

The Strategies of Self-Representation in the Travel Notes  
of Vasyl Hryhorovych-Bars'ky

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Submitted to  
Central European University  
History Department

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

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Budapest, Hungary

2014

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**Abstract:**

**The thesis analyzes the manuscript of the 18<sup>th</sup> century traveler Vasyl' Hryhorovych-Bars'kyj, who left account of his 24 years journey around the Holy sights of the East. The investigation focuses on the problems of authorial self-representation in the text. The work demonstrates how the 18<sup>th</sup> century author constructed the narrative, switching the codes of pilgrim, self-enlightener and curious traveler.**

## Introduction

The stone cover Vasylij,  
 In whose soul the flame of belief kindled  
 And the beam of wisdom descended on his mind,  
 The thought to visit Holy Land poured in him:  
 He, listening to the Divine Inspiration,  
 Over twenty years walked from country to country,  
 He went through sufferings on the land and in the seas,  
 And noticed everything, whatever he saw.<sup>1</sup>

The verse above is dedicated to Vasyl' Hryhorovych-Bars'kyj, son of the Kyivan merchant, who traveled from 1723 to 1747 all over Europe and Ottoman Empire by foot as a pilgrim and left more than 1000-page journal, describing his experience. The diary is kept in the Institute of Manuscripts in the National Vernads'kyj Library. Together with the diary, the case contains his sketches and illustrations of the visited cities and monasteries.

The Russian historian Nikolaj Barsukov discovered manuscript in 1880-s and conducted the most full publication of it. After that initial interest, the source was forgotten. In 1991 it brought to Harvard in for the renovation and at that time historian Alexandr Grishin worked with the source and even planned to produce a three-volume edition with a comprehensive English translation. It's not clear if the work is ongoing, but in 2009 as a preliminary result of author's investigations came out an essay "A Byzantine Pilgrim: Bars'kyj's Manuscript and Its Real and Imagined Audiences".<sup>2</sup> In 2000 "Stranstvija" was published in concise version in Kyiv, translated to the modern Ukrainian. The edition was supplemented with the articles by Petro Bilous, Orest

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<sup>1</sup> The verse is an inscription on the gravestone of Vasyl' Hryhorovych-Bars'kyj, mentioned in the publication of Nikolaj Barsukov, "Stranstvija Vasilija Grigirovicha-Barskaga Po Sviatum Mestam Vostoka S 1723 Po 1747 [Travels of Vasilij Grigorovich-Barskij around the Holy Sights of the East from 1723 until 1747]," *Pravoslavnoje Palestinskoje Obshchestvo, St. Petersburg* 1 (1885): XXXVI.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander D. Grishin, "A Byzantine Pilgrim: Bars'kyj's Manuscript and Its Real and Imagined Audiences.," in *Imagination, Books and Community in Medieval Europe*, 2009, 145.

Subtel'nyj and Ihor Isichenko. However, the analyses were limited to the scope of the introductory explorations.

The narrative of Bars'kyj represents the synthesis of the pilgrimage and travel account, including the topoi of explorer, self-enlightener and pilgrim. The author belonged to the circle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century intellectuals from Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, so the vision of the places he visited and narrative strategies involved proposes a comprehensive insight to the world of the ideas of early religious Enlightenment in the territories of modern Ukraine. The difficulties in exploration start from attributing him certain identities (Ruthenian, Russian, East European, Orthodox) and endure as we try to define the genre of the narrative. The text incorporates narrative strategies, typical for curious explorers, whereas certain parts of the text follow the pattern of pilgrimage narrative.

The education and intellectual environment, where Bars'kyj came from, influenced the strategies of author's self-representation. Though travelling as a pilgrim, Bars'kyj shared the system of values, which was common for the 18<sup>th</sup> century Orthodox Enlighteners. In order to demonstrate the ambiguities in the narrative, we will address several problems on the genre of the text, author's voice and the specifics of his evaluation of phenomena.

Since Bars'kyj articulated his travel as a pilgrimage, we will initially investigate the concept of pilgrimage and the peculiarities of pilgrimage genre. We will relate pilgrimage genre to the travel genre and explore the problems of secular/sacred narrative. Further, in the second chapter we will analyze the models of Bars'kyj self-representation between pilgrim and traveler. We will look at the topoi of explorer and the ways of description phenomena. The third chapter we will dedicate to the manifestation of the enlightenment concepts in the text. Namely, the focus will be on the author's vision of education in its connection to the moral improvement. Finally, we will demonstrate how the text was appropriated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Imperial Palestine society and contributed to the discourse of the project of Russian Palestine.

The aforementioned questions will be the first attempt to approach the narrative in the context of the Orthodox enlightenment. Because “Stranstvija” is a sizeable opus, this endeavor considers only several selected parts.

## 1. Between Pilgrim and Traveler

I, the unworthy abbot Daniil, the worst among the monks, humble, possessing many sins, unhappy in every good thing, was moved to see the Holy City Jerusalem and the Promised Land. With God's help, I visited Jerusalem and saw the Holy Land, traversed the entire land of Galilee and the Holy Sites near the City of Jerusalem, where Christ walked with his feet and showed the great miracles in those Sacred places. And with my sinful eyes I saw everything our God and King let me see, things that I had long craved to see. ... I wrote about the journey for the devoted. May those who hear or read about the Holy Land be carried to it with their souls and imagination, and may the will of God be attributed to those who have made the journey.

— Daniil

The epigraph is a quote from the earliest Russian pilgrimage account of the Abbot Daniil, who visited Jerusalem around 1106 and left his account of the journey. The quote highlights several issues which we will address in this chapter, namely the problem of the pilgrimage narrative as a literary genre in a broad sense.

Daniil emphasized that he saw everything with his own eyes and wanted to transfer the knowledge to readers and listeners in order for them to be able to imagine the pilgrimage experience. Achieving this goal required the author to be able to reproduce the pilgrimage in the text in such a fashion that it would invoke the most immediate experience of Jerusalem.

We therefore need to look at the peculiarity of the narrative structure of pilgrimage accounts and the problem of the authorship and the agenda of the narrator, as well as the readership of pilgrimage texts. The analysis is thus not limited to the author of the text, but includes the presumed interpretative community of the text.

Firstly, let's briefly consider the phenomenon of pilgrimage itself and its relation to textuality.

## 1.1. Pilgrimage from the anthropological perspective

Sociologists, anthropologist, cultural geographers and historians have addressed the phenomenon of pilgrimage from various perspectives.<sup>3</sup> Geographers have worked on mapping the pilgrimage routes and infrastructure, while sociologists have tried to understand the pilgrimage as a process of migration, with the corresponding changes in social structures.<sup>4</sup> We will focus primarily on anthropological perspectives on the problem.

One of the most influential works on pilgrimage is Victor Witter Turner and Edith L. B. Turner's *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. The Turners used the anthropological concept of *limen* (liminality) introduced by Arnold van Gennep, which he elaborated while exploring the rites of transition. Arnold van Gennep described the rites of transition as a three-stage phenomenon: separation, limen or margin, and aggregation.

The first phase comprises symbolic behavior signifying the detachment of the individual or group, while in the second liminal phase the state of the subject becomes ambiguous, and he passes through a realm or dimension that has few or none of the attributes of the past or future state, being between the familiar lines of classification. In the third phase the passage is consummated, and the subject returns to classified social life.<sup>5</sup> The time spent on the road corresponds to the liminal stage, and it is characterized by the change of behavioral models of the pilgrim, for instance, special diet, clothing, and begging for alms.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> N. Collins-Kreiner, "The Geography of Pilgrimage and Tourism: Transformations and Implications for Applied Geography," *Applied Geography* 30, no. 1 (January 2010): 153–164, doi:10.1016/j.apgeog.2009.02.001.

<sup>4</sup> N. Collins-Kreiner, "Researching Pilgrimage," *Annals of Tourism Research* 37, no. 2 (April 2010): 441, doi:10.1016/j.annals.2009.10.016.

<sup>5</sup> Judy A. Hayden and Nabil Matar, *Through the Eyes of the Beholder: The Holy Land, 1517-1713* (BRILL, 2012), 2.

<sup>6</sup> Victor Witter Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (Columbia University Press, 2011), 4.



The second important concept elaborated by the Turners is *communitas*. The authors assume that during the pilgrimage, when the normative social structures break, the group of pilgrims experiences a sense of unity and equality, sharing the same road.<sup>7</sup>

The Turners' idea of liminality gives a key to understand the behavioral modes of pilgrims, as they encounter places and peoples, respond to difficulties and dangers on the road. The authors' emphasis on the social bonding in the pilgrimage is relevant for our research as well. We will come back to this aspect later.

Apart from the aforementioned problems, in social anthropology pilgrimage is compared to the tourist's experience from the perspective of expectations and goals of the travel, perception of the space (proximity, idea of the center/periphery) and the peculiarities of infrastructure along the tourist's and pilgrim's routes. The first question of the goals and expectations usually falls into the bipolar distinctions of the secular/religious pursuit. The post-Turner critique centers on the irrelevance of the clear demarcation between the secular and religious travel practices. Anthropologists such as Smith and Cohen take these distinctions as social constructs which veil the individual's experience and perception of travel. For Smith the concept of travel is seen as a continuum which encompasses different forms of movement, with the pilgrimage as a particular form of travel.<sup>8</sup>

In religious studies the concept of the center has been fundamental for the idea of pilgrimage as a peculiar type of destination. While analyzing the experience of the sacred space in his work "The Sacred and the Profane," Mircea Eliade introduced the concept 'center of the world'. For Eliade the sacred space, in contrast to the profane, requires the idea of orientation: "for nothing can begin, nothing can be done, without a previous orientation—and any orientation implies acquiring a fixed point. It is for this reason that religious man has always sought to fix his

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 31–34.

<sup>8</sup> Noga Collins-Kreiner, "Geographers And Pilgrimages: Changing Concepts In Pilgrimage Tourism Research", *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 101, no. 4 (September 2010): 441, doi:10.1111/j.1467-9663.2009.00561.x.

abode at the "center of the world."<sup>9</sup> In contrast to the sacred space, Mircea continued, the experience of the profane space is homogenous and disoriented. The *hierophany*—the act of manifestation of the sacred, is demonstrated by the author as a rupture in the homogeneity of spatial experience.<sup>10</sup>

We can assume that the idea of orientation in spatial experience is one that will reveal to what extent the traveler perceived the itinerary as religious or secular. At the same time, we suppose that the main characteristics of any travel (either secular or profane) involves code-switching—the pilgrim can become amused by curiosities along the way, while the secular traveler can experience sacred space while passing by religious landmarks.

Taking into account the anthropological perspective, which will be useful in our analysis, we should also emphasize that while we are looking at the pilgrimage from the historical viewpoint, we are not able to go to the field. The only thing that we have at our disposal is a written account, which should be considered as an autonomous product, which is different from the direct experience. That is why we mentioned at the beginning that it would be crucial at this point to look at the relation between the pilgrimage as an act and as a text.

Alexia Petsalis-Diomidis and Wes Williams argue that completion of the pilgrimage cannot necessarily be separated from the writing of it as a literary replication. Williams writes that the whole process of walking, telling stories and writing them down is a single continuum which should be analyzed in its complexity.<sup>11</sup> As Daniil put it, his pilgrimage would be over once other people shared his experience of the Holy Land. The narration of the pilgrimage thus on the one hand constitutes the mission of the pilgrim himself, and on the other hand broadens the community to those who will read or listen to the story about the Holy Land. The question of the pilgrimage narrative thus is tightly connected with the question of social bonds.

<sup>9</sup> Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, vol. 144 (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1959), 22.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 144:11.

<sup>11</sup> Simon Coleman and John Elsner, *Pilgrim Voices: Narrative and Authorship in Christian Pilgrimage* (Berghahn Books, 2003), 4.

The Gospel of Luke describes two people going from Jerusalem to the village of Emmaus after the Crucifixion. While the two travelers walked, they met Jesus, who revealed himself to them after the literal and liturgical act of breaking the bread. After the heroes understood the truth that Jesus was resurrected, they ran back to Jerusalem to share the knowledge. (Luke 24:13-33)

What is noteworthy about the story is that it is built around conversation, both between the two men, with Jesus, and with the people of Jerusalem. The process of the transformation of the story and its dissemination to the others constitutes the main subject of the passage.

This passage became the paradigmatic one for the medieval idea of a pilgrimage, where Jesus was seen as the goal of the pilgrimage and as an exemplary pilgrim at the same time. As Simon Coleman and John Esler argue, by bringing together the idea of itinerary and storytelling, the “Emmaus paradigm” represented the model for medieval pilgrims.<sup>12</sup>

On the one hand the pilgrim’s voyage is uniquely individual. But on the other hand, as Helena Moore writes, he is brought into the company of other pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land. The specific bonds within the group of pilgrims are constituted by the act of storytelling, which follows the rules of a particular discursive field.<sup>13</sup> The discursive field is not limited to the actual fellow pilgrims sharing the road, but includes the ones following the same road in the future—readers, listeners, and copyists.

Another important social aspect of the pilgrimage narratives is its function in lending sacral legitimacy to the apparatus of secular power. Social anthropologist Glenn Bowman has argued that on the one hand the pilgrimage narratives familiarized readers/listeners with the East, which they knew solely from the scriptures, and on the other hand created the associations of the sacred place with certain political and ecclesiastical authority structures. The legitimacy of power in many ways was connected to a presence in the Holy Land.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 6.

We have analyzed the way pilgrimage was conceptualized in various fields of knowledge. To sum up, pilgrimage writing constitutes a type of text which not only reproduces a discrete experience, but also relates to the transfer of knowledge about the Middle East and the development of communal bonds.

## 1.2 The genre of pilgrimage narrative

In the 1970s the concept of *genre* was at the stake of historians and literary critics, as the term was seen as a constituting for the structuralist approach in linguistics. The discussion evolved around the skepticism, which addressed the concept of genre as metadiscursive phenomenon, detached from the historical reality. The revision of the genre theory as a metadiscourse resulted in the redefinition of the term and its connotations. Mainly, the critique rose the questions of normativity in uniting certain texts as genres. Jacques Derrida in reasoning of law and counter-law in the functioning of the genre wrote: “as soon as genre announces itself, one must respect a norm, one must not cross a line of demarcation, one must not risk impurity, anomaly, monstrosity”<sup>15</sup>.

The deconstruction of the concept of genre questioned its relevance for the literary theory in general. However, some theorists brought new meaning to the concept with consideration of critique.

One of the most influential literary theorists, Tsvetan Todorov, in regard to the discussion of the genre theory, shaped the new conceptual framework for the analysis of the genres. In his essay *On the Origins of the Genres*, Todorov wrote: “A genre, whether literary or not, is nothing other than the codification of discursive properties (...). It is because genres exist as an institution that they function as ‘horizons of expectation for readers and as ‘models of writing’ for authors.”<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Jacques Derrida. *The Law of Genre*, from David Duff, ed., *Modern Genre Theory* (London: Pearson Education, 1999), 221.

<sup>16</sup> Tsvetan Todorov. *Origins of the Genres*, from David Duff, ed., *Modern Genre Theory* (London: Pearson Education, 1999), 198.

Such definition enables to look at the genres not exclusively within the disciplinary field of literary criticism, but to reflect on the genre as a social phenomenon.

The pilgrimage narrative belongs to a genre with strictly prescribed discursive properties. Firstly, it refers to the pilgrimage as a textual representation, which served as a tool to elevate the piety not only of the 'real pilgrim', but also for the imaginative audience. Secondly, narrative had to fulfill the knowledge transfer as referring to the legitimizing function of a pilgrimage for the secular power. Therefore, Todorov's analysis seems relevant for the analysis of the development of pilgrimage narrative as a genre.

We already mentioned the problem of sacred and secular travel from the anthropological perspective. When we analyze the pilgrimage narrative, the same problem becomes salient. For any genre develops through the processes of transgression and intersection of discourses, and the pilgrimage genre was influenced by changes in religious and secular discourses. Thus, for example, Donald R. Howard distinguishes three types of texts within the pilgrimage accounts in the late medieval and early modern history. Based on the body of writings about Jerusalem, Howard distinguishes *log*, *narration* and *guide*.<sup>17</sup> The distinction is not rigid, however, since any text could combine features of several types.

Logs usually represented a list of places and expenses, describing the routes and prices. Guides were more elaborate writings, which targeted the exact circle of future pilgrims. They contained information about the money changes, description of relics and shrines on the road, routes and other practical issues for prospective pilgrims. Sometimes guides contained narrative parts.<sup>18</sup> Apart from the practical issues, the guides included a lot of objects of curiosity, such as rulers of different countries, pagan temples, characteristics of the local economies etc. The pilgrim's fascination by the worldly *curiositas* in the medieval times was supposed to be dangerous and harmful. Justin Stagle in his *History of Curiosity* wrote that for medieval moralists

<sup>17</sup> Donald Roy Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and Their Posterity* (University of California Press, 1980), 18.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

'*curiositas*' was 'a wandering, unstable state of mind', which was 'exemplified in metaphors of motion and in the act of travel'.<sup>19</sup> In medieval times it was exactly 'curiosity' that led the pilgrim astray and put pilgrimage in bad repute. The warnings of Church Fathers and preachers against curiosity did not diminish the accounts of curious observations. However, the authors had to involve various narrative strategies in order to frame the description separately from the main body of the account. For example, in the narrative part from the guide *Information for Pilgrims*, which contained objects of curiosity, the author switched to third-person narration.<sup>20</sup> Usually the author demonstrated recognition that the curiosities described were *contemptus mundi*. After the whole text or particular 'secular' passages the author could also add a humble paragraph on worldly vanity and the mission of the pilgrimage.<sup>21</sup>

However, from the late 14th century humanists brought a new evaluation of travel.<sup>22</sup> Humanists revisited the antique understanding of travel as the pursuit of knowledge. In Herodotus's *Histories* the word *theoria* linked together the process of travel as motion, observation, and the process of obtaining wisdom. Plato in turn gives an even broader implication of the practice of travel for the acquisition of knowledge: the observation of other practices and people will help the polis to evolve and to preserve its own laws. Roxanne Euben assumes that *theorizing* in the context of Plato and Herodotus was understood as a practice connected to the comparative insights of firsthand observation.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, the reassessment of the concept of curiosity and travel generally from the late 14th century onward has been tightly connected to the idea of general improvement. Discussions about the usefulness and dangers of curiosity would

<sup>19</sup> Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550-1800* (Taylor & Francis, 1995), 48.

<sup>20</sup> Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims*, 23.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>22</sup> Stagl, *History of Curiosity* (Routledge, 2012), 49.

<sup>23</sup> Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore* (Pearson Education India, 2007), 23.

emerge now and then in the context of encountering new lands and nations, religions and scientific endeavors.<sup>24</sup>

Linda Davidson and David Gitlitz researched several cases of pilgrimage in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, comparing the writings of two Italians (one Jew and another Catholic), trying to distinguish characteristic features of the early modern accounts of the Holy Land. The authors demonstrate that from the first lines of the introduction both of the pilgrims explicitly represent themselves less as pilgrims than as chroniclers. The authors argue that the motifs of travel (including dangers and hardships, exotic places and encounters) prevail over the patterns of pious journey.<sup>25</sup> However, on my opinion, this text demonstrates how the genre of pilgrimage underwent changes since the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The article lacks details on authors' voices and the implicit utterance on the purpose of travel.

Apparently, the new evaluation of curiosity influenced the genre of pilgrimage and made the patterns more open for the transgression and influence from the other travel writing genres. The reassessment of the travel leads to the change in different genres of travel narratives – both secular and religious. The limits of the religious, educational and diplomatic patterns of travel notes became even more vague. Authors tended to include the natural observations, descriptions of the current affairs, history and ethnography of the nations of Ottoman Empire. These narratives lying at the intersection of different genres are characterized by the switching codes between different meanings (in representation of space, social groups and ethnicities).

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<sup>24</sup> Neil Kenny, *The Uses of Curiosity in Early Modern France and Germany* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

<sup>25</sup> Linda Kay Davidson and David M. Gitlitz, "Pilgrimage Narration as a Genre," *La Corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures, and Cultures* 36, no. 2 (2008): 15–18, doi:10.1353/cor.2008.0013.

### 1.3. The development of the Russian pilgrimage genre

The traces of early Greek *proskinitari* or ‘travel guides’ for pilgrims date back to the seventh century. The texts which have reached modern times are dated to the 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Danilov in his analysis of the peculiarities of the genre states that there are many similarities between different Greek *proskinitari*. Moreover, the structure and the content of the Russian *khodzheniia* in many ways reproduces the same pattern: dry and precise reproduction of the distances and measures to show the credibility of the account and prove the pilgrim’s own experience, as ‘seen by my own eyes’.<sup>26</sup>

In Kievan Rus the first *khogdenie* was left by the abbot Daniil from Chernihiv in 1106. His narrative follows the pattern that we analyzed above, and actually the very experience of the Daniil is under question, as many parts are likely to have been borrowed from Greek sources.

Galina Yermolenko has proposed exploring pilgrimage narratives with respect to a new scenario of power (to use Richard Wortman’s concept) that arose in the fifteenth century. This scenario depicted the legitimacy and authority of Muscovy as grounded in its status as the Third Rome, the last and eternal Christian empire, while the images of successive tsars were compared with the image of Constantine. During this period tsars regularly sent both pilgrims and diplomats to Ottoman Porte in order to project their authority: “By sending his envoys to the East, Ivan IV displayed his universal authority, as well as the continuity between the sacred Holy Land, the holy sites of Constantinople, and the Moscow realm”.<sup>27</sup>

Like the western pilgrimage narrative, the genre of *khogdenija* was changing. Predominantly, researchers picture the transformation of the genre in terms of the displacement: allegedly, secular travel narrative form gradually replaced the sacred pattern. The aforementioned

<sup>26</sup> Danilov, O Ganrovuh Osobennostiah Drevnerusskikh “Khogdenij”[On the peculiarities of the genre of *khogdenia* from the Old Rus], *Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoj Literatury* vol. 18(1962): 22

<sup>27</sup> Hayden and Matar, *Through the Eyes of the Beholder*, 63–64.



changes are seen in the context of social changes in the eighteenth century: the reforms implemented by Peter, which intensified secular travels and geographical and natural investigation, appropriation of the ideas of Enlightenment and educational reforms. Other researchers suppose that the process of the genre of transformation started even earlier, gradually secularizing.

Kirillina supposes that from the 16th century the rise of literacy led to the circulation of texts among travelers and in the mid-16th century resulted in growing curiosity about secular knowledge - geography, history and customs of different peoples on the way to Holy sites.<sup>28</sup> The image of the Holy Christian East in Russian culture was fashioned by the complex of texts and images, among which pilgrimage narratives were one of the major sources of knowledge about Middle East. Svetlana Kirillina analyses the image of Arab-Ottoman world through the eyes of Russian pilgrims. The author assumes that in 16th and 17th centuries the pilgrimage notes have become popular readings among princes, boyars and monks.<sup>29</sup> The author supposes that the 16th century is characterized by the spread and popularity of the pilgrimage narratives. Kirillina provides the rate of literacy in the 16th century Russia, assuming that 100 percent of secular clergy and up to 75 percent of monks were literate.<sup>30</sup> However, what the borders of 'Russia' are in the sixteenth century and what 'literacy' implies the author does not explain. Therefore, the given statistics likely exaggerate the situation in Muscovy. But we cannot deny the definite popularity of the pilgrimage narratives in Russia, especially from the second half of the 17th-18th centuries.

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<sup>28</sup> Svetlana Alekseevna Kirillina, "Imagining the Arab-Ottoman World in Modern Russia : Narratives of Russian Pilgrims to the Holy Land of Christianity (16th-18th Centuries)," *Archív Orientální*, no. 2 (2012): 141.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

Danilov assumes that the shift in the genre characteristics should be traced to Peter the Great's Russia, with the rise of secular knowledge and spread of the ideas of Enlightenment.<sup>31</sup> On the one hand, the activation of dialogue with the West in the eighteenth century, the Western opening/inventing of Russia and vice versa must have influenced the change within the narrative. Yet we should not look at this as a 'radical break' with older forms or a 'revolution'.

The transgression of the genre led to the changes of the genre, but the process of replacement did not seem to take place. The co-existence of hybrid patterns was especially salient in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, due to the intensification of travel practice in general. The interpenetration of the core features of the secular travelogues and pilgrimage narratives constituted the process of the genre development. One of the examples lies in the reconciliation of the term 'curiosity' in its relation to travel. .

Yuri Slezkine writes about the changing perception of travel in the eighteenth century Russia and the notion of 'curiosity' in particular. 'Curiosity' in the Peter-the-Great Russia served the double purpose of 'entertainment' (uveselenie) and 'utility' (pol'za). Slezkine states that 'utility' referred to a common good ultimately based on natural law. Utility lay in the realm of general perfection of arts and sciences and therefore in the context of the ideas of Enlightenment, and contributed to the improvement of the state per se.<sup>32</sup>

The line of discussion is framed by the dichotomy of sacred/secular travel. The researchers on the development of the genre tend to place it on a continuum with religious perception on one end and secular perception on the other. However, both anthropologists and literary critics have demonstrated that the development of the genre was not a progressive movement towards the secular travel narrative. Secular motives were present even in the narratives from the Middle Ages, but the means of articulation and the narrative strategies

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<sup>31</sup> Danilov, O Ganrovuh Osobennostiah Drevnerusskikh "Khogdenij"[On the peculiarities of the genre of khogdenia from the Old Rus], *Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoj Literatury* vol. 18(1962): 31

<sup>32</sup> Yuri Slezkine, "Naturalists Versus Nations: Eighteenth-Century Russian Scholars Confront Ethnic Diversity," *Representations*, no. 47 (July 1, 1994): 171, doi:10.2307/2928790.

invoked by the authors were different. Redefinition of the concept of curiosity widened the variety of models of self-representation for the authors and correspondingly their narrative strategies. Even more salient we can observe how the early Enlightenment in Russia influenced the genre.

## 2. Explorer in Pilgrim's Clothes: Narrative strategies in the Travel Notes of Vasyl' Hryhorovych-Bars'kyj

Vasyl' Hrygorovych-Bars'kyj was born in Kyiv in 1701 into the family of a rich merchant. His younger brother Ivan later became a famous architect of late Baroque style. From 1715 Barsky studied liberal arts in Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, the center of East European Orthodox intellectuals. Barsky came under the patronage of Theofan Prokopovych, who at that time was rector of the Academy. In 1723 Barsky left Kyiv for Lviv in order to take courses in the Jesuit college. From Lviv in 1724 he started travels that lasted for 24 years. Bars'kyj visited Pest, Vienna, Bar, Rome, Venice, and Mount Athos. In 1726 he reached Palestine, visited Jerusalem, and then sailed to Cyprus. He spent more than half a year in Egypt, three years in Syria, and in 1737 he went to the island of Patmos to study 'Hellenic art'.

Throughout his time away from Kyiv, Barsky wrote a travel journal, titled "The travels of Vasyl' Hryhorovych-Bars'kyj in the Holy Lands of the East", which in total contains 503 folios and a number of drawings.

Even though the diary was quite popular in the nineteenth century among the Russian archaeographers as a valuable source for the history of travel and pilgrimage, church architecture in the Orthodox East, the monastic and secular everyday life, it is still not represented in historiography. We can only name four historians who have published articles about Bars'kyj's travel. Among them is Nikolaj Barsukov, the nineteenth-century archaeographer, who made the most complete publication of the diary in the *Readings of the Palestine Society*. The introductory chapter to this publication represents his vision of Bars'kyj as a Russian Orthodox pilgrim-enlightener, striving against Catholic propaganda. Until recently, the researchers have neglected the diary. The translator Petro Bilous published the concise non-academic version of the diary in

2000 in Kyiv together with a concluding article.<sup>33</sup> Orest Subtel'nyj, a historian of modern Ukraine, wrote the introductory chapter. In addition, Orest Subtelnyj and baroque literature specialist Ihor Isichenko contributed an essay based on the diary.<sup>34</sup>

Petro Bilous and Ihor Isichenko in their articles address the problem of the genre of Bars'kyj's narrative. Both researchers agreed on the point that the narrative cannot be attributed to the pure genre of pilgrimage. Isichenko emphasizes the "thirst for knowledge" as the primary reason for Bars'kyj travel, but at the same time pinpoints that he is still a pilgrim. In Isichenko's vision of Bars'kyj, the pilgrimage route as a path of cognition of God became the way toward religious self-perfection. And exactly self-perfection "opened for him the internal worlds of other peoples and places". Isichenko's analysis of Bars'kyj represents the story as an isolated case, without referring to the context from which Bars'kyj came out.

Bilous mainly assumes that Bars'kyj was neither pilgrim, nor educational traveler, but just a traveler led by curiosity. Once again in the analysis Bars'kyj is mirrored as a unique figure in the history of eighteenth-century travelers.

Orest Subtel'nyj went even further, depicting Bars'kyj as an Orthodox pilgrim, who suffered exile and mistreatment at the hands of papists and uniates. Moreover, Subtelnyj wrote that Bars'kyj came out from the poor family, and was the first one in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to have a courage to leave the limits of the village.<sup>35</sup> This interpretation aims follows some of the models of Bars'kyj's self-representation and the authors seem to take his rhetoric for granted.

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<sup>33</sup> Petro Bilous, *Mandry Vasylia Hryhorovycha-Bars'koho po Sviatyh Mistsiah Skhodu Z 1723 Po 1747 Rik [Travels of Vasyl' Hryhorovych-Bars'kyj around the Holy Sites of the East from 1723-1747]* (Kyiv: Sofija, 2000), 733–747.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 5–8.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 5–6.

## 2.1. Models of authorial self-representation in the narrative

The narrative starts with a preamble, which is characteristic for pilgrimage narratives, where the author emphasized why he set out on his travels and what motivated him to write the journal. The handwriting in the preamble is different from the one that follows in the next pages. Apparently, it was written later, during the subsequent editing. It is also evidenced by the retrospective nature of the introduction. The form of the preamble corresponds to the genre of pilgrimage narrative, beautifully spelled out in the baroque stylistics.

Incomprehensible is God's wisdom, and also His Providence: His judgments are a great abyss, because not only the good [fate], but seemingly evil leads to a good end... When I was testing myself in the arts (studies) [in Kyiv], I could never imagine that I would travel to distant lands and do great work, and release myself from many troubles, and venerate many Holy Sites, and see and describe beautiful buildings and famous monasteries, church rites, and also the lives and deeds of many virtuous men and other remarkable things (...) For that purpose I have described everything for the Glory and Praise of God and for the benefit of readers and listeners without any other purpose but for the prayers (of readers) over my unworthiness, and for them to wonder at the Lord's Providence.<sup>36</sup>

The author starts the narrative with Psalm 35 on the mystery of God's Providence, rephrasing and giving a direct quote (His judgments are a great abyss – Psalm 35:7). The language of the preamble is simplified Church Slavonic with presumably Ukrainian phonetics. The trope of unworthiness corresponds to the conventional topos of humility, which is a main type of self-representation for the pilgrimage narrative. A similar trope is used by Daniil (the *khodzhenie* which became exemplary for further pilgrims). The author talks explicitly about the aim of his writing – for the benefit of the readers and hearers. The author's example had to demonstrate the

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<sup>36</sup> Vasyl' Hryhorovych-Bars'kyj, "Stranstvija", 1 r. IM VNLUV, Fond I, 7564

readers how God's Providence led Bars'kyj toward self-perfection: "how from a decaying root and weak ground [the Lord] guided me to the right ending."<sup>37</sup>

After the preamble, the author narrates his biography, which revolves around his educational pursuits. Against his father's will but with his mother's blessing, he manages to enter the Kyiv-Mohyla academy under the patronage of Theophan Prokopovych.<sup>38</sup> The language of this part of the text is closer to the spoken and less complicated by allusions and tropes.

Further Bars'ky brings the reader to the beginning of his journey, which is connected to a disease of the leg which his doctors in Kyiv could not heal. At that moment his fellow student Iustyn Lennits'kij was going to Lviv for studies. Bars'kyj decided to join his friend, since he had heard about the good doctors in Lviv. In 1723 he left Kyiv.<sup>39</sup> On their way to Lviv, Bars'ky mentioned Holy Dormition Pochayiv Lavra, which is one of the most visited pilgrimage sights. The author provided a list of miraculous objects in the monastery – the imprint of the foot of Holy Mary in the stone and the relics of saint Jov. It is noteworthy that he did not visit the monastery, but commented on the saint's relics: "whether the relics are authentic or not I did not verify (ne ispytah), since at that time I was not curious".<sup>40</sup>

The author did not write about being disappointed because he could not venerate the relics, but instead noted that he was not able to check the authenticity of the latter. Moreover, the neglect of the holy site was explained by the lack of curiosity he observed in himself as time passed. In this passage we see that personal observation and verification for Bars'kyj is the way to gain knowledge. The idea of observation and experience as measures of knowledge was

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 1r.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 1r.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 1v.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 1v.

recurrent in Bars'kyj's text. This idea was articulated also in the sermons of his teacher and patron Theophan Prokopovych in 1717.<sup>41</sup>

Finally, when Bars'kyj reached L'viv, he easily healed his leg. And for him the goal became to study together with his friend Iustyn at the Jesuit college in L'viv, which was a renowned intellectual center. The way they entered college became a real adventure. This passage is extended and rich in details, *oratio ficta*, and quotations from Scripture. For the purpose of studying there, Bars'kyj and Iustyn pretended to be brothers of Uniate confession from the Polish city Bar. In an entertaining manner Bars'kyj wrote how they cheated the prefect of the college, due to being well educated (especially in Latin). They did not manage to conceal their true origin for more than seven days, as they provoked conspiracy from the students, who uncovered them in front of the prefect.<sup>42</sup> By way of justifying the narrative transition from their successful trickery to the uncovering, Bars'kyj wrote: "Lord did not want us to stay there for a long time and did not leave His children, who learnt the Orthodox teaching, to be spoiled by the evil morals".<sup>43</sup> After the long description of their exclusion, with the dialogues and reactions of their professors and friends, Bars'kyj continues the story about college. Armed with the quote from the Gospel of Matthew, they decided to come back to the college: "Blessed are you when people insult you, persecute you and falsely say all kinds of evil against you because of me. Rejoice and be glad, because great is your reward in heaven, for in the same way they persecuted the prophets who were before you." (5:11-12).<sup>44</sup> Bars'kyj and Iustyn went to the bishop of the Uniate Church Athanasij Sheptyts'kyj to ask for protection. Apparently, both Bars'kyj and Iustyn had connections with the upper hierarchy of the Church, enabling them to seek help in solving their

<sup>41</sup> Dirk Uffelman, "Formalnoje Prosviashchenije Feofana Prokopovicha"[Formal Enlightenment of Theophan Prokopovich], *Russian Literature*, 18th Century Russian Literature, 52, no. 1–3 (2002): 55–94, doi:10.1016/S0304-3479(02)80060-6

<sup>42</sup> The story of the conspiracy, as narrated by Bars'kyj, is also an example of fascinating reading. Students, who uncovered the origin of friends, wrote a fake letter ostensibly on behalf of the friends' parents from Kyiv, begging to come back home and rescue themselves from the evil papists. Further, conspirators through some woman delivered the letter to prefect.

<sup>43</sup> Hryhorovych-Bars'kyj, "Stranstvija Vasylija Hryhorovycha-Bars'kogo Do Sviatoji Zemli Skhodu," 2r.

<sup>44</sup> Vasyl' Hryhorovych-Bars'kyj, "Stranstvija", 2 r. IM VNLUV, Fond I, 7564



ambiguous situation. Bars'kyj indeed had good relationships with Theophan Prokopovych, while Linnyts'kyj was a brother of Varlaam Linnyts'kyj, the former archbishop of Pskov and from the 1715 abbot of the prestigious St. Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery. Even though Varlaam in the 1720s was not at the zenith of his fame—he had earlier been accused of alcoholism and unrest in his parish—but by this time he had built up a powerful network of connections in Kyiv, Pskov, Jerusalem, and Constantinople. Apparently his brother Iustyn was able to reap the benefits of that network.

Sheptyts'kyj successfully arranged their return to the academy. However, their enchanting return to the ranks of college students lasted only two weeks. Quite soon they decided to continue on their way for reasons which Bars'kyj distinctly identified: “1) so that they (other students) did not dig a new deep hole for us 2) so that they did not make us join their confession 3) so that we could go to the other cities and see other peoples’ customs, and other various reasons”.<sup>45</sup>

The story about the Jesuit College revealed several elements of the narrative strategies employed by Bars'kyj. The story did not fall into the pattern of pilgrimage, since primary attention was paid to Bars'kyj's struggle for self-education. Because this part of the text is rich in details and extremely elaborate, instilling in the reader a sense of presence, it means that Bars'kyj finds it important for his self-representation. The value of trickery and a sharp mind is lightly excused by passages from Scripture and references to God's Providence. Moreover, the quote from Matthew is used as a support of their struggle against the prefect. Bars'kyj describes them as persecuted for the sake of truth.

The lone utterance is always part of broader interpretative community, so we may assume that this system of values and priorities would be understood and accepted by the targeted readership. Presumably the Kyivan elite (both secular and clerical) could support the pursuit of heroes. Indeed, the example of Theophan Prokopovych, who converted several times in order to

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 3 r.

get education from the best European schools (Jesuit and Protestant) is one of the most renowned cases.

After leaving the college together with his friend Iustyn and the priest Stephan they decided to go to Rome as pilgrims. The chosen direction did not correspond to the conventional Orthodox pilgrimages. For the planned journey they needed letters patent – permits for traveling as pilgrims, which enabled them to enter cities and monasteries and granted them certain privileges. The quality of the patent determined the safety of pilgrims and their treatment on the way. The travellers managed to get patents both from the Uniate Archbishop and the prefect of the Jesuit College<sup>46</sup>. Moreover, we later learn that in exchange for certain “beneficence” Bars’kyj received a patent from the Lviv “Jewish Cohort”, which secured him hospitality from the Jews around Sambir.<sup>47</sup>

The author did not fail to remember the details on getting patents. The value of tolerance and cosmopolitanism turns out to be more important for his narrative than other patterns of writing about the other religions/nations. Not only did he not condemn Catholics, Uniates or Jews, but he also built quite successful connections with them. Bars’kyj demonstrated the same openness to Calvinists and Lutherans on the way to Budapest. On the way he visited the Calvinist college and talked to the principal. The next day he spent the night at the house of another Calvinist, whose name he did not mention.<sup>48</sup> When the author writes about the dangers of the Jesuit science, the phrases are exclusively situational and seem to be for the sake of rhetoric. Meanwhile we can hardly find any accusations of Uniates as schismatics or heretics. The ability to “play” a Uniate serves as proof that Bars’kyj the Orthodox-Uniate struggle was not at a stake. What is more, the prominence given to this passage by Bars’kyj shows that this skill of profitable “hat changing” was appreciated within his “moral community.” For eighteenth-century intellectuals, cosmopolitanism and multilingualism was of a higher value than dogmatism.

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 3v.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 5r.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 7r.

The question of self-representation as pilgrim becomes especially salient in the part when Bars'kyj started the pilgrimage. As a narrative strategy, Bars'kyj decided to look at the process of *becoming* a pilgrim, as if describing it from the observer's view. At this part he deliberately detached himself from the identity and practice of pilgrim in order to demonstrate the process of behavioral change. Bars'kyj started with the description of clothes in the manner he later used for the description of other peoples' clothing.<sup>49</sup> Further, and not without pride, he mentioned his first experience of begging for alms at Košice: "within one and a half days of entering the city we were begging for alms, though it was with some shame that we resorted to this new art".<sup>50</sup> Later Bars'kyj wrote that their co-traveller priest Stephan left them: "he was ashamed to be friends with us because we begged for alms, so he separated".<sup>51</sup>

The process of *becoming* a pilgrim, described by Bars'kyj, gives a unique opportunity to trace in the early modern account author's reflection on the stage of liminality. The author consciously formulates the disentanglement from the conventional behavioral model.

Bars'kyj's self-observation as a pilgrim is an interesting strategy, one which cannot be found in secular travelogues and in pilgrimage narratives, and it makes his writing special. In terms of travel arrangements and practices Bars'kyj can equally be seen as a pilgrim: he travels with pilgrimage permits, dressed as pilgrim, asking for alms, visits churches and monasteries as a thanksgiving for the successful treatment of his leg.

## 2.2. The topoi of explorer in Bars'kyj's narrative

At the end of the seventeenth century the Jesuit scholasticism in Kyiv-Mohyla Academy was under criticism from professors influenced by German pietism. Through the movement of *purification*, pietists mainly in Halle and the "Orphanage House" appropriated the ideas of

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 4r.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 6r.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 6v.

Enlightenment.<sup>52</sup> The exchange of ideas between the circle of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and Halle will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. Now we will only consider the problem of empiricism in the eighteenth-century courses of Logics and Philosophy, since it influenced the way Bars'kyj would write about his experience while travelling.

The history of the philosophy education in Ukraine is hardly represented in the historiography. The course materials were not published, so they are still kept in the National Library, and only a few historians has dug into the field. One of them is Dmytro Chygevs'kyj. Chygevs'kyj has written that by the middle of the eighteenth century, the study curriculum in the Academy was gradually changing, appropriating Cartesianism and Empiricism. Since the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the Philosophy class was based on the new textbook written by Edmund Pourchot, a professor from the University of Paris.<sup>53</sup> He was trained in the works of Descartes and accused of Cartesianism in the Paris parliament in the 1670s. The result of his teaching was gathered in the textbook *Institutio philosophica ad faciliorem veterem ac recentiorum philosophorum lectionem comparata*<sup>54</sup>. Secondly, by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the empiricist Friedrich Baumeister exerted even stronger influence. The latter author was particularly concerned with the problems of perception and direct experience in the process of cognition. The *Metaphysics* of Baumeister addressed the issue of ability to perceive through the sense organs and the direct connection of perception with the soul which cognized.<sup>55</sup>

Even though Baumeister's textbook was approved later than the years when Bars'kyj studied in the Academy, the intellectual environment in Kyiv during the activity of Stephan Javors'kyj and Theophan Prokopovych enabled the transfer of knowledge and ideas of the new

<sup>52</sup> *Dialog Kul'tur: Materialy Pershyh Naukovykh Chytan' Pamjati Dmytra Chygevs'kogo*[Dialogue Of Cultures:Materials of the First Scholarly Readings in the Memory of Dmytro Chygevs'kyj], Kirovograd-Kyiv, 17-19 October 1994, ed. Lesia Doogva , 55–56.

<sup>53</sup> Dmytro Chygevs'kyj. *Narysy z istoriji filosofiji na Ukrajinii*[Essays on the history of philosophy in Ukraine (New York: Committee of the preservation and support of Ukraine in the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1991), 27

<sup>54</sup> Giovanni Santinello and Gregorio Piaia, *Models of the History of Philosophy: Volume II: From Cartesian Age to Brucker* (Springer, 2010), 88–89.

<sup>55</sup> Friedrich Baumeister. *Metafizika Hr. Baumeistera* [Metaphysics of Christian Baumeister](V Tip. Meditsinskago departamenta Ministerstva vnutrenn'ih del, 1830), 121-124 .

Logics.<sup>56</sup> This intertextual reference is revealed in Bars'kyj's narrative, while he described objects and phenomena on the way.

Another aspect of the explorer's self-representation in the diary is the precision. This approach to the travel is reflected in Bars'kyj's description and illustrations of sites and objects he encountered as well as his attention to measures. The problem of precision and accuracy in the travel writing in Bars'kyj's account attested to the credibility of his observation and his authority in presenting the material.

After these introductory remarks, let's come back to the diary. The main question that we will consider is Bars'kyj's self-representation as explorer, as compared to that of a pilgrim.

The narrative of Bars'kyj is characterized by detailed descriptions of the lands, peoples, cities, and monasteries on his way. We saw in the first chapter that even medieval pilgrimage narratives could include many curiosities, though pilgrims were warned against the danger of excessive attention to mundane things. Thus in this respect the narrative of Bars'kyj is not distinctive. What makes the source special the author's manner of analysis of the curious objects and phenomena.

In 1729, after his second visit to Jerusalem, Bars'kyj visited Nazareth. As a separate part of this passage, Bars'kyj speculated about the story of the Holy House. According to the Catholic tradition, the Holy House was flown from Palestine to Loreto by four angels just before the final expulsion of the Crusaders from the Holy Land. Bars'ky instead is skeptical about this story and he frames his arguments against the location of Holy House in Loreto as a list of proofs:

The first reason is, as the Greeks argue and object, that neither in written nor in oral stories did they ever hear about the transfer of the Holy House from Nazareth to another country. The second reason is that the people of Nazareth themselves, learning from their parents and grandparents, have never heard that the Holy House or part of it was moved, even before the construction of the

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<sup>56</sup> Aleksandr Makovel'skij, *Istorija Logiki* [History of Logics] (Izd. «Nauka», 1967), 436-439

monastery by Saint Helene. The third and most important reason is that the building itself in Loreto does not correspond. Because in Loreto the house is built from bricks burnt in the oven, while in Nazareth there have never been buildings of bricks, and there are none of them now. But all (the buildings) are of white stone, natural, cut from the mountains nearby, and there are no bricks anywhere at all: neither new, nor old, neither on the road nor anywhere else. And if somebody looked for it carefully, he would not find it, just as I carefully looked for it.<sup>57</sup>

In order to emphasize the authority of his statement, the author also mentioned the dates and circumstances of visiting Loreto and looking at the Holy House “by himself”. Thus, his comparison was not based on the words of others, or on the knowledge gleaned from books. Bars’kyj showed that for him the knowledge of highest value is the kind experienced by himself. This observation is highlighted in the text many times. The idea of investigation in the search for truth corresponded to the changes in the educational approach in the Kyiv-Mohyla academy at the time Bars’kyj stayed there. From the end of the seventeenth century and more prominently during the time of Theophane Prokopovych, professors introduced empiricism and inductive reasoning in the philosophy class. We may apparently assume that the new status of experimental knowledge is reflected in Bars’kyj’s reasoning.

After the Italian pilgrimage and the visit to Mount Athos Bars’kyj went to Jerusalem. In the travel notes of 1726 Bars’kyj describes his experience of visiting the Dead Sea. He referred to “the location of Sodom and Gomorrah *as it is nowadays*”. For the author the Dead Sea still represented the traces of God’s wrath. The narration is rich in metaphors and Biblical allusions. Bars’kyj depicts the road to Sodom and Gomorrah as “very hard and uncomfortable... we passed terrifying chasms and caves”<sup>58</sup>. As soon as Bars’kyj and his co-travelers reach the Dead Sea they

<sup>57</sup> Hryhorovych-Bars’kyj, “Stranstvija Vasylija Hryhorovycha-Bars’kogo Do Sviatoji Zemli Skhodu,” 238r.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 161r.

found out that “the water and the shore around stinks of *fire and brimstone*... the water there always foams and roars...If you dip your finger and put it on your tongue you will feel the worst poison”.<sup>59</sup> The direct allusion to Genesis makes the story of Sodom and Gomorrah contemporaneous. But what is interesting is that the author further starts exploring the nature of the Dead Sea, and the description becomes less gloomy: “we went swimming in the sea, willing to understand the nature and power of the water, and we got to know many strange things.”<sup>60</sup> Bars’kyj writes about swimming, climbing trees, the nature of salt water to keep the body afloat, and the petrification of wood. With his fellow travelers they checked everything by themselves, and brought some salt and stones with them as objects of curiosity

This switching of codes is a characteristic feature of Bars’kyj’s narrative, from humble and God-fearing pilgrim he switches to the lexicon of the naturalist.

In the description of Jerusalem, where Bars’kyj went in March 1727, we see that his account of the Holy Sepulchre is deeply individualized. He does not only precisely depict the space, what would be characteristically for the earlier pilgrims, but the author tries to understand the nature of the Holy Fire on the Easter. Once again he made an emphasis on his personal observation as a measure of authenticity.

On the one hand, Bars’kyj writes that he feels reverence and delight in the moment of the emergence of the Holy Fire, and “all the church was filled with fiery glow and it seemed like the fiery river was flowing or the cherubim, bringing light, were flying in the Lord’s temple, and that made people feel fear and ineffable happiness”. But later the author gives the reader an interesting reflection on the emergence of Holy fire:

And if people say that the Greek archbishop somehow falsely and cunningly obtains fire, I would answer that: even if it was so (let our Lord prevent us from that mischief in our belief), it would be better to believe, than not to believe,

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 161r.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 170r.

because those who believe for the sake of God's glory do not have a sin, while those who lie, even for the sake of God's glory, commit a sin.<sup>61</sup>

In this passage Bars'kyj demonstrates a careful skepticism about the origin of fire and transfers the question of miracle into the sphere of individual belief. Later he also tries to demystify the burning nature of the fire, telling that the Holy fire is a miracle of God, and the fire itself is not miraculous. And he gives two types of arguments. The first type can be named empirical: he relates that the Holy fire has all the characteristics of the normal fire (it makes the candles melt, leaves ashes and makes the candle wick black).<sup>62</sup> The second type is theological.: "if that fire did not burn, it would be superdivine (*nadbozhestvennyi*)..." – here Bars'kyj referred to the fire which appeared in front of Moses – "and who among us would dare sinful [to experience the superdivine fire], whose life is passing within their damned and corrupted bodies?"<sup>63</sup>

Thus, the diary of Bars'kyj is an ambiguous combination of several strategies of self-representation. The pilgrimage as a practice with the corresponding form of writing is intertwined with the description of experience and practices which refer to a curious explorer. The author tended to involve various narrative strategies that he had at his disposal. In terms of chronological arrangement of the text, it also refers to the pilgrimage pattern. The time for Bars'kyj was measured and managed according to the Holy Services. Entering and leaving the city depended on the time of the Mass. The dates, which Bars'kyj used in the diary referred to the liturgical and secular calendar. Bars'kyj emphasized that the food, which he either got through asking for alms or from the hosts on the way corresponded to the restrictions of the fast.

The religious openness and the ability to play with identities is the most remarkable specificity of the text. From the analysis of text we can observe that Bars'kyj represents himself as a knowledge hunter; it is explicitly articulated in the text that for the author knowledge is both a goal and the mode of evaluation. But at the same time we can't reduce the text to the pattern of

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 170r.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 170r.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 170r.



Grand Tour, because the form of travel and the type of narrative about travel are built according to the pilgrimage narrative.

The priority of personal experience and observation determined the way Bars'kyj wrote about the phenomena he encountered. The appeal to accuracy in observation and credibility of witnessing is the most distinctive feature of his account of Holy Land. Bars'kyj's account of the Holy Land is an indirect reflection of the changes in the intellectual environment in Kyiv, which can be designated as the Orthodox Enlightenment.

### 3. Orthodox enlightener in the Greek Islands

The narrative of Bars'kyj reflected how pilgrimage was used as a tool (to structure his wanderings) and as a genre (to build a narrative). The self-enlightener and curious observer traveled for 24 years through Eastern Europe, Italy, and the Greek islands, stayed on Corfu, lived on Athos, explored the Holy Land and Levant, dwelt in Cyprus and Patmos, and stayed quite a long time in Constantinople. We already demonstrated in the previous chapter his approach to the exploration of the Holy Land. Now we will discover how he perceived other peoples and religions in his last years of travel, and what his vision of enlightenment was.

#### 3.1. Enlightenment and the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

From the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century Kyiv-Mohyla academy was a circle of church intellectuals, the center of sophisticated baroque culture grounded in the Jesuit educational system. The academy developed tight networks with Polish Jesuit schools and elaborated the corresponding curriculum, analogically to the latter.<sup>64</sup> At the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the course lectures and the list of professors reflect a strong connection of the Academy with German Protestant Universities. Epistolary sources further prove that the Kyivan church elite was part of the republic of letters, especially communicating with German pietists and Protestant Enlighteners.<sup>65</sup> The example of Theofan Prokopovych gives an idea of destinations of his educational travels. After finishing the academy, Prokopovych went to Lviv Jesuit college, converting to Uniate Catholicism. After that he visited universities in Leipzig, Halle and Jena. He was acquainted with August Francke and Johann Budde.<sup>66</sup> From 1701 he stayed in the Jesuit collegium in Rome.

The problem of Jesuit science for a long time was understood as an antithesis to the Enlightenment, but recent scholarship has demonstrated that the Jesuit academies were part of the

<sup>64</sup> Robert Lewis Nichols and Theofanis George Stavrou, *Russian Orthodoxy Under the Old Regime* (U of Minnesota Press, 1978), 48.

<sup>65</sup> Mykola Symchych, "Remarks on Influence on Philosophy Lectures at Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (at the End of 17th-18th Centuries)," *Kyivska Akademija*, no. 2–3 (2006): 83–84.

<sup>66</sup> Volodymyr Lytvynov, "Was Theophan Prokopovych the Early Enlightenment Thinker," *Kyivska Akademija*, no. 2–3 (2006): 72.

republic of letters. The differentiation within the Enlightenment in historiography enabled to recognize that Jesuits academies participated in the eighteenth-century scientific endeavor and that the image of the counter-enlighteners imposed on them by the philosophes of radical secular enlightenment should be revised.<sup>67</sup>

The example of Prokopovych shows that even the opposition between the Jesuits and Protestants did not obstruct lively intellectual communication.

By the middle of the eighteenth century Kyiv-Mohyla Academy still relied on scholasticism and baroque Poetics and Rhetoric. Simultaneously, from the times of Theophan Prokopovych, the ideas of Enlightenment appear in the Academy. Indeed, Pocock wrote that Enlightenment was not unremittingly secular or secularizing. Actually, the author continued, it partially grew out of the religious debate and it turned out to be in many instances the reinterpretation of a revealed religion.<sup>68</sup> Accordingly, by no means we should think that the process of Enlightenment was the plain appropriation of Western European model, which is generally seen as antithetical to religion. Thus, as Laszlo Kontler pointed out, the Enlightenment discourse in Central Europe should not be understood as an emanation of the French model. The processes, which occurred in the Habsburg monarchy, defined as Enlightenment, were different and had their own logics.<sup>69</sup>

Enlightenment in the Hetmanate and Russia should be analyzed for its own value, considering different levels of Enlightenment discourse in appropriate institutions.

Elise Wirtschafter analyzed the Russian Enlightenment in its connection to religion. She wrote that in the eighteenth century enlightened churchmen contributed to the moral deliberations

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<sup>67</sup> John Heilbron, "Science in the Church," *Science in Context* 3 (1989): 9-28; Steven J. Harris, "Transposing the Merton Thesis: Apostolic spirituality and the establishment of the Jesuit scientific tradition," *Science in Context* 3 (1989): 29-65; Mordechai Feingold, ed., *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003).

<sup>68</sup> J. G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 5.

<sup>69</sup> Ahmet, Górný, Maciej, Kechriotis, Vangelis, Kopecek, Michal, Trencsényi, Balazs Ersoy, *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770-1945): Emergence of the Modern "National Idea" : Texts and Commentaries* (Budapest: Central european university press, 2006), 33-34.

of the Russian Enlightenment.<sup>70</sup> The author assumed that the Russian concept of Enlightenment equated the condition of becoming enlightened with the development of moral virtue.<sup>71</sup> The church enlighteners in Ukraine and Russia, such as Theophan Prokopovych and metropolitan Platon paid attention to the education of the clergy and through this process the renovation of religion in a sense which is quite analogous to the German Pietists' Enlightenment. However, Wirschafter supposes that for the church elite the concept of enlightening education dealt primarily with the education of morality.<sup>72</sup> Thus the author depicted the Religious Enlightenment within the process of the raising social control and discipline in partnership with the monarchy.

Similarly, analyzing the enlightenment project of Theophan Prokopovych, Dirk Uffelmann wrote in his article that for him the Church was seen as an instrument of education primarily.<sup>73</sup>

However, the problem of the Religious Enlightenment should not be reduced to the vector of moral improvement. Though Prokopovych really emphasized moral improvement as a sign of enlightenment, but he also urged adjusting Cartesian rationalism and English empiricism to the Orthodox Church.<sup>74</sup> Cherviakovskii, one of the first to explore Prokopovych's work, has argued in his *Introduction to Theology* that Prokopovych relied on the empiricism of Bacon, depriving Theology of scholastic reasoning. Prokopovych equated the testimonies in the Scriptures with evidence in science.<sup>75</sup> In his sermons and courses, Prokopovych addressed the problems of rational reasoning, personal observation, and experiment. Researchers also tend to emphasize the influence of Wolffianism, evidenced by the epistolary legacy. The synthesized

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<sup>70</sup> Elise Kimerling Wirschafter, *Religion and Enlightenment in Catherinian Russia: The Teachings of Metropolitan Platon* (Northern Illinois University Press, 2013), 13.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 124.

<sup>73</sup> Dirk Uffelmann, "Formal'noje Prosveshchenije Feofana Prokopovicha" [Formal Enlightenment of Theophan Prokopovich], *Russian Literature*, 18th Century Russian Literature, 52, no. 1–3 (2002): 61, doi:10.1016/S0304-3479(02)80060-6.

<sup>74</sup> Marc Raeff and J. G. Garrard, *The Enlightenment in Russia and Russian Thought in the Enlightenment*, 1973, 30.

<sup>75</sup> Platon Cherviakovskij, "O Metode 'Vvedenija v Bogoslovije' Feofana Prokopovicha [On the Method of 'Introduction to Theology' by Theophan Prokopovich]," *Hristianskije Chtenija* 1 (1878): 333.

Leibnizian-Wolffian system entered the curriculum through the textbooks of Baumgarten by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>76</sup>

Dmytro Chygevs'kyj has written a study of the communication between Kyiv and Halle, which provides a valuable perspective on knowledge transfer between the academies in the eighteenth century. During the activity of August Francke, the University of Halle developed a strong network with Polish, Hungarian, and Russian scholars. One of the ways in which the center managed to build effective connections was through publishing activity. In particular, pietists were concerned with the translation and publishing of the Scriptures in vernacular. Chygevs'kyj wrote that the dynamic scientific center attracted scholars from Kyiv-Mohyla academy as well.<sup>77</sup>

However, for some thinkers, the Enlightenment project resulted in an identity crisis: baroque scholasticism came to be marginalized and perceived as backward. This crisis resulted in the search for new roots for identity in opposition to the Westernization of Peter the Great and to Theophan's curricular reforms.<sup>78</sup>

Thus hybridity and various forms of cultural appropriation characterized the intellectual life of Kyiv in the 18th century. One of the emerging topoi became the Church Enlightenment, which was a form of synthesis of German early Enlightenment and Orthodox worldview. The main emphasis was on the education within Church, with the foremost attention to the education of priests.

### 3.2. Bars'kyj's account of the Greek islands

<sup>76</sup> Uffelman, "Formal'noje Prosveshchenije Feofana Prokopovicha," 64.

<sup>77</sup> Dmytro Chygevs'kyj, *Ukrajins'ki druky v Halle* [Ukrainian publishing in Halle] (Ukrajins'ke vydavnytstvo, 1943), 9, <http://www.ekmair.ukma.kiev.ua/handle/123456789/2576>.

<sup>78</sup> G. Brogi, "Chy isnuje kanon ukrajinskoho literaturnoho baroko?," *Ukrajinskyj humanitarnyj ohljad* 2012, no. 16–17 (2012): 48.

Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in the eighteenth century was thus at the epicenter of the religious Enlightenment. Bars'kyj's alma-mater influenced the way travelers perceived the meaning of his pursuit and the way he built a narrative. As a comparative perspective we can analyze the recent exploration by Larry Wolff of travel account by Boscovich in the Balkans. The author analyzed the perception by the Jesuit scholar of the Orthodox world. Wolff demonstrated that the focus of traveler's observation was not the religious difference. The emphasis was on the problems of ignorance of the clergy, poverty and lack of 'civilization'. The vocabulary of Boscovich was predominantly that of the enlightener, but not of the Jesuit in its common understanding.<sup>79</sup>

The way Boscovich explored the Balkans is very close to the narrative of Bars'kyj. The While travelling, he is interested in peoples and customs, religious rites (with the careful description of liturgy) and the level of education. Indeed the condemnation of other religion rarely appears in the text, while criticism is focused on the backwardness due to the lack of education.

In the 1730s Bars'kyj was travelling around the Aegean Islands, describing Orthodox monasteries, economy and everyday life of people. Just as Boscovich "took stock of the Orthodox clergy with Suetonius in his hand"<sup>80</sup>, Bars'kyj carefully learned about the peoples of the Aegeide of the Orthodox confession as an insider and outsider at the same time.

The description of the island of Kos started with geographical exploration and economy: types of resources, waters and soil. This was followed by an account of the city fortifications and the internal urban structure. Bars'kyj devoted a long passage and a sketch to the tree of Hippocrates, "under whose beautiful branches many people rest, especially in the summertime, hiding from the hot sun, drinking coffee, [smoking] tobacco, eating different vegetables....and

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<sup>79</sup> Larry Wolff, *Boscovich in the Balkans : A Jesuit Perspective on Orthodox Christianity in the Age of Enlightenment*, 2006, 755

<sup>80</sup> John W. O'Malley, *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773* (University of Toronto Press, 2006), 755.

many people, from Christians and Muslims and Jews, are grateful to God for offering them such beautiful and useful tree.<sup>81</sup>

It is noteworthy, that Bars'kyj did not write about the history of the tree, even though he knew the legend about Hippocrates' seed, which is proved by the inscription of the sketch. Instead, Bars'kyj provided the account on the gatherings under the shadow of the tree in the peaceful rest.

After that, Bars'kyj wrote about the population of the island by the languages spoken and religion. According to the author, people there spoke Greek and Turkish of Christian, Jewish and Muslim confessions. And after that he described the clothing of the Orthodox Christians (both clergy and laity). The passage on the clothing is intertwined with his report on literacy and level of education:

Christians there have the custom to cover their bodies with thin clothes, while Churches and Lord's temples you cannot find. The nuns and monks there are not good at Church singing, and they are not hospitable for the strangers [pilgrims]... Women there do not cover themselves, but are open to the family and strangers... There are no knowledgeable men there.<sup>82</sup>

The first sentence in the quote illustrates, that for Bars'kyj the clothing (as an indicator of certain customs and behavior) is bind to the lack of education matters on the island. Bars'kyj did not explain the bad morals of the islanders by the presence of Turks or Jews. The hostility towards the strangers and the tradition not to cover hair among women is at the same time product and result of the lack of education among priests primarily.

The same approach to the description of the clothing merged with the morals is represented in the depiction of the Christians in Leros:

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<sup>81</sup> Hryhorovych-Bars'kyj, "Stranstvija Vasylija Hryhorovycha-Bars'kogo Do Sviatoji Zemli Skhodu," 246 r.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 250 v.

Women there wear beautiful and honest clothing, and so long that it touches the ground... so that you cannot see the naked body, they cover their head with the veils and they shut their mouth in front of strangers; while they show mercy to the poor and miserable.<sup>83</sup>

Contrary to the Kos, Leros had a prominent school, headed by didaskalos Damaskin since 1726, who got educated on Patmos. The Hellenic school was under protection of the metropolitan of Iracleia: "Metropolitan Herasym of Iracleia, who came from that island Leros, because of love for his homeland, created this charity". The concept of the love for homeland is almost always in the narrative placed in the context of educational pursuit.

One the island Patmos he visited the monastery of John the Baptist, where ierodiakon Makarios organized a parish school to teach both clergy and laity basic literacy and the Holy Scriptures around the 1720-s. Bars'kyj wrote about Makarios:

Having reached the highest knowledge of Hellenic and Latin, he excelled in his virtues. He left the bishop and fame, glory and benefits, but came back to Patmos, to his homeland (...). Since that time he brought many benefits from his preaches and philosophical teachings, because he created a school and gathered many students, not only from Patmos, but from the surrounding countries. He taught Gramatica, Rhetoric, Philosophy, in Hellenic and Latin, and from many fishermen and farmers made philosophers and theologists.<sup>84</sup>

The image of Makarios is framed as an enlightener for all people, which is the typical enlightening model. Makarios is an incarnation of the Orthodox enlightener, combining the

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 251r.

<sup>84</sup> Dostygshy ge v svershennijshuju mudrost' Ellinskago i Latinskago jazyka, preduspel I v dobrodeteliakh nemalo. Tage ostavl arhiereja, i chest', i slavu, i koryst', no vozvratisia paki v Patm, v otchestvo svoje (...) Ot togo vremeni mnogyh polzova propovedmi slova bozhestvennago i uchenijem filosofskim, ibo sotvori uchilishcha, i sobrashasia k nemu ucheniki mnogi, ne tokmo ot Patma, i ot okrestnukh stran, I predavashe uchenije grammaticheskoe, ritorskoje, filosofskoje I bogoslovskoje, Ellinskim i Latinskim dialektom, I mnogi ot rybarej i zemledelov, filosofy i bogoslovy sotvory.

Ibid., 252 v.



typical monastic virtues of humbleness, mercy, and simplicity with knowledge and erudition: “man is virtuous, humbleminded, faster, chaste, kind... the muse’s wisdom knows well”.<sup>85</sup>

The broad description of Makarios in the narrative demonstrated the author’s system of values and priorities. Through the image of the hero (teacher Makarios) the author implicitly represents himself. Important aspect of the image of Makarios is his dedication to his homeland. The concept of homeland became salient from the 1730-s in the narrative. The trope of fishermen-philosophers, fashioned by Makarios in his homeland, reveals the idea of Religious Enlightenment as a means of social change.

In the narrative about Patmos Bars’kyj refers to himself in past and present. Recalling the conversation with Makarios in 1731, Bars’kyj writes:

Because earlier, he advised me, a historian who came to Patmos in order to worship the holy places, to leave travels and start learning hellenic arts for my own utility and utility of my homeland. But being young man, and thinking as a young man does, I felt happier while travelling and learning the history of different places, than while studying. So, I changed better for worse, especially in the circumstances, when russians did not care about learning hellenic arts.<sup>86</sup>

So, Bars’kyj in the end of 1730-s or even later (the part might have been written later as a memoir) perceives his travels as primarily educational. Through his evaluation, we see that the knowledge of history for him falls into the category of self-interest for the sake of quenching his curiosity. But until it is not used for the common good, it is not a sufficiently meaningful enterprise.

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<sup>85</sup> “Jest’zhe muzh dobrodetelen, smyrennomudr, postnyk, tsilomudr, nezloblyv, strannoliubyv, musijskuj hytrot’ dobre vedij”

Ibid., 252 v.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, 440

Bars'kyj arrived at Patmos for the second time in January 1737, and planned to stay at the school of Rev. Makarios, but the teacher was dying. This fact disappointed Bars'kyj, because his primary goal could not be achieved, as he planned to. So he studied under the tutorship of father Herasym, who one of the first followers of Makarios and also individually, representing himself almost as a martyr for knowledge. When Makarios died, Bars'kyj wrote eulogy, dedicated to his life and deeds. Bars'kyj explained, what were the achievements of his hard work in educating people on Patmos:

His homeland, which is Patmos, was a small and humiliated island among all the others in the White Sea, because of simplicity and lack of education, as I was talk by many people, because not only the priests there did not know the order of Church singing, but even in the monastery the abbots could not write their names in the charter. (...) While this blissful man [Makarios] .. by God's will and his own desire... with his ascetic life and sweet teachings attracted to learning Hellenic language more than 100 men and created a school, which provided classes of Grammar, Philosophy and Theology without fees for 25 years ... and with his work enlightened almost the whole Turkish Greece.<sup>87</sup>

For Bars'kyj in the end of 1730-s the concept of common good for the sake of homeland is actualized. I suppose that through bringing into the travel narrative the biography of Makarios, Bars'kyj portrays himself as well: he represents his own hierarchy of virtues and the model of behaviour, implicitly he is hinting that Makarios' life is Bars'kyj's path.

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<sup>87</sup>Sej zhe blazhennyj...Bozhim proizvolenijem i svoim proizvolenijem...dobrym svoim I podvizhnym zhytijem i medotochnymi pouchenij svoikh slovesy privleche k poucheniju Ellinskago jazuka bol'we sta dush, I svoim khodatajstvom ot osnovanija novoje uchilishche sozda, I predajushchi khotiashchim uchytysia pouchenija gramatycheskaja , filosofskaja I bogoslovskaja, bez mzdy let 25... ibo trudami svoimi prosviati edva ne vsiu Turkogreciju  
Hryhorovych-Bars'kyj, "Stranstvija Vasylija Hryhorovycha-Bars'kogo Do Sviatoji Zemli Skhodu," 323v.

Studying the Hellenic art for the perfection in arts and sciences at his homeland becomes the priority. The educational model on Patmos was based on the conventional trivium and quadrivium, relying on the Hellenic intellectual legacy, however this is the knowledge that Bars'ky understood as enlightening. In his letter to his mother from Constantinople (June 1744), he honored the teacher of Greek in Kyiv, using the enlightenment trope.

Because learning is the enlightening of mind; and where the enlightening of mind is — there is also knowledge of the truth; and where is the knowledge of the truth – there is the God's wisdom; and where is the God's wisdom – there is virtue; and where is virtue – there is the grace of the Holy Spirit.<sup>88</sup>

This quote refers to one of the main claims of the Orthodox enlightenment: through knowledge one can approach God's wisdom, which leads to self-perfection. Thus the teacher could be understood as a tool for the moral improvement of the society.

It is noteworthy that this kind of hierarchy of knowledge is characteristic for his late notes, when he is planning to come back home and provides the specific lines of his Promethean self-portrait.

From the 1740s Bars'kyj started the correspondence with Simeon Todors'kyj and Varlaam Liashchevs'kyj concerning his position of the Greek teacher in the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Both Todors'kyj and Liashchevs'kyj around the end of 1730s started teaching Greek in Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. At the same time Bars'kyj frequently asked his parents in the letters to give the information about the educational background of Greek teachers

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<sup>88</sup> Nikolaj Barsukov, "Stranstvija Vasilija Grigirovicha-Barškaga Po Sviatum Mestam Vostoka S 1723 Po 1747 [Travels of Vasilij Grigorovich-Barškij around the Holy Sights of the East from 1723 until 1747]," *Pravoslavnoje Palestinskoje Obshchestvo, St. Petersburg* 4 (1887): 62.  
Idizhe bo uchenije, tamo prosvishchenije uma; a idizhe prosvishchenije uma, tamo poznaniye istiny; a idizhe poznaniye istiny – tamo mudrost' Bozhaja; a idizhe mudrost' Bozhaja – tamo dobrodetel'; a idizhe dobrodetel' , tamo i vsiia blagodat' Sviatogo Dukha.

and to assist in communication with them. In the letter from Patmos from the 31st of August 1740 Bars'kyj wrote:

I heard that in Kyiv, the teacher very good in Greek wisdom lives. Is it true or not, I beg you to tell me about him in details: what is his name and where is he from, what is his dignity, where did he study, how good is he at knowledge...<sup>89</sup>

Apparently, on receiving the information about Todors'kyj, Bars'kyj wrote a letter to his brother Ivan with the attached letter to Symon:

Here I send you letter in Greek, composed by the art and knowledge of my own for the wise teacher Father Symon Todors'kyj, please hurry up to give him this letter personally with the appropriate bow and ask him to answer in Greek as well, with his art and power. (From Patmos, 21 of April 1741)<sup>90</sup>

Notably, that the letters to Todors'kyj were composed in Greek and Bars'kyj asked from recipient to answer correspondingly. It seems that by this request, Bars'kyj intended to examine Todors'kyj's level of education. During his correspondence with brother and mother he was constantly preoccupied with the response from Todors'kyj, which he could not receive. In his letter from Patmos (12<sup>th</sup> of March 1742) he explained, that his return to homeland depended on the letter from the teacher.<sup>91</sup>

He finally received invitation from Liashchevs'kyj in the name of Symon Todors'kyj and Rafajil Zaborovs'kyj to come to the Academy for teaching Greek in 1746, when he stayed in Bukarest.<sup>92</sup> Soon afterwards he arrived in Kyiv, sick and exhausted after his long journeys, willing to start teaching as soon as he recovers. In the last letter to his protector Patriarch Sylvester from Damascus, Bars'kyj wrote that he was

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<sup>89</sup> Letters published in the 4-th volume of the Barsukov's publication of the diary Ibid., 42.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 50.

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

“neither dead, nor alive, I lie worn out, like a piteous corpse”.<sup>93</sup> And in a few days after that, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of October 1747 he died and was buried in the Kyiv-Brats’k monastery.

<sup>94</sup>His desire to teach in the Academy left unaccomplished.

The specific shape of the Orthodox Enlightenment suggested the synthesis of the empiricism and rationalism as the tools for the religious purification and renovation. The education of Bars’kyj and his connection with the circle of church intellectuals in the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy impacted the strategies of his self-representation in the narrative as well as the way author perceived the encounters with other peoples. Being simultaneously insider and outsider in the Orthodox island of Turkish Greece, Bars’kyj gave an almost anthropological investigation of customs and peoples with the broad description of geographic landscapes. His representation of Muslims or Catholics did not contain condemnation, while the criticism of Bars’kyj is focused on the lack of education (especially within Orthodox monasteries). Especially important in his reasoning is building the connection between the education and customs. Poorly educated people are correspondingly rude in their customs of clothing. While population of those islands, which had parish schools or intellectuals in the monastery, were represented as modest and humble. The education in Bars’kyj’s account is the thing that leads to the moral improvement of the all islanders. This vision is a specific feature of the Orthodox enlighteners.

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 72.

<sup>94</sup> Grishin, “A Byzantine Pilgrim,” 150.

#### **4. “For the Knowledge and Memory and Prayer of the devoted people”: Appropriating pilgrimage accounts by the 19th century Imperial Palestine Society**

On the 18th of November 2012 the current Minister of International Affairs of Russian Federation Sergej Lavrov made a speech in the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society. In the speech Mr. Lavrov acknowledged the contribution of the common State and Church project of ‘Russian Palestine’ - the term which is used to define the institutions of Russian Orthodoxy in the Holy Land:

“Our common goal - and in that point the Ministry of International Affairs concurs with the goals of Russian Orthodox Church, Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society (IPOS) - is strengthening the humanitarian connections between the peoples of Russian Federation, countries of the Middle East and North Africa, and the Russian presence in the Holy Land. ... The Ministry of International Affairs of Russian Federation always highly appreciated the contribution of IPOS to the strengthening of peace, stability and authority of our country in this extremely important region from the geopolitical, humanitarian and religious perspective. We frequently talk about ‘soft power’ - this concept is not ours, it is translated from the foreign languages. When the force is mentioned, I always recall the words of Alexandr Nevskiy: ‘God is not in force, but in truth’. I suppose, that truth should always be our main force in this tensed world.” (28th of November 2012)

In the speech Mr. Lavrov emphasised that in the political agenda of the Russian Federation the problem of Russian presence in the Holy Land is a coherent pursuit. The humanitarian, political and economic affairs were united under a single arch. Lavrov used the words of Nevskiy - one of the main heroes in the Russian historical grand-narrative since the middle 19th century onwards - in order to demonstrate the continuity of the common project of the Russian state and the Orthodox church. In other words, Lavrov’s appeal to common ‘truth’ refers to the 1905 scheme of Uvarov ‘Orthodoxy, Autocracy, Nationality (narodnost).’

The quote sets a point to look back at the Palestine Society and its contribution to the knowledge of the Holy Land.

From this perspective, it is interesting to analyse in what way the 19th century IPOS shaped the image of the East, selected and interpreted material concerning the Holy Land.

From the 1820s Palestine became a field of concern for the major European powers. Theofanis Stavrou analysed how in the course of 19th century Prussia and England on the one hand and France on the other worked on the development of the Protestant and Catholic presence respectively. In 1841 the Protestant Bishopric, and 6 years later the Latin Patriarchate in Jerusalem was founded by the aforementioned countries.<sup>95</sup> According to the author, the educational activities of the Protestant, though being financially supported from England and Prussia, had little effect on the success of the mission. Stavrou assumed that the main rivalry took place between the Latin and Greek Christians, as the Protestant community lacked the ‘historical justification’ of the right for the Holy Land.<sup>96</sup> L. Frary assumed that for the Russian Empire, both the Protestant and Catholic propaganda became a threat to its authority in the Holy Land. Therefore from the 1840s the steps to develop the consulate network were made.<sup>97</sup>

Before the organisation of the first Russian Orthodox Mission in Palestine, the main sources of information about the Holy Land were travelogues and pilgrim narratives. Svetlana Kirillina wrote that pilgrimage accounts shaped the image of the Holy Land for the Russians since 17th century. Even though Kirillina in her article exaggerated the readership of the texts in the early modern era, we can assume that in the middle 19th century, pilgrimage accounts constituted the popular genre for the literate middle class population.<sup>98</sup> Dostoevsky in the ‘Diary of the Writer’ 1877 wrote, that even by common man (muzhik) the question of the Christians in the Holy Land was taken with deep interest and ‘heavy heart’.<sup>99</sup> The life and deeds of pilgrims

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<sup>95</sup> Theofanis George Stavrou, *Russian Interests in Palestine, 1882-1914; a Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise*. (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1963), 93.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 94.

<sup>97</sup> Lucien J. Frary, “Russian Missions to the Orthodox East: Antonin Kapustin (1817–1894) and His World,” *Russian History* 40, no. 1 (January 1, 2013): 136, doi:10.1163/18763316-04001008.

<sup>98</sup> S. Kirillina, “Imagining the Arab-Ottoman World in Modern Russia: Narratives of Russian Pilgrims to the Holy Land of Christianity (16th –18th Centuries),” *Oriental Archive. Praha* 80, no. - (2012): 137–138.

<sup>99</sup> F. Dostojevsky. *Dnevnik pisatelja*.

circulated in the oral and written forms: as stories, written copies of manuscripts and from the middle of the 19th century in thick journals, such as “Russian Pilgrim” (Russkij Palomnik).

The genre of the pilgrimage accounts was changing, since the middle of the 18th century accounts became more detailed and combined the pattern of the pious journey with the natural and historical exploration. Moreover, if the pilgrims were financed by the state, they could also serve as diplomats (especially in Constantinople). By the middle of the 19th century, the borders between the genre of diplomatic accounts and pilgrimage genres become even less salient. The 3-volume diary of the pilgrimage by Andrej Muravjov, published in the 1830s and the later works by archimandrite Porfiri and archimandrite Antonin demonstrate the exploration of geography, history and the current state of monasteries (economy, everyday life, specifics of liturgy and so on).

Another interesting case concerns the leader of the first Russian mission in Jerusalem. In 1843 archimandrite Porfiri (Uspenski) was sent by the Holy Synod and the Asiatic Department of the Russian Empire to the Holy Land as an ordinary pilgrim. During his travel, he visited monasteries and services, familiarised with the local clergy, analysed libraries and studied icon painting. Around 1845 Porfiri visited Mount Athos, and researched the history and archaeology of the monasteries. After his travels, Porfiri published a book based on his explorations on the history of the Eastern Church.<sup>100</sup>

In 2 years the official Russian mission was opened, and lasted in Jerusalem until 1847 because of the Crimean War. Among other educational and humanitarian activities, Porfiri worked on the creation of illustrated guides and albums of the Holy Land for pilgrims.<sup>101</sup>

The intensification of pilgrimages in the late Russian Empire corresponded to the state’s objective to increase the influence of Russian Orthodoxy and thereby imperial authority in the

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<sup>100</sup> Frary, 137

<sup>101</sup> Frary, “Russian Missions to the Orthodox East,” 138.



Holy Land. Th. Stavrou wrote that prerogatives for the protection of the Holy Places and pilgrims who went there every year was the crucial goal for the Holy Synod.<sup>102</sup>

Thus, by the late 19th century, the pilgrimage accounts, which were seen as didactic and educational texts, became popular reading literature. Among the aforementioned purposes, the thick journals were thought to serve the goal of purifying Orthodoxy. For instance, the editors of the thick journal 'Russian Pilgrim' among other issues addressed the problem of the Orthodox East. The misfortunes of the Orthodox pilgrims and believers in the Holy Land, the aggression of Islam and the propaganda of the Catholics altogether were thought to impact the piety of the believers within the Russian Empire.<sup>103</sup> Therefore, the calls for pilgrimages to the Holy Land as well as the extensive publication of the pilgrimage narratives refer to the search for authenticity, which was connected to the 'cradle of the Christianity'. The concept of authenticity as developed by social anthropologists implies the perception of space as being the referent to event/process/phenomenon in the past, which offers an individual the sense of identity and collective memory by providing links between past, present and future.<sup>104</sup> Konstantinos Andriotis elaborated the concept in respect to pilgrimage, by distinguishing 5 genres of authenticity, depending on the type of expectations and objects encountered by pilgrims - natural, original, exceptional, referential, influential.<sup>105</sup>

Among the genres, 2 genres are important to understand why for the late Russian Empire and the Palestine Society in particular the popularisation of pilgrimage became the important issue. These are: referential and influential. The author explains referential authenticity as the one characterised by sincerity, which lies in the genuinely preserved objects/rites/spaces which demonstrate the historical continuity and build linkages with the past. Influential authenticity is

<sup>102</sup> Stavrou, *Russian Interests in Palestine, 1882-1914; a Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise.*, 95.

<sup>103</sup> Aleksich A., "Vesti Iz-Za granici[News from Abroad]," *Russkij Palomnik* IV (1888): 15.

<sup>104</sup> Andriotis, K. (2011). Genres of Heritage Authenticity. Denotations from a Pilgrimage Landscape. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(4), 1614.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 1619.

based on the expectation that the space (including objects, communities) influences an individual and leads him to certain improvements. These two genres authenticity as analysed in the context of the 19th century rhetorics of decline of Orthodoxy both in the Holy Land and within the Russian Empire give a key to understand what were the state's expectations from the pilgrims and missions in Jerusalem.

Thus we can conclude that pilgrimage accounts were serving the double purpose: projecting the state's authority in the Holy Land and purifying Russian Orthodoxy.

The Imperial Palestine Society was officially established in 1882 by Grand Prince Sergij Alexandrovich. The statute of the society, approved in 1882, defined as its objectives to collect, elaborate, share in Russia knowledge about Holy Land, support the orthodox pilgrims to these places, establish schools, hospitals, hotels, financially support local people, churches, monasteries and clergy.<sup>106</sup> The information, collected through the missions was disseminated through the Readings of the Imperial Palestine Society.

The Readings contained articles on the history and archaeology of the Holy Places. Apart from that, IPOS published the pilgrimage accounts in cooperation with the Russian Archaeographic Commission. The pilgrimage accounts contained an introductory chapter, offering the textological analysis of the original source, contextualisation and interpretation of the material.

I shall analyse the specifics of knowledge production in the 19th century Palestine Society on the example of the publication of the 18th century travel diary by Vasyl Hrygorovych-Bars'kyj, focusing on the introductory chapter. The diary was published in Saint Petersburg in 1885 by Nikolaj Barsukov "for the knowledge and memory and prayer for the devoted

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<sup>106</sup> Ustav Pravoslavnogo Palestinskogo Obwestva [Statute of the Orthodox Palestine Society], 1882, access: <http://www.ippo.ru/ustav-i-znak-ippo/ustav-imperatorskogo-pravoslavnogo-palestinskogo-obschestva.html>

people’’.<sup>107</sup> Barsukov worked in the Archaeographical Commission and belonged to the historiographical school, which followed the approach of Ranke. He “sacrificed all the beauties of this world to the humble sphere of the Russian Archaeography and for its sake spent his entire life in the monastic archives’’.<sup>108</sup>

In the 1870-s he was an assistant in the Archive of the Holy Synod and later head of the Archive of the Ministry for National Education.

Barsukov starts the preface to the publication with the following words: “On the edge of times, which separate the end of the old and the beginning of the new Russian History, in the blessed city of Kyiv, under the canopy of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra in the family of the humble merchant, was born our traveller around the Holy Land of the East, Vasylij Grigorjevich Barskij’’.<sup>109</sup>

The author inscribes Bars’kyj’s story into the narrative about the Russian Enlightenment and Peter’s reforms. The ambiguous issue of Peter’s westernising project for the Russian Historiography of the 19th century defined the way the contemporary Russian idea was articulated. For the author, Peter’s reforms are interpreted in the context of the enlightening project, which among others concerned the reconciliation of the relations between the Church, the state administration and the production of knowledge.

After the textological analysis, the author gives a brief story of Bars’kyj, focusing on the parts which define the mission of the publication in particular and the mission in Palestine in general. The text addresses two major issues - the Orthodox-Catholic encounters in the diary and education/self-enlightenment. The author highlights the two aforementioned topics by giving long quotes from the original and adding his own consideration with references to the current times.

<sup>107</sup> Barsukov N. *Stranstvovanija Vasilija Grigorovicha-Barskogo po Sviatum Mestam Vostoka s 1723 po 1747* [Travels of Vasylij Grigorovich-Barskij around the Holy Land of the East from 1723 until 1747]. vol.1 . Saint-Petersburg:Pravoslavnoje Palestinskoje Obwestvo, 1885, 83

<sup>108</sup> Barsukov N. P. *Zhizn' i trudi P. M. Stroyeva* [Life and Deeds of P. M. Stroeve]. Saint Petersburg. tip. V. S. Balashyeva, 1878, 4

<sup>109</sup><sup>109</sup> Barsukov N. *Stranstvovanija Vasilija Grigorovicha-Barskogo po Sviatum Mestam Vostoka s 1723 po 1747*, I

The thick description of the paragraphs is followed by the condensed information on the people/places without further description.

Barsukov gives a broad description of the incident, when Bars'kyj and his fellow traveller Ruvim took a ship to the island Korfu. The owner of the ship, who was Catholic according to Bars'kyj, treated them badly, as beggars who could not pay for the trip. Barsukov uses this case to support the idea that Catholics oppressed the Orthodox in the Holy Land. Barsukov gives a direct quote: "there is no peace in the Church, it is always persecuted; sometimes by the pagans, sometimes by heretics and other enemies, sometimes by the arrogant Latinians...".<sup>110</sup> Barsukov himself adds : "Nowadays, when we so often hear that Orthodoxy is declining and needs to be rescued, as a refutation of such blasphemed complains and impudent intentions, it is worth listening to such inspiring lines, arising from the depth of Bars'kyj's pious soul "stays unshaken as a mountain, beautiful as a bride, shines in this world like the sun, shining on good and evil, stays strong as adamant...".<sup>111</sup> The topics of decline and Catholic oppression are apparent in the author's voice and his interpretation of the case. At the same time, Barsukov only briefly mentions that while visiting Rome Bars'kyj had an audience with Pope: "among other things Bars'kyj managed to use the hospitality of Pope".<sup>112</sup> Barsukov also neglected the travelling permits, which Bars'kyj got in Catholic monasteries. Barsukov dramatizes the Roman pressure over the Orthodox, creating the impression of a permanent ideological struggle, as it was articulated in the middle 19th century (for instance the rhetorics of the thick pilgrimage journals) . When patriarch Sylvestr sent father Iakov from Tripoli to Syria with a mission, Barsukov concludes in the preface: "the Roman propaganda growing with each day forced father Sylvestr to send father Iakov to the land of Syria for the strengthening of Orthodoxy".<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Barsukov N. *Stranstvovanija Vasilija Grigorovicha-Barskogo po Sviatum Mestam Vostoka s 1723 po 1747*, XI

<sup>111</sup> Ibid

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, VIII

<sup>113</sup> Ibid, XXI

The issues of Roman propaganda and the need to reform Christianity are interrelated in Barsukov's reading of Bars'kyj. The second problem which is salient in the introduction is the problem of education as a means for strengthening the Orthodoxy. Barsukov draws attention to Bars'kyj's will to study and contribute to the growing of Orthodoxy. The two main topoi of Bars'kyj's self-representation, which Barsukov uses are the traveller for self-enlightenment (educational pursuit) and the pilgrim (pursuit of humility). The two models are intertwined in the author's representation of Bars'kyj. Several times Barsukov gives quotes from the diary, that education will help to eradicate the enemies of the Church. Even more interesting is that on several occasions Barsukov uses the concept of national enlightening, apparently referring to the conceptosphere of his own time. On the island Patmos, where Bars'kyj spent time learning Greek, the teacher father Makarij was a renown scholar, who became Bars'kyj's mentor.

Barsukov portrays Makarij as a national enlightener: "I don't know, if Greeks saved the information about this glorious hard worker of national enlightenment (*narodnogo prosvewenija*), but for them the words of our Bars'kyj should be a great value, as he personally knew Makarij".<sup>114</sup> Hierodeacon Makarij established the Greek school on the island Patmos, which was built on the principles of the patriarchal school. Makarij taught both monks and laity for free by himself.

Another historian Lamanski in the 1880-s wrote about Makarij "there is no doubt, that Makarij will be one of the most important people to prepare the Greek revival".<sup>115</sup> Thus, Makarij was seen as an enlightener who brought education for the 'nation' and lay ground for the "national revival". As a comment to Makarij's life and deeds, Barsukov mentioned the Russian school of theologians, such as Saint Stephan from Perm, Jephani the Wise, Thaumaturge from Vologda defining them as enlighteners as well.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid, XXI

<sup>115</sup> Ibid, XXI

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, XX

Barsky himself is shown as the follower of the theologians-enlighteners, learning Greek for the ‘benefit of homeland’. <sup>117</sup>

The representation of Barsky in the text of Barsukov combines the images of Orthodox enlightener, educational traveller and a humble pilgrim.

The second topos is also quite important for the problems of the 19th century project of Russian Palestine. Imperial Palestine Society, being interested in the intensification of travels to the Holy Land and transfer of knowledge about the East, invested in such pilgrimage accounts, as the one by Barsky. His diary, following the pattern of Greek *proskinitarii* (appropriated by Russians as *khogdenija*) gave the material characterised by precision and interest to the details of landscape, economy and everyday life as well as individual feelings of the author while travelling. The precise description of the sights, which is the feature of the pilgrimage accounts since the *Khogdennija of Daniil Zatochnik* of the 12th century, transmitted the experience of authenticity to the reader. Barsky used the pattern of *khogdenija*, but enriched the text with individual experiences, thoughts and feelings. The example of Barsky was especially useful to exhibit, as through the travelling and self-enlightenment by the end of his life he attained a status which enabled him to travel with the sultan’s firman, to be invited as a researcher to monastic libraries in the Holy Land, and to stay on a mission in Constantinople with the Russian envoy. Thus the appropriation of the diary by the 19th century scholar Barsukov emphasised the role of education in the project of the revival of Church and nation.

For the Palestine Society, the diary had several purposes. Firstly, the revival of the Church was especially acute in the context of the “increasing Catholic propaganda” in the 19th century Holy Land. Barsky was represented as an example of the pious Orthodox traveller, who educated himself for the benefit of his homeland. Secondly, the transfer of knowledge about the pilgrimage routes and authentic sights, which could intensify the pilgrimage to Holy Land. Thick

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid, XXV

descriptions of the monasteries and churches in the Holy Land from the experience of the Orthodox observer provided by Barsky, added to the image of the Holy Land in Russia.

## Conclusions:

The genre of pilgrimage narrative was transforming along with the development of other travel genres. The narrative strategies of travelogues penetrated the pilgrimage accounts and vice versa. The pilgrimage genre could contain the information about curiosities on the way to the Holy Land, whereas travelers could use the topoi of pilgrims while visiting the religious landmarks. In the pilgrimage genre the traces of its transgression were prominent due to more restricted limits of the genre. Thus, pilgrims, who tended to be seduced by the “contemptus mundi” involved various narrative strategies, justifying the attention to “vanity of the world”. The revision of the concept of curiosity by humanists impacted the pilgrimage genre as well as the travelogue. Eastern Christian pilgrimage genre underwent similar changes, which became especially noticeable in the course of the 18th century. The intertwining of the travel and pilgrimage narratives resulted in the emergence of hybrid texts, where authors could use various narrative strategies, combining the topoi of explorers and pilgrims.

Travel notes of Bars'kyj demonstrate one of the striking examples of hybridity within pilgrimage genre. Being educated in Kyiv-Mohyla academy in the 18th century, he absorbed the ideas of the specific East European Enlightenment, appropriated by the church elite. The circle of intellectuals in the Academy was tightly connected to the German Protestant enlighteners. Through educational travels and correspondence, professors of Academy articulated the ideas of Pietists on the Orthodox ground. For the Religious Enlightenment the core idea was moral improvement of the society, which could be achieved by the proper education of the priests. The educational system was also revised, accommodating the elaborations of Cartesian philosophers and gradually introducing the secular disciplines. However still the enlightenment was seen within Church.



The changes in the methodology of teaching reveal the inclination towards Wolffianism and English empiricism. In such environment under protection of Prokopovych, Bars'kyj was edified. Apparently, the presumed readership of the diary was exactly the Kyivan secular and church elite. Therefore, his narrative was designed in accordance with the expectations and views of this interpretive community.

The initial goal of the author was articulated as pilgrimage. In terms of travel arrangements and behavioral models reflected in the texts, Bars'kyj performed a pilgrimage. De facto he reached the Holy Land and venerated relics, he survived by asking for alms, stayed in the monasteries and pilgrims hostels. The diet and the regime, as he narrated this, corresponded to the pilgrim's model of behavior. His narrative is rich in biblical allusions and references to the monastic virtues of humility, humbleness and grace. However, this was only one of his strategies of self-representation in the text. In the first part of the narrative he frequently called himself historian, traveler (putnik) interested in curiosities.

The manner of writing about the places and phenomena he encountered is characterized by the reference to observation and experiment. His analysis of the Dead Sea and speculation on the Jerusalem Fire revealed the empiricist approach and priority of personal experience. The reasoning about the Holy Home in Loreto derived from the pragmatic factors of environment, but not from the theological discussions.

Throughout the text it becomes clear that pronounced was author's image of the educational traveler and striving for knowledge were more prominent. The numerous references to self-enlightenment and priority of learning made it clear, that it was primary Bars'kyj's aim.

Willing to study in the Jesuit College in Lviv, he concealed being Orthodox. The educational pursuit shows his flexibility and religious openness. He demonstrated almost the ethnographic approach to the analysis of the customs of peoples without condemnation of other

religions. But what especially interesting is the way he built linkages between the morality and level of education. It is noticeable in his description of the population of Patmos, Leros and Kos: the lack of education of islanders in Bars'kyj's narrative led to the poor morality, reflected in the custom of closing. Basically, Bars'kyj was criticizing the illiteracy of the priests, who had to fulfill the function of enlightening the inhabitants of the islands. Such vision of the enlightening mission of the Church was explicitly articulated by Prokopovych in his sermons and works.

In his late account of the islands in Turkish Greece his quench for knowledge is particularly articulated. The emphasis on the images of the teachers from Patmos, their lives and deeds demonstrated that for the author they were role models. Moreover, by picturing the portraits of his teachers Makarios and Herasym he implicitly represented himself, as following their example.

From the late 1730-s frequently in his text emerged the references to the homeland in the dedications to his teachers and his letters to family. For Bars'kyj, the central topic in his notes from 1737-1747 was the return to Kyiv in order to serve his homeland as a teacher of Greek. Bars'kyj in one of his letters explicitly articulated the connection of teaching with enlightenment. Thus, coming back home to work in the Academy was represented by the author as a contribution to the moral improvement and Enlightenment project in his homeland.

In the 1885-1887, the diary was published by Nikolaj Barsukov in the Readings of Imperial Palestine Society as a part of the Russian project in the Holy Land. Through the publications of the pilgrimage accounts and scientific investigations the Society aimed to transfer the knowledge of the Holy East and thus to attract more pilgrims. The care and protection of the pilgrims was the most efficient way for the Russian Orthodoxy to increase its presence in the Palestine. Therefore, image of the Bars'kyj in the introductory chapter to the publication was that

of a firm Orthodox pilgrim, fighting with “Catholic propaganda”. In addition, Barsukov emphasized the educational pursuit, as a tool to oppose the papists and Uniates.

Ultimately, the diary provides more questions, than answers, just as the personality of the author himself. Was he pilgrim or traveler? Was he a devotional Orthodox? To what extent he was conscious of switching codes and identities? I suppose that giving the final diagnosis would deprive the diary of its peculiarity.

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