about the caves as a separate

<sup>78</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 164.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 158–159.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

phenomenon, he dealt deeply with the problem of monasticism. The issue of Protestantism and monasticism is one of the most complicated in church history.<sup>83</sup> From the very beginning, the Reformation had a problem with the recognition of Christian monasticism, despite the fact that many reformers were monks themselves. According to some authors, Martin Luther just wanted to reform monastic life, and struggled against the monasteries' misuse of matrimonial policy.<sup>84</sup> In his *Ninety-five Theses*, Luther emphasized repentance as the goal of all Christians and therefore equalized monastic and laic life. However, he rejected monastic life himself and criticized monasticism in the work *De votis monasticis iudicium* (1521). While not denouncing the biblical meaning of vows in general, he doubted the soteriological meaning and exclusivism of monastic vows in particular.<sup>85</sup> Luther had nothing against the monastic lifestyle, but he could not accept the idea of monks' prayers having special power, and saw a danger for evangelical freedom in monasticism. In general, his criticism of monasticism was stronger than his appeals to renovate monasticism according to the theology of the Reformation.<sup>86</sup> As a result of discarding monasticism as being the unique form of *Imitatio Christi*, many monasteries and nunneries were closed and the rejection of the monastic vows by both men and women became a common occurrence in sixteenth-century Reformed Europe; many monasteries were turned into schools or evangelical foundations.<sup>87</sup>

The *Confessio Augustana* (XXVII) flayed monasticism, criticizing contract matrimony, and the exaggeration of the importance of the monastic vows and their interpretation as a path to Christian perfection.<sup>88</sup> This very statement in the *Augsburg Confession* provoked the strongest disagreement between the Tübingen theologians and Patriarch Jeremias II. The latter undoubtedly interpreted monasticism as the ideal Christian life and attempted to prove his opinion by referring to the Acts of the Ecumenical Councils and the patristic literature. According to Jeremias, celibacy is an easier way to salvation than marriage, the laics' life is not a perfect Christian life, and the world is a strong adversary in humans' path to God. Answering these arguments, the Tübingen Lutherans agreed that there were many pious Christians among monks; and insisted that monastic

<sup>83</sup> Bernd Jaspert. *Mönchtum und Protestantismus: Probleme und Wege der Forschung seit 1877*, vol. 1. St. Ottilien 2005, p. 49.

<sup>84</sup> Barbara Vinken. Emanzipation durch die Reformation? // *Lebendige Seelsorge* 67/6 (2016) 411–413.

<sup>85</sup> Bernd Jaspert. *Mönchtum und Protestantismus*, p. 61.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>87</sup> Anne Schuster. Die Geschichte des Klosters Hornbach und seine Entwicklung zur Landesschule im 16. Jahrhundert // *Blätter für pfälzische Kirchengeschichte und religiöse Volkskunde* 83 (2016) 9.

<sup>88</sup> The Augsburg Confession (1530) by Philipp Melancthon.

vows, however, must be deemed unnecessary for the perfect Christian life and that marriage was simply God's call (*vocatio*) to serve Christian duty (*officium*).<sup>89</sup>

The common attitude of Protestants towards Orthodox monasticism was, however, far from total understanding. Moreover, they often admired the monks' pious behavior and strict life; for example, the aforementioned Martin Zeiller wrote about the Orthodox monks he observed during his travel to Kyiv: "Es führen dise Mönch ein gar hartes Leben, und zur Fastenzeit, gehen sie in Höline, oder Löcher, unter der Erden und thun daselbsten in der Einöde Buß. Andere begeben sich in die Wildnüsse, mit einem härinen Kleid, und eisenen Ketten angethan; bißweilen gar weit in die Tartarey, da sie das Evangelium predigen, und darüber getödet werden."<sup>90</sup>

In writing about the inhabitants of the caves, Herbinus mostly used the expressions "vir religiosus," "vir sacer," "heros," or "pater," but very rarely "sanctus" or "martyr," and several times "monachus."<sup>91</sup> He also explained the Slavic terms "inok" (from Latin "unicos") and "czerniec" (from Polish "czarny" – "black") to readers.<sup>92</sup> Sometimes, Herbinus called the Orthodox monks "the order of St. Basilus"<sup>93</sup> (this identification was very popular in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth<sup>94</sup>). The term "ihumenus" is explained through the Catholic analogs "abates" and "prior," and the Protestant "Probst."<sup>95</sup> Herbinus saw the monks of the Kyivan Cave Monastery as his contemporaries, considering them to be a continuation of the first Kyivan hermits.<sup>96</sup> He even repeated a definition that was very popular in both Catholic and Orthodox spirituality that described monks as being terrestrial angels and humans at the same time: "Angelos terrestres atque Homines."<sup>97</sup> Moreover, he applied this definition to his most important ecclesiastical authority – Martin Luther. Presumably, Herbinus saw monastic life in a positive light. Probably, Eastern monasticism, with its individualism and lack of strict common-life rules, was more attractive to Herbinus than the Catholic monastic orders. However, he also did not show any negative attitude towards Catholic monks. Writing about Luther's cell in the former Augustinian monastery in Magdeburg, he mentioned "pure tired monks" who were lying on Luther's bed to take a rest.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Dorothea Wendebourg. *Reformation und Orthodoxie*, pp. 266–271.

<sup>90</sup> Martin Zeiller. *Anderte Beschreibung deß Königreichs Polen*, pp. 144–146.

<sup>91</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 61.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>94</sup> Георгий Флоровский, прот. *Пути русского богословия*. Минск 2006, p. 46.

<sup>95</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 66, 84.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

Herbinius gave two reasons for monastic practices: expiation of sins and earning merits; since, as I mentioned above, he condemned the Orthodox belief in the importance of human merits in general, he considered both of them useless. He also omitted discussion of the problem of monastic vows: chastity, poverty, and obedience. Obviously, this was connected with Luther's negative evaluation of them, as I mentioned above. In his description of monastic life, he mentioned the reading of psalms and praying several times a day.<sup>99</sup> Herbinius underlined this for a very simple reason – in Martin Luther's theology and life, prayer and the psalms played a tremendous role.<sup>100</sup> Herbinius explained in detail that the popular practice among the Cave Fathers' of enclosing themselves in the caves, was caused by private piety; however, he mentioned that monks were supplied with food and other necessities: "Clausi dicuntur Monachi Graeco Rutheni, qui, nuncupato voto, sese cellae aut cubiculo subterraneo in Crypta, religionis privatae gratia, ita aggesta untiquaue terra inclusere, ut vix foramen, subministrandis cibo, potui aliisque necessariis pateat."<sup>101</sup> It is important that Herbinius does not mention the strictest monastic feats: as was written in the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*, some monks buried themselves (to the shoulders) and fasted for several days.<sup>102</sup> Among other monastic practices, he mentioned exhausting the body with fasting and wakefulness, and eating only bread and vegetables. However, Herbinius underlined that such practices had to be approved by the abbot.<sup>103</sup>

Herbinius gave the ascetic practices of Orthodox monks a very positive evaluation, as he admired the religiosity and piety of ancient Christians. Moreover, he regretted slightly that some of the mentioned religious practices (primarily, fasting) were either overstated or underestimated among his contemporaries: "Adeo primitus Christiani pietate abundabant atque religio, quae tam pia exempla miramur paucissimi. Utinam, loco antrorum subterraneorum, supra domorum nostrarum terraneis inclusi cellis, Musaeis, aut cubiculis, Deum eo animi devote ardore coleremus! Sed hodie nobis veterum pietas ac religio obsolescit, nostra autem juniorum aut jejuna nimis est, aut omnino nulla."<sup>104</sup> In contrast, following Ruthenian polemics, he called the Uniates meat-eating gluttons ("carnivori ventres").<sup>105</sup> Although the *Confessio Augustana* (XV, XX) clearly called fasting inefficient and unnecessary for salvation, it acknowledged (XXVI) that

<sup>99</sup> Johannes Herbinius. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 65, 84.

<sup>100</sup> See: Mary Jane Haemig. *Preaching in Lutheran Pulpits*, pp. 117–157.

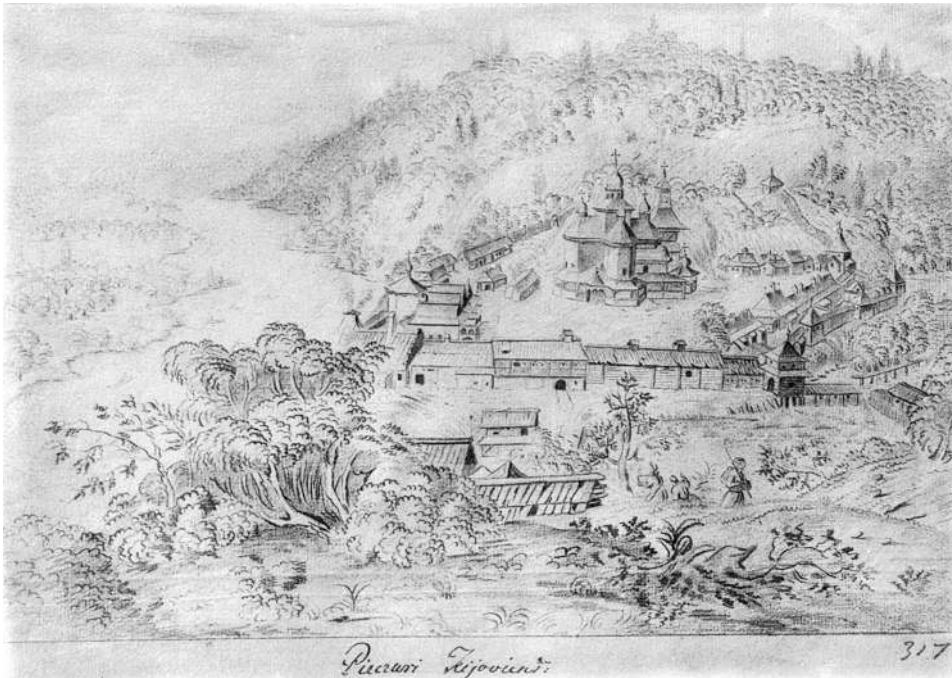
<sup>101</sup> Johannes Herbinius. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 84.

<sup>102</sup> Sylvester Kossov. *Πατερικον*, p. 109.

<sup>103</sup> Johannes Herbinius. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, pp. 65–66.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.



Abraham van Westerveld (1620–1692).  
Engraving depicting the Kyivan caves (1651)

ascetic practices played an important role in Christian life.<sup>106</sup> Likewise, Luther admitted that fasting was a possible form of individual piety.<sup>107</sup>

It is important to emphasize that Herbinus considered the Orthodox Church to be canonical.<sup>108</sup> He perceived and treated the Orthodox Church in a positive way. Church customs, canonical law and discipline, the clergy, monasticism, Orthodox piety, and fasting did not provoke any criticism from him; in fact, he praised them. Herbinus greatly appreciated Orthodox liturgical music, and considered it to be close to the early Christian tradition. However, he could not refrain from criticizing human merit, idolatry, and the confessional exclusivism of the Orthodox Church. They evidently contradicted his views on real Christian piety and religious tolerance.

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<sup>106</sup> The Augsburg Confession (1530) by Philipp Melanchthon.

<sup>107</sup> Augustinus Sander. *Fasten // Das Luther Lexikon* / ed. Volker Leppin, 2-nd ed., Regensburg 2015, pp. 217–218.

<sup>108</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 144.

## Chapter 5

# THE ORTHODOX SAINTS AND RELICS

### The historical and theological outline of the problem

#### *The cult of relics in Christianity, its theological basis, and first criticism*

The veneration of relics alongside the veneration of icons was a direct result of a growing piety towards the saints; in fact, relics and icons were the most appropriate *locus* of the holiness of the saints.<sup>1</sup> Though an aversion to dead bodies dominated in the Jewish tradition, Christianity emphasized the evangelical heroes' physical contact with Christ or his followers. Beginning with St. Paul, Christianity had differentiated the body ("σώμα," see 1 Cor. 12:14–27) from the flesh ("σάρξ," see Rom. 13:14). Later, special attention was paid to the remains of martyrs and anchorites who overcame their flesh. By the second century, as recorded by Polycarp of Smyrna (69–155), it was already popular to gather martyrs' remains.<sup>2</sup> Probably, the process of relic exhibition started in Christian Egypt, despite the fact that Athanasius of Alexandria (295–373) strongly protested against the Egyptian tradition of body mummification.<sup>3</sup>

The rapt attention given to relics caused special forms of Christian devotion: pilgrimages, ritual washing of the relics using water, and their separation and then translation from one place to another. These practices corresponded to the hagiographical legends, which told of the distinguished "will" of the saints to be (or not to be) translocated, venerated in special places, etc. Relics became treasures, which could be stolen or fought for; often they were even treated like war trophies, goods for sale, or precious presents.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Carlos M. N. Eire. *War against the Idols. The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin*. Cambridge 1986, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Arnold Angenendt. *Heilige und Reliquien. Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart*, 2-nd ed. München 1997, pp. 149–151.

<sup>3</sup> John Wortley. *The Origins of Christian Veneration of Body-Parts // iadem. Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204*. Farnham 2009, pp. 10–28.

<sup>4</sup> Arnold Angenendt. *Heilige und Reliquien*, pp. 152–164.

The cult of relics found special support in Byzantium. While in the West, the remains of saints were taken more metaphorically, in the East they were treated as the saints themselves. In Byzantium, this veneration of relics acquired special significance – not only were the bodies of saints or their parts considered sacred, but so to were the relics' locations and the oil that flowed from them. In Byzantium's pre-iconoclastic period there were only a few relics that were considered to be oil-oozing (and that is why they were especially venerated), however their numbers began to rise progressively.

Officially, the question of relics was raised at the Fifth Council of Carthage (401), which forbade construction of new altars in churches without a martyr's body. This became the main theological argument for the search, collection, and veneration of relics. Though relics, unlike icons, have never been considered creations of human hands and their worship has never been questioned in Eastern Christianity, the use of the relics was actively defended using theological arguments in times of iconoclasm. Several patristic fathers (e.g. Basilus of Ancyra; 336–362) supported the veneration of relics as a necessity, and John of Damascus (676–749) treated relics on an even higher level than icons in his work *De Imaginibus*.<sup>5</sup>

Criticism of the misuse of relics appeared in the Christian West during the twelfth century.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, with the noticeable increase in the number of relics after the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) and the looting of Constantinople, and the appearance of the practice of counterfeiting relics and the many of religious practices connected with them, criticism became even stronger. John Wycliffe (1330–1384) and Jan Hus (1369–1415) in particular, openly criticized the practice of the veneration of relics, and their followers became the initiators of the first iconoclastic actions in medieval Europe.<sup>7</sup> Moving further, Pierre d'Ailly (1351–1420) in his *De Reformatione* (1416), Jean Gerson (1363–1429) in *Expostulatio adversus corruptionem juventutis per lascivias imagines* (1402), and Fredrick van Heilo (1400–1455) in *Tractatus de peregrinantibus sive contra peregrinantes* (ca. 1450) pointed out abuses and exaggerations connected with the popular piety towards relics.<sup>8</sup> The strongest criticism came from the Humanists, for whom relics were no more than “a sea of superstition.”<sup>9</sup> When editing the epistles of St. Jerome, Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536) noticed the histo-

<sup>5</sup> John Wortley. *Iconoclasm and Leipsanoclasm: Leo III, Constantine V and the Relics // iadem. Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204*. Farnham 2009, pp. 270–272.

<sup>6</sup> Arnold Angenendt. *Heilige und Reliquien*, pp. 165–166.

<sup>7</sup> Alain Joblin. *L'attitude des protestants face aux reliques // Les reliques. Objets, cultes, symboles. Actes du colloque international de l'Université du Littoral-Côte d'Opale (Boulogne-sur-Mer), 4–6 septembre 1997 / ed. Edina Bozóky*. Turnhout 1999, p. 129.

<sup>8</sup> Carlos M. N. Eire. *War against the Idols*, p. 21.

<sup>9</sup> Arnold Angenendt. *Heilige und Reliquien*, p. 233.



rical inaccuracies in the saint's vita in the medieval hagiography.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, Erasmus' criticism of the physical representation of spiritual objects anticipated much of the criticism raised later by the reformers. Relics were even worse than images in his opinion, because they were venerated as direct points of contact with the divine power that was thought to flow through the relics.<sup>11</sup>

### ***Martin Luther's views on the cult of saints and relics***

Martin Luther examined the question of relics mainly in connection with his criticism of contemporary religious practices, his views on saints, and the common views on fine arts.

In Luther's solution to the problem of the veneration of saints, we can observe some chronological evolution. Many biographers have noted that, as a young student, Luther himself venerated saints. In particular, it was well known that he promised St. Anna that he would become a monk if she would save him from a storm. Luther's pilgrimage to Rome was made *inter alia* because of saints.<sup>12</sup>

Some real changes in Luther's attitude towards saints are noticeable in 1523, when his devotion, which had been typical up to that time, became really controversial in regard to his teaching<sup>13</sup> and he even began to criticize the cult of St. Anna, for which he had previously held great affinity.<sup>14</sup> In one of his writings from 1524 he wrote: "Wollen wyr nu der schriffit nach leben, so müssen wyr uns von den verstorbenen heyligen ym Hymel wenden und zu den heyligen auff erden keren, die selbigen erheben und ehren."<sup>15</sup> Luther did not see the necessity of praying to the saints on behalf of dead people, because, according to his theology, they were waiting for the Last Judgment in deep sleep and did not need anybody's intercession.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, in his treatise *De servo arbitrio* (1525), he noted that until the Last Judgment, no one – including saints such as St. Jerome – could, with certainty, be called a saint: "Atque si nullus praeterea fuisset error in Ecclesia, iste unus satis pestilens et potens fuit ad vastandum Euangelion, quo, nisi singularis gratia intercessit, infernum potius quam coelum

<sup>10</sup> Helen L. Parish. *Monks, Miracles and Magic. Reformation Representations of the Medieval Church*. London 2005, pp. 73–74.

<sup>11</sup> Carlos M. N. Eire. *War against the Idols*, pp. 39–40.

<sup>12</sup> Carol Piper Heming. *Protestants and the Cult of Saints in German-Speaking Europe, 1517–1531*. Kirksville (Mo.) 2003, pp. 58–60.

<sup>13</sup> George P. Evans. *The Cult of the Saints in the Early Lutheran Reformation and in the Second Vatican Council. A Comparison*. Washington (DC) 1987, p. 64.

<sup>14</sup> Carol Piper Heming. *Protestants and the Cult of Saints*, p. 61.

<sup>15</sup> *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* 1/15 (1899) 192.

<sup>16</sup> Erwin Iserloh. *Die Verehrung Mariens und der Heiligen in der Sicht Martin Luthers // Ecclesia militans: Studien zur Konzilien- und Reformationsgeschichte. Remigius Bäumer zum 70. Geburtstag* / ed. Walter Brandmüller, vol. 2. Paderborn 1988, pp. 113–115.

Hieronymus meruit, tantum abest, ut ipsum Canonisare aut sanctum esse audeam dicere.”<sup>17</sup>

Nevertheless, the example of the saints’ pious lives was important to Luther. He welcomed attempts to follow the saints’ lives and especially their faith. According to him, the saints that were mentioned in the Holy Scripture were the most trustworthy.<sup>18</sup> He also accepted the spiritual value of reading some of the later *vitas*, especially those in which the saints’ sins were also emphasized; therefore, these *vitas* could serve as useful reading for Christians.<sup>19</sup>

According to Luther, the biggest disadvantage of religious paintings was that they did not have the same essence or nature as the persons depicted in them.<sup>20</sup> In fact, Luther believed that the need for images would disappear over time by itself.<sup>21</sup> Until that moment, he would tolerate icons in church practices, which would help common people glorify God. In general, several life-portraits of Luther and his close relations by Lukas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553) indicated Luther’s attention to material objects in Christian life. Luther’s attitude to images can be characterized as *iconopraxis*: Christians can use icons, but their hearts should be free of images. Luther never supported the iconoclastic actions. For example, strong opposition from Martin Luther led to Andreas Karlstadt (1486–1541) becoming an iconoclast. Luther argued that instead of destroying images it would be better to remove them from the heart through God’s word. Luther, in this polemic, admits that “man uns eyn crucifix odder heyli- gen bilde lasse zum ansehen, zum zeugnis, zum gedechtnis.”<sup>22</sup> Later Luther’s polemic against Karlstadt would even be used by the Catholic author Johannes Eck during his defense of the veneration of saints and their images.<sup>23</sup> However, Luther strongly differentiated between violence against God and violence against icons and relics: “Sequitur aliud genus transgressionis, nempe eorum, qui specie bona illuduntur. Quorum rursus duae sunt species: Altera eorum, qui circa reliquias et venerationem sanctorum excedunt, Altera eorum, qui sapientia et iustitia propria superbiunt contra deum.”<sup>24</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 1/18 (1908) 764.

<sup>18</sup> George P. Evans. *The Cult of the Saints*, pp. 65–66.

<sup>19</sup> Carol Piper Heming. *Protestants and the Cult of Saints*, pp. 64–65.

<sup>20</sup> Werner Hofmann. *Die Geburt der Moderne aus dem Geist der Religion // Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst. Hamburger Kunsthalle [11. November 1983 – 8. Januar 1984] / ed. Werner Hofmann. München 1983, pp. 32–33.*

<sup>21</sup> Carol Piper Heming. *Protestants and the Cult of Saints*, p. 61.

<sup>22</sup> *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 1/18, p. 80.

<sup>23</sup> Johannes Eck. *Enchiridion locorum communium adversus Lutterano*. Landshut 1525, pp. 97v–111r.

<sup>24</sup> *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* 1/1, p. 411.

In fact, Luther never objected to the “sanctity” of relics. In one of his early sermons, talking about the holiness of God’s name, he said this: “[...] sicut sacrae reliquiae in se sanctae sunt [...]”<sup>25</sup> Even more than their images, relics were connected to saints and their human lives. In one of the passages dedicated to St. Anna (as mentioned above, Luther considered her to be his patroness) in 1519, Luther even admitted to the possibility that God’s miracles could take place through the bodies of saints at the places where they were buried.<sup>26</sup> Thus, we can suppose that until the early 1520s Martin Luther had not been against the idea of the sanctity of relics.

However, according to the younger Luther’s theology the veneration of relics could not be the starting-point for a cult of saints. When writing about the Apostles, he equated their relics with their writings: “At intellectus et sensus Apostolicus optimum, quod in Apostolis fuit, esse recte creditur, ut nihil sint reliquiae vestium, ossium, locorum, quae simplicis vulgi fidem utcunque alunt, ad reliquias librorum seu potius sensus, qui nullis libris relinqui potest, sed solius spiritus beneficio servari in cordibus fidelium suorum.”<sup>27</sup>

Luther clearly distinguished between the spreading of information about relics, and the pompous actions surrounding them: “[...] sicut aliud est dicere de reliquiis, aliud de pompa et ostensione reliquiarum.”<sup>28</sup> In 1518, he lightly criticized the practice of decorating the bones of saints in gold and silver.<sup>29</sup> But, in 1521, Luther expressed an unambiguously negative opinion about relics in his response to Ambrosius Catharinus (1483–1553)’ book, in which the question of relics was one of the discussion points against Catholic piety.<sup>30</sup> This was caused by Luther’s active criticism of the superstitions connected with amulets, pilgrims, and relics during 1519–1522.<sup>31</sup> For him, an attitude of piety towards relics (and, first of all, the pilgrimages) was deeply connected with the odious practice of indulgences.<sup>32</sup> He reacted to the relics’ feast in Halle (September 1520), mentioning in his letter to the German humanist George Spalatin (1484–1545) that the church in Halle was a “brothel” belonging to Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg (1490–1545).<sup>33</sup> Also, as with many religious writers from the humanistic period, Luther

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>26</sup> *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* 1/2, p. 69.

<sup>27</sup> *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* 1/5, p. 513.

<sup>28</sup> *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* 1/6, p. 96.

<sup>29</sup> *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* 1/1, p. 614.

<sup>30</sup> *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* 1/7, pp. 735–736.

<sup>31</sup> George P. Evans. *The Cult of the Saints*, p. 44.

<sup>32</sup> *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* 1/1, p. 424.

<sup>33</sup> Matthias Hamann. Reliquienverehrung unter Albrecht von Brandenburg am Neuen Stift zu Halle: am Beispiel der Zeigung des Sudarium domini und der Erasmusprozession // *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 66/1 (2016). 27.

doubted the authenticity of relics,<sup>34</sup> especially the extraordinary number of parts of the Holy Cross.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, Martin Luther never denied the importance of saints and the examples they set in Christianity. In Luther's views on relics, we can observe some evolution – from a full understanding and perception of relics to ignoring them and even criticizing their authenticity. However, his strongest protest was caused not by the relics themselves, but by the existing practice of their veneration in the Church.

### *Jean Calvin's Traité des reliques*

In general, Calvin displayed a strong opposition to the cult of God's images. According to him, the use of icons and depictions always lead to *idololatria*, and art should represent only those things that people can witness with their own eyes.<sup>36</sup> Calvin stressed that images were allowed in the Old Testament, prophesying the incarnation of Christ, but after the arrival of the Savior, all images except God's representation in the two sacraments should be banned in church.<sup>37</sup> In the context of this book, it is very important to mention that Calvin wrote a special work dedicated to the cult of relics. *Traité des reliques* was written in French and published in 1543. The treatise was a big success and was translated into other languages several times.

While other writers of the Reformation period discussed mainly the veneration of saints' relics, Calvin put the relics of Christ's human life at the center.<sup>38</sup> Calvin agreed that some Church Fathers also supported the veneration of God through material objects,<sup>39</sup> and he accepted some reasons for the preservation of relics: "I know well that there is a certain appearance of real devotion and zeal in the allegation, that the relics of Jesus Christ are preserved on account of the honour which is rendered to him, and in order the better to preserve his memory." However, by appealing to the authority of St. Paul, Calvin considered such human inventions to be more dangerous than useful (gradually leading to idolatry).<sup>40</sup> Thus, he concluded: "The pretence that it is [a] good thing to have some memories either of himself [Jesus Christ] or of the saints to stimulate our piety, is nothing but a cloak for indulging our foolish cravings which have no reasonable foundation."<sup>41</sup>

<sup>34</sup> D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe 1/1, p. 509.

<sup>35</sup> D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe 1/9, p. 428

<sup>36</sup> Carter Lindberg. *The European Reformations*. Boston 1996, p. 375.

<sup>37</sup> William Edgar. *The Arts and the Reformed Tradition // Calvin and Culture. Exploring a Worldview* / ed. David W. Hall. Phillipsburg (N.J.) 2010, p. 54.

<sup>38</sup> John Calvin. *Treatise on relics* / introd. by Joe Nickell. Amherst (NY) 2008, pp. 53–54.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Calvin argued that the first Christians themselves never venerated relics.<sup>42</sup> He also noted that even St. Augustine had serious doubts about the authenticity of the martyrs' remains.<sup>43</sup> According to Calvin, most of the relics venerated in his time were counterfeit. Here he is very detailed, citing several examples of animal bones being venerated instead of saints' relics. He was also very skeptical about the numbers of the same relic being held in different European sanctuaries.<sup>44</sup> For example, he wrote about the pieces of the Holy Cross, which was a popular relic: "Now let us consider how many relics of the true cross there are in the world. An account of those merely with which I am acquainted would fill a whole volume [...]. In short, if we were to collect all these pieces of the true cross exhibited in various parts, they would form a whole ship's cargo."<sup>45</sup>

Writing the treatise on relics, Calvin hardly took into account the cult of saints' bodies. The only question for him was whether it was appropriate to venerate the relics of Christ's human life in order to honor Him. In giving vivid examples of the superstitions surrounding the veneration of relics and discussing their authenticity, Calvin gave a clear answer: neither the remains of the Holy Cross, nor other material objects could serve for the glorification of God and should be avoided in church life and religious practices.

### ***Iconoclasm and the fight against relics during the Reformation***

The iconoclasm of the Reformation was a complex social and cultural phenomenon; it might be evaluated more as a provocation and a declaration of a confessional position than as the result of theological controversies.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, only a few reformers supported the iconoclastic actions.

The strongest opponent against the cult of saints (and therefore relics) was Andreas Karlstadt. On September 8, 1520, Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg organized a great Feast of Relics with absolution in the newly built church of Halle. This event was strongly criticized by Andreas Karlstadt (under the pseudonym Lignatius Sturll) in one of his leaflets, in which he called the clergy of Halle "mutwillige Pfaffen" who tempted poor laics.<sup>47</sup> Thus, it is not surprising that Karlstadt was the initiator and organizer of an actual iconoclastic act in Wittenberg in 1521–1522. The culmination of his fight against relics was reached in a 1522 riot in Wittenberg and a dispute with Luther in 1524.<sup>48</sup> According to Karlstadt, it was

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., pp. 58–72.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>46</sup> Sergiusz Michalski. *The Reformation and Visual Arts*, pp. 75–81.

<sup>47</sup> Matthias Hamann. *Reliquienverehrung unter Albrecht*, p. 27.

<sup>48</sup> Sergiusz Michalski. *The Reformation and Visual Arts*, pp. 43–44.

a Christian duty to destroy false worship without taking into account the opinion of the magistracy or some citizens. Karlstadt's iconoclastic policy became a precedent that was followed by other Protestant communities in Europe.<sup>49</sup>

Several iconoclastic acts occurred in the 1520s in Zurich. Here, the main role was played by Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531), who took a strong position against idolatry. Some researchers have noted that Zwingli's position on icons and relics was not strict, but rather contradictory. Religious artifacts and imagery did not scare him, but he felt some sentiment for the art. He was not as radical as Karlstadt, and believed open manifestations of iconoclasm to be wrong; but at the same time he considered that patrons of church art also to be wrong. Therefore, in his opinion, iconoclasm was not a big evil.<sup>50</sup> According to Zwingli, nothing based on material elements could provide human salvation.<sup>51</sup> Thus, Zwingli, in his theology, put the real focus on God and not on the material objects of faith. Moreover, he encouraged the evangelicals to wage war against false piety.<sup>52</sup> His general conclusion was: "Tantum de imaginibus et idolis hoc loci, donec uberiora permittant negotiorum tempestates nasci. Quod autem ad rationem scandali in his abolendis observandam adinet, est eodem modo cum imaginibus agendum, quo cum iis externis, quae ad salutem pertinere aut aliquid posse videntur, de quibus postremo loco diximus. Debet doctrina praecedere, imaginum autem abolitio cum tranquillitate sequi; docebit autem omnia in omnibus charitas."<sup>53</sup> Zwingli's follower in Zurich, Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575), made a historical study of the roots of Christian piety towards saints and relics. Here he asserts that the worship of saints started with the veneration of their bodies in monastic culture;<sup>54</sup> so he considered the veneration of relics to be at the root of false piety.

Another Protestant leader, Martin Bucer (1491–1551), played a prominent role in developing the Protestant theology of idolatry. He strongly criticized the cults of saints, miracles, and icons, as well as Catholic piety as being materialistic habits borrowed from pagans. Bucer made a notable distinction between the material and spiritual in worship, which is why he celebrated and defended the final removal of icons from Strasbourg churches in 1530.<sup>55</sup>

Later, anti-idolatrous ideas were disseminated throughout Europe through printed pamphlets, sermons, and plays that ridiculed medieval piety and led to several strong iconoclastic acts. By the 1540s, iconoclasm had not only become

<sup>49</sup> Carlos M. N. Eire. *War against the Idols*, pp. 62–65.

<sup>50</sup> Werner Hofmann. *Die Geburt der Moderne*, p. 33.

<sup>51</sup> Sergiusz Michalski. *The Reformation and Visual Arts*, p. 51.

<sup>52</sup> Carlos M. N. Eire. *War against the Idols*, pp. 83–86.

<sup>53</sup> *Huldreich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke*, vol. 3. Zurich 1914, p. 906.

<sup>54</sup> Carlos M. N. Eire. *War against the Idols*, pp. 86–88.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 89–94.

common in Switzerland and Germany, but also in England, Denmark, France, Bohemia, Livonia, and the Low Countries.<sup>56</sup>

We also have some information about the actions taken against icons and relics in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>57</sup> Despite the fact that not all of the authors of these acts were Protestant, Catholic (and later, Orthodox) literature repeatedly blamed Lutherans and Calvinists for their inspiration. The Counter-Reformation skillfully used the population's rejection of iconoclastic acts; for example, in 1638, Raków, the last seat of the Polish Brethren, was abolished because a crucifix was destroyed.<sup>58</sup> A contemporary of that event, Orthodox writer Athanasius Kalnofoysky, depicted Protestants as the rudest blasphemers, who had damaged, destroyed, or stolen the relics when describing the miracles in the Kyivan Cave Monastery.<sup>59</sup>

Thus, we can examine the problem of the veneration of relics from the perspective of the Protestant milieu on several levels. The first of these is closely connected with the cult of saints. Those reformers who denied the necessity of commemorating saints (e.g. Andreas Karlstadt), automatically denied the veneration of their relics. However, some fathers of the European Reformation (the first was Martin Luther in his early years), were not against praying to saints, nor using examples from their lives in Christian education. Moreover, since the sixteenth century their own martyrs were being created within the Protestant domain – sacrifices for the Reformation.<sup>60</sup> Some of these martyrs were recognized as saints by Luther himself.<sup>61</sup> Although the *Confessio Augustana* (XXI), which established the Lutheran doctrine, teaches that “the memory of saints may be set before us, that we may follow their faith and good works,”<sup>62</sup> it clearly refuses the necessity to invoke them or to pray to them.

The second level, which has its roots in the Renaissance period, dealt with the question of the relics' authenticity, and the reliability of the miracles that happened in their places of veneration. Here, the main contribution was made by Jean Calvin's *Traité des reliques*, in which he scrupulously examined the most venerated relics of his time.

The third level is connected with the general problem of the material aspect of the cults within Christianity. Andreas Karlstadt, Jean Calvin, Huldrych Zwingli,

<sup>56</sup> Sergiusz Michalski. *The Reformation and Visual Arts*, pp. 75–98.

<sup>57</sup> Janusz Tazbir. *Państwo bez stosów*, pp. 90–92.

<sup>58</sup> Sergiusz Michalski. *The Reformation and Visual Arts*, p. 81.

<sup>59</sup> Athanasius Kalnofoyski. *Τερατοφυγεια*, pp. 114–177, 146–148 etc.

<sup>60</sup> Detlef Metz. Martyrium: Erwägungen zu einem umstrittenen Begriff anhand der martyrologischen Tradition des Protestantismus // *Jahrbuch für Westfälische Kirchengeschichte* 112 (2016) 57–70.

<sup>61</sup> Robert Christman. *The Marian Dimension*, pp. 411–412.

<sup>62</sup> The Augsburg Confession (1530) by Philipp Melanchthon.

and several other reformers were against the veneration of God through material objects, and considered them to be a human invention that had nothing to do with Orthodoxy. In contrast, the leader of the German Reformation, Martin Luther, was not as strongly against material manifestations of the cult. If we consider the Protestant Eucharistic contention of the sixteenth century, Luther did not deny the physical presence of Christ in the Holy Sacrament. He also did not support the iconoclastic acts. In Luther's early years, he considered relics to be even more "spiritual," as they were directly connected with the life of Christ and his followers. Later, German Lutheran theologian Johann Arndt openly legitimized the use of material objects in churches for supporting grace, recalling the Word, and encouraging devotion.<sup>63</sup> While the absence of icons became one of the confessional features for the Reformed Church, for Lutherans, these problems were mostly irrelevant *adiaphora*.<sup>64</sup> This difference within the Reformation was clearly distinguished at the Colloquy of Montbéliard (1586), where the question of miraculous images along with other objects of worship in the "Papist temples" was one of the discursive points between Reformed and Evangelical theologians.<sup>65</sup>

The last level lay in the practice of relic veneration and the medieval habits connected with them. Here we do not see any exceptions. All of the Protestant leaders equally resisted the commercialization of the veneration of relics. The cult of relics was associated with practices of pilgrimage, indulgences, and monastic culture, which were strongly criticized by the reformers. However, as Arnold Angenendt has mentioned, the Reformation had not totally removed all religious practices on which – since the late antiquity – the cult of saints and their relics were based.<sup>66</sup> The history of the Protestant Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries provides several examples of discrepancies between the theoretical position of the elites and the reality of the popular practices of the laics who continued to venerate relics.<sup>67</sup> One of the best examples is the cult of Luther's relics that existed in the evangelical milieu.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Sven Rune Havsteen. *Lutheran Theology and Artistic Media: Responses to the Theological Discourse on the Visual Arts // Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe* / ed. Andrew Spicer. Farnham 2012, pp. 237–238.

<sup>64</sup> Reinhard Flogaus. "Viel frömmiger ist es, das Bild seines Geistes zu ehren" – Bilder und Bildkritik im Zeitalter der Reformation // *Das Bild Christi in der orthodoxen und der evangelischen Frömmigkeit. XVI. Begegnung im bilateralen theologischen Dialog zwischen der EKD und dem Ökumenischen Patriarchat* / ed. Petra Bosse-Huber. Leipzig 2017, p. 92.

<sup>65</sup> *Lutheranism vs. Calvinism: the classic debate at the Colloquy of Montbéliard 1586* / transl. Clinton J. Armstrong; foreword by Jeffrey Mallinson. St. Louis (Mo) 2017, pp. 455–500.

<sup>66</sup> Arnold Angenendt. *Heilige und Reliquien*, p. 258.

<sup>67</sup> Alain Joblin. *L'attitude des protestants*, pp. 137–140.

<sup>68</sup> Ulrich Köpf. *Reliquien, Reliquienverehrung II. Religionsgeschichtlich 2. Alte Kirche bis Reformation // Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 7. Tübingen 2004, p. 421.



## Saints

In approaching the question of Herbinus' attitude towards saints and sanctity, we need to underline the great importance of the cult of saints in seventeenth-century Ruthenia. Meanwhile, the necessity of representing the "Orthodox way of salvation" in anti-Catholic polemics aroused the interest of the Kyiv intellectual circle in sanctity and saints. It is notable, however, that this interest did not develop into the canonization of contemporary figures, but rather into the practice of "remembering" the old hagiographical heritage – the saints of Kyiv Rus'. This process initiated the inclusion in Ruthenian hagiographical texts of historical annotations and even full narratives, which aimed to provide a brief historical outline for potential readers.

The starting point for the development of the seventeenth-century Kyiv hagiographic tradition was the *Anfologion*, composed before 1619 by a circle of Kyiv intellectuals: Elisei Pletenetsky (1550–1624), Zacharija Kopystenskyi (†1627), Iov Boretskyi (1560–1631), and Pamvo Berynda (1560–1632). The work gained significant popularity within the Kyiv Metropolia, and was reedited several times (by 1651 there had been four reeditions in Lviv). This book, was greatly influenced by the Muscovite hagiography, primarily by the popular *Chet'i-Minei* by Macarius (1482–1563), the Metropolitan of Moscow. Even the *Anfologion's* engravings followed the iconographic canons established in Moscow during the first half of the seventeenth century.

Cults of Moscow origin were also popular in the illustrated menologium by Pamvo Berynda, composed between 1626 and 1629, and stored in the collections of the Bodleian Library in Oxford.<sup>69</sup> According to the introductory inscription, the menologium was published in 1627 in the Ruthenian town of Kremenets (this might be the first known printing by the Kremenets brotherhood) and was directly dedicated to the cults popular in the Muscovite principedom: *Fasti Moscovitici rex imagines adumbrati per totum annum editi*.

Zacharija Kopystenskyi, in his *Palinodia* (1617–1621), extensively used images of Orthodox saints, not only from Polish-Lithuanian traditions but also from those of the Balkans. Here we can find a number of Bulgarian saints, Serbian saints from the Nemanjić dynasty, and some Greek saints, but why they were chosen is still not fully clear. However, the largest number of "imported" saints in the *Palinodia* belonged directly to the Muscovite tradition.<sup>70</sup> In fact, Kopystenskyi constructed a common calendar of Ruthenian and Muscovite saints.

<sup>69</sup> Богдан Березенко. Тайнопис Памва Беринди // Українська писемність та мова в манускриптах і друкарстві. Матеріали 3-ї та 4-ї науково-практичних конференцій. Київ 2014, pp. 98–102.

<sup>70</sup> Захарий Копыстенский. Палинодия, col. 849–855.

According to Serhii Plokhii's observations, the process of confessionalization had an impact on Eastern Christianity that was fundamentally different from that caused in the West. As a result, the struggle between different confessions in Eastern Europe deepened the feeling of belonging to a unique Orthodox community – *Christianitas Orthodoxa*.<sup>71</sup> This situation is especially understandable for Ruthenian literature during Orthodoxy's uncertain status before the official recognition of the Orthodox hierarchy in 1632. It was probably for this reason that Kopystenskyi tried, as much as possible, to create before the eyes of Catholic readers an impressive image of Orthodoxy that was strengthened by a huge number of saints' names. There were two spiritual vectors in Kyiv hagiographical literature at the time of Peter Mohyla. One of them originated in the tradition of the 1620s, represented by Athanasius Kalnofoysky, and was based on the cult of relics and mysticism popular in Pechersk Lavra; it tends to lean toward the common spiritual traditions of *Christianitas Orthodoxa* and actively uses the cults and heroes of the Muscovite tradition. Another, which was related to Metropolitan Peter Mohyla's immediate milieu and represented by Sylvester Kossov, tried to reconstruct (or mainly construct) the "primary" Kyiv tradition using the prevailing cult of Prince Volodymyr the Baptist; first hierarch metropolitan, Michael; and the saints of the Kyiv-Caves Paterik.<sup>72</sup>

Among all these hagiographical narratives, Herbinus might have only known of Kossov's. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, he fully accepted the *Paterik* story about the Christianization of Rus', in which the saints took a prominent role. Thus, Herbinus highlighted the Ruthenian cult of Apostle Andrew; the Slavic missionaries and translators of sacral texts, St. Cyril and Methodius; and Princess Olga, repeating Kossov's glorification of the saint as "blessed among women," which is undoubtedly an allusion to the Virgin Mary: "Profecta enim Constantinopolim, imperante Graecis Constantino VIII. sedente vero, post fata Theophylacti, Polieucto, ibidem a Patriarcha baptizata, atque benedicta inter mulieribus Roxolanas appellata est."<sup>73</sup> It is clear that images of the Slavic missionaries and the translators of sacral texts were very important for the Protestant author. Among the saints who baptized Rus', however, Herbinus' main attention was paid to Prince Volodymyr: he described in detail his life and conversion, and the baptizing of Rus'.<sup>74</sup> The recently discovered relics of St. Volodymyr, his glorification as the baptizer of Rus' and patron of education and the Church,

<sup>71</sup> Serhii Plokhyy. *The Cossacks and Religion*, p. 11.

<sup>72</sup> Nataliia Sinkevych. Sacral past, ancient saints and relics – the remembrance of Kyiv Rus' in hagiographical texts at the time of Petro Mohyla // *Crossroads. From Rus' to.../* ed. Rafał Dymczak, Igor Krywoszeja, Norbert Morawiec. Częstochowa – Humań – Poznań 2015, pp. 35–43.

<sup>73</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 20.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20–24.

the attitude towards the saint as a personal patron of Metropolitan Mohyla – all of this made the figure of the saint extremely important for the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* and therefore for Herbinus as well.

Besides the saints who baptized Rus', the saints of the caves were also very important in the creation of Kyiv's early modern pantheon. Herbinus provided a general list of the Kyiv hermits<sup>75</sup> whose *vitas* were in the 1661 edition of the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*.<sup>76</sup> In general, he listed 43 saints, but added two names to his source, Nicolaus and Dionissy, who were mentioned in the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* only as witnesses to one of the miracles. They were probably considered saints in oral monastic tradition, since the name “Dionissy Hermit” can be found on the 1702 map of the caves.<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless, it should be remembered that in the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, we only find those saints that are somehow mentioned in the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*; Herbinus omitted other popular saints of the caves who were known from other sources.

From the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*,<sup>78</sup> Herbinus also borrowed a narrative that compared the Pechersk monks to celestial bodies – St. Anthony as the Sun, St. Theodosius as the Moon, St. Moses the Hungarian as Mars, St. Hilary as Venus, St. Simeon as Mercury, and St. Nicolaus as Jupiter: “Quia (in quint in Πατερικῶ) sunt in Horizonte nostro Planetæ illustrissimi I. Saturnus, Sanctus Johannes, cujus anima eo erat in peccando frigore, ut castitas ejus nullis illecebris ad libidinem carnalem incendi potuerit. II. Habet Kijovia nostra suum Jovem S. Michaelē Swiatossium Ducem Czernichoviensem, qui et Natalium splendorem et Dignitatis Ducalis celsitudinem, cum tenui vitæ Monasticae conditione, fortunas cum paupertate, purpuram cum cilicio, epulas unctiores cum pane et aqua, metamorphosi stupenda ultro commutavit. III. Triumphat inter nos Mars Victor, S. Moses Hungarus, qui eo animo cum Polona quadam foemina Principe, ceu Verus Christi athlete, de castitate certabar, ut ab ea neque blanditiis ullis; nec promissis lautioribus, multo minus exquisitis corporis cruciatibus ad matrimonium cum ea ineundum adigi potuerit. IV. Praesidet Kijoviviae Sol et Patronus eminentissimus S. Antonius Roxolanus, qui dura et austera vita multorum corda et animos serenabat, et amore Christi omnes incendebat. V. Gaudemus nostra quoque Venere aut Phosphoro S. Hilarione, qui ante exortum in Russia solem Antonium, Cryptam in Berestovia effoderat, in qua etiam religiose ac pie vitam egit, et absolvit. VI. Spectatur apud nos admirabilis rareque in coelo

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., pp. 81–83.

<sup>76</sup> *Патерикъ или Сѣтечникъ Печерскій, содержащъ житія свѣдѣтельныхъ пр[е]п[од]обныхъ и б[о]гоносныхъ Сѣтецъ нашихъ, просѣвшихъ в пещерахъ, на три части раздѣлень.* [Kyiv] 1661, pp. 1–256.

<sup>77</sup> Владислав Дятлов. *Печерский цветник. Собор киево-печерских святых: Агиографическая энциклопедия.* Киев 2019, p. 254.

<sup>78</sup> Sylvester Kossov. *Патериков*, p. 10.

ostentationis Mercurius S. Simon Episcopus Susdalensis, qui ea in studiis erat industria atque labore, ut Vitas S. Patrum Crypto-Kijoviensium prolixè ac bona fide conscriptas Orbi Christiano traderet. VII. Claret in Coelo nostro Luna illustrissima S. Theodosius, qui, acceptis a sole suo serenissimo S. Antonio austere vitae Legibus atque exemplo, prae coeteris Planetis, in tenebris mundanae luxuriae, vitae piaè et bonorum operum facem Mundo praeferebat. Sunt praetera in Cryptis ac Coemiteriis Kijoviensibus centenae hominum clarorum stellulae, obtutui Spectatorum obviae. Hactenus Rutheni e Πατερικῶ.<sup>79</sup>

What was the reason for such a comparison? According to early baroque symbolism,<sup>80</sup> the Sun illuminates the mind with understanding (St. Anthony was the founder of the Kyiv Cave Monastery), the Moon helps man's intellectual growth (St. Theodosius was an organizer of the monastery's community, and, as Kossov himself explains, reflected the light of St. Anthony as the Moon does of the Sun), Mars is the symbol of courage (St. Moses was especially known as a courageous fighter of evil spirits), Mercury is the symbol of oratory (St. Simeon was one of the authors of the old *Paterik* texts), Venus is the symbol of charity and is also known as the morning star (St. Hilary began living in a cave before St. Anthony), and Jupiter makes man more self-reliant and stable (about Nicolaus, who refused princely dignity and became a monk). Thus, the *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae* repeats the *Paterik* allegorical interpretations of Kyiv as a heaven ("Kijovia nostra coelum est"<sup>81</sup>) that is decorated with the bright stars – the saints of the caves. Herbinus' adoption of this metaphor is proved by the aforementioned depiction of the Kyivan Heaven being published in his book (see page 129). Here, St. Anthony is depicted as the Sun and St. Theodosius as the Moon, with each of the following stars being underwritten with the name of a particular cave saint (translated into Latin); Innocent Gizel was marked as a small star that seemed to be Herbinus' thanksgiving to his correspondent.<sup>82</sup> In another engraving, Herbinus also quoted Old Testament verses that must have justified the allegory in his eyes: Psalms 147:4 ("He counts the number of the stars; He calls them all by name") and Ecclesiastes 44:7 ("all these were honored in their generations, and were the glory of their times").

In general, Herbinus did not criticize the popular Orthodox tradition of the glorification of saints; he did not demonstrate any negative attitude towards the idea of Christian perfection or sanctity. In fact, Herbinus justified the Orthodox practices of the veneration of saints and did not consider them superstitions; he even compared these practices to the low Lutherans' respect for Martin

<sup>79</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae*, pp. 110–113.

<sup>80</sup> Константин Біда. *Іоаникій Галатовський і його "Ключ розуміння"*. Рим 1975, р. LXIX.

<sup>81</sup> Sylvester Kossov. *Патериков*, р. 10.

<sup>82</sup> Тетяна Люта. *Imago Urbis*, р. 95.

Luther: “Quod quidem modo absit superstitio, longe ardentiore faciunt pietate, quam nos Lutherani erga B. Lutherum nostrum [...]”<sup>83</sup>

Herbinus’ position on the question of the veneration of saints was not a common one. While in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth’s first edition of *Lutheran Catechism* (*Katechizm większy*, 1547), Jan Seklucjan unambiguously called those who honored the saints, heretics,<sup>84</sup> Herbinus appealed for the veneration and imitation of the saints: “Veneremur igitur, laudemus solenniter, atque imitemur cum B. Lutero sanctorum in coelo triumphantium pietatem atque in fide Jesu Christi constantiam [...]”<sup>85</sup> As mentioned above, he also considered Martin Luther to be a Christian saint.<sup>86</sup> Besides Luther, Herbinus glorified the martyrs of the Reformation<sup>87</sup> along with several other historical figures that were not always in the Western calendar, but who were familiar to Herbinus because of his reading circle.

It was important to the Protestant author that not only the saints’ faith but also their deeds were considered worthy of imitation. For example, in Herbinus’ mind the Magi were equal to the Biblical Patriarchs; he called them “primorum Christi clientum”<sup>88</sup> and “Canone sacro clarissimos Viros,”<sup>89</sup> who did a lot for public good, and because of this became a holy example to be imitated.<sup>90</sup> Here Herbinus’ position, therefore, coincides with the *Confessio Augustana* (XXI), which urged Christians to follow both the saints’ faith and their good works.<sup>91</sup>

Herbinus paid little attention to the virtues of the holy monks of the caves; however, he described the virtues of the pious life of his grandfather, Christoph Süssenbach: “[...] conversus ad populum, hoc ipso die mortem sibi obeundam, praedixit, factaque ad constantiam in Fide Jesu Christi, mutuam charitatem, et ad pietatem adhortatione, singulis Ecclesiae membris, Ministerio, Magistratu et plebe valere jussis, domum suam, multorum lachrymis comitibus, quo vaderet, ne sese orphanos Pater, pupillos Patronus desereret, inclamantibus, abiit [...]”<sup>92</sup> These characteristics of his grandfather, who was an active preacher, and family and community member, but not a monastic ideal praised in the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*, were the virtues of real saints according to Herbinus.

<sup>83</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 27.

<sup>84</sup> Jan Kracik. Staropolskie polemiki wokół czci obrazów // *Barok: historia, literatura, sztuka* 11/2 (2004) 12.

<sup>85</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 29.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>91</sup> The Augsburg Confession (1530) by Philipp Melanchthon.

<sup>92</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 53.

The stories in the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* especially highlighted the power and grace of God that was given to the saints – resulting in miracles. For example, in the vita of St. Agapit, it was emphasized that the saint’s healing practices worked only due to Christ’s grace.<sup>93</sup> Obviously, the editor of the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*, Sylvester Kossov, stressed this divine intervention in order to deflect Protestant accusations of exaggerating the cult of saints, and this is why the miraculous stories in the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* were, in the main, accepted by Herbinus.

In Orthodox baroque hagiographic literature, special attention was paid to the miraculous deaths of saints. In the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*, Kossov did not deviate from this tradition. From the Second Cassian redaction he translated in particular detail the descriptions of the pious death and miracles of the saints. Herbinus shared with Orthodox tradition the idea that the death of saints was not a usual one, but instead was pious, full of harmony, and without agony. Here, he provided examples of the pious deaths of Anthony the Great, Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), Princess Eurosia of Bohemia (†714), the unknown bishop of Spanish Compostela, Alfonso II of Asturias (759–842), and others.<sup>94</sup>

The most interesting question here is what did Herbinus imagine the posthumous fate of the saints to be. The theme of individual eschatology became an important problem in the interconfessional polemical discourse both in Western and Eastern Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The theological dogma, proclaimed by Pope Benedict XII (1285–1342) in 1336, claimed that Christian souls would enjoy the sight of God in heaven immediately after death and before the Last judgment. Thus, the Catholic tradition is based mainly on the synoptic Gospels: death is the transition from time to eternity, after death comes the personal judgment of the person, during which, souls are divided between Purgatory, Hell, and Paradise. Martin Luther, on the other hand, presented the hypothesis of soul sleep, according to which, souls are in a deep sleep between death and resurrection until Judgment Day; in contrast to earthly sleep, however, souls are alive and awake, and can hear the angels and God talking. Entry into torment immediately after death was not the rule for Luther, but the exception. Protestant theologians usually placed pious souls in the bosom of Abraham, which is mentioned in the New Testament (Luke 16:22–30, Gal. 4:21–31, Rom. 4:13–25, 9:6–9) as the place for those who have accepted God’s promise.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, pp. 97–100.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 48–52.

<sup>95</sup> Harold Attridge. Abraham. II. New Testament // *Religion Past and Present: Encyclopedia of Theology And Religion*, 4-th ed., vol. 1. Leiden 2007, pp. 13–14; Paulus Althaus. *Die letzten Dinge: Entwurf einer christlichen Eschatologie*. Gütersloh 1926, pp. 135–152.

In the Eastern theology, a vertical model of individual eschatological theology has traditionally dominated: the last phase of salvation is identified with the Last Judgment, earthly time and eternity are not opposed, a person's personal judgment occurs simultaneously with the Last Judgment. The time gap between the personal and the Last Judgment in the Greek tradition was explained mainly by developing the idea of ordeals.<sup>96</sup>

Herbinus was sure that saints were living in the bosom of Abraham,<sup>97</sup> where they acknowledged Christ's merits: "Cumque sancti in coelo non sua, sed unice Agni Jesu Christi ad dextram Patris sedentis merita agnoscant [...]"<sup>98</sup> For Herbinus, this was the place where the Old-Testament patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and saints were staying, the place of salvation desired by all Christians;<sup>99</sup> however, this was still not Heaven. Taking all this into account, we can assume that Herbinus shared Luther's eschatological teaching about the holy souls that had been separated from the evil ones, and were waiting for the Last Judgment in the bosom of Abraham.

All the saints in Heaven should be venerated and imitated following Luther's example, stressed Herbinus: "Veneremur igitur, laudemus solenniter, atque imitemur cum B. Luthero sanctorum in coelo triumphantium pietatem atque in fide Jesu Christi constantiam [...]" The sanctity of the Cave Fathers was defined by the antiquity of their tradition; and here he quotes Apostle Paul's advice to follow the faith of the teachers (Heb. 13:7).<sup>100</sup> It should be underlined here that the holiness of the Orthodox saints was, therefore, fully recognized by the Protestant author.

Remarkably, however, Herbinus did not repeat the appeals to pray to the Cave Fathers, which was common in Orthodox vitas. Here he fully shared Luther's position about the vainness of the *invocatio* of saints. The invocation of saints, and asking them for protection, allowed Herbinus to combine the Orthodox and Catholics under their common mistake, and clearly contrast it to his own theological position, which was proved in the Holy Scripture: only Christ may be invoked in prayers as the unique source of salvation.<sup>101</sup> In sympathizing with Ruthenians, however, Herbinus tried to justify their beliefs and show them the roots of their mistakes in the rhetorical constructions of the Greek patristic literature.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Marek Melnyk. *Spór o zbawienie: zagadnienia soteriologiczne w świetle prawosławnych projektów unijnych powstałych w Rzeczypospolitej (koniec XVI – połowa XVII wieku)*. Olsztyn 2001, pp. 52–54.

<sup>97</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, pp. 88.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

In contrast to the previously mentioned Jan Łasicki, who directly condemned the practice of the veneration of saints,<sup>103</sup> or Paul Oderborn, who condemned the cult of St. Nicolas in the Orthodox Church, Herbinus did not criticize but instead supported the tradition of glorifying saints.<sup>104</sup> Many of the popular cults that were part of Ruthenian spiritual life in the seventeenth century were reflected in the *Reliosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*; moreover, Herbinus effectively combined them with his own idea of saints and sanctity. He undoubtedly considered the Cave Fathers to be holy, and moreover, believed them to be already in the bosom of Abraham along with other rightful men awaiting the final stage of Salvation. For him, however, the huge mistake made by the Orthodox was the invocation of the saints, and criticism of this was directly connected with the core of Protestant doctrine – *solus Christus*.

### Relics and their miracles

Shortly after Christianization (ca. 988), the Church of the Kyivan Rus' began to create their own pantheon of saints, paying particular attention to their relics. The miracles that took place near the relics were considered to be one of the main pieces of evidence for their sanctity, and the main reason for the canonization.<sup>105</sup> Along with the parts of saints' bodies, which were common in Western and Byzantine Christianity, Eastern-Slavic Christendom venerated whole uncorrupted bodies. The Byzantine tradition held a different attitude towards the issue – the body of a saint *must* be corrupted, because the main sign of a body's sanctity was considered to be yellow bones. The Catholic tradition did not pay much attention to the problem; an intact body was not the main argument for the process of canonization. The intense veneration of uncorrupted relics in medieval Rus' probably went back to the Scandinavian roots of the military and ruling elite of medieval Rus'.<sup>106</sup> The Rus' Christian tradition, beginning with the discovery of the relics of Borys and Hlib, paid special attention to the preservation of the bodies of saints, with their relics being exhibited for public viewing and worship.<sup>107</sup> Until the sixteenth century the miracles that took place near the relics were considered one of the main proofs of the sanctity of the ascetics, and the primary

<sup>103</sup> Johannes Łasicki. *De russorum moscovitarum et tartarorum religione*, p. 31.

<sup>104</sup> Paul Oderborn. *De Rvssorum Religione*, p. A. 3.

<sup>105</sup> Jean-Pierre Arrignon. Le rôle des reliques dans la Rus' de Kiev // *Les reliques. Objets, cultes, symboles. Actes du colloque international de l'Université du Littoral-Côte d'Opale (Boulogne-sur-Mer), 4–6 septembre 1997* / ed. Edina Bozóky. Turnhout 1999, pp. 57–63.

<sup>106</sup> Федор Успенский. Нетленность мощей: греческая, русская и скандинавская традиции // *Реликвии в искусстве и культуре восточнохристианского мира* / ed. Алексей Лидов. Москва 2000, p. 42.

<sup>107</sup> Gail Lenhoff. *The Martyred Princes Boris and Gleb: a Socio-Cultural Study of the Cult and the Text*. Columbus 1989, pp. 49–50.





reason for their canonization.<sup>108</sup> Therefore, both Ruthenian believers and the clergy attached special importance to the various manifestations of miracles.

The veneration of relics was not generally criticized by Herbinus. He repeated Sylvester Kossov's justification of the veneration of relics, and his biblical argument: "Quin et post ipsam mortem, in religiosorum Christi servorum corporibus atque ossibus, haud leviora Deum edere miracula, mirifica Elisaei ossa docent, 2.Reg.13. Quo Sanctorum honore posthumo Deus, et pretiosam sibi esse ipsorum mortem, Psalm.116. declarat, et ad ipsorum fidei vitaeque sanctitatem nos hacce tam gravi religione invitat."<sup>109</sup> Moreover, the Protestant author looked for more appropriate biblical examples, and demonstrated an undoubted respect towards the tombs of the Old Testament prophets (Matt. 23:29) and Jesus' funeral cave (Mark 16:1–2). Another group of examples belonged to the Protestant tradition, that is, respect for the tombs of relatives in the Copenhagen Protestant community (Herbinus was in the Copenhagen Academy several times between 1669 and 1670), Martin Luther's tomb in Wittenberg, his manuscripts "in raris habent deliciis"<sup>110</sup> (Luther's manuscripts had been venerated as relics for a long time<sup>111</sup>), and his cell in the Augustinian monastery in Magdeburg (Luther, as a vicar of the Augustinian Order, visited this monastery in 1524).<sup>112</sup> However, Herbinus blamed the habit of scratching a splinter from Luther's bed in Magdeburg as being due to "supertitosam stultitiae."<sup>113</sup>

Unexpectedly, Herbinus also demonstrated a great private respect for the cult of the Magi, whose relics he had visited in Cologne in 1664. Importantly, this cult, which became extremely popular in medieval Germany after Fredrick Barbarossa (1122–1190) gave the relics to Archbishop Rainald von Dassel of Cologne (1114–1167), was often criticized in seventeenth-century Protestant writing.<sup>114</sup> Herbinus knew this; nevertheless, he considered the relics of the Magi to be the real remains of the biblical figures: "Etenim corpora ipsorum (quae vulgate est, quam nunc in medio relinquo, opinio) Coloniae Agrippinae ad Rhenum ipsimet Anno 1664 in temple Cathedrali Trium Regum in conclavi Altaris magni et eo quidem ardentiore desiderio spectabam, quia ab amplius sesqui mille annis a Nativitate Jesu Christi Θεανθρωπου incorrupta ibi ad miraculum superesse fando non semel acceperam."<sup>115</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Евгений Голубинский. История канонизации святых, p. 63.

<sup>109</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae*, p. 55.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>111</sup> Martin Treu. Reliquien Luthers // *Das Luther Lexikon* / ed. Volker Leppin, 2-nd ed. Regensburg 2015, p. 602.

<sup>112</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae*, p. 71.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>114</sup> Alain Joblin. L'attitude des protestants, p. 125.

<sup>115</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae*, pp. 116–117.

We also cannot observe any criticism in Herbinus' description of the veneration of Kyiv relics. Among these relics, he described, particularly, the veneration of St. Theodosius' relics: "In quibus inter alia exequiae Theodosii Ihumenis seu Abbatis, Cryptæ minoris Kijoviensis auctoris, facibus accensis, ac frequentum Clero, tum populo, solenniter instituuntur. Ubi in sandapila defuncti Theodosii corpus fasciis, adinstar infantis, circumvolutum, palamque spectandum a Monachis sui Ordinis in Cryptam solenniter deportatur."<sup>116</sup> This description was accompanied by an appropriate drawing depicting the death of the saint and the translation of his relics. It is interesting, however, that according to the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*, St. Theodosius' relics were transferred and deposited shortly after his death not in the caves as mentioned by Herbinus, but in the Dormition Church.<sup>117</sup> Only the empty tomb of the saint remained in the caves thereafter, as an object of popular veneration. Herbinus may not have read this part of the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* very attentively, and had, instead, simply drawn some conclusions from the drawing sent to him from Kyiv.

In the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, Herbinus demonstrated his full support for the idea of the Kyiv relics' wonderworking powers. Moreover, he wrote that the saints in Heaven had such grace as to perform miracles in Christ's name: "eoque nomine Deo gratias agant."<sup>118</sup> For him, a miracle was part of everyday human life. With providence, God performed miracles in secret, only some of these are performed openly ("tum clam tum palam").<sup>119</sup> Because of the death of His faithful believers, God can openly perform miracles but only at certain places and at a time He determines.<sup>120</sup> This understanding of miracles notably contradicts the Catholic and Orthodox hagiographical writing tradition of the didactic miracle, which had been established by the seventeenth century. Among all the miracles in the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*, most of which told of healings as a result of praying or pious behavior, Herbinus chose the least didactic tale. From the 1635 edition,<sup>121</sup> he borrowed the famous Pechersk legend about the dead Kyiv Pechersk Fathers who responded to Easter greetings. According to the legend, as told by Herbinus, the priest Dionissy, having gone down to the caves, proclaimed: "Sancti Patres et Fratres, hodie Christus fracto Mortis jaculo a Mortuis resurrexit!" to which the Cave Fathers' relics answered: "Vere surrexit Christus Dominus."<sup>122</sup> This legend, which appeared in the monastery's tradition circa

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., pp. 67–68.

<sup>117</sup> Sylvester Kossov. *Πατερικον*, p. 51.

<sup>118</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 29.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid, p. 48.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid, p. 48.

<sup>121</sup> Sylvester Kossov. *Πατερικον*, p. 163.

<sup>122</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 69.

1463,<sup>123</sup> does not have any didactic meaning, but was retold by Herbinus – illustrated with an engraving (see page 135) – and was even regarded by him as “res sane mira”<sup>124</sup> (a truly astonishing thing), so he might have both wondered about it and believed in it at the same time.

Herbinus also quoted a long *Paterik* story about oil-oozing heads and their miracles.<sup>125</sup> The translation of this text into Latin, as well as the verification and correction of biblical references were done by Herbinus himself.<sup>126</sup> He tried to explain the oil-oozing phenomenon from the perspective of natural philosophy, assuming that the liquid appeared from the skulls because they were porous, absorbed the air of the caves, and then distilled the oil: “Ossa cranii non solida, sed cariosa, porosa, facileque friabilia esse: hinc fieri, ut crania illa, poris undiqua versum hiantibus, aerem Cryptae effluviis aqueis, nec non pingvioribus cadaverum exhalationibus turgentem, jamque tot effluviis spissiore factum, perpetuo attrahant, attractum postea in pelvim aut discum, distillent, qui succus coagulatus speciem tandem olei aut opobalsami refert.”<sup>127</sup> The main principle in homeopathy of “like cures like,” was the reason for the healing power of the relics, concluded Herbinus: the balsam distilled from the air, saturated with the fumes of the relics, healed corporeal diseases.<sup>128</sup> Herbinus was almost sure of his argument although he could not prove it himself. Nevertheless, he had been to other caves and could make some conclusions based on these visits: “Eapropter, cum nec Patres Kijovienses in suo, nec Ruthenorum quispiam ad haec argumenta respondeant quicquam, et ego litem hanc facere meam nolo. Decernant eam, qui Cryptas illas salutarunt, et num, praeter crania illa oleifera, alia quoque ossa, scamna, ostia aliaque lapidea aut lignea aere humido madeant, tractando ea minibus sensu ipso perceperunt; quod ego quidem in aliis Cryptis ita esse, non una comperi experientia; sed in Kijoviensibus Cryptis hospes sum.”<sup>129</sup> In summary, the Protestant author did not believe that the oil-oozing was the result of the saints’ merits: “Et haec est historia de capitibus oleiferis in Cryptis Kijovensibus ex *Патерікѡ* Rutheno-Latine bona fide reddita; jam sequuntur argumenta, quibus Rutheni, capita sive crania ista meritorum atque sanctitatis possessorum suorum virtute, oleum scaturire salutiferum evincere al-laborant.”<sup>130</sup> Here, Herbinus was back to the aforementioned problem of merits.

<sup>123</sup> Владислав Дятлов. *Печерский цветник*, p. 24.

<sup>124</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae*, p. 69.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 123–127.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32–133.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

Herbinus disagreed with the Orthodox position that merits were the reason for the imperishability of the saints' bodies, and called it absurd.<sup>131</sup> If this was so, he argued, the bodies of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaak, Jacob, Sara, and Joseph, would also have remained uncorrupted. Herbinus asked the following question: Why were the remains of the Three Magi, whose deeds were much more valuable, not released from the natural law of human bodily corruption?<sup>132</sup> The corruption of the body is a consequence of the Fall, stressed Herbinus; only Christ's body remained without change, while the saints, touched by original sin, did not have this privilege; the only exceptions were the Prophet David, who was "not moved" (Ps. 16:8), and St. Henoah and St. Elijah who were taken corporally to Heaven.<sup>133</sup>

Thus, Herbinus did not believe in a supernatural reason for the imperishability of the Kyiv relics, and looked for a natural explanation for this phenomenon. As a preliminary, he distinguished three stages of the human body's corruption: the initial stage ("inchoativa"), the following stage ("continuativa"), and the final stage ("consummativa"). Herbinus thought that the Kyiv relics were at the *following stage* of corruption; they were withered and dry.<sup>134</sup> He tried to find a reason for this condition in the Lavra funeral ceremonies. In particular, he mentioned the similarity between the funeral customs of the Kyiv monks and the Sami people, who also buried their descendants in caves: "Hinc etiam Lappones sub Polo Arctico frigenteseo amoris erga suos demortuos calore ardent, ut parentes, conjuges, liberos, aut cognatos suos, etiam post mortem, incorruptos esse velint."<sup>135</sup>

Herbinus also noted the similarity of the Kyiv relics to Egyptian mummies he had observed several times at the University of Leiden: "Quod quidem novum sub Solae non est, cum et in Cryptis Aegyptiorum a multis seculis cadavera humana jaceant, cujus simile fasciis obvolutum corpus Aegyptium Lugduni Batavorum in camera Anatomiae, inter alia Orbis Κειμηλια, cum ibi Musis navaremus operam, cum stupore spectabamus aliquoties."<sup>136</sup>

Herbinus was not the first author to compare the Kyiv relics to Egyptian mummies. By the time his book was written, several authors had already shown their skepticism regarding the incorruptibility of the Lavra relics, and had been trying to explain them from a natural philosophy point of view. The critics' accusations were summarized in the 1635 *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*; they were

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. 47, 115.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., pp. 57–58.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., pp. 56–57.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

mostly reasons derived from natural philosophy, explaining that the incorruptibility of the Fathers' bodies was due to the special atmospheric conditions in the caves, or comparing them to Egyptian mummies.<sup>137</sup>

Sylvester Kossov answered these accusations based on a natural philosophy argument borrowed from Aristotle's *Physica*. He wrote that, in accordance with the laws of nature, the Fathers' bodies either have or do not have internal heat, which is why they are either alive or must be corrupted; and in caves there are other human bodies that are corrupted, so the caves are not the cause of the non-corruption; and, finally, the bodies could not be embalmed because there is no special odor in the caves.<sup>138</sup> Herbinus repeated these answers in the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, giving them the authority of "Ruthenorum Doctorum."<sup>139</sup>

However, several authors found Kossov's arguments unconvincing. Among these was the French engineer Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan, who did not see any difference between the Kyivan and Egyptian phenomena.<sup>140</sup> Herbinus knew Beauplan's book and mentioned this. Moreover, he tried to enlarge on Beauplan's argument using his own knowledge of Egyptian mummification. In particular, he noticed that the Kyiv caves were well-ventilated, and that frankincense and torches had also often been used there – and concluded that all these factors prevented them from becoming corrupted: "Etenim ibi, Cryptis saepe hiantibus, aër quandoque mutatur, atque crebris exterorum atque Monachorum ibidem inclusorum commotionibus, nec non facularum ardentium, aut etiam thuris Sacri in Visitationi Paschali etc. fumigationibus varie afficitur, aut inficitur potius; et tamen mortuorum corpora, aëre tam varie affecto, permanent semper eadem formam, atque integerrima."<sup>141</sup> It was because of this specific atmosphere, reasoned Herbinus, that the bodies stayed uncorrupted. Alongside this, he repeated the argument of an unknown author about a "stone spirit" that "concreted" the human remains: "Sunt qui in Cryptarum illarum sinuosis conca-merationibus aërem spiritu lapidifico affectum exhalare, quo spiritu infecta corpora lapidum instar pridem obriguisset, atque etiamnum sic concreta permanere putat."<sup>142</sup>

These were the natural philosophy explanations for the imperishability of the Kyiv relics that were mentioned in the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*. Having stated them, however, Herbinus proclaimed that he did not completely deny the fact that the bodies were uncorrupted, taking into account the Ruthenian

<sup>137</sup> Sylvester Kossov. *Πατερικόν*, pp. 5–8.

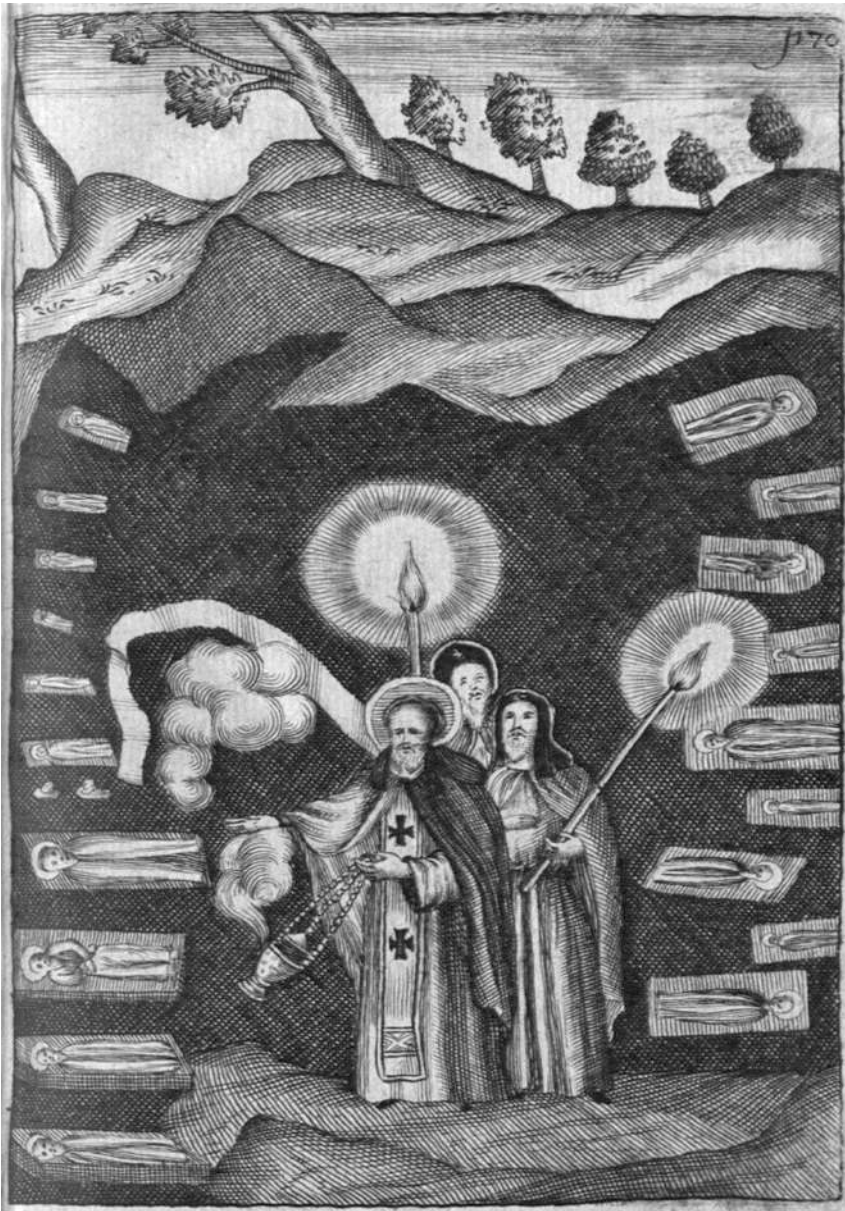
<sup>138</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 96.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>140</sup> Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan. *Description de l'Ukraine*, p. 31.

<sup>141</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, p. 97.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.



Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* (Jena, 1675).  
Engraving depicting the legend of the dead Kyiv Pechersk Fathers'  
response to Easter greetings

arguments that there were corrupted bodies in the caves as well: “Dato enim hoc in gratiam disputantis, non tamen concessio omnino, quod corpora Patrum Kijoviensium isto vel alio quodam spiritu forti infecta obriguerint; cur autem non omnia ibidem sepulcorum hominum corpora in sua obriguere integritate; sed plurimorum ossa vetustate attrite sunt, nonnullorum etiam ossa et corpora, ex lege mortalitatis attenuata, ac postmodum in pulverem solute, omnino evanuerunt?”<sup>143</sup> However, Herbinus concluded that only Christ’s holy body was claimed to have stayed uncorrupted because of His merits; all others were deprived of this privilege and their bodies could only have been preserved due to some natural reason.<sup>144</sup>

Thus, Herbinus did not criticize the veneration of relics as a glorification of saints, and this is the main difference between his views and that of main stream Protestant theology. He considered that the relics of Christ’s followers could and must be venerated – through them God performed miracles. However, he constantly repeated that he did not share the Orthodox idea of the miraculous imperishability of the saints’ remains in the Kyivan Cave Monastery. Those remains, Herbinus wrote, were partially corrupted and partially preserved because of the existing ventilation system in the caves; and saints’ heads oozed oil as a result of absorbing the special air. In trying to put forward these arguments, Herbinus aimed to deny the Orthodox belief that the Kyiv relics were preserved and uncorrupted because of the great merits and dignities possessed by the Cave Fathers in the eyes of God. Obviously, the very idea of merits, earned by monks due to their ascetic efforts, could not have been accepted by Herbinus; it strongly contradicted his confessional position and he unambiguously treated it as idolatry.

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<sup>143</sup> Johannes Herbinus. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*, pp. 97–98.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.



## Chapter 6

# THE RECEPTION OF THE BOOK IN THE MID-SEVENTEENTH THROUGH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

### The book's reception by the German intellectual milieu

Of the 120 copies of the book known today,<sup>1</sup> only 18 are located in German libraries.<sup>2</sup> Apart from these, we should also mention here the three books in the library of the Nicolaus Copernicus University (Toruń, Poland) that belonged to German collections before the Second World War. Thus, I deal with the 21 copies of the book that have survived and that were hypothetically read within the German intellectual space. Many of the Eastern-European exemplars, however, started their reading history in German lands, and will be mentioned here as well.

I will start with the owners of the surviving exemplars, continue with an analysis of the manuscript inscriptions found in them, and finish with an evaluation of the book in literature. Currently, the largest number of exemplars (four books) is preserved in the university library in Jena, where the book was published.<sup>3</sup> Obviously, Jena was the most likely place in which the book might have been bought. One of the books<sup>4</sup> came from the library of the famous Lutheran theologian Christoph Heinrich Andreas Geret (1686–1757), who studied in Jena;<sup>5</sup> and thus, I would suppose that he bought it from there. Another copy,<sup>6</sup> according

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<sup>1</sup> Наталія Бондар, Юлія Рудакова. Праця Йоганна Гербінія 1675 р. з історії Києво-печерських святинь: особливості видання, варіанти друку, побутування примірників // *Дрогобицький краєзнавчий збірник*, vol. 21. Дрогобич 2019, p. 450.

<sup>2</sup> Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts (gso.gbv.de/DB=1.28/SET=1/TTL=7/SHW?FRST=6).

<sup>3</sup> *Slavica-Auswahl-Katalog der Universitätsbibliothek Jena: ein Hilfsbuch für Slawisten und Germanoslavica-Forscher*, vol. 2, part 1. Weimar 1958, p. 255.

<sup>4</sup> Наукова бібліотека Ужгородського національного університету, відділ рукописів, стародруків і рідкісних книг, од. зб. 4149.

<sup>5</sup> Stanisław Salmonowicz. Königsberg, Thorn und Danzig. Zur Geschichte Königsbergs als Zentrum der Aufklärung // *Königsberg und Riga* / ed. H. Ischreyt. Tübingen 1995, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Signatur 98 C 199 RES.

to its nineteenth century inscription, spent some time in the possession of August Weinland (1811–1852), a priest in Grabenstetten (Baden-Württemberg, Germany), and it later moved on to the library of his son, writer and zoologist David Friedrich Weinland (1829–1915), who also studied theology. So, at least two of the surviving exemplars were in use in the German Protestant milieu. This was not, however, a unique intellectual sphere for the book; I found it in Catholic surroundings as well.

From May 18, 1677, Herbinus' book was on the Catholic List of Prohibited Books.<sup>7</sup> At that time, Protestant books were put on the list automatically, without any deeper investigation.<sup>8</sup> In spite of this, the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* could be found in the eighteenth-century library of the Catholic monastery in Salem, which is testified to by the inscription of provenance "Emptus Salemio 1777."<sup>9</sup> The inscription "Bibliotheca [?] Monasterij St. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli Erfordia" attests to another exemplar being in the possession of the St. Peter and Paul Benedictine monastery in Erfurt."<sup>10</sup> Thus, the book might have been read both by Protestant and Catholic readers.

A significant number of surviving exemplars were in the possession of scientists who had an interest in natural philosophy. One of these<sup>11</sup> was presented to the university library in Königsberg by the German mathematician and astronomer David Bläsing (1660–1719). This exemplar is bound together with four other books that are in the field of natural sciences, which is to assume that Herbinus' book was primarily treated as a treatise on natural philosophy, taking into the account the main scientific interests of its author. Another copy<sup>12</sup> belonged to the library of the German botanist Johann Heinrich Burckhard (1676–1738). Two books<sup>13</sup> were in the possession of the German eighteenth-century physicians Karl Philipp Gesner (1719–1780) and Gottfried Thomasius (1660–1746), who also might have been interested in the natural philosophy content of the treatise.

I assume the book was also in use by people interested in diplomacy and Oriental studies. For instance, one exemplar<sup>14</sup> of the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*

<sup>7</sup> *Index Librorum Prohibitorum ... Pii septimi jussu editus*. Romae 1819, p. 141.

<sup>8</sup> Joseph M. Pernicone. *The Ecclesiastical Prohibition of Books. A dissertation Doctor of Canon Law, submitted to the Faculty of the School of Canon Law, Catholic University of America*. Washington 1932, p. 54.

<sup>9</sup> Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Signatur C 1442 A RES.

<sup>10</sup> Universitätsbibliothek Erfurt, Signatur 06 – Tp. 8° 04665 (02).

<sup>11</sup> Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Toruniu, sygnatura Pol.7.II.89–93.

<sup>12</sup> Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Signatur Tp 560.

<sup>13</sup> Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України ім. В. Стефаніка НАН України, Відділ рідкісної книги, СТ-I 29795, СТ-I 35315.

<sup>14</sup> Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Signatur Bibl. Diez oct. 7978.

was in the library of German orientalist and Prussian diplomat in Istanbul, Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751–1817). Another<sup>15</sup> was in the possession of the famous German diplomat Joachim Heinrich von Bülow (1650–1724), who had collected together a great library and was especially interested in books prohibited by the Church.<sup>16</sup> One more exemplar<sup>17</sup> is bound with two other books that have Oriental content.

However, we do not have much evidence that the book was used as a historical source about the Kyivan caves. Two exemplars came from the library of the Jena lawyer and historian Christian Gottlieb Buder (1693–1763).<sup>18</sup> There is also evidence that one exemplar<sup>19</sup> was bought shortly after its appearance by the German historian Konrad Samuel Schurzfleisch (1641–1708), since it contains an inscription of provenance: “Conrad Samuel Schurzfleisch. A MDCLXXVI.” Among Schurzfleisch’s scholarly interests was the history of Eastern Europe.<sup>20</sup> The exemplar is bound with Claudius Aelianus’ *Varia Historia*, and at the end of the book, there are several manuscript notes that might have been written by Schurzfleisch himself. In one of these, the author gave a brief synopsis of Herbinus’ work, in which the use and discussion of other sources have been specifically underlined: “Pastorius et Froelichus castigrant, p. 78 et 56 e. et p. 75. Origo Cryptarum ex super pitiosa aetatis martyrustori [?] ratione sec. IX. et X. Russorum barbaries peregrinos a situ prohibintum, p. 75. 76. Nullos habint medicos Russi praeterquam Moscucae, p. 178. Notae musicae Russorum, p. 154. Obvolutum fasciis cadaver Aegyptium, Lugduni Batarorum in conclave anfaciendum, p. 95. Lapponia Schefferi senatoris sui, divi de la Gardie auspicio cum censae putres, rariae, p. 93.94.” Remarkably, the reader of the book noticed Herbinus’ explanation for the natural preservation of relics and his sharing of the idea that human piety could not be rewarded by the body’s imperishability. Among other arguments, he offered facts about the imperishability of bodies of the impious, not only in Egypt but also on the islands of Chile: “De causis hac eficient, ne corpora putrescant, videant rerum naturalium interpretes, permultum aer confert, et locus, in quo reponuntur multi quidem miraculo rem celebrant, e pietati hominum et a Deo concedi putant, ut cadavera eorum ne corrumpantur putredine,

<sup>15</sup> Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, Signatur: 8 H E ORD 278/53 (2).

<sup>16</sup> Hanz-Günter Seraphim. *Joachim Hinrich von Bülow und seine Bibliothek*. Göttingen 1929, p. 47.

<sup>17</sup> Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Signatur 98 C 199 RES.

<sup>18</sup> Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena, Signatur 8 Bud.Polon.24, Signatur 8 Bud.Var.505(1).

<sup>19</sup> Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Signatur 8° XVIII: 124.

<sup>20</sup> Gerhard Menk. Schurzfleisch, Conrad Samuel // *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 23. Berlin 2007, pp. 764–766.

et consumantur. Si Dei privilegium est, quod pietati impertit, quid musci est, quid tot et tam multi hominis pietati et sanctimonia praestantis divi putrefacti, non amplius super sunt. Cur tot a Deo alieni impii homines id privilegium in Aegypto et Chilensibus Americae insulis obtinuerunt? Locus, aer, balsama id praestant.” The author of the marginalia did not believe that the relics worked miracles; this is evident from the following inscription: “De causis arcendae putredinis cur quedam cadavera putrescant, quedam non perinde corruptantur sed exempla apud Ambrosium de S. Nazario, de Aegypto, Chilensibus in America et alii Romae miracula suspecta aut falsa sunt.” Continuing on the topic of relics, the author also mentioned the imperishable remains in St. Margaret’s Church in Cologne, which he had heard about in his surroundings: “A 1695. Coloniae in fano D. Margarethae quique cadavera, non aliquot condita seculis, non putrifacta oculis occurrunt inde a tempore A. Annonis ut ferunt.” He probably had the relics of St. Gericus in mind, which had been preserved in the St. Margaret Church of the St. Hippolytus Cloister in Gerresheim near Cologne. Thus, at least one exemplar of the book was in the possession of someone who was interested in the question of the imperishability of relics, was skeptical of the miracles, and shared Herbinus’ views on the reasons for the preservation of human bodies.

The only marginalia in the copy belonging to the Weinland family,<sup>21</sup> which could date back to the seventeenth century, gives a direct hint at the possible use of the book as an informatory source about the Orthodox Church and its theology: “Autor hic versatus mr. graecos de forum relig: et ritibus et erroribus disserit cap: XIV. p. 144. Syg.” Thus, the owner of the book underlined Herbinus’ description of the Orthodox religion, however, considering it to be not Ruthenian, but Greek. One more exemplar, held in the university library of Greifswald,<sup>22</sup> has a short note that makes me believe that the book belonged also to “a sacral world”: “E Sacra Supplex 2do ILHV [?] 1678. 22 Jan.”

These were the marginalia concerning the contents of the treatise. The exemplars of German origin do not have traces of intensive reading: the text is not underlined, nor marked in some other way. Therefore, I can only conclude that the historical part of the book was not read thoroughly. Remarkably, one exemplar of Herbinus’ treatise<sup>23</sup> was bound together with Johannes Foresius’ book *Historica Relatio De Ortu Et Progressu Fidei Orthodoxae In Regno Chinensi Per Missionarios Societatis Jesu Ab Anno 1581. usque ad Annum 1669*. Thus, the history of the Kyiv caves was considered to be as much an “exotic read” as the history of a Jesuit mission to China.

<sup>21</sup> Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Signatur, Signatur 98 C 199 RES).

<sup>22</sup> Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Toruniu, sygnatura Pol.7.II.88.

<sup>23</sup> Universitätsbibliothek Erfurt, Signatur 06 - Tp. 8° 04665 (02).

The exemplars that originated from German territories have very interesting marginalia concerning Herbinus' biography. The copy of the book that belonged to the physician Karl Philipp Gesner<sup>24</sup> has the following inscription: "Herbinus Johann – Silesios origine – Volo[viae Rect]or, deinde Stockholmiae – dein in Wildon in ecclesiae Luterana – pastor in Prussia. + 14 febr 1676 – 44 Jahre alt." This inscription shows that the reader was aware of Herbinus' biography and had underlined his Silesian origin. Gesner's family had a connection to Silesia through the Brzeg physician Friedrich Leopold Gesner (1688–1762).<sup>25</sup> Thus, I suppose that the owner of the book was familiar with Herbinus' biography, possibly thanks to some internally connected sources of Silesian Protestant origin.

The exemplar from Christoph Andreas Geret's collection<sup>26</sup> has the following inscription: "Dieser Herbinus, der sogar der türkischen Sprache mächtig war, ist prediger in Graudenz gewesen, u. Ao. 1679 d. 7 Merz gestorben. Er soll ein besonderer Wohlthäter der Armen gewesen seyn u[nd] mancherlei seltene Schicksale erfahren haben. Merkwürdig ist es, daß er den Tag seines Todes, seiner Ehegattin, als er aus der Kirche nach Hause gekommen, voraus gesagt hat, welches auch eingetroffen." This information seems to originate from a person who knew Herbinus personally, or was in touch with his nearest surroundings.

One more exemplar<sup>27</sup> has a short inscription on the title page: "Past. tandem Grauditiensis singularia expertus fata A. 1676. d. 14. Febr. act. a . 4. Ibidem vita defunctus. v. Coll. Ant. et Nov. Theol. A. 1720 [...]." The last three inscriptions clearly show that Herbinus' biography was of significant interest to the German intellectual milieu of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Obviously, in German lands the book was more a bibliographical rarity than a source of information. It is interesting that inscriptions such as "Opusculum rarum" (the book from Geret's collection<sup>28</sup>) can even be dated back to the seventeenth century. To this assemblage of rare books can also be added the Weinland family's book with the nineteenth-century inscription.<sup>29</sup>

The lack of exemplars of Herbinus' treatise in Western Europe is proved not only by the small number of printed exemplars in contemporary book collections,

<sup>24</sup> Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України ім. В. Стефаника НАН України, Відділ рідкісної книги, СТ-I 29795.

<sup>25</sup> Lippe. Geßner Friedrich Leopold // *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, reprint of the 1st edition, vol. 9 (1968), p. 95.

<sup>26</sup> Наукова бібліотека Ужгородського національного університету, Відділ рукописів, стародруків і рідкісних книг, од. зб. 4149.

<sup>27</sup> Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Signatur Pon II 2482.

<sup>28</sup> Наукова бібліотека Ужгородського національного університету, Відділ рукописів, стародруків і рідкісних книг, од. зб. 4149.

<sup>29</sup> Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Signatur 98 C 199 RES.

but also by the existence of a manuscript copy of the treatise.<sup>30</sup> This copy from the early nineteenth century originated from the Dukes de Chaudoir's family library, which is located in the village of Ivnytsia (Zhytomyr region, Ukraine).<sup>31</sup> Presumably, however, the book was copied by Anthony de Chaudoir (1749–1824) – a Protestant theologian and professor in Leiden who collected a great library while traveling across Europe,<sup>32</sup> and who only later took his collection to Ukrainian lands.

I could not find many references to the *Religosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* in further Western-European writing. It is remarkable, however, that Herbinus' book was of interest to the famous leader of the European Enlightenment Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716). In the 1690s, with keen interest, Leibniz observed the process of the Russian Empire becoming a powerful European state. In 1709, when the Russian envoy Boris Kurakin (1676–1727) arrived in Hannover, Leibniz had the opportunity to acquire some knowledge “first hand.” He wrote about this to the director of the Royal Library in Berlin, Maturin Veysi ere la Croze (1661–1739), who was interested in the history of both the Orthodox Church and the Russian Empire.<sup>33</sup> In this letter he mentioned Herbinus' book. I assume Leibniz knew about Herbinus' treatise due to correspondence with either the botanist Heinrich Burckhard<sup>34</sup> or the diplomat Joachim Heinrich von B ulow.<sup>35</sup> Helping la Croze in his attempts to get a copy of the famous *Nestor's Primary Chronicle*, Leibniz noticed that Herbinus had ascribed the authorship of the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves* to Nestor. However, la Croze, who had probably seen one of the editions of the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves de visu*, doubted the truth of this statement. Leibniz, in turn, tried to clarify the problem of the *Paterik's* authorship by referring to Herbinus' information about the two editions of the book, and providing the location of Nestor' body in the crypts.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Інститут рукопису Національної бібліотеки України ім. В.І. Вернадського, ф. І, спр. 4102.

<sup>31</sup> More about it: Євген Біленький. *Рукописне та книжкове зібрання баронів Шодуарів у фондах Національної бібліотеки України імені В. І. Вернадського*. Київ 2011.

<sup>32</sup> Chaudoir Antoine // *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe si ecle: fran ais, historique, g eographique, mythologique, bibliographique, litt eraire, artistique, scientifique, etc.*, vol. 3.2 / ed. Pierre Larousse. Paris 1982, p. 1097.

<sup>33</sup> Владимир Герье. *Отношения Лейбница к  Россіи и Петру Великому по неизданнымъ бумагамъ Лейбница въ Ганноверской библіотекъ*, vol. 2. Санкт-Петербургъ 1871, pp. 99–100.

<sup>34</sup> Hermann Ziegenspeck. Burckhardt, Johann Heinrich // *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 3. Berlin 1957, p. 40.

<sup>35</sup> Hanz-G unter Seraphim. *Joachim Hinrich von B ulow*, pp. 77–78.

<sup>36</sup> Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. *Opera omnia*, vol. 5 / ed. Ludovicus Dutens. Genevae 1763, p. 496.

Leibniz found some of Herbinus' information to be both new and valuable; however, it also created some misunderstandings. First of all, Leibniz noticed the similarity between names given by Herbinus (St. Andrew and Andronicus), which might have confused historians writing about the history of Apostle Andrew preaching in Rus'. Leibniz considered the information about the Moscow Synod who had decided not to re-baptize Western-Europeans who embraced their religion to be no "small affair": "Mr. Herbinus nous apprend encore une chose que je ne savois pas, et qui est digne d'être sçûe, c'est que les Russes ont resolu dans un Synode tenu à Moscow quelques années avant qu'il eût publié son livre, de ne plus rebaptiser les Latins qui embrasseroient leur religion, ce qui n'est pas une petite affaire."<sup>37</sup> In addition to this, Leibniz found Herbinus' way of explaining the etymology of the word "Kossack" interesting, and asked la Croze to prove and even to continue this explanation in relation to his own philological studies: "Il dit aussi avoir appris d'un Seigneur Polonois, que Kossa est une faulx en Esclavon, et Kossak un faucheur ou qui porte une faulx; et que c'est de là que vient le nom des Cosaques, et nullement de Koza chèvre, parce qu'ils couroient et sautoient comme les chèvres; en effet la première dérivation paroît bien plus raisonnable. Au reste, Monsieur, puis-que vous avez fait un travail si utile sur la langue Slavonique literale, ne pourriez-vous pas aisément en faire un extrait des racines, c'est-à-dire des mots principaux, dont la connoissance suffiroit à peu près pour entendre facilement les autres? Je vous en serais bien obligé si cela se pouvoit."<sup>38</sup>

Despite evident interest in Herbinus' biography and his achievements as a scientist, Kyiv and its caves were not subjects of great interest to German intellectuals from the end of the seventeenth through to the nineteenth century. The existing exemplars do not have many traces of reading nor underling of the books' content. Only once was the treatise quoted and actively referred to by Gottfried Leibniz. Although Herbinus did not intend to write about Muscovy, his book became an important source of original information about the Russian empire for several German intellectuals during the government reforms of Peter I (1696–1725).

### Reception of the book in Eastern Europe

In Eastern Europe, the book received much more attention and interest. I have calculated that there are at least 45 copies of the book on the territory covering the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the European part of the Russian empire: 23 in Polish libraries (apart from the three copies from the library of Nicolaus

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 496.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 497.

Copernicus University in Poland that, as I mentioned above, were in the possession of German collections before the Second World War), 2 in Lithuania, 16 in Ukraine, and 4 in libraries in the European part of Russia.

I assume that some exemplars of the book were brought to Eastern Europe by German theologians and scientists. This is very clear regarding the book<sup>39</sup> from the library of Christoph Heinrich Andreas Geret, who died in Toruń. Another<sup>40</sup> was brought by Austrian geologist Friedrich Johann Karl Becke (1855–1931), who lectured for several years at the University of Czernivtsi (Ukraine).

Two exemplars of the book originated with Silesian Protestant families, where the book might have been popular because of the Protestant surroundings and the author's origin. One of these<sup>41</sup> was in the possession of the Silesian noble Christopher Henrik von Gfug who had bought it, according to one inscription, on May 1, 1723. A second<sup>42</sup> belonged to Schaffgotsch's library in Bad Warmbrunn (now Jelenia Góra, Lower Silesian Voivodeship, Poland). However, it was not only Protestants who were interested in the treatise; there is a copy<sup>43</sup> that belonged to the Italian architect and scholar Ercole Silva (1756–1840), which later became part of the collection of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.<sup>44</sup>

Many of the exemplars originated from Catholic monasteries and schools. One of the copies<sup>45</sup> contains a seventeenth-century inscription that shows how Herbinus' book travelled between Western and Eastern Europe: "Manendo ego quondam in Zamość, dedi commissionem cuidam mercatori emendi exemplar hujusce libelli Lipsiae, qui eundem mihi procurarit plane post Annum, et misit Leopolim, et solui pro illo Flor Polonium 20, id est Rhene Flor 5. Deinde manendo jam Vienne, in seminario S. Barbarae qua Ephemerius adfui uni eductioni, in qua idem libellus vendebatur Flor Rhene 4 et crucifex aliquot. Istud vero exemplar constitit mihi Flor Rhene 1x35." St. Barbara's seminary in Vienna belonged to the Jesuits, so I can only surmise that the book was in the possession of some Jesuit who had bought it in Leipzig, pawned it to some merchant in Polish Zamość, redeemed it in Lviv, and sold it one more time to St. Barbara's seminary of Vienna. Later on, probably with another friar of the order, the book made its way back to Lviv.

<sup>39</sup> Наукова бібліотека Ужгородського національного університету, Відділ рукописів, стародруків і рідкісних книг, од. зб. 4149.

<sup>40</sup> Biblioteka Raczyńskich w Poznaniu, sygnatura 2870 I.

<sup>41</sup> Biblioteka Narodowa, sygnatura XVII.2.445.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., sygnatura XVII.2.255.

<sup>43</sup> Інститут рукопису Національної бібліотеки України ім. В. І. Вернадського, Р 1978.

<sup>44</sup> Наталія Бондар, Юлія Рудакова. Праця Йоганна Гербінія, р. 454.

<sup>45</sup> Національний музей у Львові ім. Андрея Шептицького, Відділ рукописної та стародрукованої книги, Сдл-689.



The copy from the library of Christoph Andreas Geret's collection<sup>46</sup> was later owned by Andriy Bachynskyi (1732–1809), a bishop of the Ruthenian Uniate Eparchy of Mukachevo, who was probably interested in the Kyiv caves' cult of saints, which was also supported by the Ruthenian Uniate Church. Later, that exemplar became part of the book collection of the Uniate Order of Saint Basil the Great in Mukachevo, where it was found in the nineteenth-century catalogue.<sup>47</sup>

To the library of another Catholic owner – the Franciscan convent of Łabiszyn (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, Poland) – belonged a book with the inscription “Pro Conventu Labisien. ad S. Thomam Aplis”; later, this copy was moved to the library of the Szembek family, and is now stored in the Silesian Library (Katowice, Poland). Another book<sup>48</sup> became part of the book collection of the Warsaw convent of Brothers Hospitallers of Saint John of God.

The library collection of Kyiv's St. Volodymyr university had in its possession two copies of Herbinus' book. One of these<sup>49</sup> belonged to the Krzemieniec Lyceum library (existed 1805–1839), which was famous throughout Eastern Europe. That collection, in turn, was combined with the libraries of Catholic monasteries that were closed by the Russian empire. Presumably, the second university copy,<sup>50</sup> from the Vilnius medical academy, had the same origin.<sup>51</sup>

Orthodox monasteries and spiritual schools had Herbinus' books in their possession as well. Two books were in the library of the Kyivan Cave Monastery.<sup>52</sup> One of them survives till this day<sup>53</sup> and has a provenance inscription by Gavryil Pidhurskyi.<sup>54</sup> One book is to be found in the library of Kazan's (Russia) spiritual academy.<sup>55</sup> One book<sup>56</sup> has the ex libris of the famous Ukrainian

<sup>46</sup> Наукова бібліотека Ужгородського національного університету, Відділ рукописів, стародруків і рідкісних книг, од. зб. 4149.

<sup>47</sup> Володимир Мороз. Волинська церковна книга у бібліотеці Мукачівського василіанського монастиря в середині XIX ст.: географія видань, тематика, статистика // *Острозький краєзнавчий збірник* 10 (2018) 235.

<sup>48</sup> Biblioteka Narodowa, dział rękopisów, sygnatura XVII.1.401.

<sup>49</sup> Національна бібліотека України ім. В. І. Вернадського, Відділ стародруків та рідкісних видань, Р 1979.

<sup>50</sup> Там само, Acad.Viln.I.Lit.310.

<sup>51</sup> Наталія Бондар, Юлія Рудакова. Праця Йоганна Гербінія, р. 453.

<sup>52</sup> *Систематическій каталогъ книгъ Библиотеки Кієво-Печерской лавры*, vol. 2 / ed. игум. Михаил. Кієвъ 1912, р. 182.

<sup>53</sup> Національна бібліотека України ім. В. І. Вернадського, Відділ стародруків та рідкісних видань, XXIV 7/47.

<sup>54</sup> Наталія Бондар, Юлія Рудакова. Праця Йоганна Гербінія, р. 453.

<sup>55</sup> *Систематическій каталогъ книгъ Фундаментальной библиотеки Казанской духовной академіи*. Казань 1874, р. 393.

<sup>56</sup> Національна бібліотека України ім. В. І. Вернадського, Відділ стародруків та рідкісних видань, In 4535.

engraver Ivan Myhura (†1712), that had been made during his study years (probably in the Kyiv Mohyla academy): “Ex Libris Ioannis Migura [Polakicz] Ars et Theologia Auditoris.” Obviously, Myhura was interested in the engravings in Herbinus’ book. Later, this exemplar became the property of Holy Dormition Lavra in Pochayiv (Ternopil’ Oblast, Ukraine).

By the nineteenth century, the book had become of special interest to historians and antiquarians: copies became part of the libraries of Lviv historian Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski (1860–1939),<sup>57</sup> Polish historian Jan Januszowski (nineteenth century),<sup>58</sup> Lviv historian Anthony Petrushevych (1821–1913),<sup>59</sup> Kyiv historian Oleksandr Lazarevskyi (1834–1902),<sup>60</sup> and book-hunter Zygmunt Puśłowski (1848–1913).<sup>61</sup>

In spite of the fact that a significant number of exemplars circulated in the Eastern-European intellectual space, some inscriptions show that Herbinus’ work was considered a rarity. The unknown eighteenth-century owner of the copy from the Ukrainian Orthodox Metropolitan Volodymyr Sabodan’s (1935–2014) collection called it a small but rare book: “Hic libellus mole quidam exiguus, sed quia rarus Conservandus.”<sup>62</sup> It is no wonder, therefore, that many of the nineteenth-century private collections belonging to nobility in Lesser and Greater Poland had the book in their possession; for example, the Branicki, Tarnowski,<sup>63</sup> Zieliński,<sup>64</sup> Baworowski,<sup>65</sup> and Lubomirski families.<sup>66</sup>

The copies from Eastern-European lands are rich in marginalia and show many traces of intensive reading. In analyzing the marginalia, I can see that Johannes Herbinus’ personality, as well as the contents of his book, were well-known to Eastern-European readers. Inscriptions such as “Herbinus Jan, pedagog i Kaznodzieja ewang. ur. na Szlącku 1633. Rektor szkoły w Wołowie, w Stockholmie, Kaznodzicja w Wilnie i Warsz, umarł w Grudziądzu 1676. Teolog, filozof, historyk. Działo to było na indexie Książ zakazanych,”<sup>67</sup> show that the reader

<sup>57</sup> Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України ім. В. Стефаника НАН України, Відділ рідкісної книги, СТ-I 9935.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., СТ-I 17068/1.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., СТ-I 29795.

<sup>60</sup> Чернігівський історичний музей ім. В. В. Тарновського, Ал 1070.

<sup>61</sup> Biblioteka Publiczna w Warszawie, sygnatura XVII.1.461.

<sup>62</sup> Станіслав Волощенко. *Колекція Митрополита Володимира (Сабодана): рукописи, стародруки і рідкісні видання. Каталог*. Київ 2017, № 25.

<sup>63</sup> Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, sygnatura XVII-6713.

<sup>64</sup> Biblioteka im. Zielińskich Towarzystwa Naukowego Płockiego, sygnatura XVII, 1273.

<sup>65</sup> Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України ім. В. Стефаника НАН України, Відділ рідкісної книги, СТ-I 77539.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., СТ-I 101521.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., СТ-I 17068/1.

was both aware of Herbinus' biography and the fact that the book was prohibited by the Catholic Church. However, that the book had been read by some Catholic readers is testified to by the identification of its author as a sectarian: "fol. 72. Sectus Lutheri."<sup>68</sup>

One of the inscriptions<sup>69</sup> shows that the reader was interested in the problem of the imperishability of the Lavra saints, and fully supported Herbinus' idea of a natural reason for the preservation of the relics: "Animadversio ad pag. 104. Alia nunc est inter doctos viros de putredine opinio. Ab initio corpus putredini subjectum satorem gravem edit, post aliquot tempus odor ille cessat et odor portis ammoniacalis percipitur, qui per longum tempus eructatur, serius corpus inflatur et in massam saponaccam conoertitur, omnis tum fotor evanescit et odor amaenus ambrosiacus per aliquot ad huc tempus percipitur, corpus vero fotum in massam nigram flavam amvertitus fernaе non absimibilem. Corpora organica altera citius, altera ocius omnes hos gradus putredinis transeunt. Quae corpora nullis ad ipsis habent, quod massa muscularis evolutior haec citius corumpuntur. Corpora vero gracilia exsucca, uti nihil in iis adest, quod corruption ausam praebere posset, putredinem per illimitatam tempus non admittunt. Non itaque mirum si viri Sancti eremo aut cryptis clausi, continuis jejuniis emaciati, ubi ad sustentandam vitam eximiam quantitatem cibi sumentes, corpus suum ita viventes ad haec emacion errant, ut, fato absumti, corpus suum, vita interrima sanctificatum et acerbato vitae genere ab omni future labe praeservatum, post multas annorum series immunia reddiderint." Thus, the author explained the phenomenon of the imperishability of the relics' was due to the austerity of the Cave Fathers' lives. I should mention that such an explanation was rather popular in the anti-Orthodox polemics that Theophan Prokopovych (1681–1736) testified to, as well as his polemical defense of the relics' sanctity, which will be mentioned below.

It is remarkable, however, that in Eastern Europe, the *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae* was considered to be a source not of natural philosophy but mainly a source of historical information. In the library catalog of Ruthenian Catholic Bishopric of Mukacheve, the book is placed between *Historia Nationum Slavicarum in Specie*<sup>70</sup> and *Historici et topographici*.<sup>71</sup> In Christopher Henrik von Gfug's exemplar,<sup>72</sup> information concerning historical content about Kyiv and its caves is underlined, along with Herbinus' doctrine on merits.

<sup>68</sup> Biblioteka Narodowa, sygnatura XVII.2.641.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., sygnatura XVII.2.255.

<sup>70</sup> Наукова бібліотека Ужгородського національного університету, Відділ рукописів, стародруків і рідкісних книг, од. зб. 312.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., од. зб. 318.

<sup>72</sup> Biblioteka Narodowa, sygnatura XVII.2.445.

Another book<sup>73</sup> has the following inscription in Polish: “Jest to opis Pieczar Kiiowskich – Herbiniusz Pasterz wyznania augsburgskiego w Wilnie przez listy do Gizeliusza arcy-mandryty Kiiowskiego dowiadywał się o Naturze Pieczar y świętych tam złożonych liczbie – Odpowiedz tego arcy-mandryty ktoren z augustiniana został wyznaiącym wiarę grecką w Kiiowie / Nie wiele naliczę – Zycia świętych czyli bardziey ich imiona są wyięte z xiązki po słowiańsku 1661 pod tytułem Greckim Patericon wydany – Robienia pieczar w wieku dziesiątym epokę naznacza – Cudowi że oley z głów świętych płynienie zaprzecza – zgoła, ani Historia natury, ani Dzieiow Oczystych nie zyskuje w wydaniu, tego dzieła. – Styl jest płaski Ślepe wierzenia nabożnym baykom, wtrącenie rzeczy obcych Dziełu, nudne Etymologii w kilku językach, niewielu słow, opis mało-znaczący Rusinow, porownanie Muzyki, danie wzoru Muzyki Ruskiej są to cechy tej xiązki.” This inscription not only briefly describes the content of the book, but also gives it an evaluation. The author, presumably educated and inspired by the ideas of the Enlightenment – typical of the teaching staff of the Krzemieniec Lyceum – claimed Herbinius’ book to be full of fairy tales and unrealistic stories. Moreover, he underlined that the Protestant author believed in the miraculous oil-oozing heads of the Kyiv saints. The general appraisal of the book is not positive at all, however, the detailed content shows that the author had read through it very carefully.

Some readers paid attention to the linguistic comparisons made by Herbinius between Slavic languages and Biblical Hebrew. In one of the exemplars,<sup>74</sup> the following parts of the treatise were underlined twice: “De Vocabulis Polonicis et Sclavicis, quarum radies oriuntur ex lingua Hebraica P. 170.” and “Radicales Haebraismi, ex quibus Sclavonica et Polonica vocabula derivantur. P. 170.” It is interesting that one of exemplars<sup>75</sup> was bound together with Leipzig Jew Shlomieli Ben Zurishdi’s (צורישידי בן שלומיאלי) work, ומתחרט מלומד צחקן, which proves that there was an interest in Herbinius’ treatise among Hebraists.

As in Germany, Herbinius’ work was not often referred to in Eastern Europe. It was repeatedly mentioned and broadly quoted, however, by one of the greatest Orthodox authorities of the Russian Empire. Ruthenian by origin, Theophan Prokopovych, who became famous due to the reform of the Russian Orthodox Church in the 1720s,<sup>76</sup> paid a lot of attention to Herbinius’ treatise, criticizing it in his work *Apologia Sacrarum Reliquiarum Patrum Nostrorum*,

<sup>73</sup> Інститут рукопису Національної бібліотеки України ім. В. І. Вернадського, Р 1979.

<sup>74</sup> Biblioteka Narodowa, sygnatura XVII.2.641.

<sup>75</sup> Центральна наукова бібліотека Харківського національного університету ім. В. Н. Каразіна, Відділ рідкісних книг та рукописів, 196319.

<sup>76</sup> The most recent book about Prokopovych and his reforms: Andrey Ivanov. *A Spiritual Revolution: the impact of Reformation and Enlightenment in Orthodox Russia*. Madison 2020.

*qui post suum obitum in Cryptis nostris Kioviensibus quieverunt Lypsanorum. Quod scilicet hae Divina supernaturali virtute dotem integritatis sortita incorrupta servantur; Non vero naturaliter, vel arte quadam, (ut hostes Ecclesiae Orthodoxae Orientalis, in primis Romanenses calumniantur) humana a putredine defensa, integra permanent.*<sup>77</sup>

Prokopovych argued against several of the objectives presented in Herbinus' book, which were common points in the criticisms of the Kyiv phenomenon made by the "rationalists," (as mentioned in Chapter 5). First, he refuted the thesis about the caves as a place that helped human bodies stay uncorrupted. Prokopovych used the fact that both corrupted and uncorrupted bodies existed in the caves, and that there was also the preservation of relic parts outside the caves.<sup>78</sup> The next argument, presented also in Herbinus' book, was the mummification of the Kyiv relics. Here, Prokopovych appealed to a historical argument: Kyiv was never famous for its mummification masters and the Kyivan Cave Monastery was too poor to afford such processes.<sup>79</sup>

Herbinus' treatise was directly mentioned and criticized in a paragraph about the oil-oozing heads: "Ioannes Herbinus Lutheri sectator, qui Kijoviam subterraneam seu Cryptas Kijovienses, latine descripsit, edito libello Regiomonti in Prussia anno 1675. ita Cap. 13. numero 3. ipse vel nomine cujusvis alterius philosophatur [...]."<sup>80</sup> In opposing "a member of Luther's sect" in his attempts to explain the oil-oozing in a natural way (see Chapter 5), Prokopovych stressed that the saints' bodies and oily humidity could be observed in the Kyiv caves, and the miraculous Myron had nothing to do with homeopathic principles since it healed a variety of different and unrelated diseases.<sup>81</sup>

Prokopovych also did not ignore Herbinus' theological arguments. Writing on the problem of human merits, he called for them to be considered the only means by which Christ's power of life and death should be manifested; moreover, merits obtained by good deeds are the most valuable in the eyes of God: "einde cum dicimus miraculum hoc vel aliud dari SS. Meritis, non ita intelligimus, quasi hoc vel meruerint, vel meruisse voluerint sancti, id enim extra negotium est salutis, et cum bene agere bonoque certare certamine Deo auxiliante pergitur, eo contendimus, ut coronam justitiae in die illa, et vitam aeternam consequamur, non vero, ut miracula vivi vel post obitum patremus, sed dicimus dari meritis, vel ob merita sanctorum fieri miracula, hoc est, Deum Sanctorum

<sup>77</sup> Theophanes Prokopowicz. *Miscellanea sacra, variis temporibus edita, nunc primum in unum collecta publicoque exhibita*. Wratislaviae 1744, p. 65.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 69–74.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74–81.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 94–96.

corpora assumere pro instrumentis ad suam potentiam ostendendam, quippe quae bonis operibus digniora caeteris effecta sunt, licet etiam per minus digna idem praestare possit, si ipsi ita visum fuerit.”<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, Prokopovych concluded that even if the imperishability of the Cave Fathers had been caused not by their merits but for some other reason (e.g. to show the rightfulness of the Orthodox Church or to encourage people to imitate them), Herbinus’ reproach would still be absurd.

Separately, Prokopovych investigated the problem of the corruption of the Bible Patriarchs and the Magi’s bodies in contrast to the imperishability of the Kyiv saints’ remains, which had also been raised by Herbinus: “Idem Ioannes Herbinus eodem Cap. num. 8. indignari videtur, quod SS. Patribus Kijoviensibus datum sit istud integritatis privilegium, et negatum antiquis Patriarchis, tribus quoque Magis, qui infantem Christum in cunis salutavere, quorum capita nuda seu calvarias Coloniae se vidisse ait, et debuit potius his quam illis dari [...]”<sup>83</sup> Prokopovych believed that man could not judge the merits of the saints; and that many of them had received God’s grace, and their bodies had remained uncorrupted. At the end of his “discussion” with Herbinus, Prokopovych underlined that the imperishability of saints’ bodies was not a denial of God’s law; it was an exception made due to Christ’s death: “Dicimus igitur poenam mortis temporariae sublatam quidem morte Christi esse, dilatam tamen ejus absolutionem; nihil itaque obstat, quo minus Divina providentia possit vel mortem ipsam vel ejus comitem corruptionem, etiam ante judicii diem in aliquo S. homine tollere, hoc enim non erit legis suae refixio; cum Christiani non sint rei mortis, sed tantum propter fines alios Deo cognitos moriantur. Verum erit privilegium, quod nihil aliud est, nisi private lex, seu lex private concessa, hunc v.g. vel illum, vel plures aliquos e communi lege eximens, uti ipsum nomen testetur, nihil autem abesse, quo minus aliquis, etiam a morte perpetuo liberetur, patet ex Cap. ultimo Ioannis, ubi Christus de Ioanne ad Petrum dicit (si eum volo vivere, donec veniam, quid ad te).”<sup>84</sup>

Thus, Prokopovych criticized both Herbinus’ theological and his natural philosophy arguments against the imperishability of the Kyivan relics. At the same time, however, he used some of the historical arguments in the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* to support his own position. He quoted Herbinus’ contradiction of the theory about the location of ancient Troy being in Kyiv (as mentioned in Chapter 3): “Sunt autem nonnulli, qui sane ridicule perhibeant, Kijoviam esse illam antiquam et celebrem urbem Trojam, vel in loco, ubi Troja suit, sitam, Cryptas vero istas a Trojanis effossas et in illis corpora magnorum illorum

<sup>82</sup> Theophanes Prokopowicz. *Miscellanea sacra*, pp. 98–99.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 105–106.

Heroum, Hectoris, Priami aliorumque, more Aegyptio curata condita esse, ideoque non putrescere. Refert hanc et confutat opinionem memoratus Herbinus in libello de Cryptis Cap. 2. et alibi: Verba ejus loco responsionis nostrae hic placet adducere [...].”<sup>85</sup> In this way, in Prokopovych’s work the Lutheran adversary was turned into a polemical ally, whose words were quoted and used as historical arguments. It must be mentioned that Prokopovych was well-acquainted with Protestant authors, and his own theological views were constantly accused of having Calvinist and Lutheran influences.<sup>86</sup> It is no wonder that he knew Herbinus’ book and appreciated his arguments, even though many of them provoked his intense criticism.

Summarizing this chapter, I would like to stress that Herbinus’ book, which was mainly directed at Protestant German readers, did not become a source of information about the Kyiv caves for the German Protestant milieu. Being undeniably interested in the author’s personality, his achievements in the field of natural philosophy, and the question of the imperishability of relics in general, German readers did not pay much attention to the book’s main content, which was dedicated to the Kyiv saints and relics. Presumably, most of the copies of the book, over time, made their way to Eastern Europe where they might have found a broader and more receptive circle. Stored in Catholic and Orthodox monasteries and bought by scholars, theologians, and book-hunters, the treatise was soon considered to be a bibliographical rarity. Despite being criticized by confessional adversaries and adherents of the Enlightenment, Herbinus’ text was read, underlined, quoted, commented on, and even copied by hand. Moreover, two great Enlightenment figures – Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and Theophan Prokopovych – referred to the book as an authoritative theological and historical treatise. All of this testifies to the significance of the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* in both German and Eastern-European intellectual tradition during the mid-seventeenth through nineteenth century.

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 106.

<sup>86</sup> Иларион Чистович. *Феофанъ Прокоповичъ и его время*. Санкт-Петербург 1868, р. 19. (Сборникъ статей, читанныхъ въ отдѣленіи русскаго языка и словесности Императорской Академіи наукъ, vol. 4).





## CONCLUSIONS

Johannes Herbinus was one of the brightest figures in the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's Lutheran Church. The main sources of biographical information about Herbinus are his own works. Even though his biography has already been studied, I have managed to complete Herbinus' biography while adding a few new facts based on information from Vilnius' historical archive and my own studies of the text. In particular, I have shown that he was forced to leave Vilnius not because of some of his theological views but as a result of internal conflict in the local Protestant community. Herbinus was a broad-minded person whose theological persuasions did not determinate his communication circle or personal contacts. The *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* strongly reflects the personal characteristics and intellectual interests of its author: first of all, his interest in natural philosophy; but also his broad intellectual horizons, formed during his travels; and his large circle of communication. The *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*, which was popularized in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra of the caves through several editions, was used extensively by Herbinus. He had two editions of this medieval text in his possession: one in the Polish language, edited in 1635 by Sylvester Kossov; and another in old-Ukrainian, published in 1661. Although Kyiv Pechersk Lavra's archimandrite, Innocent Gizel, had advised Herbinus to use the most recent edition, he mainly used the 1635 edition. In this way much of Sylvester Kossov's ideas, narratives, data, and even his expressions and quotations were transmitted to the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*. Herbinus did not pay attention to the anti-Protestant polemic in this work. Moreover, it seems that the authors' confession did not matter much to him. The book explicitly demonstrates that, even though the religious wars had just ended in Western Europe, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had cultivated the fundamentally different practices of peaceful coexistence and intellectual communication among the representatives of various denominations, the interpenetration of religious ideas, and a deep interest in the life and beliefs of other confessions.

Herbinus was completely unsatisfied with the information about Ruthenia that was spreading throughout the German intellectual milieu. First, he refuted the popular legend about Kyiv being the ancient location of Troy and the burial place of Ovid. The second focus of Herbinus' polemics was the rebuttal of several

Catholic arguments about the Ruthenian language and the existence of a permanent historical connection between Kyiv and Rome. Instead, he supported and retranslated several myths created by Kyiv intellectuals of the seventeenth century. In particular, he showed that during the mid-seventeenth century the Orthodox clergy put themselves in a strong position of opposition to Roman Catholic, Uniate, and Moscow Orthodox traditions. That opposition is reflected in Herbinus' book by the repeating of certain historical and hagiographical narratives; praising the city of Kyiv, Cossacks, and the Ruthenian language; considering the Patriarchate of Constantinople to be the head of the Kyiv Metropolia; and arguing against the Moscow legend about Monomakh's Cap. These were the main intellectual tricks used by the Ukrainian ecclesiastical elite to mark their confessional identity. Simultaneously, they were a part of a proto-national sameness as well. In the case of the Ukrainian early modern identity, the city of Kyiv, the Cossacks, a certain pantheon of saints, and belonging to the Patriarchate of Constantinople became a place of memory for many generations, remaining important for them until the present day. In this way, Herbinus was searching and arguing for historical truth.

Writing about the phenomenon of the Kyiv caves, Herbinus examined the etymology of the term, as well as the caves' form and material; he then moved on to legends about the Kyiv underground labyrinth. Continuing to argue with contemporaries, he asserted that the Kyiv caves did not have unusual lengths and were not connected with any other underground labyrinths in Eastern Europe. Herbinus was well-acquainted with the structure of the caves, their history, and the purposes they were used for. He had thoroughly studied the *Paterik of Kyivan Caves*, and provided even more information on the topic using the Bible and his own knowledge of underground sacral places in Eastern Europe. Concerning the Kyiv caves, Herbinus distinguished three ways in which they might have been used: as a place of refuge, as a place for the monks' religious practices, and for funeral ceremonies.

During his stay in Vilnius, Herbinus was open to theological debates with the Orthodox clergy about dogmatic questions. Yet the unwillingness of the Orthodox clergy to discuss the problem of the Filioque using anything apart from their own sources, made Herbinus' attempts unsuccessful. In general, the Protestant author perceived and treated the Orthodox Church in a positive way: Church customs, canonical law, discipline, clergy, and even monasticism did not provoke him to criticize the church. However, Herbinus could not refrain from giving criticism on the questions of human merits, the veneration of icons, and the confessional exclusivity of the Orthodox Church. These contradicted his views on religious tolerance, and what he considered to be "real" Christian piety.

Herbinus also did not criticize the veneration of relics. On the contrary, he considered that the relics of Christ's followers could and must be respected,

as through them God performed miracles. Herbinus listed precisely the names of the Kyiv fathers and retold miraculous stories about them that were popular within the Orthodox milieu. However, he did not share the Orthodox idea of the miraculous imperishability of the saints' remains in the Kyivan Cave Monastery. Those remains, as he wrote, were partially corrupted and partially preserved because of the existing ventilation system in the caves; the saints' heads oozed oil as a result of absorbing the special air. In attempting to provide these arguments, Herbinus aimed to refute the core of the Orthodox belief that the Kyiv relics were preserved uncorrupted due to the great merits and dignities possessed by the Cave Fathers in the eyes of God. Obviously, the very idea of merits being earned by monks due to their ascetic efforts would not have been acceptable to the Protestant author; it strongly contradicted his confessional views and he treated it, unambiguously, as idolatry.

Herbinus' book was actively read both in German lands and in Eastern Europe. This is testified to by a variety of marginalia found in the surviving exemplars. Due to the treatise's range of subject matter, the book was of interest to theologians, historians, scientists, and, simply, to devotees of entertaining reading. Held in Catholic and Orthodox monasteries and bought by scholars, theologians, and book-hunters, the treatise was soon considered a bibliographical rarity. Criticized by confessional adversaries and adherents of the Enlightenment, people still read and annotated Herbinus' text, and valued it enough to copy it by hand. Moreover, the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* was referred to in two works of the Enlightenment period; those by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and Theophan Prokopovych, both of whom referred to the book as an authoritative theological and historical treatise.

Herbinus' book is the best possible proof that interconfessional relations concerned not only conflicts, but also a mutual interest in the religion of others. Despite the author's clear Lutheran self-identification, the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* contains very little religious polemic. Herbinus, being deeply connected with the Protestant world while at the same time living in multi-cultural and multi-religious Vilnius, tried to maneuver between religious tolerance and confessional loyalty, and adherence to the ideas of the German Reformation and a personal friendship with the Ruthenian Orthodox clergy. He demonstrated his readiness for theological discussion on the articles of faith, but also on his deep interest in Orthodox rites, Church customs, and sacral life. Moreover, Herbinus' worldly tolerance allowed him to visit both Catholic and Orthodox shrines, trust the written sources of other confessional traditions, and avoid direct criticism of other confessions. The Orthodox Church was especially acceptable for him; he admired the beauty of the Orthodox liturgy, the strictness of the Church discipline, and the deep inculcating of the Orthodox religion in the everyday life of Ruthenians. Moreover, he exhorted the Lutheran reader to imitate some of these

characteristics. However, Herbinus strongly condemned efforts to appease God through human merits. This was the core of his faith and could not be abolished for any personal reasons. The Ruthenian Orthodox narratives about the supernatural imperishability of the Kyiv relics created serious doubts in Herbinus, and he treated them more than a little skeptically. Trying to provide his own explanation for the phenomenon of the uncorrupted relics using arguments of natural philosophy, he nevertheless expressed great respect for the cult of the Kyiv saints, their piety, and austerity. Herbinus' strong disapproval met the soteriological exclusivism, which was popular among the Orthodox clergy and laics. Those views, caused by the special historical circumstances in which the Orthodox Church found itself in the middle of the seventeenth century, could not be accepted by Herbinus, who was still living with the ideas of religious toleration that had been cultivated in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth since the mid sixteenth century.

Herbinus was one of the few "persons from abroad" who were deeply interested in Ruthenian lands. He had not been to Kyiv by the time the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* was published. All of the information about the city, its shrines, and relics, he obtained from written sources and through communication with the Orthodox clergy. However, he positioned himself as an insider, and was in fact an insider, being personally connected with the Ruthenian Orthodox community and being well-acquainted with the Orthodox Church. His knowledge of languages and his achievements in the field of natural philosophy was especially helpful. He examined the information he gathered on several levels: linguistically, historically, philosophically, and theologically. The book was directed at the broadly-educated German reader. Because of his approach to information, Herbinus could compare the Orthodox Church with the Lutheran and Catholic churches, the Kyiv caves with caverns in Western Europe, and the Dnipro waterfalls with other European and African cataracts. This may have made the topic more understandable to his readers. Moreover, Herbinus tried to make the information about the Kyiv caves understandable and acceptable to a potential German readership; this was perfectly illustrated by his denying the Muscovite claims to the title of Caesar. Obviously, the book was influenced by early modern scholarship and the feeling of historical awareness that had arisen in Europe. Herbinus was one of those people who desired to discover the world, mapping the land of the Ruthenians onto it and slightly idealizing it. Nevertheless, his treatise is distinguished by scrupulousness and accuracy; he avoided suspicious information and tried to wrestle with untruthful rumors. All this allowed the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* to be labelled a typical intellectual product for its times, which had transferred knowledge from the East to the West of Europe. Moreover, as a result of broadening its readership circle, the book was brought back to Eastern Europe in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. This kind

of knowledge circulation evidently shows that the imagined border between the Eastern and Western parts of contemporary Europe was the result of the political events of the twentieth century, rather than the reality of early modern times when books, as well as people, moved freely from one part of Europe to another.

And, finally, the last research question is raised by the fact that Herbinus' book was written at a time that was crucial for Eastern European history – the important political events and the intellectual elite's search for ecclesiastical and national identity. Contrasting the Ruthenians with their closest neighbors – the Muscovites and Poles – Herbinus fully acknowledged their uniqueness on the map of Eastern Europe. Moreover, the *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* formed a mediator for the intellectual strategies with which the Kyivan hierarchy, in the person of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra's archimandrite, Innocent Gizel, reacted to external political, theological, and intellectual influences. The treatise has vividly shown that Ukrainian lands did not stay apart from the process of the “birth of identities” that was taking place in the whole Europe during the 17<sup>th</sup> century.



## РЕЗЮМЕ

Історія раннього Нового часу виявляє безліч парадоксів у міжкультурних і міжконфесійних відносинах. Одним із таких парадоксів є видання книги *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* (Єна 1675) – наукового трактату, присвяченого Києво-Печерському монастиреві (або Києво-Печерській лаврі), що був заснований близько 1051 р. й донині є важливим православним релігійним центром. Автор цього трактату – Йоганнес Гербіній, одна з найяскравіших постатей в історії лютеранської Церкви Речі Посполитої. Основними джерелами біографічних відомостей про нього до сьогодні залишаються його власні твори. У цій книзі до біографії Гербінія додано кілька важливих штрихів на основі інформації з Литовського історичного архіву (Вільнюс) та авторських досліджень тексту. Зокрема, показано, що Гербіній був змушений покинути Вільнюс не через свої богословські погляди, а через внутрішній конфлікт у місцевій протестантській громаді.

Гербіній був людиною широких наукових інтересів, конфесійні переконання не обмежували коло його спілкування чи особисті контакти. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* яскраво відображає особистісні характеристики та інтелектуальні інтереси цього автора: насамперед його зацікавлення натурфілософією; але й широкі інтелектуальні горизонти, сформовані під час його подорожей та епістолярного спілкування. Гербіній широко користав із Києво-Печерського патерика, популяризованого в монастирі кількома друкованими виданнями. Він мав у розпорядженні два видання цієї книги: польською мовою за редакцією Сильвестра Косова 1635 р., а ще примірник староукраїнською мовою, виданий у 1661 р. Хоч архимандрит Києво-Печерської лаври Інокентій Гізель порадив Гербінію користуватися найновішою редакцією, той уживав переважно видання 1635 р. Таким чином велика частина ідей, розповідей, даних і навіть цитат Сильвестра Косова перейшла до *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ*. Гербіній не звертав уваги на антипротестантську полеміку Косова. Загалом віросповідання авторів не відіграло значної ролі при підборі ним цитат та авторитетних імен для своєї книги. До того, ж трактат виразно демонструє, що, хоч у Західній Європі щойно завершилися релігійні війни, Річ Посполита культивувала принципово інші практики мирного співіснування та інтелектуального обміну між представниками різних конфесій.

Гербінія аж ніяк не влаштувала інформація про Русь, поширювана в німецькому інтелектуальному середовищі. По-перше, він спростував популярну легенду про те, що Київ є стародавнім місцем розташування Трої та місцем поховання Овідія. Другою темою Гербінієвої полеміки було спростування кількох католицьких аргументів про руську мову та існування постійного історичного зв'язку між Києвом і Римом. Натомість він підтримав і переказав декілька ідей, популярних серед тодішньої київської церковної еліти. Зокрема, Гербіній показав, що в середині XVII ст. православне духовенство Київської митрополії поставило себе в опозицію до католицьких, унійних і московських православних традицій. Прославляючи місто Київ, козаків, руську мову, проголошуючи підпорядкування Київської митрополії Константинопольському патріархату і сперечаючись із московською легендою про шапку Мономаха, київська церковна еліта позначала свою конфесійну ідентичність і закладала підґрунтя для формування національної ідентичності.

Пишучи про феномен київських печер, Гербіній дослідив етимологію терміна, а також форму і матеріал печер; потім перейшов до легенд про київський підземний лабіринт. Продовжуючи полемізувати із сучасниками, він стверджував, що київські печери не мають незвичайної довжини й не пов'язані з іншими підземними лабіринтами Східної Європи. Гербіній був добре знайомий з будовою печер, їхньою історією та цілями, для яких їх уживали. Він досконало вивчив Києво-Печерський патерик і надав ще більше інформації на цю тему, використовуючи власні знання про підземні сакральні місця Східної Європи.

Перебуваючи у Вільнюсі, Гербіній був відкритий до богословських дискусій із православним духовенством стосовно догматичних питань. Утім, небажання православних обговорювати проблему *flilioque*, використовуючи будь-які інші джерела, окрім руських богословських книг, призвело до невдачі Гербінієвих спроб. Загалом протестантський автор сприймав Православну Церкву і ставився до неї позитивно: її церковні звичаї, канонічне право, дисципліна, духовенство й навіть чернецтво не провокували його на критику. Проте Гербіній не міг утриматися від коментарів з питань людських заслуг, пошанування ікон та конфесійної винятковості православ'я. Це суперечило його поглядам на релігійну толерантність і тому, що він вважав «справжньою» християнською побожністю.

Гербіній також не критикував почитання мощей святих. Навпаки, він вважав, що нетлінні останки послідовників Христа можна і треба вшановувати, оскільки через них Бог творив чудеса. Гербіній точно перерахував імена Київських Отців і переказав історії про них, що були популярними в православному середовищі. Однак він не поділяв ідеї про чудотворну нетлінність мощей святих у Києво-Печерському монастирі. Ці останки, як він



писав, частково зіпсовані, а частково збереглися завдяки системі вентиляції, що існує в печерах. За допомогою цих аргументів Гербіній мав на меті спростувати серцевину православного вчення про те, що київські мощі збереглися нетлінними завдяки великим заслугам, які печерські отці мали в очах Божих. Очевидно, що сама думка про чесноти, що їх ченці здобули своїми аскетичними зусиллями, була неприйнятною для протестантського автора, і він однозначно трактував її як ідолопоклонство.

Книгу Гербінія про Київські печери активно читали як в німецьких землях, так і в Східній Європі. Про це свідчить різноманіття маргіналій, знайдених на збережених примірниках. Завдяки широкій тематиці трактату книга зацікавила богословів, істориків й просто прихильників розважального читання. Трактат, який зберігали в католицьких і православних монастирях, який купували вчені, богослови та книголюби, незабаром став бібліографічною рідкістю. *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* згадується також у двох працях доби Просвітництва: у Готфріда Вільгельма Лейбніца і в Теофана Прокоповича, й обидва вони називали цю книгу авторитетним теологічним та історичним трактатом.

Книга Гербінія є найкращим доказом того, що міжконфесійні відносини були пов'язаними не лише з конфліктами, а й зі взаємною цікавістю до релігії інших. Попри явну лютеранську самоідентифікацію автора, у *Religiosæ Kijovienses Cryptæ* дуже мало релігійної полеміки. Гербіній, будучи глибоко пов'язаним із протестантським світом, але водночас живучи в багатокультурному й багатоконфесійному Вільнюсі, намагався лавірувати між релігійною толерантністю і конфесійною лояльністю, прихильністю до ідей німецької Реформації й особистою дружбою з руським православним духовенством. Він яскраво продемонстрував свою готовність до богословської дискусії щодо постулатів віри, але також глибокий інтерес до православних обрядів, церковних звичаїв та сакрального життя. Така толерантність дозволяла Гербінію відвідувати як католицькі, так і православні святині, довіряти писемним джерелам різних конфесійних традицій та уникати прямої критики інших релігій. Православна Церква була для нього особливо привабливою; він захоплювався красою літургії, суворістю церковної дисципліни, глибоким впровадженням православ'я в повсякденне життя русинів. Мало того, він закликав лютеранського читача наслідувати деякі з цих рис. Однак Гербіній рішуче засуджував намагання православних умилостивити Бога людськими заслугами. Тому оповіді про надприродну нетлінність київських мощей викликали в Гербінія серйозні сумніви, і він ставився до них більш ніж скептично. Та все ж, намагаючись дати власне пояснення феномену нетлінних останків, спираючись на аргументи натурфілософії, він висловлював велику пошану до київських святих, до їхнього благочестя й аскетизму. Сильне несхвалення викликав у Гербінія

поширений серед руського православного духовенства й мирян сотеріологічний ексклюзивізм, викликаний особливими історичними обставинами, в яких опинилася Київська митрополія в середині XVII ст.

Гербіній був одним із небагатьох «закордонних» авторів, які глибоко цікавилися українськими землями. Він насправді ніколи не був у Києві. Всі відомості про місто, його святині та реліквії Гербіній отримав із писемних джерел та через спілкування з православним духовенством. Однак це не завадило йому позиціонувати себе як інсайдера, будучи особисто пов'язаним із руською православною громадою та добре обізнаним щодо Православної Церкви. Особливо допомогли йому знання мов і досягнення в галузі натурфілософії. Він досліджував зібрану інформацію на кількох рівнях: лінгвістичному, історичному, філософському та богословському. Книга була спрямована на широко освіченого німецького читача. Гербіній зміг порівняти Православну Церкву з лютеранською та католицькою, київські печери з печерами в Західній Європі, а дніпровські пороги – з іншими європейськими та африканськими великими водоспадами. Очевидно, на книгу вплинули ранньомодерна наука та відчуття історичної свідомості, що виникло в тогочасній Європі. Гербіній був одним із тих, які прагнули розширити мапу світу, відобразивши на ній землю русинів і трохи її ідеалізувавши. Проте його трактат вирізняється скрупульозністю й точністю; він унікав підозрілої інформації та намагався боротися з неправдивими чутками. Усе це дозволяє назвати *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae* типовим для свого часу інтелектуальним продуктом, який переніс знання зі Сходу на Захід Європи. Мало того, завдяки розширенню кола її читачів у XVII–XIX ст. книга повернулася до Східної Європи. Така циркуляція знань вочевидь показує, що уявний кордон між Східною і Західною частинами сучасної Європи був результатом політичних подій XX ст., а не реальністю раннього Нового часу, коли книги, як і люди, вільно пересувалися з однієї частини Європи в іншу.

Книгу Гербінія написано в період, який був вирішальним для історії Східної Європи, – у часи важливих політичних подій і пошуків інтелектуальною елітою конфесійної та національної ідентичності. Протиставляючи русинів їхнім найближчим сусідам – московитам і полякам, Гербіній повністю визнав їхню унікальність на карті Східної Європи. Крім того, *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae* стала ретранслятором тих інтелектуальних стратегій, за допомогою яких київська єрархія в особі архимандрита Києво-Печерської лаври Інокентія Гізеля реагувала на зовнішні політичні, богословські та інтелектуальні впливи. Вона є яскравим свідченням того факту, що українські землі не залишилися осторонь від процесу «народження ідентичностей», що проходив на теренах усієї Європи XVII ст.

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## KYIVAN CHRISTIANITY

The serial publication, *Kyivan Christianity*, launched in 2013 under the supervision of Professor Ihor Skochylas, disseminates scholarly findings, produced by the Research Program at the Humanities Faculty and the Faculty of Philosophy and Theology under the auspices of the Ukrainian Catholic University. The Program is entitled *Kyivan Christianity and the Uniate Tradition*. It is supported by the UGCC Synod of Bishops, and seeks to strengthen the prophetic voice of the Kyivan Church as it promotes unity among the Ukrainian Churches, which emerged from Volodymyr's baptism of Kyivan Rus'. One of the public aspects of the program is the project *United Ukraine and the Kyivan Tradition*, initiated in 2015 and still running well. This project has provided a good venue for publicly articulating ecclesial identity of the Kyivan Church and for voicing the idea that the Kyivan Church girded the millennium-long relationship between Ukrainian culture and Christianity. The academic goal of the program is to critically study the theological, canonical, social, and cultural sources of the Kyivan Metropolitanate. This study offers a comparative analysis of the sources within the broader context of various Christian Byzantine traditions, including those of the Latin West and Eastern Orthodox communities. In addition, the sources of the traditions that were part of the Uniate ecclesial idea (doctrine) prevalent across Slavic lands are also studied. Special attention is paid to the interdisciplinary study of the Kyivan tradition as it developed on the borderlands between the East and West. At its core the Kyivan tradition constitutes essentially the Slavonic Byzantine rite, namely, the Eastern Liturgy, which eventually formulates its inherent theological thought, local canon law, unified canonical territory, native spirituality, shared social, cultural and religious practices, its codified Church Slavonic language, and its well-established historic past. Together, these were the fundamental elements of the cultural heritage of the period, while in more modern times these elements paved the way for the formation of national identities and the emergence of new ecclesial communities across Eastern and Central-Eastern Europe.



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