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ОПИСАНИЕ БЕЛАРУСИ В ГОДЫ СЕВЕРНОЙ ВОЙНЫ В ПУТЕВОМ ДНЕВНИКЕ ДАНИЭЛЯ КРМАНА

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Аннотация. Путевой дневник (итинерарий) протестантского священника Даниэля Крмана представляет собой уникальный памятник литературы, содержащий сведения о Северной войне, шведском походе 1708–1709 гг. и поражении шведов в Полтавской битве. Ценность этого источника заключается в наличии в нем массива информации социологического, этнографического и политического характера, которая касается истории Беларуси, Украины, Литвы и Польши начала XVIII в. Даниэль Крман, будучи послом верхненевгерских (словацких) протестантских сословий, направленным ко двору шведского короля Карла XII, зафиксировал в своих записях значительное количество поразивших его фактов. Цель исследования – рассмотреть, как в тексте путевого дневника Даниэля Крмана представлены население, религия, топонимика, архитектура Беларуси, а также некоторые особенности этих земель, характерные для начала XVIII в.

Ключевые слова: Северная война; Беларусь; XVIII в.; Речь Посполитая; путевой дневник.

АПІСАННЕ БЕЛАРУСІ Ў ГАДЫ ПАЎНОЧНАЙ ВАЙНЫ Ў ПАДАРОЖНЫМ ДЗЁННІКУ ДАНІЭЛЯ КРМАНА

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Анатацыя. Падарожны дзённік (ітынерарый) пратэстанцкага святара Даніэля Крмана ўяўляе сабой унікальны помнік літаратуры, які ўтрымлівае звесткі пра Паўночную вайну, шведскі паход 1708–1709 гг. і паражэнне шведаў у Палтаўскай бітве. Каштоўнасць гэтай крыніцы заключаецца ў наяўнасці ў ёй масіву інфармацыі сацыялагічнага, этнаграфічнага і палітычнага характару, якая тычыцца гісторыі Беларусі, Украіны, Літвы і Польшчы пачатку XVIII ст. Даніэль Крман, які быў накіраваны да двара шведскага караля Карла XII у якасці пасла верхненевгерскіх (славацкіх) пратэстанцкіх саслоўяў, зафіксаваў у сваіх запісах значную колькасць фактаў, што яго ўразілі. Мэта даследавання – разгледзець, як у тэксце падарожнага дзённіка Даніэля Крмана паказаны насельніцтва, рэлігія, тапаніміка, архітэктура Беларусі, а таксама некаторыя асаблівасці гэтых зямель, характэрныя для пачатку XVIII ст.

Ключавыя словы: Паўночная вайна; Беларусь; XVIII ст.; Рэч Паспалітая; падарожны дзённік.

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BELARUS IN THE PERIOD OF THE NORTHERN WAR ACCORDING TO THE TRAVELOGUE OF DANIEL KRMAN

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Abstract. The travelogue (itinerarium) of the Protestant priest Daniel Krman is not only a unique testimony about the Northern War, about the advance and defeat of the Swedish troops at Poltava, but it is also a precious well of sociological, ethnographic, and political knowledge relating to present-day Belarus, Ukraine, Lithuania, and Poland, i. e. to the regions he passed through as an envoy of the Upper Hungarian (Slovak speaking) Protestant estates. As an astute observer, Daniel Krman took notes on everything that crossed the coordinates of his Central European origins. The aim of this article is to map the images of the Belarus that relate to the population, religion, toponymy, architecture, and specifics of the Belarusian region in the early 18th century.

Keywords: Northern War; Belarus; 18th century; Rzeczpospolita; travelogue.

Introduction

In the Slovak literary space, the early germs of literary travelogue-memoires started to appear in the second half of the 16th century [1, s. 29]. As a majority of the literary works of these times, they were written in Latin. This documentary-literary genre showed its rapid development in the 17th and at the beginning of the 18th century. The overwhelming majority of the authors belonged to the ranks of Evangelical parsons and scholars. The triggering elements of this type of literary texts that are written mostly in Latin, but also in Slovakised Czech were the Turkish invasion of the Kingdom of Hungary (1663) and the religious persecution of protestant believers, notably protestant clergy starting from the second half of the 17th century. They were autobiographical texts witnessing of personal experiences with far-reaching social and political impact: the protestant priests focused on manipulated trials with trumped up charges, exile stories, and escape from the prison, but they also wrote detailed autobiographies. A specific literary genre is represented by travel diaries. In terms of cohesion, complex approach to the issue, description of local customs, and interest in linguistic and ethnographic details, a noteworthy example is represented in the «Incarceratio, liberatio et peregrinatio» by Ján Simonides and Tobiáš Masník. Both Protestant priests describe their unfair trial, sentence to the galleys, forced journey to Italy through Austria, and their escape and return home [2; 3].

A similar literary text is also represented by the travelogue (itinerarium) written by Daniel Krman¹ (1663–1740), a prominent personality of the Slovak protestant church, author of religious works and theologian [4–10] who is the main subject of this paper. From a literary-narrative point of view, compared to the texts by Ján Simonides and Tobiáš Masník, Daniel Krman's itinerarium is incomplete², but it is still a precious historiography

source describing among the rest the decisive breakthrough in the Northern War, i. e. the Battle of Poltava. At the same time, it constitutes a rich reservoir of detailed ethnographic, linguistic, and architectural information. In his travelogue, Daniel Krman does not describe only his personal experiences or stories (strictly relating to the concrete implementation of his mission), but he acts as a smart observer recording geographical, economical, commercial, and social conditions in the visited lands [11, s. 194]. Daniel Krman based his manuscript on the notes he recorded during his journey in 1708–1709. His mission had political and religious character: in 1707, in the city of Ružomberok (Slovakia, then Upper Hungary), he was assigned to a mission by the Synod (national church assembly of the Evangelical councils). Together with other representatives of the Protestant church, he was in charge of conveying a message to Charles XII, king of Sweden and Prussia. Charles XII was a Protestant sovereign and Daniel Krman was supposed to ask him for political support in favour of the Hungarian Protestants and at the same time for financial support for the Prešov Protestant college. Back then, king Charles XII was on the territory of Belarus together with his army. On 12 February 1708, Daniel Krman and another Protestant priest named Samuel Pohorský reached the Swedish army, travelling through Prussia, Poland, Lithuania, and Belarus (in other words, they crossed the territories of today's Poland, Lithuania, and Belarus). They held a letter by Francis Rákóczi thanks to which they were under the protection of the Swedish army. After several months of travelling, Daniel Krman was welcome by Charles XII at the Swedish troops' camp near Mogilev. Daniel Krman accompanied the Swedish army up to the Poltava River. After the fatal defeat, he decided to go back to the Kingdom of Hungary through Moldova and Transylvania.

¹In Slovak literature this person is known as Daniel Krman junior.

²Daniel Krman's narration ends in medias res, in the Máramaros county, i. e. in the Kingdom of Hungary but not in his native county of Trenčín (Upper Hungary).

His peregrination was full of perils. The life of the envoys was jeopardised by deserters or brigands, but also by the starving local inhabitants³, that's why Daniel Krman joined a merchant caravan from Vilnius carrying supplies to the Swedish army and escorted by Crimean Tatars. The Hungarian envoys and the Swedish troops were afflicted by various diseases, e. g. plague epidemic (which Daniel Krman encountered at least twice in Belarus, when he dwelt in Smorgon and Smolevichi) or dysentery⁴, which negatively influenced the health conditions of the Swedish troops and had a serious impact also on the defeat during the Battle of Poltava.

For the sake of our issue, an interesting part is constituted by Daniel Krman's notes relating to its passage

through current Belarus. In this regard, it is necessary to refer to an article by Peter Káša, recently published in the magazine of the Slovak-Polish Commission for the Humanities and focusing on the image of Poland and Poles in the Daniel Krman's itinerarium [13]. The following texts aims to present a similar analysis of the issues regarding ethnographic images, topography, and religious belief in relation with the territory of today's Belarus.

As we've already mentioned, Daniel Krman met Charles XII near Mogilev, where the monarch had his military camp. In his diary, Daniel Krman reports the toponyms of places he crossed or where he spent his nights (see table).

The toponyms in Daniel Krman's itinerarium

Slovak translation	Toponymical denomination noted by Daniel Krman	Current name of the site in Belarusian
Slobodky	Slobodka	?
Szol	Czol	Солы
Smorgoň	Smergoň	Смаргонь
Markovo	Markhowa	Маркава
Lebedevo	Lebedowa	Лебедзева
Radoškoviči	Radoskowec	Радашковічы
Beloručie	Biralowce	Бяларучы
Smoleviči	Smolowec	Смалявічы
Upereviči	Upirowce	?
Borisov	Borisów	Барысаў
Lošnica	Nossnice	Лошніца
Nača	Naacs	Нача
Krupky	Krupka	Крупкі
Veľký Bobor	Wielki Bobr	Бобр
Sloveny	Slawenie	Славені
Pavloviči	Pawlowice	Паўлавічы
Čičerino	Csecserin	Цяцерын
Golovčino	Holowcin	Галоўчын
Mogil'ov	Mohilovia (Mohilow)	Магілёў
Bogotec	Bochatec	?
Stalky	Stalky	Сталка
Golovenčice	Holowčice	Галавенчыцы
Čausy	Csaus	Чавусы
Čerikovo	Csernikow	Чэрыкаў
Vysokoje	Wisokium	Высокае
Zabolotie	Sapulova	Забалацце
Batvinovci	Budischinova	Бацвінава

³In a village where the Russian had burnt mills, the travellers («scared of villagers») built a bonfire and took shifts to guard it.

⁴According to his diary, Daniel Krman treated it «with forest pears and radish» and with a product recommended by the royal physician, doctor Skragge, to be prepared as follows: «Take the mixture to make pills against dysentery; make four pills and strew them with antimony powder. Ingest two pills in the evening and two pills early in the morning. Take a drachma of tea, three parts of rose and poppy flower. Drink instead of tea» (here and further translated by us. – S. M.) [12, s. 61]. Daniel Krman recovered from dysentery perhaps even thanks to such a product. For some other people this disease was lethal.

Ending of the table

Slovak translation	Toponymical denomination noted by Daniel Krman	Current name of the site in Belarusian
Moľatiči	Miletic (Mileticz)	Маляцічы
Bezvodichi	Bezvodie	Бязводзічы
Packov	Pacskow	Пацкава
Milejkov	Milowka	Мілэйкава
Kolodžin	Kolodžin	?
Moľatiči	Mileticz (Miletice)	Маляцічы
Kričov	Krucow (Kricovia)	Крычаў
Kosfukoviči	Kasstukowice	Касцюковічы
Kaniči	Kanice	Канічы
Drokova	Drokow	Дрокаўка

Note. The question mark refers to toponyms that we were not able to find in the current geographical space of Belarus. They could probably be extinct locations or merged with other settlements.

In this location, Daniel Krman and the Swedish army moved into the Moscovite (i. e. Russian) territory (Mignoviči – Michanowicz – Мигновичи), but then they soon returned to the Belarusian territory. Daniel Krman's explanation is the following: «The Swedish king would have wanted to attack the enemy had it not been for the problem of food supplies. He decided to let the enemy flee rather than see himself and his soldiers find themselves in misery from one day to the next» [12, s. 64]. Daniel Krman also mentions some more sites, located in today's Belarus (see table). The list is followed by some other sites in current Russian territory. Then, together with the troops, they move towards Ukrainian territory (Novgorod Severskii).

From the reported versions of the toponyms we observe that the Slovak translator of the travelogue⁵

tried to adapt as much as possible the toponymical names to Russian pronunciation (Čičerino, Golovčino) or choosed Slovakised toponymical solutions (Velký Bobor, Krupky). In most of the cases, Daniel Krman was rather using a Polonising phonetic transcription (Pawlowice). In the case of Mogilev and Golovchino (Mohilovia and Holowčín) he caught the Belarusian [h] phoneme in his transcription. Apart from that, he inserted the Latinising suffix *-via*, by admitting the historicity of this toponym. Daniel Krman's orthography is not stable. In the case of Mogilev, in certain places of the text, he chose the Latinised form, whereas in other places he used the Polonised form (Mohilow). Similarly, the phenomenon of the [c] phonemes ending with an suffix *-ice* in the Slovakised transcription (*-iči* in Belarusian) is trascribed by Daniel Krman either as *-c-* (Miletice) or *-cz-* (Mileticz).

Images of the Belarusian country

According to the notes in the travelogue, the topographic images of the Belarusian region can be subdivided in two categories: on the one hand, there is a devastated and burnt landscape, marked by the passage of armies (Swedish or Russian), on the other hand, endless forests and hills. Daniel Krman overcomes hills between Belaruchi and Smolevichi, then, he reaches Chicherino through «terrifyingly desolate hills» [12, s. 42]. He often spends his nights in abandoned forests, and he mostly identifies Belarus as a place with «high hills»⁶. The feeling of loneliness and fear caused by a landscape lacking human presence is intensified by images of devastation and war: the burnt and destroyed villages in the surroundings of Bezvodichi [12, s. 61], where the «Tsar [Peter I] destroyed everything with fire to leave nothing for the Swedes

to eat», clouds of smoke come out of the abandoned enemy military camp of Mileikov [12, s. 62]. Together with the merchants and the Tatars, Daniel Krman traveled towards Smolensk «a plain from which only smoke flowed» [12, s. 64]. The Belarusian landscape is marked by destruction, but it is also characterised by military structures, e. g. the Moscovite (Russian) camp close to the Berezina River, between Uperevichi and Borisov. In its description, Daniel Krman addresses the reader in the second person singular, presenting the image of the military camp directly before his eyes: «You would have seen thousands of felled trees as defence against the Swedish attacks... you would have seen reed huts, where the Moscovites took shelter from the rain; on both river banks you would have seen large trenches with ramparts and several cannons placed on them» [12, s. 39].

⁵We are talking about translation of Daniel Krman's travelogue by Gustáv Viktory that was published in 1969 [14].

⁶«Curiously enough, since we arrived to Lithuania [the Belarusian part of the Rzeczpospolita], in these high hills we did not see any birds or hares...» [12, s. 41].

Architecture and places of worship

Daniel Krman is an accurate observer of the religious architecture, also because of the fact that in his homeland he did not have any chances to encounter other religions than Judaism and Catholicism (back then, Protestantism was not a recognised religion in the Kingdom of Hungary). Its detailed descriptions of the Orthodox churches and Jewish synagogues witness of the fact that the temples of such confessions appeared to him as a foreign and exotic element, which had impressed him greatly and were then worthy of note. As for the potential contacts between Daniel Krman and the Hungarian Judaism, he might have possibly visited the Jewish prayer hall in the Trenčín ghetto or in Nové Mesto nad Váhom (in his native region). But it is also possible that he had never set foot in a Jewish synagogue in the Kingdom of Hungary because he was a Lutheran dignitary. At that time, Jews represented a rather disfavoured minority. In his travelogue, Daniel Krman often emphasises its negative stance towards them [15, s. 19–22]. Moreover, back then the concentration of Jews in the Kingdom of Hungary was not as strong as in the territory of Belarus. According to records from the times of the Rákóczi revolt, a total of about 4000 Jews lived in all counties of Upper Hungary [16, s. 264–265], whereas the share of Jewish population in the then territory of Belarus was much higher. The region inhabited by Jews was commonly called *Litvakia* (*lite* in Yiddish [17, p. 64]) and compared to the Kingdom of Hungary, here Jewish education and culture began to develop earlier, because the first yeshivas were founded already in late 16th century. For all these reasons, Daniel Krman considered that the visit of the Jewish synagogue in Radoshkovichy was a very good reason to describe it in detail in his travelogue: «Jewish synagogues... consist of two spaces: an outer one for women and an inner one for men. The first room is separated from the second by a wall with grilles or flaps; in the centre of the second room there is a raised point, with steps, and its walls are decorated with various sheets with Hebrew inscriptions. Jewish synagogues do not have domes like Russian churches» [12, s. 37].

Orthodox religion (or Uniate confession) is also considered by Daniel Krman as a religion he never met before. For this reason, even the Orthodox churches are seen as an exotic element worthy of mention. He carefully notes their structure and layout: «...the Russian churches always have three domes: the first over the room of the beggar, the second over the space for people,

and the third over the hall of priests. These domes have a beautiful wooden vault; light penetrates through their windows into the inner halls; rays of sunlight shine from above and overcome the surrounding outer hall» [12, s. 37].

Daniel Krman stops to admire the rich interior paintings of Russian churches; he even translates the transcription of the inscription «in Russian letters»: «Prygdjite blahoslawenyi Otca mojeho, nasljduyte uho-towannoje wam carstwiye ot slossenija mira [Come, you who are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world]»⁷ [12, s. 38]. He particularly mentions the church in Mogilev: «The city's Church of God is magnificent, very bright and features three domes» [12, s. 45].

Another places of reverence to which Daniel Krman pays attention are cemeteries. The Catholic cemeteries in the Kingdom of Hungary are usually either located close to churches or separated from the church area by a wall, i. e. in both cases, they are integrated in the village space. In Belarus, they are located outside the church area and outside the inhabited zone. «The cemeteries are located outside the villages, in a raised or otherwise separate area, decorated by huge birch trees» [12, s. 41]. Daniel Krman also pays attention to how the dead are buried: «In the woods, near the main route, in some areas we also saw small constructions with beams, similar to tombs, where noble people are buried. People who are not of noble birth are buried with two big stones at their feet and head; sometimes they place a small wooden cross on graves» [12, s. 41]. The separation of cemeteries from human settlements is explained by Daniel Krman with the Jewish model. According to him, since there was once a tradition among Jews to bury the dead in gardens. The separation of cemeteries (as sovereign realm of the dead, which must not collide with the world of the living people) and even the wooden barrows in the woods or the two stones placed at the head and feet of the dead are signs that rather suggest a kind of pre-Christian tradition and a Slavic interpretation of the world⁸, which became extinct later in Central Europe than in Eastern Europe (and this applies even more to the historical space of the Belarus).

Daniel Krman makes no specific mention of secular architecture in the villages, hence we can deduce that it was similar to that of the Kingdom of Hungary. The only exception is the descriptive passage to complete

⁷In the 1969 Latin original edition this text is written in Cyrillic alphabet as well as many other liturgical formulations. This is a proof that during his short passage through Belarus Daniel Krman learnt to read the Cyrillic alphabet («...here [in Krichev] a priest taught me how to read the Russian alphabet» [12, s. 65]). In the 1984 and 2008 editions, this text is reported in Latin letters and in the Old Church Slavonic script which suggests that Daniel Krman included the translation in a note.

⁸According to the religious ideas of the Slavic tribes, the Nav (the realm of the dead) had to be separated from the Jav (the realm of the living) even in material terms [18, s. 100; 19, s. 385]. In the funerary local customs, one can observe reflections of concrete efforts to preserve this separation even in the 18th century, with the burial of corpses outside the areas inhabited by men (in the woods or otherwise outside the village). In the case of noble individuals or celebrities, burial took place in structures such as memorials.

the narrative on the transfer from Sloveny to Pavlovichi, where the author describes the habitations in «Lithuania»: «Each house is separated from the other by a piece of land. At that time, they did not use fences at all; and roofs were covered with sand, sometimes protected

by long planks or in some cases with straw» [12, s. 41]. The only urban environment mentioned in the passage through Belarus is Mogilev: «This city has deep trenches, ramparts, and very large suburbs, although the city itself is not so large» [12, s. 43].

Inhabitants and society

In the travelogue, not much is said about the local Belarusian population. When it is mentioned, its misery is often denoted: in the town of Borisov «the inhabitants, according to Gypsy customs, used to sit together under the open sky and prepare bran-based meals» [12, s. 39]. Daniel Krman also relates in great detail an anecdote concerning milk spilled accidentally on the floor at a farmers' home in Markov – which should have served as food for the whole family for several days: «From the screams of the mother and the ravenousness of the children licking the milk mixed with the dirty soil, we understood how great the misery of local people was» [12, s. 37].

In his text, Daniel Krman mentions two ethnic groups of Mongolian origin (the Kalmyks and the Tatars), by always highlighting their wildness. In his opinion, the Kalmyks are «a populace of cannibals» and he comes into contact with them near Mogilev. As for the Tatars, they appear in his notes several times, because the Hungarian envoys were trying to reach Charles XII from Vilnius, together with a caravan made up of merchants and Crimean Tatars (who were supposed to protect them). On the one hand they are helpful and good protectors who do

not care too much about their comfort («they slept under the stars at night»), but on the other hand they are also depicted as cruel creatures. «Two of them [Tatars] had an argument for I do not know what reason. Suddenly, they took their axes and hit and injured one another as wild animals»⁹ [12, s. 40].

In Daniel Krman's prose we find frequent references to the Jewish ethnic group, since he often takes refuge in inns and taverns and most of the places he goes to are run by Jews (Loshnitsa, Radoshkovich, Smorgon, etc.). The images of Jews almost always have negative connotations, especially because of their avidity and also due to the fact that like the vast majority of his contemporaries Daniel Krman also regards Jews as an inferior minority and Judaism as a false religion. He also often criticises «the avidity of Polish and Lithuanian aristocrats who authorised the Jews to build their synagogues, exempted them from paying customs duties, and allowed mixed marriages between Christians and Jews, disregarding the danger of abandoning the faith – although in other places... this is forbidden and subject to death penalty» [12, s. 39].

Overview of religions

Thanks to his mission, Daniel Krman managed to access to foreign religious circles (e. g. the environment of the Eastern Church, which in those days only had representation in the eastern part of the Kingdom of Hungary). The official and state Catholicism of the Kingdom of Hungary suppressed and persecuted unofficial but increasingly vigorous Protestantism. In Rzeczpospolita, Catholicism acquires more human connotations. Daniel Krman's narration shows that the three religions present (Orthodox, Greek-Catholic, and Roman Catholic) co-existed without frictions¹⁰. Before entering the Belarusian territory, Daniel Krman explains that «in Lithuania and in other Polish territories, the Ruthenian Church is divided in Uniates, recognising the Roman Pope as head of the Church, and schismatic, never recognising him as such» [12, s. 35]. The Orthodox worship service in Krupki, where he first saw «Russian», i. e. Orthodox, rituals¹¹, is described in a neutral manner, without any stylistic or lexical signs of irony. Nevertheless, as a real Protestant, Daniel Krman

comments the devotion to saints: «People carried thin candles, lit them and in this way worshipped the saints» [12, s. 40]. In the city of Krupki, a meeting took place that contributed to Daniel Krman's many times derogatory interpretation of the Orthodox clergy¹²: «I was speaking with a priest whom they called sometimes «pop» or «püp». He was a very uneducated man. He did not even know the Russian alphabet correctly and he was complaining by stating that it is very hard to read in Russian. He was not even able to read or speak Latin and – as for his clothing – he did not differ from the peasant villagers» [12, s. 41]. Of course, Daniel Krman recorded the most evident cases of lack of education of clergymen, as the «pop» in Krupki, but elsewhere in his travelogue he states that the «pop» in Krichev taught him the «Russian letters» [12, s. 65], i. e. that man had a skill that requires a certain level of education.

Daniel Krman also attended Greek-Catholic liturgy in Smorgon, where the Uniate Ruthenians had their

⁹The Kalmyks and the Tatars are mentioned also in František Tóth's memoirs. František Tóth was a contemporary of Daniel Krman and travelled to the same ethnic-geographical environment a few decades later. In his description, both ethnic groups are characterised as «ennobled savages», since František Tóth was already influenced by Enlightenment conceptions [20, s. 27].

¹⁰The Islamic religion practised by the Tatars is not mentioned presumably because of the absence of religious symbols and rituals.

¹¹Daniel Krman uses the expression «divine services», which is typical for the Protestant rites.

¹²Tatiana Kusá (in her afterword to the itinerarium) [12], or Peter Káša [13] wrote about it.

church and he participated in ceremony of evening prayer¹⁵: «A bald-headed priest approached the altar and bowed several times before the painting of a saint; afterwards he moved on to another saint; he showed him the same veneration and then ended the celebration by muttering something in a low voice» [12, s. 36]. He noticed the devotion to saints also amongst the Greek-Catholics, which is something incomprehensible for a Protestant.

We conclude our remarks on Daniel Krman's mentions of rites unknown to him, by quoting his description of the Jewish liturgy in Radoskovich: «We accessed the Jewish synagogue; here I saw a Jew on a raised point reciting something while chanting; then there was

another one standing in front of the wall, still chanting, swinging from side to side; the other people came and went, some quickly and some slowly, and all of them had a decalogue attached to their foreheads and hands, enclosed in a leather case; and they prayed continuously. During the prayer they talked intimately with each other, even laughed; then suddenly together with the cantor they sang «Amen», sometimes almost howling; sometimes only one person sang; sometimes there were two people singing; very often, however, it happened that they all raised their voices as if they were mad or desperate» [12, s. 37]. According to his strong or emotionally tinged expressions, it is possible to observe that this worship service impressed him the most.

The steam bath as a Belarusian specific element

In Daniel Krman's travel diary, the reader encounters the contrast and antithesis that are typical of Baroque literature in general [5, s. 13]. High, sublime and intellectual themes intertwine with lower themes, religious often borders the material things of life. An emblematic passage is the one of his stay in Mogilev, where Daniel Krman notes that the local church is beautiful and boasts no less than three domes, but then he suddenly goes on to report that in the tavern called «Worldly lights» the Hungarian envoys had ordered beer, but «those obscurantists» had refused to serve them [12, s. 45]. In his text, Daniel Krman devotes attention to the prayers and liturgical readings from the Bible, which had been recited on the occasion of the king of Sweden's private divine service; and with the same intensity he then speaks of the prescription against dysentery that had been provided to him by the royal physician Skragge. Also due to his ability to capture

the sublime and, at the same time, the down-to-earth side of tangible reality, Daniel Krman certainly deserves a place of honour, as he is the first author in Slovak literature to record the existence and functioning of the steam bath, a crucial element of the Russian-speaking environment and culture: «Some of us were not ashamed to enter [the steam bath] and sweat. It was a kind of very dark shack, with a small copper boiler and some red-hot stones, on which water was dripped; and the radiated heat filled the whole space of the shack. That's what the far-famed steam bath looks like» [12, s. 40].

On the basis of the final glossing sentence, concluding the description of the bath, it is possible to assume that Daniel Krman had already heard about this typical Russian way of hygiene, but in Borisov he tried it for the first time personally. The ironically used adjective «far-famed» is an indication that reality has once again fallen far short of Daniel Krman's expectations.

Conclusions

In his itinerarium, Daniel Krman describes ethnographic characteristics, geographic specifications, and the religious-political situation on the territory of Belarus. In accordance with the canons of the Baroque literary text (which often mixes noble and elevated themes with lower-level topics), Daniel Krman describes the tiring everyday life and vicissitudes he experienced during his journey. At the same time, he also talks about his meeting with Charles XII and his mission of delivering a message from the Hungarian Protestants. He does not explicitly delineate Belarus from Rzeczpospolita, but through his descriptions he emphasises the specificities of Belarus

compared to Poland: rural character, wider ethnic variety, hilly landscape. Daniel Krman is an acute observer and his notes about ethnographic characteristics of people living in Belarus rank amongst the most valuable sources of its time. Thanks to Daniel Krman's travelogue, Slovak literature comes into possession of a picture that would later find its way into the literature, and it will become probably the most renowned archetypical topos connected with the Russian geographical space: white, tall birch trees between villages that later appear in poetic texts as aestheticising metaphors for clean nature and peaceful rural life.

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¹⁵In his text, Daniel Krman uses the term «sacra vespertina», i. e. the general notion for evening divine services. The Slovak translators chose the word «večiereň», indicating the official evening prayer of both Greek-Catholic and Orthodox believers.

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