

THE TRAVELS OF MACARIUS:
RETURN OF THE FORGOTTEN MANUSCRIPT
OF A. KRYMSKYI

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The article is devoted to the abridged version of Paul of Aleppo’s diary about the journey of Macarius III Patriarch of Antioch through the Orthodox countries in the 17th century, which is preserved in Kyiv¹. This manuscript was discovered by the Ukrainian scholar Agathangel Krimskyi, who introduced it to the academic circles in the early 20th century. It was considered lost for a long period of time. Here we present the data on the history and research of the manuscript, pointing out to our remarks concerning its contents and structural peculiarities, as compared to the expanded Paris and London manuscripts. Samples of interpolations made by the scribes that supplement or modify the known expanded versions are presented as well.

Keywords: *The Travels of Macarius*, Paul of Aleppo, Macarius III Ibn al-Za‘īm, Agathangel Krimskyi, Tawfiq Kezma, Omeljan Pritsak.

INTRODUCTION

The Travels of Macarius is a well-known historical source, the diary of Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, the son of Macarius III Ibn al-Za‘īm, Patriarch of Antioch. In the second half of the 17th century Macarius took two trips through the Orthodox countries (Moldavia, Wallachia, Ukraine, and Russia). The manuscript under discussion deals with the first one, which took place in 1652–1659, with the purpose of gathering donations for the Church of Antioch, heavily indebted during the Ottoman rule.

Paul of Aleppo, who accompanied his father in all his journeys, recorded in his travel notes with extraordinary brightness the numerous details and various aspects of life of the peoples among which Macarius travelled, together with his attendants, during a period marked by important historical events. Paul of Aleppo’s

¹ This manuscript is being researched within the framework of the international project for edition of the complete edited text of the “Travels of Macarius” supervised by Dr. Ioana Feodorov at the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest. I am deeply grateful to Dr. Ioana Feodorov for her kind support and valuable advice regarding this paper.

diary is considered to be a masterpiece of the Christian Arabic literature during the Ottoman rule².

The three most important manuscripts of this remarkable monument of Arabic geographical and Christian literature have been known and studied by the scholars, as follows:

– *London manuscript* of the British Library (dated 1765) – in 1829–1836 it was translated into English by F.C. Belfour, and due to this first translation the world learned about the Arabic manuscript;

– *Paris manuscript* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France) – the oldest (dated in the late 17th century) and the most complete one. It was studied by the Romanian scholar Basile Radu, who published a part of it with the French translation in 1930–1949;

– *St. Petersburg manuscript* (Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences) – originally, a Damascene manuscript dated 1700 (brought to Russia in 1913). The famous Russian translation by G. Mourkos (1896–1900) was based on its copies.

In the early 20th century the scholars learned about the existence of another, shorter version of *The Travels of Macarius*, which became known as “the Kyiv manuscript” (sometimes it is referred to as “the manuscript of A. Krimskyi”). For a whole century information on it was confined to a single article, published in 1912³, which was co-authored by the Academician Agathangel Krymskyi, who wrote the introduction, and his student A. Olesnitskyi, who provided a brief description of the first half of the manuscript. It served as a starting point for further publications by other Russian and Ukrainian researchers. From that time on the fate of the manuscript seemed to be unknown, and the lack of information on it caused a number of mistakes in certain publications. Let’s turn to the facts that we have revealed while studying the matter.

ORIGIN OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The Kyiv manuscript of *The Travels of Macarius* was brought to Ukraine by A. Krimskyi (1871–1942), who acquired it in 1896, during an academic mission to Syria and Lebanon. In the above-mentioned introduction he wrote: “I was lucky to discover and to acquire the burned, incomplete manuscript, which dates back approximately to the mid 18th century. It was miraculously preserved in Saidnaya

² Konstantin A. Pančenko, *Recenziya na knigu: Relations entre les peuples de l’Europe Orientale et les chrétiens arabes au XVIIe siècle: Macaire III Ibn al-Za’im et Paul d’Alep. Actes du 1^{er} colloque international le 16 septembre 2011, Bucarest*, textes réunis et présentés par Ioana Feodorov, Bucarest, 2012, <http://www.sedmitza.ru/text/3614075.html>.

³ *O neizsledovannom, starejšem spiske putešestvija Antiohijskogo patriarha Makarija 1654 goda (Opisanije A.A. Olesnickogo, predvaritelnoje zamečanje ot A.E. Krymskogo*, in *Materialy dlja vyjasnenija cerkovnoj i literaturnoj dejatelnosti Antiohijskogo patriarha Makarija XVII veka i opisatelja jego putešestvij na Rus’ – arhidakona Pavla Aleppskogo*, “Drevnostej Vostočnyh” (“Trudy Vostočnoj Komissii Imperatorskogo Moskovskogo Arheologičeskogo Obšestva”), Moscow, 1912, Vol. 4.

monastery near Damascus. Among the known manuscripts, this writing appears to be the oldest. The manuscript that I brought with me has no beginning or ending: they were lost and only the fragment of 138 pages remained, consisting of the middle part of the manuscript. Its format is the so-called ‘quarto’. The handwriting is that of the Christian church, the so-called *kanā’isī*, and it is quite neat. Considering its content, it is an abridgement of the regular version: it is, so to say, its epitome”⁴.

Therefore, it is impossible to find out the document’s origin: it has no name, no first or last pages, both the scribe and the person who ordered it are unknown. Nevertheless, in the early 20th century the discovery of A. Krimskyi was considered unique, because at the time the London manuscript was believed to have been lost, and the Paris manuscript had not become available yet. The Damascus one (which also was considered to have burned during the massacre of Syrian Christians by the Turkish authorities in 1860⁵) arrived at St. Petersburg in 1913 (as a present upon the celebration of 300 years of the House of Romanov), and was revealed by I. Krachkovskiy some time later⁶. Three copies made in the middle of the 19th century (which served as a basis for G. Mourkos’s translation) were preserved in Russia at the time. For this reason, A. Krimskyi considered his manuscript the oldest one. He did his best to get it, although it was not very easy, so that he needed “constant help from the [Russian] Consul General A. Gagarin and the Orthodox metropolitans who convened in Damascus”⁷.

Who and why ever needed an abridged version of the manuscript? According to A. Krimskyi, “the existence of such an abridged version shows that at some point in time the travel of Patriarch Macarius across Muscovy was of particular interest for his fellow countrymen and descendants: the very fact that they thought it was necessary to turn the ample description into an easily readable form meant that *The Travels* was a popular book for them”⁸.

For A. Krimskyi the value of this manuscript, regardless of its size, resided first of all in the fact that by using it one could rethink the Russian translation of G. Mourkos and even understand better certain fragments that were not very clear in his translation. The Ukrainian scholar also pointed out the existence of passages that enrich the expanded versions of Paul’s journal with additional details.

RESEARCH AND TRANSLATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

After A. Krimskyi, the Kyiv manuscript was presented by his student A. Olesnitskiy, who outlined the contents of the first part, which describes the travelers’ stay in Moldavia, Wallachia and Cossack Ukraine. The collation was

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 10.

⁵ *Idem*.

⁶ I. Ju. Kračkovskij, *Nad arabskimi rukopisjyami*, Moscow – Leningrad, 1946, p. 35–36.

⁷ *O neizsledovannom...*, p. 10.

⁸ *Idem*.

based on the translation by G. Mourkos. But A. Olesnitskiy never researched the second part of the manuscript and expressed hope that someone else would do it.⁹

In 1918 the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was established and A. Krimskyi took the position of Permanent Secretary¹⁰. Thus the Kyiv period of his activities began. He moved to Kyiv from Moscow with his personal library (c. 20,000 volumes). The funds of this library formed the base of the Cabinet of Arabic and Iranian Philology and Turkish Studies in the Historical and Philological Department of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences¹¹. The stamp of the Cabinet was placed on the first and last pages of the Kyiv manuscript, and also on page 96.

One of the closest co-workers of A. Krimskyi in the Cabinet of Arabic and Iranian Philology became Tawfiq Kezma (1882–1958) – a Greek-Orthodox Arab who came from Damascus and graduated from Kyiv Theological Academy. He taught Arabic and Turkish in Kyiv higher education institutions. From 1920 on he labored methodically for the Historical and Philological Department of the Academy and made numerous translations. A. Krimskyi wrote that besides himself, work concerning the Arabic language, writing and culture could not be done by anyone else in Ukraine, at the time, but by T. Kezma¹².

Upon the instructions of A. Krimskyi, T. Kezma began translating the abridged manuscript of Paul of Aleppo's diary into Russian. Having compared it with the expanded version (translation by G. Mourkos) he came to the following conclusion: "In many instances this manuscript is quite identical to *The Travels* (translation by G. Mourkos, Moscow, 1898); sometimes it is slightly different from it, and in some cases it is somewhat independent. Generally speaking, it is nothing else but the abridged copy of *The Travels*¹³. But at that time T. Kezma was unable to publish his translation, moreover, it was lost in the archives for many decades.

T. Kezma's translation of *The Travels of Macarius* was mentioned in academic papers several times. The researchers knew about its existence due to the classical publication by the "Patriarch of the Soviet Arabistics" I. Krachkovskiy, who mentioned that there was "a complete translation prepared by T. Kezma" preserved at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences¹⁴. T. Kezma's work was highly

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

¹⁰ Omeljan Pritsak, *Pro Agatangela Kryms'kogo u 120-ti rokovyny narodžennja*, in *Agatangel Kryms'kyi. Narysy ģittja i tvorčosti*, Kyiv, Institute of Oriental Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2006, p. 27.

¹¹ Ella Cygankova, *Shodoznavča kolekcija Agatangela Kryms'kogo u fondah Nacionalnoji biblioteky Ukrajinny imeni Vernads'kogo*, in *ibidem*, p. 372.

¹² Ju. M. Kočubej, *Arab i arabist Tawfiq Kezma*, in "Shidnyj Svit", 2012, no. 4, p. 57–58.

¹³ Inscription on the title of the translation by T. Kezma (preserved at the Private Archive of Prof. Omeljan Pritsak at Kyiv Mohyla Academy).

¹⁴ I. Ju. Kračkovskij, *Opisanije putešestvija Makarija Antiohijskogo kak pamjatnik arabskoj geografičeskoj literatury i kak istočnik dlja istorii Rossii v XVII veke*, in *Izbrannyje sočinenija*, vol. 4, Moscow – Leningrad, 1957, p. 269.

appreciated by him, so that he emphasized its importance in his petitions for granting T. Kezma the title of Professor¹⁵.

Thus, T. Kezma was the first who seriously studied and translated the Kyiv manuscript. For some time the translation was preserved at the above-mentioned Cabinet, together with the Arabic manuscript. Incidentally, Kezma's translation was cited in the monograph *History of Ukraine – Rus* by M. Gruševskiy, who made use of it in his research on the Ukrainian history of the corresponding period¹⁶.

Having studied the manuscript of the translation by T. Kezma, I have found that it covers only a part of *The Travels*, starting from the war in Moldavia and up to the Muscovites' traditions (56 pages of the Arabic text). Unfortunately, neither do the Kyiv archives contain other translated fragments, nor do the private letters and papers of T. Kezma mention anything that could enlighten us as to the fate of his translation. Therefore, we have decided to edit the partial translation that reached us. Its publication¹⁷ appears precisely 90 years after it was finished (26 February 1924). The edition of the complete Russian translation of the manuscript is one of the tasks in our future work.

“TRAVELS” OF THE MANUSCRIPT

In the 1930s mass repressions against the Ukrainian scholars began. All institutions for Oriental studies, including A. Krimskyi's 'child', the Historical and Philological Department of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, were liquidated, and the scholar himself fell into disgrace.

Apparently, after the elimination of the Oriental studies institutions in Kyiv the Arabic manuscript of *The Travels* was preserved together with T. Kezma's translation in the private archive of A. Krimskyi, but not at the storerooms of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (as it was believed for a long time), because later, at some point, the manuscript found itself in the hands of someone else – the young Orientalist Omeljan Pritsak.

In the period from 1939 to 1941, after the attachment of Western Ukraine, A. Krimskyi was granted permission to visit Lviv as a coryphaeus of the Ukrainian science. In January 1940 he met Omeljan Pritsak, a 20-year old student at the History Faculty of Lviv University. During a walk in Lviv, A. Krimskyi, citing Arabian, Persian and Turkish poetry by heart, asked him to translate it into Ukrainian. He valued these discussions as an Oriental languages and literatures

¹⁵ I. Ju. Kračkovskiy, *Otzyv o naučno-pedagogičeskoy rabote T. Kezmy, napravlenyj Učenomu sovetu filologičeskogo fakulteta Kievskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* (24 November 1947), in the Central State Archive – Museum of Literature and Arts of Ukraine, Fund 55, Inventory 1.

¹⁶ Myhaylo Gruševs'kij, *Istorija Ukrajinj-Rusy*, Vol. 9, book 2, New York, 1957, p. 968.

¹⁷ *Putešestvie Patriarha Makarija Antiohijskogo. Perevod Tawfiqa Kezmy*, edited and introduced by Yu. I. Petrova, in “Shidnyj Svit”, 2014, No. 1, p. 161–188.

examination, brilliantly passed, and offered Omeljan Pritsak postgraduate studies at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences¹⁸.

How were the manuscripts from A. Krimskyi's private archive transferred to O. Pritsak? The only evidence we possess is the memoirs of Prof. Natalya Polons'ka-Vasylenko, who was one of A. Krimskyi's few close friends. She wrote that at the beginning of July 1941¹⁹ three parcels containing manuscripts from Krimskyi's private library were delivered to her by his secretary. He also handed her a letter from A. Krimskyi, who asked her to preserve the manuscripts in a safe place. Kyiv lived those days in a mass panic because of the beginning of the war, and the urgent evacuation of values was declared. She transferred two of the parcels to the Library of the Academy of Sciences. Soon afterwards, O. Pritsak came to Kyiv in search of his supervisor, and N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko gave him the third parcel, knowing that A. Krimskyi had put his hopes on his young, talented disciple²⁰.

The parcel that O. Pritsak received contained both the Kyiv manuscript of *The Travels* and the translation by T. Kezma. Thus, they appeared in Lviv at the end of 1941 – beginning of 1942.

Soon O. Pritsak began translating the manuscript into Ukrainian, as the inscription on the title page of his notebooks shows: "Lviv, April-May 1942". Pritsak's manuscript is a draft word-for-word translation of part of the text (only the first 35 pages of the Arabic manuscript). The translation was never finished. Undoubtedly, Paul of Aleppo's diary drew the attention of O. Pritsak as an important work of Arabic geographical literature, due to his concern with the Oriental sources which cast light on the history of Ukraine. O. Pritsak referred to T. Kezma's translation to identify certain words (his notes contain references to T. Kezma, while his comments can be found in T. Kezma's notebooks).

During the post-war years O. Pritsak continued his studies at the Berlin and the Göttingen Universities, and later he moved to the United States, where he became a Harvard University Professor. The Kyiv manuscript of *The Travels* and the translation by T. Kezma were soon found there as well. The manuscript was not used for 70 years, during which its location remained unknown to scholars.

¹⁸ Omeljan Pritsak, *ibidem*, p. 33–35.

¹⁹ On 19 July 1941 A. Krimskyi was transferred from his family estate in Zvenyhorodka (a town in the Cherkasy Oblast) to Kyiv, under the pretence of the evacuation of scholars caused by the outburst of the Great Patriotic war. But in Kyiv he found himself in the NKVD prison, where he was accused of being "an ideologist of the Ukrainian nationalists and a leader of the anti-Soviet nationalist underground movement". He died on 25 January 1942 in a prison cell in Kustanay (Kazakhstan). His fate after his transfer from Zvenyhorodka remained unknown until 1992, when his cellmate Ivan Gretchihin, who had survived, sent a letter to the Ukrainian Academy Presidium, as A. Krimskyi had requested him (but 50 years after Krimskyi's death).

²⁰ Natalya Polons'ka-Vasylenko, *Naukova spadšyna akademika A. Ju. Kryms'kogo*, in *Ukrajins'kyj istoryk*, New York – München, 1973, No. 3–4 (39–40), p. 143.

After the death of O. Pritsak (2006), the founder and first Director of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, named after A. Krimskyi, his library was transferred from the United States to Ukraine, in compliance with his will. On November 14, 2007 a Memorial Library Cabinet named after O. Pritsak (containing c. 20,000 items, in more than 60 languages) was opened at the National University of “Kyiv-Mohyla Academy”, also holding the scholar’s personal archive. Thus, the manuscript of *The Travels* was safely returned to Kyiv and now it is preserved in the Private Archive of Professor Omeljan Pritsak at the mentioned university²¹.

The location of the “travelling manuscript” was clarified by Professor Valeriy Rybalkin²², when the Romanian Academy raised the issue of comprising the Kyiv manuscript in the international project of a complete Arabic edition and English translation of Paul of Aleppo’s diary. The project involves the Romanian Academy (Institute for South-East European Studies), the Russian Academy of Sciences (Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, St-Petersburg), and the Institute of Oriental Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Thus, finally the Kyiv manuscript of *The Travels* has come back to the realm of academic research.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE MANUSCRIPT

As we know, the only publication on this manuscript is the above-mentioned description of A. Olesnitskiy, with a foreword by A. Krimskyi, where the number of pages of the Arabic text is given – 138. Indeed, the Eastern Arabic numeral pagination was inserted from the first to the last surviving page. But at that time it was not taken into account that between pages 23 and 24 there exist two more pages, without numbering. Numbers 23Ḅ and 23ḅ were handwritten on them by T. Kezma. Thus, the actual number of pages in the manuscript is 140. The number of lines per page is generally 21 (and rarely 19 or 20).

As it was mentioned, the main problem concerning the Kyiv manuscript is the lack of its first and last pages, which makes it impossible to find out the origin of the document and its original number of pages. It is obvious that the pagination was inserted later by somebody else, not by the scribes of the manuscript – firstly, due to the difference in the ink here and there, secondly – because the pagination starts from the first surviving page, not from the first original one. The missing pages may have been seriously damaged, so that they became unreadable and were excluded by the bookbinder. Such an assumption arises while looking at some pages where traces of damage appear clearly (especially the last existing page).

²¹ Kyiv – Mohyla Academy, the Private Archive of Professor Omeljan Pritsak, Fund 10, Inventory 1.

²² V.S. Rybalkin, *Mandrivnyj manuscript*, in *XVI Shodoznavči čytannja A. Kryms'kogo*, Kyiv, 2012, p. 60–62.

The end of the manuscript seems to have been damaged much more than the beginning, therefore, probably a higher number of pages are missing at the end of the text.

Aside from the lack of the beginning and the end of the manuscript, there is another flaw: between pp. 126–127 a piece of text is absent (at least one page, according to the context). But in this case the reason for the absence of one page is apparently connected with a change in scribes.

The manuscript was written by several scribes. The change in handwriting is especially obvious on pp. 42, 43, 49, 104, 105, 111, 113, 114, and 127. Before page 40 the writing is uneven, it changes several times on pages 42 to 49, and from page 49 onwards we see a more calligraphic handwriting.

The general appearance of the Kyiv manuscript and its orthography are closer to the London manuscript than the Paris one²³. Unlike the latter, it is neither scrupulous in presenting “hamza”, “madda”, etc., nor its scribes were concerned with external “decorations”. Thus, unlike the Paris and London manuscripts, the Kyiv one does not have any marginal notes which would correspond to headings in the text.

While comparing the Kyiv manuscript with the other versions of Paul of Aleppo’s diary, it should be noted that it stands separately from them in terms of its structure, due to the fact that this version was noticeably shortened by the scribes. Unlike the correlation between the expanded versions of *The Travels*, where the differences mostly concern orthography, the changes made by the scribes of the Kyiv manuscript noticeably bore consequences on the contents of the original text and its stylistics, to say nothing of its linguistic distinctions from the expanded versions.

Revealing the characteristics and peculiarities of the Kyiv manuscript is interesting if we wish to follow the logic of the scribes who composed this version. According to the Russian scholar Dmitry Lihačov, the conscious changes made in a text by its scribe are essential and more important than the unconscious ones, because the former, not the latter, create new versions of the text. Thus, the conscious changes to a text belong to a scribe of a higher level than a simple copyist, so the former may be called “co-author” of the work, and such changes are of special interest for historians²⁴.

While studying the Kyiv manuscript I tried to find out which aspects of Macarius’s travels were the most important for the scribes and which were not very interesting for them (or, more likely, for the person who ordered the manuscript, because the scribes changed several times). If Paul of Aleppo’s diary was, as A. Krimskyi assumed, a book popular with the Greek-Orthodox Arabs, and that is

²³ Unfortunately, we did not have access to the St. Petersburg manuscript in due time to compare the appearance of the Kyiv version with it.

²⁴ D. S. Lihačov, *Tekstologija na materiale ruskoj literatury X–XVII vekov*, St-Petersburg, 2001, p. 88.

the reason the abridged version was in demand, then the composition of the manuscript is even more revealing for researchers.

The general structure of the Kyiv manuscript may be presented as follows²⁵:

PAGE: LINE	KYIV MANUSCRIPT
1: 1 – 3: 4	From Constantinople to Bulgaria
3: 4 – 30: 21	Moldavia
30: 21 – 46: 6	Wallachia
46: 6 – 57: 9	Cossacks' country
57: 9 – 138: 21	Muscovy

The Kyiv manuscript lacks the description of Macarius's travel from Aleppo to Constantinople and his stay there. The surviving text starts as follows (1: 1–3²⁶):

أبرشيته كلها ومنها توجه إلى مدينة القسطنطينية ودخلها ضحوه يوم الاربعاء من تشرين الاول ثم قلع بنا المركب
ورسونا بقرب الفنار

“...all his eparchy, and went from there to Constantinople. He arrived there at dawn on Wednesday [20] October. Afterwards the ship pulled off, and we dropped the anchor near the Phanar...” (see Illustrations 1 and 2).

What were the reasons for leaving out the description of Constantinople and Macarius's activities there? We may assume that this was done on purpose. On one hand, the Orthodox relations within the Ottoman Empire described here were known to the addressee, who obviously was more interested in readings about the Northern common faith countries, first of all about Russia, as the stronghold of Orthodoxy, especially because the ties between the Middle Eastern Orthodox Christians and Post-Petrine Russia (at the moment of composing the Kyiv version) became much weaker²⁷. On the other hand, the relation between the Orthodox Arabs of the Levant and the Greeks gradually deteriorated as a result of the latter's domination in the Church. In particular, the Patriarchate of Antioch remained in the hands of Phanariotes from 1724 till 1899²⁸. The scribe's oblivion of the Constantinople part of the route may be associated with anti-Greek sentiments among the Arabs, especially if we take into account those sections of the expanded versions in which Paul criticizes the Greeks. The scribe of the abridged version also did not fail to copy Paul's lengthy passage with accusations against the

²⁵ Numbers of pages are given here as they were written by the scribes (two missing pages should also be considered).

²⁶ Hereafter the first digit is the page number of the Kyiv manuscript, the second is the line number.

²⁷ K.A. Pančenko, *Osmanskaja imperija i sud'by pravoslavija na Arabskom Vostoke (XVI – načalo XIX veka)*, Moscow, 1998.

²⁸ A.L. Dvorkin, *Očerki po istorii Vselenskoj Pravoslavnoj Cerkvi. Kurs lekcij, izdanije 3*, Nizhny Novgorod, 2006, p. 882.

Greeks²⁹; moreover, he added some stronger words himself (see 122: 9–14 below). However, a simpler explanation could also be given: the abridged version may have been copied from a manuscript missing the description of Macarius's travels across Anatolia and visit to Constantinople (as is the case with the manuscripts in St Petersburg, copied from the Damascus one, on which the translation by G. Mourkos was based).

MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA IN THE KYIV MANUSCRIPT

After mentioning the perilous travels across the Black Sea, and the passage through the Bulgarian village of Iniklitsa, the scribe proceeds with the description of Moldavia. The main content of the text was preserved, including the general route of Macarius, with almost all Moldavian residential settlements mentioned (Galați, Bârlad, Vaslui, Scânteia, and Iași). The manuscript then provides a detailed report on Macarius' sojourn in Iași.

What was of particular interest for the scribe who recomposed the description of Paul of Aleppo concerning Moldavia? The passage on Galați, with the description of the town and the welcome ceremony, was reduced to several words; at the same time, the part on the habitations and clothes was provided in full. The administrative system is mentioned briefly, Stephan Voivode and a general description of the church architecture are mentioned as well. The Patriarch's entry to the capital and some church traditions are reported. The description of the church of St. Saba in Iași was omitted altogether. There is a passage about two banquets for Macarius, convened by hospodar Vasile Lupu. The fragment concerning the Golia Monastery is omitted in full. Then we learn about the Patriarch's meeting with the hospodar and their exchange of gifts. The feast at court is described in detail; the Moldavian nobility and the hospodar's donation to Macarius are mentioned.

The description of monasteries in Iași provided in the expanded versions is omitted completely in the Kyiv one. The latter mentions the trial of thieves, Moldavian and Wallachian Lent traditions, the service at the Galați monastery during the first Sunday of Lent (this is the only fairly complete description of a divine service comprised in the Kyiv version), the "khalistao" pond and the gift of fruit. The long description of other Lenten services was reduced to a few lines, just as the description of the funeral rites.

The scribe provided with abridgements the uprising of the Great Logothete, the Cossacks' participation in the war, Vasile Lupu's return from battle, and his fight against the Wallachians. St. John the New, the tradition of knitting garlands, the description of Moldavian cucumbers and fruit, and the iron clock are mentioned. Then the manuscript covers the continuing war with the rebellious

²⁹ In the part concerning the celebration of the Feast of Orthodoxy in Moscow.

Logothete and the defeat of Vasile Lupu, the return of Tymish Khmelnytsky, his military successes and downfall, the capture of Suceava fortress by the new hospodar, the situation of the former hospodar Vasile, terrors of war, and the Patriarch's requests to leave, besides other information about Moldavia.

In general, the description of Moldavia takes about 30 pages (p. 3–30, including p. 236 and 23b). It may be noticed that the Kyiv manuscript presents in detail the folk traditions, the official ceremonies and the military actions witnessed by Paul of Aleppo. The scribe scarcely mentions monasteries and divine services; historical data and particularities of nature and food are sometimes described. The detailed descriptions of monasteries, churches, towns, and specific services are omitted (only one of them is conveyed in detail, as mentioned before).

On page 31 the description of Wallachia begins. It conveys, with certain abridgements, the main content of the expanded versions: the Patriarch's entry to Târgoviște, celebrating the Divine Liturgy together with the Metropolitan of Wallachia and the Archbishop of Serbia, the feast, the tradition to kill pigs for Christmas, the hospodar's hunting party and the festive table, the tradition of keeping a bear for entertainment, Christmas congratulations for gathering alms, the numerous troops and maintenance of order in the country, in spite of the many taverns.

The description of the palace and its church was omitted, while the Christmas Liturgy was reported, albeit very briefly. The banquet with the hospodar is described in more detail, together with the tradition of appointments and dismissals as part of Circumcision festivities. An account of the Blessing of water on the Eve of the Feast of Immersion in Wallachia – which would undoubtedly have been of interest to readers in the Middle East – and of the associated festivities is provided, somewhat abridged.

Certain habits of Wallachia and the description of Târgoviște are provided, but the Metropolitan's house is overlooked. The fragments concerning funeral rites, Lent traditions and Easter celebrations are omitted completely.

Lent and Easter are briefly mentioned. Afterwards follows a shortened narrative on the death of hospodar Matei Basarab, the election of Constantin Șerban as new hospodar and his competition with the Serdar of the army. There is a detailed description of the enthronement of the new hospodar. The burial service for the departed hospodar is also briefly mentioned. The procession of the Cross on Thursdays is limited to a few words. The embassy to Constantinople is only mentioned, whereas the mines are fully described.

The Serdar's punishment and Macarius's departure from Wallachia to the Cossaks' country are also reported. St Nicholas Monastery, described in detail by Paul of Aleppo, is not mentioned here.

Thus, there are 15 pages on Wallachia in the Kyiv manuscript. It is not hard to notice that the focus of the scribe is concentrated on the description of the Wallachians' lifestyle, and often the loud festivities that they particularly enjoyed.

As is the case with Moldavia, details of sacred worship and churches are omitted, but the events of public importance witnessed by Paul of Aleppo are conveyed quite thoroughly.

THE COSSACKS' COUNTRY AND MUSCOVY IN THE KYIV MANUSCRIPT

Starting from 46: 6, the description of the Cossacks' country contains a brief mention of the welcome ceremony for Macarius in Rashkov, the residents' piety and the commemoration of Tsar Aleksey in churches. There is an abridged historical narrative about the country and the Cossacks' war with the Poles, and a portrait of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and his activities.

It may be noticed that starting with this part the text underwent more considerable abridgements and redrafting than the previous parts. The following lines on the Cossacks' land contain only a few abridged fragments about: travelling around the country, solemnities when meeting the Patriarch, admiration for the country and its residents, iron clock, fruit trees, poultry, breeding of pigs, barley brewing, priests' kalpaks, green candles, numerous children and mirrors in altars. The travel up to Bohuslav across various towns is not mentioned at all. As for the description of the meeting with Bohdan Khmelnytsky in Bohuslav, the scribe conveyed Paul of Aleppo's main impressions of the Hetman and listed the Patriarch's presents. The visit to the Cossacks' camp and the farewell of the hetman are not mentioned; the route in direction of Kyiv is completely omitted as well.

Having mentioned the arrival in Kyiv, the scribe nevertheless ignored absolutely the description of the city, its monasteries and churches, the sojourn in Kyiv – Pechersk Lavra, the holy service at St. Sophia Cathedral, that were so minutely described by Paul of Aleppo. We only find brief parts from the final fragments concerning the Cossacks' country, about: beautiful gardens, the beauty of local women, punishments for adulterers, the strong rainfall, and once again Khmelnytsky's war against the Jesuits. Then the scribe mentioned the travelers' departure from Kyiv, the mountain cells of hermits and the common bath for men and women, Olshana village, and orphanages. Macarius's route to Putivl (Priluki, Gustynsky Monastery) is not mentioned at all.

The fragment on the Cossacks' country occupies 11 pages of the manuscript. There are very considerable gaps in the description of this part of Macarius' route. We see that it lacks reference to all the monasteries and churches, as well as to travelling along the country, although the description of the route, and especially details of the Ukrainian monasteries and churches, are foremost in Paul's travel notes. Thus, the report on the Cossacks' country in the Kyiv version appears to have been abridged considerably. The scribes nevertheless paid attention to some habits of Cossacks, natural conditions, appearance of persons, and in particular the features of Khmelnytsky and his war with the Poles.

We may assume that such abridgements were connected somehow with the change in scribes. Let us remember that the handwriting changed several times on pages 42 to 49, and starting from page 49 another scribe continued the description. The latter was less attentive to church details than his forerunners, who had conveyed the trip to Moldavia and Wallachia. Kyiv (p. 55) is delivered to the pen of the new scribe. He probably considered the Cossacks' land a transit territory on Macarius's way to his chief destination – Moscow, so he may have limited the narration to the minimum. This comparatively brief part of the route (travelling through Ukraine took 40 days) didn't contain any significant official ceremonies. As for the description of holy services and monasteries, it seems that the new scribe was not interested in them. Probably, he omitted the reference even to the most famous sacred places, such as Kyiv – Pechersk Lavra and St. Sophia cathedral – as he was eager to come as soon as possible to the description of the main part of the travels.

The rest of the manuscript, referring to Muscovy, occupies the largest part of the surviving text (about 82 pages). The chronology of the narrative, as it relates to Muscovy, is sometimes broken, compared to the expanded versions: the scribe would return to the previously described details or jump ahead and then go to the main topic. Some of these rearrangements caused a misrepresentation of the facts (e.g., when mentioning the *Polychronion* dedicated to Patriarchs Nikon and Macarius on the Sunday of Orthodoxy *after* the one to the nobles and soldiers). The story about Moldavia and Wallachia was composed by the previous scribe more logically, in accordance with the expanded versions.

The text about Macarius's sojourn in Muscovy presented in the Kyiv manuscript has a specific feature: many passages concerning holy services, churches and monasteries (even the mere mention of the famous ones), etc. were completely omitted, while other rather large fragments were conveyed almost unabridged. We noticed that the latter concern mostly historical, geographical, and political aspects. The fragments copied by the scribe in full are the following³⁰: the list of reciprocal presents of Macarius and the Tsar, the Northern tribe of cannibals (the Sami people), the story of Ivan the Terrible, narratives about Inner Siberia, hunting for sable, relationship of Muscovites with Tatars and their attitude to adherents of other faiths, the story of the Georgian ruler Teimuraz-Khan, Queen Helen and the baptism of a prince from the Qasim Khanate, an exposure of the Greeks' vices, the time convention and the situation of the sun, the Tsar's letter about coming back to Moscow. Some large fragments are presented as résumés, paraphrased by the scribe. It is obvious that the scribe (or his employer) was interested first of all in narratives of historical importance, especially the peculiar

³⁰ A full description of the part concerning Muscovy is presented in: Yu. I. Petrova, "Putešestvie Patriarha Makarija": kievskij spisok rukopisi Pavla Aleppskogo, in *Rossija i Palestina: naučnyje i kulturnyje svjazi (po materialam arhivnyh, rukopisnyh, knižnyh i muzejnyh fondov)*, ed. by G. Z. Pumpjan, St. Petersburg, Russian Academy of Sciences Library (forthcoming).

ones concerning the Northern lands and peoples, probably unknown to Middle Eastern readers. The personality of Tsar Aleksey (especially his piety), some official ceremonies and local traditions caught the scribe's attention as well.

The text of the Kyiv manuscript breaks off at the end of the Tsar's letter to Macarius, with the request to return to Moscow (138: 20–21):

كُتِبَ هذا المكتوب المدينة المملوكة المصكوف في عشية رابع نيسان سنة ٧١٦٤

“This letter was written in the capital city of Moscow in the evening of 4 April, the year 7164” (= 1656 A.D.).

Thus, the third, final stage of Macarius's travels (the way back home by the same route) is completely lost, due to the damage of the pages.

FRAGMENTS MISSING IN THE OTHER, EXPANDED VERSIONS

While working on the collation of the manuscripts (of Paris, London, and Kyiv) I identified some small fragments in the Kyiv version which are rather different from the expanded versions or supplement them. All the details are to be clarified in the complete edition of the Arabic text. Here I would like to present some of these fragments³¹ that were added or modified by the scribes, so that they would be useful for the interpretation of the text (important interpolations are underlined).

WALLACHIA

38: 17–21

وهذه مدينة صور عشت وهي مدينة كبيرة ربما مثل حلب والشام كثيرة الامياه والانهار فيها انيف من ثمانين كنيسة ودير معظمت كثيرة الثمار مثل الشام وازيد والفوكه كثيره واعظم

“This city of Târgoviște is a big city, probably alike Aleppo or Damascus, with plenty of waters and rivers. It has more than 80 grand churches and monasteries, and lots of fruit like in Damascus, or even more”.

43: 18 – 44: 1

ثم اخذنا البيك الجديد للطرابيز نحن والحاضرين وفرقوا علينا حسنه وافرهم بمحارم مع خلع مكلفات

“Then the new hospodar took us and those present to the banquet, and generous alms [wrapped] in handkerchiefs were distributed among us, together with expensive clothes”.

45: 21 – 46: 4

خرجنا من صور عشت ومشينا عشرين يوم حتى قطعنا حكم الفلاخ والبيضان ودخلنا بلاد القزق ولكن الطرق وعره واحراش واجبال عاليه بلاد مخيفه ونحن نمشي باسراع كمثل ولاق وبلاد انهر وامياه وجسور من خشب عراض

³¹ The spelling of the following fragments corresponds to the Kyiv manuscript.

“We left Târgoviște and travelled for 20 days until we passed the territories of the Wallachians and the Moldavians and entered the Cossacks’ country. With difficult roads, forests and high mountains, this is a scary country, so we travelled fast like messengers. It is a country of rivers, waters and wide wooden bridges”.

THE COSSACKS’ COUNTRY

49: 7–9

عند ذلك تحزن سيدنا يسوع المسيح على شعبه واولاد كنيسة التي بدل دمه عنها ونظر الى ذلهم ورتي الي صراخهم واطهر عبده الامين اخميل ابن الايمان الحقيقي

“Then our Lord Jesus Christ took compassion on His people and children of His Church which He had shed His Blood for, heeded to their humiliation and took pity on their mourning, and He showed His faithful servant Khmil, the son of the true faith”.

50: 3–4

وكانت له شجاعة زايده ذو تاقب سعيد مسعد للغاية في كافة اموره وكان متواضع دين خايف الله للغاية

“He [Khmelnytsky] had extraordinary courage and was extremely lucky in all his undertakings. He was humble, pious and extremely God-fearing”.

53: 10–12

وكنا ننظر شي لا يمكننا ان نحفظ ونحصيه بل نقول بحق ان الله خلصهم وهم ملوك الي الان يلبق فيهم

الملك

“We saw things that we were unable either to memorize or to enumerate. But we rightly say that God saved them and they are kings till now, the reign befits them”.

54: 20 – 55: 1

وشعورهم شقر ملونه خلقه شريفه تشهي النظر نغمات حسنه وخلقه اشرف واشرف

“Their [children’s] hair is red or many-coloured, they are pretty and delightful to the eyes, their chant is beautiful, and each one is prettier than the other”.

MUSCOVY

84: 15–17

فجاوا اجداد اجداده في بحر اوكيانوس من نحو سبعمائة سنة في سنة ٩٥ مسيحيه الي هذه البلاد

وتحكموا بها

“The ancestors of his [Ivan the Terrible’s] ancestors came to this country on the ocean, about 700 years ago, in 95 A.D., and took possession of it”.

100: 18–21

اجتمعنا برجل كان يهودي وتتنصر وصار مسيحي فقال لنا انه لا يكون اخبث من مكر المصكوفين
قالوا ان اليهود خبثا ولكن المصكوفين يفوقهم

“We met with a former Jew who had been baptized and became a Christian. He told us that there was no one smarter than the Muscovites. They say that Jews are cunning, but the Muscovites surpass them”.

106: 3–4

وكذلك بقية ملوك الافرنج الذين حوله اوعدوه بخزائن ومدن كثيرة

“The rest of the Franks’ kings around him promised him [the Georgian ruler] riches and many cities as well...”

107: 14–15

فلما رات الملكة ما جري حلفت شعر راسها ولبست ثياب رجال

“When the [Georgian] Queen saw what had happened, she cut off her hair and put on men’s clothes”.

116: 4–5

لانه هو ثاني ريس بعد البطريرك في هذه البلاد كلها

“Because he [a Protopope] is the second ruler of the country, after the Patriarch”.

118: 11–15

وكذلك يفعلون في جمعت الالام وبيالغون في التقشف والصلاة ليلاً ونهاراً كمثل سيرت القديسين انظر
يا اخي الي هذه الامانه المباركه يعمر الله بلادهم ويثبت ملكهم الي ابد الابدين امين

“In the same manner they act during the Holy Week, indulging in utmost asceticism and prayer, night and day, as in the Lives of the Saints. Look, brother, at this blessed devotion! May God grant them prosperity in the country and strengthen their kingdom forever and ever! Amen”.

122: 9–14

واقول بحق ان الله ملك عليهم غير امه واذلهم ولا زالوا وبحق ان الله اعطا هولاء الملك لكثرت
اتضاع ملوكهم لروسا الكهنه وحسن سيرة الكهنه وروسا الكهنه يعمر الله بلادهم ويدوم ملكهم الي الابد
وينصرهم علي من يعاديهم امين

“I would rightly say that God put other people above them [the Greeks], gave them humiliation until now and gave the kingdom to them [the Russians] for the

great humility of their kings before the hierarchs and the pious life of their priests and bishops. Let God bestow prosperity to their country, extend their kingdom forever and give them victory over the enemies! Amen”.

124: 6–10

حقاً نسينا التعب من عظم ما نظرنا من صبرهم واحتمالهم وتواضعهم في الكنائس لا كمثّل اكبار بلادنا
الله يلفظ بهم الله جازاهم بحق وهو لا الله رفعهم بعدل وبحق

“Truly, we forgot our tiredness because of the great patience, endurance and humility that we observed in their churches – not like the nobles of our country (may God be merciful to them!). He recompensed those with justice and these He rightfully exalted”.

CONCLUSION

We conclude from all the above that the typical features of the Kyiv manuscript of *The Travels* are the omission of the long descriptions of holy services and sacred architecture, the scribes’ interest in historical events, habits and customs, the abridgement of large parts of the text, with numerous paraphrases. On the other hand, though the abridged version of *The Travels* is based on the expanded ones, we can still find fragments that seem rather independent, or even supplement Paul of Aleppo’s text.

The other significant conclusion based on the collation of the manuscripts concerns the relationship between the versions. There are indications showing that the Kyiv manuscript may be derived from the St Petersburg one (or both of them are dependent on the same archetype), but apparently not from the Paris or London manuscript. We may suppose that the Kyiv manuscript was copied directly from the St Petersburg one, or from an earlier version (mid 18th century vs. late 17th century), but this hypothesis still needs further proof, supported by several other indicators (first of all linguistic). The main point is that the Paris and London manuscripts lack large fragments present in both the St Petersburg and the Kyiv versions (in the latter, with abridgements), in particular the one starting from the description of the Georgian Queen Helen’s arrival to Moscow, continuing with the story of the baptism of Muslims, of the Tatar prince and a Polish nobleman, and ending with the banquet presented by Nikon (107: 21 – 114: 11 in the Kyiv manuscript). On this preliminary basis, we may conclude that the Paris and London manuscripts, on the one hand, and the St Petersburg and Kyiv ones, on the other hand, belong genealogically to two different families of the manuscript versions. In the latter class, the Kyiv manuscript constitutes, in its turn, a separate version, differing structurally from the rest.

In this connection, an important question still remains unanswered, namely: who or what precisely was this abridged version, altered structurally and linguistically to such an extent, intended for? As mentioned, A. Krimskyi, who was an expert in the history of Arabic literature and paid special attention in his book³² to the Christian Arabic literary tradition, ascribed its creation to the popularity of Paul of Aleppo's book among the Greek-Orthodox Arabs, especially since the historical chronicles and geographical descriptions (the *Rihla* genre) were among the most widespread genres in Christian Arab literature in the 17th–18th centuries³³.

The clarification of this matter constitutes one of the future tasks for researchers. If, according to D. Lihačov, while studying the literary monuments of the past one should put the author of the text (or the scribe), with his cultural background and mentality³⁴, in the centre of his attention, and it is necessary for the researcher to understand the way of thinking of both the scribe and his intended reader³⁵, it may therefore be especially important to retrace the thought of the Antiochian scribes based on the particularities of the Kyiv version of *The Travels*. This manuscript may provide useful data for the analysis of the methods of text revision and interpretation by the Christian Arabs of the epoch under discussion, the development of a creative approach to the text, and its rethinking, instead of merely copying. It may also provide the researchers with additional material on the development of the Greek-Orthodox Arabs' historiographic tradition.

In any case, the abridged Kyiv manuscript of *The Travels of Macarius* has a special importance when retracing the complete history of Paul of Aleppo's work, helping to determine its stages and elaborate the historical classification of all versions. The latter constitutes one of the chief tasks of contemporary textual criticism³⁶ and may be achieved only by a comprehensive research of the entire history of the text and its manuscript tradition.

³² A.E. Krimskyi, *Istorija novoj arabskoj literatury: XIX – načalo XX veka*, ed. by A.B. Khalidov, Moscow, 1971.

³³ K.A. Pančenko, *Osmanskaja imperija...*, p. 135.

³⁴ D.S. Lihačov, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 478.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 102, 181, and 234.

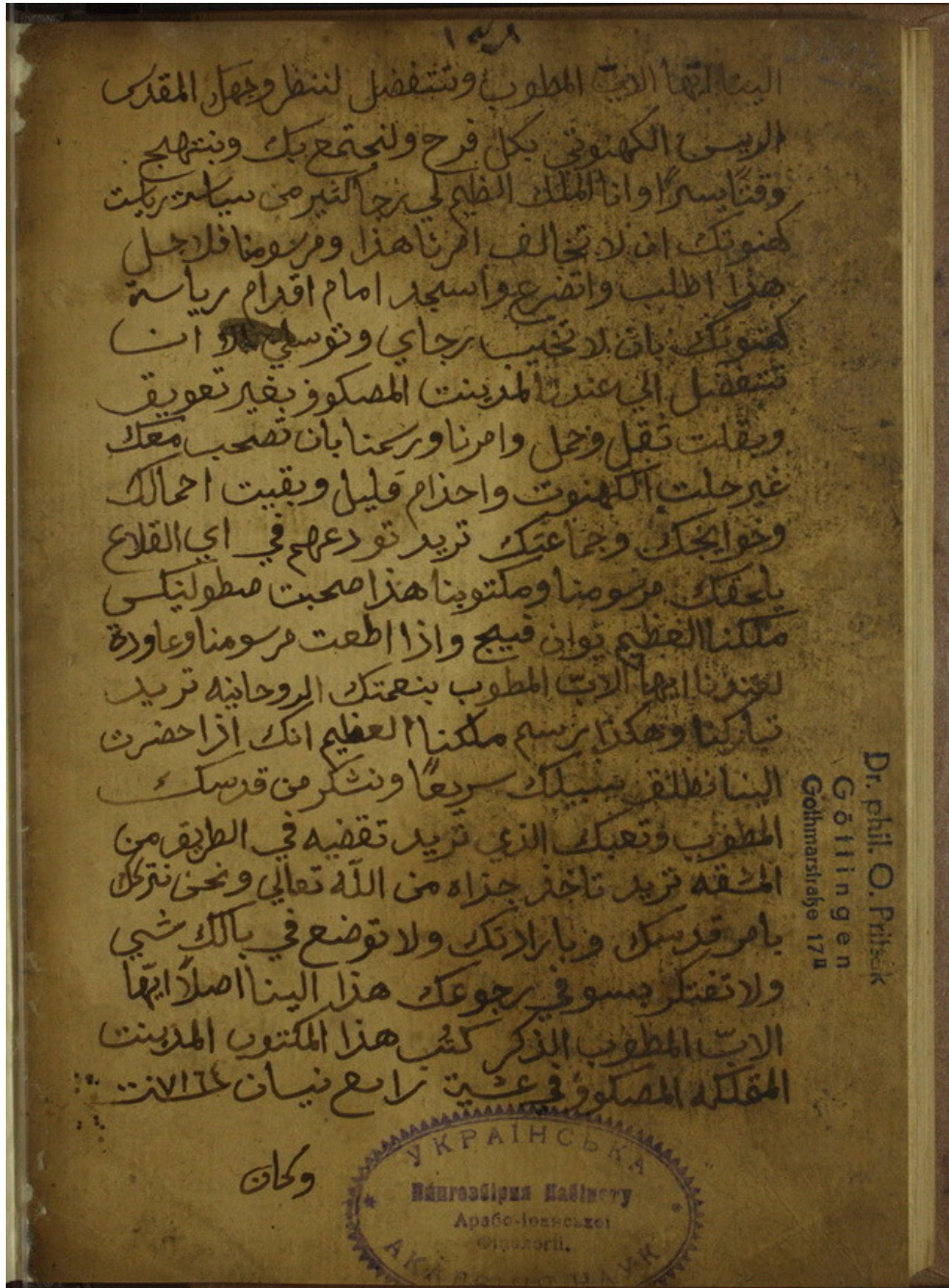


Illustration 1

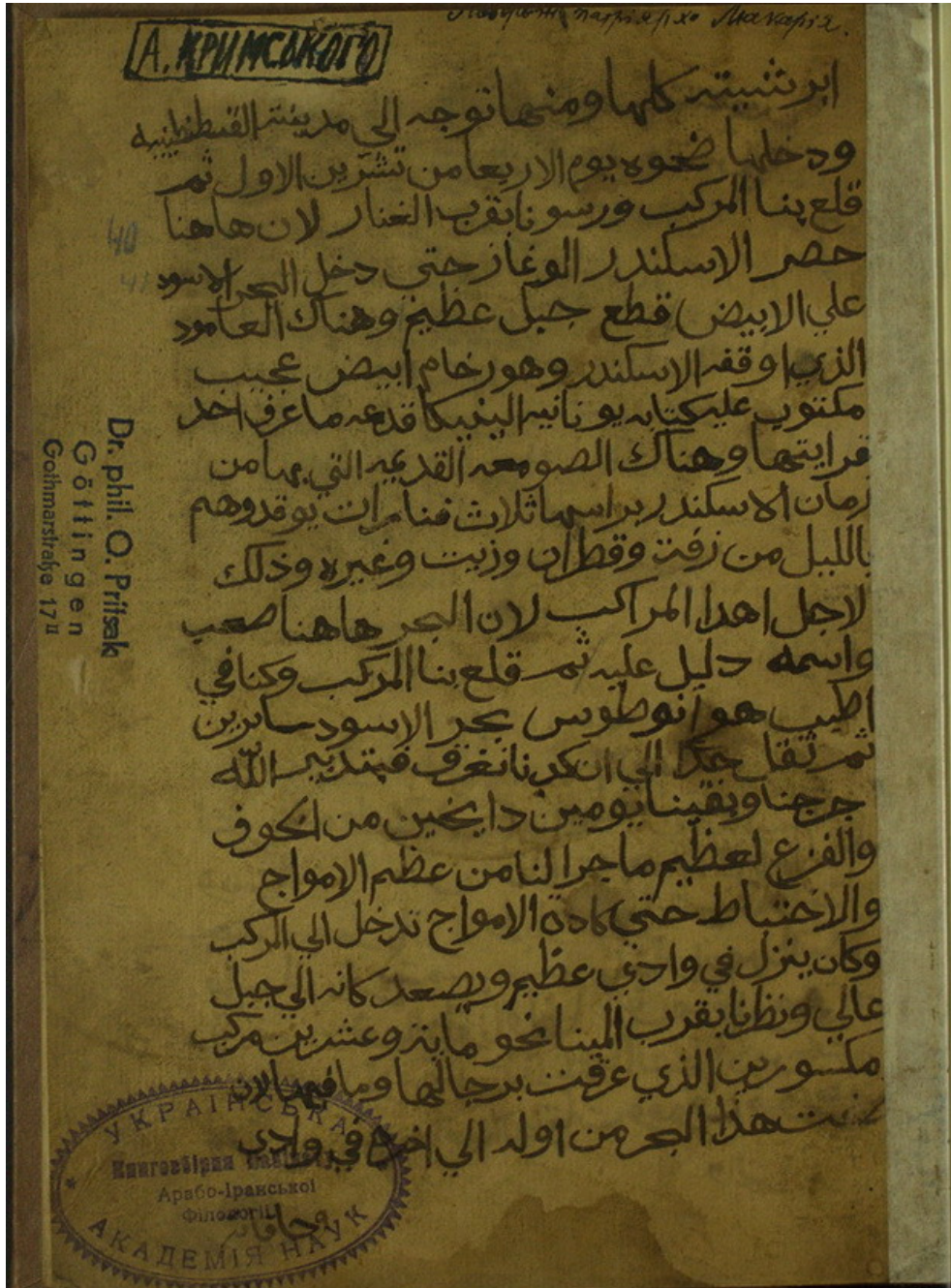


Illustration 2