

6 Christian Arabic Books Printed between 1701 and 1753, Snagov to Beirut

6.1 Books Printed in Wallachia in 1701–1702 by Antim the Iberian and Athanasios Dabbās

General remarks

The two books printed in Greek and Arabic in Snagov and Bucharest have catch-words on every page, in the lower left corner, and are richly adorned with book art elements.

The text columns were placed so as to allow reading the Arabic text from the right margin (to the left) and the Greek text from the left margin (to the right), observing the direction of writing in both languages. No intention of priority given to one or the other text is present in these books.

A common feature of the title pages in the two books is the use of the same woodblock for the first word, in red ink, and of a larger size than the printed text.

The label “CRV” and specific number is mentioned for each book present in the collections of the B.A.R. in Bucharest.

According to a handwritten note dated February 1702, preserved on a Greek book issued from the same press, the Arabic type cast by Antim the Iberian was to be used the same year for printing a third Arabic text: Ioan Cantacuzino’s translation, made at the request of the prince of Wallachia Constantin Brâncoveanu, of the *Commentaries on the Holy Gospel* composed by Theophylact, the Orthodox archbishop of Ohrid (d. after 1107).¹

As for the content of the Arabic Christian liturgical books, further research is necessary before attributing these texts to ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭāki.²

¹ Nicolae Iorga, *Documente „Hurmuzaki”*, t. 14, I, Doc. no. DCCXL, p. 757.

² The descriptions of the books printed in Hînjăra, currently under survey by several members of the TYPARABIC project team, will be included in the comprehensive catalogue to be published in 2024 in the EAP series dedicated by De Gruyter to the TYPARABIC project outcomes.

1. *Kitāb al-quddāsāt al-talāta al-'ilāhiyya ma'a ba'd iḥtiyāgāt 'uḥrā ḍarūriyya li-l-ṣalawāt al-'urtūduksiyya, qad ṭubi'a al-'ān ḥadīṡ^m fī al-luḡa al-yūnāniyya wa-l-'arabiyya / Ai theiai leitourgiai ton en agiois Pateron imon Ioannou tou Chysostomou, Basileiou tou Megalou kai e ton Proegiasmenon*, *Book of the three Divine Liturgies accompanied by other [texts] required for the Orthodox prayer, newly printed now in Greek and Arabic*, Snagov, Monastery of the Dormition of the Mother of God, 1701, [14] ff., 56 + 253 pp.

The text is printed in black and red ink on two columns, left in Greek and right in Arabic, except the introductory texts composed by Athanasios Dabbās, which are printed in Arabic on the entire page. The pages are numbered in Greek numerals. The text is enclosed in a black frame.

The title page is given only in Arabic (Fig. 17). Page 2 (back of the title page) presents the Wallachian coat of arms, an engraving by Antim the Iberian, and below, Constantin Brâncoveanu's princely title in Greek (Fig. 9). On page 5, there is a Greek stanza composed by Ioannis Komnenos, a physician at the court in Bucharest,³ who praises the prince and explains the symbols of the coat of arms. The next pages (p. 6–17), in Greek on the right-hand page and Arabic on the left, contain a foreword which is an ample eulogy addressed to Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu, followed by a report on the miserable situation of the Christians in Ottoman Syria and the circumstances in which the Book of Divine Liturgies was printed. In the second text (p. 20–28), a letter addressed by Athanasios Dabbās to the clergy of the Church of Antioch, he praises Brâncoveanu's munificence and Antim the Iberian's contribution, by cutting the punches for the Arabic type at the prince's press in Snagov. He also mentions the intentions that he and the prince had to freely distribute the books printed in Wallachia to the Antiochian priests.

The liturgical text, printed in two columns (right – Arabic / left – Greek), starts on p. 29. It comprises the text of the Arabic Divine Liturgy translated from Greek and Syriac, which had been preserved in old manuscripts revised by Meletios Karma, who had compared it with Byzantine versions of the three liturgical texts.⁴ The Greek text in this book is the one of the Euchologion printed in Venice in 1663.⁵

³ Later, having become the bishop Ierotheos of Dristra, he dedicated a Greek biography of the Byzantine emperor Ioannis VI Kantakouzenos to the *stolnic* Constantin Cantacuzino. See Virgil Căndeia, "Une version roumaine de l'Apologie contre Mahomet", *RESEE*, 4, 1966, 1–2, p. 236.

⁴ For a comprehensive comment in terms of the history of Liturgy, see Charon, *Le Rite byzantin dans les Patriarcats melkites*, p. 67–88, 124.

⁵ Archim. Polycarp Chițulescu, a member of the TYPARABIC project team, will contribute to the volume of *Proceedings* of our first conference (Bucharest, 2022) an essay dedicated to the

After the prayers dedicated to consecrating the *collybes*, on p. 343, a comment is printed on the utility of encouraging, in the Arabic-speaking Christian communities, the custom of consecrating and distributing *collybes* as they do in the lands of the Orthodox.

On the last page, 346, the information about the book's printing is repeated first in Greek, then in Arabic, in *sağ'* verses (i.e., rhymed prose). Here, an indication is made that the Greek text of the book was revised before printing by the hieromonk Ignatios the Chaldean (in the Greek text, Φιτυάνου, Phityanou, from the diocese of Chaldea),⁶ who had accompanied Athanasios Dabbās to Bucharest.

The book contains book art elements, vignettes, and icons of saints, printed from woodblocks manufactured in Antim the Iberian's press, some signed: 'Saint Basil the Great', signed 'Dimitrios, 1698' in Greek alphabet (Fig. 12); Saint Gregory, signed 'Ioanichie [Bacov]'; 'Deisis', 'Holy Altar Table', etc.⁷ The other illustrations are: Saint John Chrysostom, the Holy Disk (Fig. 18), and Jesus Christ the Living Bread.

In the middle of the 18th century, the Book of the Divine Liturgies was, for the Arabic-speaking Byzantine-rite Christians, just as for Romanian ones, the most needed liturgical book. In the Romanian lands, this title was published the most frequently and in the largest number of copies, in Greek, Slavonic, and, especially from the 18th century on, in Romanian: Gr. *Λειτουργικόν*, Sl. *Slujebnic*, Rom. *Liturghier* or *Condac*⁸ (Gr. *κοντάκιον* > Ar. *Qundāq*).⁹

It was the dream of Patriarch Makarios III ibn al-Za'im to see it printed while he was journeying in Eastern Europe in 1652–1657. As I mentioned, Fr Charbel Nassif has studied the MS 1049 at the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos, which contains the Greek and Arabic versions of the *Liturgikon*, a copy made in 1637 by

comprehensive study of the Book of Divine Liturgies, compared with several other similar service books printed in Greek and Romanian. The title of this contribution is "Le texte gréco-arabe du Hiératikon imprimé à Snagov en 1701. Une analyse comparative" (forthcoming with De Gruyter).

⁶ According to Charon (ibid.), this was an eparchy of the Church of Antioch located south of Trabzon, with the center at Gümüşhane.

⁷ I commented on the use of woodblocks and ornamental engraved plates created in Antim's workshop for the Arabic books printed in Wallachia in my article "Beginnings of Arabic Printing in Ottoman Syria (1706–1711). The Romanians' Part in Athanasios Dabbās's Achievements" published in *ARAM*, 25 (2013), 2016, 1 & 2, p. 231–260.

⁸ Braniște, *Liturgica generală cu noțiuni de artă bisericească, arhitectură și pictură creștină*, p. 650–652.

⁹ The copyist Țalğa al-Ḥamawī refers to the Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great as a *qundāq* in the first colophon (f. 100v) of the manuscript described by Charbel Nassif in his article "Le Liturgicon arabe de Vatopedi (Mont Athos, Vatopedi 1049)", cf. p. 71–72. For the word *qundāq* used by the Arabic-speaking Christians, see also Charon, *Histoire des Patriarcats melkites*, p. 101.

the scribe ʿAlǧa al-Ḥamawī, brother of Patriarch Efthimios II Karma. The manuscript ends with a text signed by the patriarch.¹⁰ The road that this manuscript took from Damascus to Vatopedi is proposed by Fr Charbel thus: “À notre avis, il serait fort probable qu’un certain diacre qui s’appelle Ġrġūrīyūs ait emporté avec lui ce manuscrit de Damas lors de son pèlerinage au Mont Athos, peut-être avant 1860, et l’a déposé au monastère de Vatopedi”.¹¹ Fr Charbel’s conclusions on the connections between this manuscript copy and the version printed by Dabbās in Snagov are extremely important for the understanding of the significance of this first book resulting from the cooperation between the Wallachians and the Arabic-speaking Christians of the Church of Antioch.

Une étude comparative ultérieure portant sur les manuscrits melkites syro-arabes médiévaux et ce Liturgicon pourrait mieux juger de l’apport de la réforme liturgique entamée par Malāṭīyūs Karmah et déceler les spécificités antiochiennes que Karmah a omises lors de son travail de traduction. Ce Liturgicon a été imprimé par les soins d’Athanase Dabbas au monastère de Snagov en Roumanie en 1701 avec le soutien du voïvode de la Valachie, Constantin Basaraba Branconveanu, et grâce au célèbre typographe Antime l’ibérien (Feodorov 2016: 14–16; Charon 1908: 69–88). Comparer cette version imprimée avec le manuscrit de Vatopedi permet de mieux juger de la réception du Liturgicon de Karmah dans le patriarcat grec orthodoxe d’Antioche au début du XVIII^e siècle.¹²

The Greek and Arabic Book of the Divine Liturgies seems to have been printed in a large number of copies. It circulated widely in the Middle East and a considerable number of copies ended up in European collections. The TYPARABIC team has located twenty copies so far, with more possibly in collections still under scrutiny for the comprehensive catalogue to be printed in 2024. The Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest holds four copies of this book (labelled as CRV 130). One of them has the stamp of the Şaraga Brothers Antiquarian Shop in Iaşi (on the last page but one). A second copy came from the donation of Iosif Naniescu, the metropolitan of Moldavia (1894).¹³ Another copy was found “in the catalogue of the Central Seminary in Bucharest”.¹⁴ One book is held by the National Library of Romania in Bucharest and one by the ‘M. Eminescu’ Central University Library of Iaşi.¹⁵ Schnurrer mentions a copy that he bought in Leipzig, for a modest price,

¹⁰ Nassif, “Le Liturgicon arabe de Vatopedi (Mont Athos, Vatopedi 1049)”, p. 57–82.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 80.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Papadopol-Calimach, “Un episod din istoria tipografiei în România”, p. 140, 145.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ The latter was recently located by Nicholas Bishara, a junior member of the TYPARABIC project team.

at a public book sale of the library of a certain Breitskopf (probably the typographer and editor Bernhard Christoph Breitskopf).¹⁶ Other copies are known to exist at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, the Central Library of the Holy Spirit University in Kaslik, the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Ḥinšāra, the library of the Antiochian Orthodox Patriarchate in Damascus, the Orthodox church of Holy Virgin Mary in Zahle (Lebanon), the Library of the Academy in Kyiv, Ukraine, the Library of the Academy in Vienna, the IMO in Saint Petersburg,¹⁷ etc.

This book was recorded by Ch. Fr. von Schnurrer in his work *Bibliotheca Arabica*, where he mentions that this was a rare book and that he had bought a copy at an auction in Leipzig, for a small price, the copy that he described.¹⁸ Julius Theodor Zenker repeated from Schnurrer the information and text of the title page.¹⁹ The book was then mentioned by Émile Picot²⁰ and Émile Legrand.²¹ The first Arabic source mentioning this book is seemingly ʿĪsā Iskandar al-Maʿlūf's article of 1911.

The Greek and Arabic Book of the Divine Liturgies of Snagov was recorded by Ioan Bianu in *BRV* I, on p. 423–433, with an image of the title page, its translation, and a cursory bibliographic description. This was the first Romanian description, achieved by Bianu based on fragments translated from Arabic by Cyrille Charon and the Greek forewords translated by Constantin Erbiceanu.²²

The Arabic text included in this Book of the Divine Liturgies was reprinted by the Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch in Iași in 1745 (as I shall explain below).

16 Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 270. I thank Ioana Munteanu for helping me ascertain this information, which was later repeated by Deschamps, *Dictionnaire de géographie ancienne et moderne*, col. 1183, and Papadopol-Calimach, “Un episod din istoria tipografiei în România”, p. 144.

17 Described by Sergey A. Frantsouzzoff in “Pervaia arabografichnaia kniga, napechatannia v mire islama, v sobranii Instituta vostochnykh rukopisei RAN”, *Vestnik PSTGU, Seria III: Filologiya*, 2019, 61, p. 104–122.

18 Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 266–272, no. 266.

19 Zenker, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, p. 196, no. 1608.

20 Picot described the copy held by the BnF in his “Notice biographique et bibliographique sur l'imprimeur Anthime d'Ivir, Métropolitain de Valachie”, on p. 537–538.

21 Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des grecs au dix-huitième siècle*, p. 1–9. The Book of the Divine Liturgies of Snagov, 1701, is the first printed work recorded in the catalog. At the end, it is indicated that the author of the description of the Greek texts inside was Prof. I. Pomialowsky of Saint Petersburg, owner of a copy of the book.

22 First published in *BOR*, 13, 1889, p. 531–539.

In 1839, using the text of the 1701 Snagov Book of the Divine Liturgies, another edition was printed in Rome, after a comparison and improvement of the text according to the Greek *Euchologion* of Pope Benedict XIV, printed in 1754.²³

Papadodopol-Calimach cites the praises that this book received, which he found in Henri Ternaux-Compans, *Notice sur les imprimeries qui existent ou ont existé en Europe et hors d'Europe*, Paris, 1849, p. 119, and in Pierre Deschamps, *Dictionnaire de géographie ancienne et moderne à l'usage du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*.²⁴

As I have explained, no comprehensive and accurate description of the Greek and Arabic Book of the Divine Liturgies of Snagov, 1701, has been published until now. The exception is the Romanian description that I contributed to the catalogue of Antim the Iberian's printed works coordinated by Arhim. Policarp Chițulescu, *Antim Ivireanul. Opera tipografică*.²⁵ The methodology applied there, more complex than the one I adopted for this book, will be followed in the descriptions of the entire corpus of the TYPARABIC project that will make up the catalogue to be published with de Gruyter in 2024.

2. *Kitāb al-'Ūrūlūğiyūn 'ayy al-ṣalawāt al-mafrūda ma'a bāqī al-ṭuqūs al-marsūma 'alā madār al-sana qad ṭubī'a al-'ān ḥadīṭ^{an} fī al-luğa al-yūnāniyya wa-l-'arabiyya* / *Book of the Horologion (Book of the Hours), or of the required prayers and the other services all through the year, newly printed now in Greek and Arabic*, Bucharest, at the prince's press, 1702, [21] ff., 729 pp.

The title is given only in Arabic (Fig. 19). The text is printed in black and red ink, in Greek and Arabic, with Greek on the right-hand page and Arabic on the left-hand page, text within a black border, all pages numbered. Many pages are printed only in red ink. Page 2 (back of the title page) shows the Wallachian coat of arms, the same as the one in the Book of the Divine Liturgies of Snagov, 1701 (previous record). On page 3, the same stanza composed by Ioannis Komnenos is printed in Greek. In the two introductory texts, signed by Dabbās, the same ideas as in the Book of the Divine Liturgies are repeated.²⁶ The version of the Horologion

²³ Cf. Korolevskij, "Antioche", col. 692.

²⁴ Deschamps, *Dictionnaire de géographie ancienne et moderne*, cols. 1182–1183.

²⁵ Chițulescu (coord. ed.), *Antim Ivireanul. Opera tipografică*, p. 87–96.

²⁶ See BRV I, p. 442–447. In his description of this book, Ioan Bianu took into consideration the information in Picot, "Notice biographique et bibliographique sur l'imprimeur Anthime d'Ivir", p. 541–544 (illustrated with the title page of the BnF copy).

printed in Bucharest is that revised around 1630 by Meletios Karma.²⁷ Dabbās declares that he made some improvements before print. After the second foreword, also composed by Athanasios Dabbās, the text of the Horologion is printed with the two texts of a full page, all through the first 168 pages. The Troparia, on p. 169–549, are printed on two columns, Greek on the left – Arabic on the right. The subsequent prayers, on p. 550–578, are printed on a full page, followed by the Akathist to the Mother of God in two columns, only in Arabic.

At the end of the book, on p. 732, there is a note in Arabic, translated from Greek, which was composed by Antim the Iberian. Here, he apologizes to the Arabic-speaking readers for any mistakes he may have made in printing this book, because “he is a stranger to the Arabic language” (*bi-mā ’annī ġarīb min al-luġa al-’arabiyya*). He also thanks God for the completion of the book.²⁸

The book contains illustrations: the Wallachian coat of arms, the icon of Jesus Christ Pantokrator in the adornment of a frontispiece, the Deisis, the Mother of God Platytera (“in Prayer”), also in an ornamental frontispiece.

The Greek version in the Bucharest 1702 Horologion was reprinted in Venice in 1759, 1777, 1869 and 1877, with the indication that this edition followed the one of Bucharest, assessed as the best Greek version of the Horologion.²⁹

A manuscript of the version that Dabbās printed, MS Arabe 1581, is preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. As I mentioned before, the Horologion had been sent by Meletios Karma to Rome to be printed, but it did not receive the approval of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, which requested it to be modified.

The B.A.R. Bucharest holds two copies (CRV 137). The second, which is incomplete, was bought in Istanbul in 1945 by the Romanian historian of the Ottoman Empire Aurel Decei. According to a handwritten note on this copy, it once belonged to the library of the Melkite Greek Catholic Archdiocese in Aleppo, and to Gabriel Farḥāt of Aleppo, the future Maronite bishop of Aleppo. In Romania, another copy of the Greek and Arabic Horologion is held by the ‘M. Eminescu’

²⁷ Charon, *Le Rite byzantin dans les Patriarcats melkites*, p. 59–60. Research is under way to understand the historical development of the text.

²⁸ The Romanian translation of this note by Antim the Iberian is taken, in Răpă-Buicliu, *Bibliografia românească veche. Additamenta*, I. 1536–1830, p. 220, from the version made by the well-known Turkish studies expert Aurel Decei (“Din tipăriturile orientale la București, în sec. al XVIII-lea”, *Revista istorică română*, 15, 1945, fasc. II, p. 365–371), because Decei had found errors in the translation given in BRV.

²⁹ See Antōnios Sīgalas, *Apo tēn pneumatikēn zōēn tōn hellēnikōn koinotētōn tēs Makedonias*, t. I, Thessaloniki, 1939, p. 118–119, no. 35–36, 39–40; Virgil Căndea, “Mărturii românești necunoscute din Grecia de Nord”, *Studii și articole de istorie*, New Series, 60–61, 1993, p. 106, n. 21.

Central University Library of Iași.³⁰ At this time we know of thirteen copies of this book, preserved both in the Middle East and Europe. Among them, one is in the BnF – Lorette Branch,³¹ others in the Central Library of the Holy Spirit University in Kaslik, the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Ḥinšāra, the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch in Damascus, etc.³²

A manuscript copy of the Arabic foreword by Athanasios Dabbās is preserved at the RGADA in Moscow (Fond 191, G. J. Kehr, no. 19, ff. 2–5, and no. 31, ff. 2–4).³³

The Horologion was not recorded by Schnurrer in his *Bibliotheca Arabica*. It was described by Silvestre de Sacy in *Magasin encyclopédique*³⁴ and then by Émile Picot.³⁵

Ioan Bianu recorded the book in *BRV I* based on a survey of the first copy in the collections of the B.A.R. He published the Romanian translation of the title page (also printed in the book), an abstract of Picot's description, the translation of the two forewords signed by Dabbās (the first one, incomplete), and that of Antim's concluding note addressed to the Arabic-speaking readers. At the end of *BRV I*, Bianu added a note after he found the second copy in the collections of the B.A.R., with a Romanian translation of the opening part of the first foreword, missing from the first copy.

Cyrille Charon describes the Greek and Arabic Horologion in his book *Histoire des Patriarcats Melkites* (1911) using the information given by Bianu in *BRV I*.

Based on the copies held by the B.A.R. in Bucharest, I described the Greek and Arabic Horologion of 1702 in the catalogue *Antim Ivireanul. Opera tipografică*.³⁶ Again, a more elaborate description of this book is part of the catalogue in preparation for 2024 with De Gruyter.

30 Also located recently by Nicholas Bishara.

31 Described by Picot in his "Notice".

32 A copy that existed in the 1970s in the collection of Mgr Neophytos Edelby was mentioned by Virgil Cădea in "Sources roumaines et grecques dans les bibliothèques du Proche-Orient", on p. 75. On this great scholar and leader of the Greek Catholic community, see Ignace Dick, "Néophytos Edelby, Métropolite grec catholique (1920–1995)", in PP. Nagy Edelby and Pierre Masri (eds.), *Mélanges en mémoire de Mgr Néophytos Edelby (1920–1995)*, Beirut, 2005, p. 17–28.

33 The copy is recorded in the manuscript catalogue of the collection, under no. 137. I am grateful to Dmitri Morozov for this information.

34 De Sacy, *Magasin encyclopédique*, p. 198–201.

35 Picot, "Notice biographique et bibliographique sur l'imprimeur Anthime d'Ivir", p. 541–544, no. 21.

36 Chițulescu (coord. ed.), *Antim Ivireanul. Opera tipografică*, p. 105–110.

6.2 Books Printed at Aleppo in 1706–1711 by Athanasios Dabbās

General remarks

Between 1701 and 1711, at the metropolitan residence of the Church of Antioch in Aleppo, Athanasios Dabbās supervised the printing of ten books, one with a second edition, and two – bound in two steps. All the books contain only Arabic-type text, with the exception of very brief passages or words in Greek type in the second-phase canonical Gospel bound in 1708 and the Oktoechos of 1711. Inside the woodcut icons in several books, the names of saints are printed in Greek type. As a rule, black and red ink was used in printing, and catchwords are present on every page, as mentioned before. Most books contain book art elements in a similar style as the ones described above. The Aleppo press was the initiative and project of the Metropolitan Athanasios Dabbās, who used the expertise acquired in Snagov and Bucharest and the printing implements he was presented with in 1704, when leaving Walachia for good.³⁷

1. *Kitāb al-Zabūr al-Šarīf al-manṭūq bi-hi min al-Rūḥ al-Quds ‘alā fam al-Nabiyy wa-l-Malik Dāwūd wa-‘iddatu-hu mi’at wa-ḥamsūna mazmūr^{an}, [...] qad ṭubi’a ḥadiṭ^{an} bi-maḥrūsāt Ḥalab al-maḥmiya fī sanat ‘alf wa-sab’ami’a wa-sitta masīḥiyya / The Holy Book of the Psalms composed by the Holy Spirit through the mouth of David the Prophet and the King, and their number is one hundred and fifty, [...] newly printed now in the city of Aleppo the well-protected and well-guarded, in the Christian year one thousand seven hundred and six, Aleppo, 1706, [7] + 296 pp.*³⁸

The text on the title page is printed in black, except for the word *kitāb*, imprinted with red ink using an elegantly carved woodblock (Fig. 20). On the back of the title page, the coat of arms of Constantin Brâncoveanu, the prince of Wallachia, resembles the one printed in 1701 in the Snagov Book of the Divine Liturgies (see Fig. 11). The book includes an icon of David the King and Prophet (Fig. 21), book

³⁷ Al-Ma’lūf mentioned that he had the intention of presenting the printing press of Aleppo and the books printed there in a subsequent article, which he did not publish; see Al-Ma’lūf, “Maṭba’a rūmāniyya al-urtūduksiyya al-‘arabiyya al-anṭākiyyā”, p. 54.

³⁸ Schnurrer, followed by Nasrallah, who did not see a copy of this book, mentions VIII + 276 pp. See Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 371; Nasrallah, *L’imprimerie au Liban*, p. 23.

art elements, and catchwords on all pages, on the lower left, a feature present in all the Aleppo books.

The Psalter follows the liturgical order and includes the 151 Psalms of the Septuagint and the ten biblical “Odes of Moses” (the *taṣābiḥ*, including the prayers to Hannah, Habakkuk, Isaiah, Jonah, etc.). The text published here is an early version translated from Greek into Arabic and later revised by the deacon ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī, with kathismata revised by Athanasios Dabbās, in the Melkite tradition.³⁹ In his commentary on the Arabic Psalter prepared by Ibn al-Faḍl, Alexander Roberts states that his version of the Psalms became very popular among Arabic-speaking Christians, Chalcedonians as well as Coptic Miaphysites. Without mentioning the Aleppo Psalter printed by Dabbās, he concludes that “while very few of Ibn al-Faḍl’s translations have appeared in print, his Psalter was included in the Arabic Bible printed in Rome in 1671”.⁴⁰ Evidently, manuscripts circulated in the Arabic-speaking Christian communities of the Middle East and based on them, Dabbās prepared the version that he intended to print.

It is likely that the Psalter was prepared for printing while Dabbās was still in Bucharest, but in 1704 circumstances forced him to leave for Cyprus and then Syria. He achieved two years later, at his new press of Aleppo, the printing of this book that was in great demand with the clergy – and the common people – of the Church of Antioch, as he states in the opening of this book.

The book has two forewords, the first unsigned, addressing Athanasios Dabbās in the 2nd person, the second signed by Dabbās and addressed to his readership. Here, the metropolitan of Aleppo explains his reasons for printing the Arabic Psalter – for the first time – and his choices in preparing the text. As I mentioned above, the first reason was its usefulness in educating the youth.

I decided then to print this Holy Psalter for the benefit of the Christians’ sons’ teaching in schools, so it would be equally easy to be found by the rich and the poor. [...] We have thoroughly improved the Arabic form of this Psalter before printing it (*‘aṣlahnā ‘i-rāb haḍā al-Mazāmīr qabla ṭab‘i-hi ‘iṣlāḥ^{an} mutawassiṭ^{an}*) except for its structure, and we have not changed anything in it except the twenty kathismata, which we have improved in structure and Arabic expression.⁴¹

After the book was printed, Dabbās did not stop revising the text and worked together with Salomon Negri until a new edition was published in England in

³⁹ HMLĒM IV.1, p. 146.

⁴⁰ Roberts, *Reason and Revelation in Byzantine Antioch*, p. 37.

⁴¹ Psalter, Aleppo, 1706, second foreword, p. 3.

1725, as I already explained. The interventions applied to the Psalms printed by the efforts of Athanasios Dabbās and his scholarly entourage may be assessed only through a careful comparison of the surviving pre-1700 manuscript copies with the texts published in 1706 and 1725.

The 1706 Psalter of Aleppo was recorded by Schnurrer in his *Bibliographia arabica* on p. 371.⁴²

At this time, six copies of the 1706 Psalter are known to exist: one in the Library of the Romanian Academy (CRV 154),⁴³ two (incomplete) in the collections of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in Saint Petersburg (IMO),⁴⁴ one in the National Library of Austria, one at the BULAC in Paris, and one at the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Ḥinšāra. al-Ma'lūf mentioned that he saw a copy at the Monastery of Mār Elyās Šu'ayya in Lebanon. A manuscript copy of the printed Psalter of Aleppo is held in the B.A.R., Cluj-Napoca Branch.

Also at the end, on a blank page (the second of a four-pages group of lined, large copybook sheets inserted in the book), a note in Romanian, elegantly penned in blank ink, gives a translation of the *basmala*, the Gospel title, a reference to Cyrille Charon's mention of this book, and the colophon. It is most probable that the Romanian translation was done by Emile Murakade.

A second edition of this book was printed in Aleppo in 1709 and a reprint was achieved by the Greek Orthodox of Beirut in 1752 (described below).

The Aleppo Psalter of 1706 was reprinted in Göttingen in 1876, with the title *Psalterium Job Proverbia arabice*, by Paul de Lagarde, who revised the form of the Arabic text from an orthographical point of view. It seems that he also used the first Greek Catholic edition printed in 1735 at the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Ḥinšāra by 'Abdallāh Zāḥir.

The Greek Orthodox reprinted the 1706 Aleppo Psalter in 1752, at the Monastery of Saint George in Beirut (see below). As for the Greek Catholics, after a first reedition of the 1706 Psalter in Ḥinšāra in 1735, they reprinted it in fifteen successive editions until 1899.

⁴² The information in his bibliography was repeated by Joseph Nasrallah, who did not see the book. See Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban*, p. 23.

⁴³ Described in *BRV* I, p. 469–477.

⁴⁴ See Frantsouzoff, "Les vieux livres imprimés en écriture arabe dans la collection des Rousseau, père et fils, conservée à Saint-Pétersbourg", p. 255–257. P. 3–4 of the foreword and 1–50 of the Psalms are missing from the first copy, and the title page and first two pages of the foreword from the second.

2. *Kitāb al-'Inġil al-šarīf al-ṭāhir wa-l-miṣbāḥ al-munīr al-zāhir, ṭubi'a ḥadīṭ^{an} bi-madīnat Ḥalab al-maḥmīya sanat 'alf wa-sab'ami'a wa-sitta masīḥiyya / Book of the Holy and Pure Gospel, or the resplendently shining Lamp, newly printed now⁴⁵ in the city of Aleppo the well-protected, in the Christian year one thousand seven hundred and six (Tetraevangelion), Aleppo, 1706, 243 pp., text printed in Arabic.*

Nicely ornamented, the title page is printed in black ink, with the same woodblock used for the first word, *kitāb* (Fig. 22), but no red ink. The book contains headpieces, vignettes, square stamps, and floral ornaments.

In the foreword (p. 2–6), after praises to the Lord and a eulogy for Athanasios Dabbās (by a different author), the Antiochian metropolitan declares that he revised the text based on a Greek work, that he corrected ‘phrase-for-phrase’ (*ḡumla fa-ḡumla*) and he improved ‘word-for-word’ (*lafza fa-lafza*) the Arabic form previously used in the Church of Antioch, which circulated in countless manuscripts. He is referring to the earlier translation revised by Meletios Karma. Athanasios Dabbās calls himself at the end ‘Patriarch of Antioch and All the East’. The book title is repeated on p. 7, with an addition: [*Kitāb al-'Inġil...*] *'allaḍi kutiba bi-'ilḥām al-Rūḥ al-Quds min al-'arba'a al-'Inġiliyya Maṭī wa-Murqoṣ wa-Lūqā wa-Yuḥannā al-zumra al-saliḥiyyīn...*, i.e., [*Book of the Gospel...*] *written under the care of the Holy Spirit by the four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, the bearers of good tidings...* An indication is also included that texts follow the liturgical (or church) order: *murattab^{an} tartib^{an} kanā'isiyy^{an}*. Thus, the Gospel text (p. 7–212), arranged as *Matthew – Mark – Luke – John*, presents the succession of Gospel pericopes (not chapters),⁴⁶ for Sunday, Saturday, and the great feasts over the course of the year, opening with Easter Sunday. From page 213 to page 243 the Gospel pericope to be read on every Sunday, Saturday and feast of the year is indicated, starting with Easter Sunday and ending with Easter Eve (Holy Saturday). On the last page (243) there are ornamental stamps and a final phrase: “This was newly printed in the well-protected and guarded city of Aleppo in the year 1706” (Fig. 23). The year was stamped in black ink with a woodblock carved with the words: *1706 sana masīḥiyya*.

⁴⁵ A typical Arabic phrase, synonymous with “for the first time”, which was used by Christian writers both for books and religious institutions – like, for instance, the numerous occurrences in Paul of Aleppo’s *Journal*.

⁴⁶ For this reason, the copy preserved at the Library of Congress, in Washington, D.C., is recorded as: *Bible. Gospels. Selections. Arabic. 1706*. See the description of this copy at: <http://lcn.loc.gov/2013415563>.

Joseph Nasrallah briefly mentioned this book and described its structure: “Nous devons en outre au patriarche la révision du texte arabe de l’Évangélaire. Sa recension, comprenant les quatre Évangiles, est précédée d’une préface. Une table pour déterminer les péripécopes à lire durant la Liturgie termine l’ouvrage”.⁴⁷

This book was recorded by Zenker (*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, p. 76) and Schnurrer (*Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 266–272). It was also mentioned by Cyrille Charon in *Le Rite byzantin dans les Patriarcats melkites* (p. 124–125).

The unique copy owned by the B.A.R. (CRV 154A) was presented to the director, Ioan Bianu, by Cyrille Charon, who had found it in Aleppo. As I already mentioned, this book was first mentioned in Romania by Bianu in a brief presentation before the members of the Romanian Academy.⁴⁸ Emil Murakade translated the Arabic ownership notes for the purpose of that presentation.

On the fourth blank page from the end, the copy of the B.A.R. has a manuscript note written in black ink, certifying that the book entered the possession of the Church of Our Lady of the Greek Catholics (*al-rūm al-kāṭūlik*) in Aleppo through an acquisition “from its funds and for herself”, on May 1, 1853 (Fig. 24). Above it is the name of a former owner of 1796: *al-Maqḍīsī Ḥanāniyā ibn qissīs Ğirġīs Ḥanūn*, also mentioned as an owner on other manuscripts and books in the collections of the Melkite Greek Catholic Church Archdiocese of Aleppo.⁴⁹

We also know of one copy of this Gospel in the Vatican Library, one in the Library of the University of Gotha, one in the Library of Congress (Washington, DC), one at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in Saint Petersburg,⁵⁰ and eleven copies in Lebanon – seven at the Monastery of Ṣarba, three in Ğūn and one in Ĥinšāra.⁵¹

Although printed in 1706, this work continued to be copied until the middle of the 18th century and is still preserved in several manuscripts, including some that contain miniatures.⁵²

47 *HMLÉM* IV.1, p. 144.

48 See *BRV* IV, p. 32–33; Simonescu and Muracade, “Tipar românesc pentru arabi în secolul al XVIII-lea”, p. 15–16.

49 As indicated to me by Habib Ibrahim (CEDRAC, Beirut), to whom I am very grateful.

50 Frantsouzoff, “Les vieux livres imprimés en écriture arabe dans la collection des Rousseau, père et fils, conservée à Saint-Pétersbourg”, p. 256–264, 267.

51 All identified by Fr Charbel Nassif, one of the Lebanese members of the TYPARABIC team.

52 *HMLÉM* IV.1, p. 144.

3. *Kitāb al-'Inḡīl al-šarīf al-ṭāhir wa-l-miṣbāḥ al-munīr al-zāhir, ṭubī'a ḥadīṭ^{an} bi-madīnat Ḥalab al-maḥmīya sanat 'alf wa-sab'ami'a wa-sitta masīḥiyya / Book of the Holy and Pure Gospel, or the resplendently shining Lamp, newly printed now in the city of Aleppo the well-protected in the Christian year 1706* [i.e., a liturgical Gospel], [2] + 566 pp., text printed in Arabic.

This version of the Gospels contains commentaries useful to priests in the liturgical service, which double the book's number of pages, somewhat resembling a Catholic Lectionary. The foreword of this book is identical to the one in the previously described Tetraevangelion. The text is arranged for liturgical use, following the liturgical year, and starting with the Gospel of John, read at Easter time. Each Gospel reading is followed by a commentary introduced by *Qāla al-mufasssir*, 'The commentator said', with no mention to the identity of the author.⁵³ While surveying the copy of this book held by the B.A.R. in Bucharest, Fr Cyril Charon told the director, Ioan Bianu, that these were comments composed by Saint John Chrysostom.⁵⁴

At the beginning of every Gospel, there is placed an engraving of an icon of the Evangelist, signed by an (unidentified) engraver named Simon. An ornamental cartouche placed below the engraving contains the Evangelist's name in Arabic, printed with a woodblock, rather than typeset, such as, *al-Qiddīs Yūḥannā al-Tā'ulūḡus* (Saint John the Theologian). Due to their aesthetic qualities, in some of the surviving copies the Apostles' icons are missing, torn out by passionate lovers of religious art.

For a long time, the two versions of the Gospel printed successively in 1706 were mistaken for one another, as well as with the other two very similar versions of 1708 (discussed below), in catalogue descriptions and other published sources. The Russian Oriental scholar Dmitri A. Morozov commented on the inconsistency of the descriptions of several Gospel books preserved in European libraries.⁵⁵ Additionally, copies of the second, longer version are quite rare. There is none in Romania. Three copies are known to us today, one in Saint Petersburg,

⁵³ A discussion of this commentator's identity and other aspects relative to the contents of the 1706 Aleppo Tetraevangelion and Gospel for liturgical use is being prepared by Fr Rami Wakim for publishing in the volume of *Proceedings* of the 1st TYPARABIC project conference held in Bucharest on September 5–6, 2022, forthcoming with De Gruyter: "Patriarch Aṭanāsīyūs III Dabbās' Gospel. Origin and Characteristics", in Dīpratu and Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond*, Berlin, 2023 (forthcoming).

⁵⁴ Ioan Bianu, note in *AARPAD*, S. II, t. 32, 1909–1910, p. 19.

⁵⁵ Dmitrii A. Morozov, "Arabskoe Evangelie Daniila Apostola (K istorii pervoi arabskoī tipografii na Vostoke)", in *Arkhiv russkoī istorii*, Moscow, t. 2, 1992, p. 193–203.

a second in the Gotha University library, and a third at the Bibliothèque Orientale in Beirut. It was only after a hands-on comparison of the two books that I was able to ascertain the particularities that differentiate them.

The copy in the Gotha branch of the Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt, which bears an earlier ownership stamp of a library of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, was brought to Germany by Ulrich Jasper Seetzen from his journeys across the Middle East, together with many other manuscripts that he acquired for the duke of Gotha's library.⁵⁶ It was briefly presented by Carsten Walbiner,⁵⁷ who later commented on its contents as well,⁵⁸ suggesting that the Gospel was meant for church service, which could explain the need for more copies than the print-run of 1706 had provided.

Apparently without any knowledge of the existence of this book in the Library of Gotha, Seetzen's published list of acquisitions,⁵⁹ or Walbiner's research devoted to this book, Sergey Frantsouzoff published a description of the copy that he discovered in 2018 in the collections of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of Saint Petersburg.⁶⁰

As I mentioned before, the B.A.R. in Bucharest holds a copy of a later edition of the Gospel with commentaries, printed in 1776 at Ḥinšāra (Fig. 25). Here, all the icons of the Four Evangelists are present (Fig. 26). Appreciated for their elegance and rich details, these images have been exhibited by all the libraries who own a copy of this, or a later edition of the Gospel with comments, produced in Ḥinšāra (Fig. 27). Two copies of the Gospel with comments have recently been identified in Ḥinšāra,⁶¹ but they are missing a considerable number of pages and all infor-

⁵⁶ See El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*, p. 11–12.

⁵⁷ Walbiner, "The Christians of Bilād al-Shām (Syria): Pioneers of BookPrinting in the Arab World", p. 24–25. See also the brief description and the title page of the same copy, published in Hanebutt-Benz, Glass and Roper (eds.), *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution*, cat. no. 81, p. 491–492.

⁵⁸ Walbiner, "Melkite (Greek Orthodox) Approaches to the Bible", p. 55–56, 58–61. He also described the icon of Saint John the Evangelist placed on f. 4v.

⁵⁹ Seetzen, "Nachricht von den in der Levante befindlichen Buchdruckereyen von U. J. Seetzen in Haleb 1805", cols. 641–650.

⁶⁰ Frantsouzoff, "Le premier lectionnaire arabe orthodoxe imprimé", p. 459–468. He was convinced, at the time, that his was the first mention of this book. See also Frantsouzoff, "Les vieux livres imprimés en écriture arabe dans la collection des Rousseau, père et fils, conservée à Saint-Pétersbourg", p. 260 and 265.

⁶¹ By Fr Charbel Nassif.

mation on the date of printing. Therefore, we do not know (yet) if these belong to the *editio princeps* or to a later reedition.⁶²

Several manuscripts available in the vHMML database are copies of the printed version of the Gospel with commentaries (For example, HMML project no. SAJL 00011, a manuscript of the Sainte-Anne Seminary of Jerusalem).⁶³ Establishing the original edition that was copied by hand is among our team's tasks.

4. *Kitāb al-durr al-muntaḥab min maqālāt al-Qiddīs Yūḥannā Famm al-Dahab / The Book of the Chosen Pearls from the Sermons of Saint John Chrysostom*, Aleppo, 1707, 524 pp.

The text is enclosed in a narrow double frame incorporating an ornamental motif. After a brief foreword composed by Athanasios Dabbās, the book gives his own translation from Greek into Arabic, completed before 1700, of thirty-four sermons of Saint John Chrysostom. The topics of these sermons are repentance, the Christian virtues, heresies and false prophets, signs of the Apocalypse, etc. The text was revised in 1706 by the Maronite scholar Gabriel Farḥāt.

This title was recorded by Schnurrer (*Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 23), Zenker (*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, p. 72), and Graf (*GCAL* III, p. 129).

Two copies, first mentioned by Louis Cheykho, are preserved in the Bibliothèque Orientale of Beirut. Another copy is in the Vatican Library, one in the library of the IMO in Saint Petersburg,⁶⁴ and the Library of Congress in Washington DC holds one.

The book was reprinted in 1872 and 1877 in Beirut (Imprimerie Dār al-Ma'āref), edited by Gabriel Ġebāra and supplemented with a foreword composed by him, and in Cairo, in 1888. A fifth edition, in 1928, is mentioned in Graf, *GCAL* III, p. 130–131.

⁶² This information, obtained on site by Fr Charbel Nassif, is currently under scrutiny by the Lebanese members of the TYPARABIC project team.

⁶³ I am grateful to Feras Krimsti for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

⁶⁴ Frantsouzoff, "Les vieux livres imprimés en écriture arabe dans la collection des Rousseau, père et fils, conservée à Saint-Pétersbourg", p. 265–266, 268–269.

5. *Kitāb al-'Abraksīs wa-huwa 'a'māl al-Rusul al-Qiddīsīn ṭumma al-Rasā'il al-muḥtaṣṣa bi-Būluṣ al-Rasūl ṭumma Ya'qūb wa-Buṭrus wa-Yūḥannā wa-Yahūdā*/Book of the Apraksis, which is The Acts of the Holy Apostles and the Epistles of Paul the Apostle, Jacob, Peter, John, and Jude [Apostolos], Aleppo, 1708, 452 pp.

The book is printed, like all those before it, in black and red ink, with nice calligraphic frontispieces printed from woodblocks, and catchword on every page. The text border is made of a simple line, but elaborate decorations, the same as in previous books, are placed on many pages. The texts of the passages to be read every Sunday and at every major feast and Sunday, beginning with Easter Sunday, are printed in red ink. Before the Epistle reading, Typicon indications are given in red: for example, *brūkīminūn bi-l-laḥn al-tāmin* ('prokeimenon in Tone Eight').

The printed version is that revised by 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl in the 11th century from a Greek version of the Holy Scriptures.⁶⁵ In his commentary on this book, Charon does not mention the *editio princeps* of Aleppo, but only the later editions of the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Ḥinšāra: 1759, 1770, 1792, 1813, and 1859. According to Charon, 'Abdallāh Zāḥir revised an existing Arabic text for the first edition of this book, printed after his death.

Two copies are known, both in Lebanon: one at the monastery of Ġūn, the other in Ḥinšāra.

6. *Kitāb al-'Inḡīl al-šarīf al-tāhir wa-l-miṣbāḥ al-munīr al-zāhir al-mansūb 'ilā al-'arba' Rusul al-'Inḡīliyyīn al-Lāhiyyīn wa-hum Mattī wa-Marquṣ al-Bašīrānī wa-Lūqā wa-Yūḥannā al-Nadīrānī qad ṭubī'a al-'ān ḥadīṭ^{an} bi-mašraf al-sayyid al-'amḡad Yuwānī Māzābah al-ḡatmān⁶⁶ [...] wa-ḍalika fī sana 'alf wa-sab'ami'a wa-ṭamāniya masīḥiyya fī šahr kānūn al-tānī* / Book of the Holy and Pure Gospel, or the Splendidly Shining Lamp, written by the four holy and divine Evangelists, who are the bearers of good tidings Matthew and Mark, and the precious Luke and John, newly printed now [...] at the expense of the mighty lord Ivan Mazepa the Hetman [...], in the year one thousand seven hundred and eight, the month of January. Aleppo, 1708, 244 pp.

This book contains the same block of printed sheets as the 1706 version in 243 pages. As I mentioned, in 1708, left without resources to bind the remaining copies of the book, Dabbās first approached Constantin Brâncoveanu, asking for

⁶⁵ Charon, *Le Rite byzantin dans les Patriarcats melkites*, p. 121–122.

⁶⁶ Correct: *al-ḡatmān*.

money to bind and distribute all the copies of the Gospel that he had printed two years before. The prince of Wallachia could not help, but recommended a companion in arms, the Cossack Hetman Ivan Mazepa. The remaining stock of books printed in 1706 was bound with his financial support and his coat of arms was duly added on the back of the newly printed title page (p. 2).⁶⁷

The title page is different from the one in the first edition of 1706 (Fig. 28). On p. 3 there is a eulogy to Mazepa in Greek verse, with an Arabic version on the verso, possibly composed by Athanasios Dabbās (Fig. 29). The foreword (p. 5–8), which has a slightly different headpiece, begins with praises to Hetman Mazepa (Fig. 30). Then follows the text of the first edition, identical with the one of the version bound in 1706. In this version of the Gospel, the page numbers are different, because of the insertion of the new title page and the texts that refer to Mazepa. On p. 246, the date indicated in the final note was changed into 1708 by carving the woodblock that indicates the year of publication: “This was newly printed in the city of Aleppo the well-guarded, in the Christian year one thousand seven hundred and eight” (Fig. 31). The handmade alteration of the year ‘1706’ into ‘1708’ on the woodblock is clearly visible.

Some copies contain the engraved icons of the Four Evangelists. They are not present in the copy of the B.A.R. (CRV 155A), which, however, is beautifully bound (Fig. 32).⁶⁸ Ioan Bianu, who presented this book at a meeting of the Romanian Academy on May 18, 1917,⁶⁹ and later in *BRV* IV, remarked that this copy “had undoubtedly been sent by the Patriarch to the Voivode [Constantin] Brâncoveanu as a token of esteem, since the small smoke seal of Grigorie Brâncoveanu⁷⁰ was applied in two places, dated 1762.”⁷¹ Cyrille Charon commented on its contents based on this copy of Bucharest.⁷²

The book belonged for a time to the Deacon Coresi, one of the major printers of Transylvania, then to the book-collector Constantin Oltelniceanu, whose autograph is present on it. It later entered the library of the military historian Lt. Col. Dimitrie Pappazoglu, from whom it was acquired by the B.A.R. in 1882, at the request of Grigore Tocilescu, who was, at the time, a general secretary at the Min-

⁶⁷ See the detailed description of the heraldry by Râpă-Buicliu, *Bibliografia românească veche. Additamenta*, I. 1536–1830, p. 224.

⁶⁸ See also Simonescu and Muracade, “Tipar românesc pentru arabi în secolul al XVIII-lea”, p. 17–18; Nasrallah, “Les imprimeries melchites au XVIII^e siècle,” p. 232.

⁶⁹ Bianu, note in *AARPAD*, S. II, t. 39, 1916–1919 [1921], p. 72.

⁷⁰ Grigore Brâncoveanu (1767–1832), great *ban* (local governor) of Wallachia.

⁷¹ *BRV* IV, p. 33–34.

⁷² Charon, *Histoire des Patriarcats Melkites*, III, p. 98.

istry of Education.⁷³ Pappazoglu's signature (in various styles) and his ownership stamp are visible on several pages of this book.

Pappazoglu's offer to sell the book to the library for "only 600 new lei" (approx. 600 French, Belgian, or Swiss francs),⁷⁴ recorded on January 25, 1882, and the negative report of the librarian are placed inside this book, between the front cover and the front page. The owner stated that: "It is said that he [Mazepa] was buried in the city of Galați, at one of the churches there, and perhaps in the forewords of this well-preserved Gospel the truth that our history seeks will be discovered". He added to his written offer a note that he had written in 1862, possibly when he himself acquired the book. The librarian, who was against the acquisition, concluded that:

This is a Gospel printed in Arabic in Egypt in 1708 at the expense of the Cossack Hetman Mazeppa and has no historical value for our country, even if the famous Hetman was buried in Galați, as they claim. The only interest, but a secondary one, that this book could present is its age and the language it is printed in, but this can in no way justify the exorbitant price requested by Mr Papazoglu, on account that it is a translated Gospel and, as such, of no use for the Library; were it at least requested by readers; but this, I do not believe it would happen either, Minister, judging by other much more important books written in this language, which sit without anyone searching them.⁷⁵

In spite of this report, the ministry ordered the acquisition of the book, to the benefit of later generations (who should be grateful to Tocilescu for this).

Another copy of this book is preserved at the National Library of Ukraine in Kyiv. It was republished in a full-size facsimile in 2019 by the efforts of Dr Igor Ostash, Ambassador Extraordinary of Ukraine in the Republic of Lebanon, who composed a foreword rich in historical information.⁷⁶ This is, for the time being,

73 Grigore George Tocilescu (1850–1909) was a Romanian historian, archaeologist, epigrapher, and folklorist, and a member of the Romanian Academy. He studied in Paris, at the Collège de France and the École Pratique des Hautes Études.

74 The numismatist Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveanu, director of the National Museum of History of Romania, informed me that after the Law of 1867 that established a national monetary system, a new *leu* (Pl., *lei*) was equal to a French, Belgian, or Swiss franc, an Italian lira, a Greek drachma, and a Spanish peseta. In terms of value, 600 new *lei* were equal to the salary of an average employee for three months, or half a government member's salary for one month.

75 Anonymous report no. 5/January 27, 1882, sent by the "Direction of the Central Library to the Ministry of Education", addressed to the Minister and signed "Biblioteca" ("The Library").

76 *Kitāb al-'Inṣīl al-ṣarīf al-ṭāhīr wa-l-miṣbāḥ al-munīr al-zāhīr*, facsimile of the 1708 version of the Aleppo canonical Gospel, Kyiv, 2021, with an Arabic and a Ukrainian introduction by Ihor Ostash (on p. 1–74 and 1–90, respectively, starting from either end).

the only facsimile edition of an 18th-century book printed for the Arabic-speaking Christians in the Middle East.

The fact that only two copies of this book are known to be preserved may indicate that there were not many blocks of sheets left in 1708, the rest having been bound and distributed when the book's printing was completed in 1706.⁷⁷

7. *Kitāb al-'Inġil al-šarīf al-ṭāhir wa-l-miṣbāḥ al-munīr al-zāhir, ṭubi'a ḥadīṭ^{an} bi-madīnat Ḥalab al-maḥmīya sanat 'alf wa-sab'ami'a wa-sitta masīhiyya*, Aleppo, 1708, 584 pp.

This book resulted from the same circumstances as the previous one: in 1708, at the Aleppo press, some blocks of sheets of the Gospel with comments were still preserved. In his search for a sponsor to help bind and disseminate them, Dabbās was introduced to a brother in arms of the Hetman Ivan Mazepa – the colonel Daniel Apostol, who kindly financed this operation. The title page, Apostol's coat of arms and a short Greek poem are the only differing elements, as compared to the 1706 version of the Gospel with commentary. To acknowledge colonel Daniel Apostol's contribution, the verses praise his generous assistance to the poor Arabic-speaking Orthodox. The Gospel pericopes follow (p. 9–212), arranged in the same way as in the first edition and accompanied by the same commentary.

We do not know how many of these newly bound volumes there were. Only three copies of the expanded version of the Gospel are known to exist today, one each, in the IMO in Saint Petersburg, the Russian Archive of Old Documents in Moscow (RGADA), and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Because the 1706 Gospel of Aleppo presented by Charon to the B.A.R. is missing some pages in the beginning, when informing his colleagues of the Romanian Academy in 1917 about the acquisition of the book bound at Mazepa's expense in 1708, Ioan Bianu, who did not master Arabic, confused it with the earlier version, declaring that the B.A.R. held two copies of the same book; cf. Bianu, note in *AARPAD*, S. II, t. 39, 1916–1919 [1921].

⁷⁸ For the last one, see Dmitrii A. Morozov, "Vifleemskij ekzemplar arabskogo Evangelija Daniila Apostola", in *Arkhiv russkoi istorii*, Moscow, t. 8, 2007, p. 645651.

8. *Kitāb al-Nubūʾāt al-šarīf, ṭubiʿa ḥadīṭ^{an} bi-maḥrūsāt Ḥalab al-maḥmīya sana ʿalf wa-sabʿamiʿa wa-ṭamāniya masīḥiyya bi-htimām al-ʿāb al-mufahḥam wa-l-sayyid al-muʿallim kīriyū kīr Kīrillūs al-mukarram al-baṭriyark al-ʿantākiyy / Holy Book of the Paremia, newly printed now in the well-protected city of Aleppo in the Christian year one thousand seven hundred and eight, by care of the noble father and revered lord kyriu kīr Cyril, the righteous patriarch of Antioch, Aleppo, 1708, 252 pp.*

The book contains an Arabic version (attributed by Louis Cheikho to ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl)⁷⁹ of pericopes of the Holy Scriptures for the Vespers on the eve of the great feasts, at Lent – for the service of the Pre-Sanctified Gifts and the Hours at Nativity, Epiphany, and on Good Friday.

The text is printed in Arabic, in black and red ink, on two columns. The section titles are printed with woodblocks in larger, calligraphic characters, and a thicker black stroke. At the end of the sections, vignettes and other ornamental elements specific to the Aleppo press, of Wallachian influence, are often present. According to the foreword, the sponsor of this book was Cyril V, the Patriarch of Antioch. Therefore, his name is mentioned in the front matter as editor of the book: *bi-htimām al-ʿāb al-mufahḥam wa-l-sayyid al-muʿaẓẓam kīriyū Kīrillūs al-mukarram*.

The book of *al-Nubūʾāt al-šarīf* was reprinted at Ḥinšāra in 1775, 1810, and 1833.

The first edition of 1708 was recorded by Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica* (p. 272–273), and Charon, *Le Rite byzantin dans les Patriarcats melkites* (p. 141–142). It was also mentioned in t. I of *Bibliothèque de M. le Baron Silvestre de Sacy*.⁸⁰ De Sacy received this book from Jean-François Xavier Rousseau, the French consul in Aleppo.⁸¹

We know of two copies for now, one preserved in the library of the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Ḥinšāra, the other at the Gennadius Library in Athens.

The title page of this book was published by Dabbās and Raššū in *Tārīḥ al-ṭibāʿa al-ʿarabiyya fī al-Mašriq*, possibly from a copy owned by the Dabbās family.⁸²

⁷⁹ Šayḥū, “Tārīḥ fann al-ṭibāʿa fī al-Mašriq”, *al-Mašriq*, 9, 1906, p. 947. Nasrallah is cautious about this attribution: “ʿAbdallah aurait fait la version arabe de ces péricopes toujours d’après les Septante”; cf. Nasrallah, *HMLÉM* III.1, p. 220. Graf, in *GCAL* I, p. 187, states that there is no basis for this attribution.

⁸⁰ Daonou (ed.), *Bibliothèque de M. le Baron Silvestre de Sacy*, t. I, p. 286, no. 1341.

⁸¹ As mentioned by Picot, “Notice biographique et bibliographique sur l’imprimeur Anthime d’Ivry”, p. 544.

⁸² Dabbās and Raššū, *Tārīḥ al-ṭibāʿa al-ʿarabiyya fī al-Mašriq*, p. 104.

9. *Kitāb al-Zabūr al-Ilāhiyy / The Holy Book of Psalms*, Aleppo, 1709.

This is the second edition of the 1706 Psalter of Aleppo.

A copy of the Psalter of 1709 is preserved at the British Library.⁸³ Dabbās and Raššū claimed that this version was reprinted by the Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch in 1725 at Aleppo. Although there is no indication, this information could have come from Ellis, *Catalogue of Arabic Printed Books in the British Museum* (p. 328). A new version of the Psalms, based on Dabbās's edition of 1706, but revised and supplemented by Salomon Negri, was printed in 1725, in London.⁸⁴

10. *Mawā'iz 'Aṭanāsiyūs [al-Baṭriyark al-Ūrašālīmiyy] / Sermons of Athanasios [the Patriarch of Jerusalem]*, Aleppo, 1711, [7] + 421 pp.

This book contains: a foreword composed by Chrysantos Notaras, the Patriarch of Jerusalem (1707–1731), who commanded, financed, and supervised the printing; one sermon composed by Saint John Chrysostom; sixty-six sermons composed by the Patriarch Athanasios IV of Jerusalem (1460–1468?), translated from Greek into Arabic by Athanasios Dabbās. The presence of the Patriarch Chrysantos in Syria is confirmed by a letter addressed to him on February 4, 1709, by Constantin Brâncoveanu, in response to his letters sent from Damascus on November 23, 1708, and January 19, 1709 (and two other letters sent from Jerusalem on December 24, 1708, and January 19, 1709).⁸⁵ Notaras declares on p. 5-6 of his foreword:

I appreciated that this was a precious book, judiciously written, containing a collection of brief teachings that are helpful to the soul, and they cover all the year, Sundays and feasts. This is one of the great works of Athanasius, Patriarch of Jerusalem [...]. Then we also understood rightly, from some who are proficient in this language, that this fine and useful translation must necessarily [be printed], especially since it is [the achievement] of a lofty and devoted Patriarch of the Great City of God (Antioch), his Beatitude Patriarch Athanasius Dabbās [...], who is highly proficient in Arabic.⁸⁶

⁸³ Ellis, *Catalogue of Arabic Printed Books in the British Museum*, p. 12, s.v. 'Abd Allah ibn al-Faḍl. In the current catalogue of the British Library, the book is still recorded under the name of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl (as author).

⁸⁴ See Ellis, *ibid.*, p. 375; Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie*, p. 150–151; Roper, "England and the Printing of Texts for Orthodox Christians", p. 437–438.

⁸⁵ Paul Cernovodeanu, *În vârtoarea primejdilor. Politica externă și diplomația promovate de Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688–1714)*, p. 126–127.

⁸⁶ Notaras also mentions the agreement expressed by the Patriarch Cyril V ibn al-Za'im: "[...] as Patriarch Cyril, who sits now in the Antiochian Seat, also believes"; see Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie*, p. 147.

After the title page, there is an illustration of the Holy Sepulcher, its name written in Greek above, and below a stanza that evokes Christ's Tomb. The poem continues on the next page, mentioning the Patriarch Athanasios and the circumstances in which this book was printed. The following twelve pages contain a bilingual foreword, Greek on the first page, Arabic on the next, and so on, in alternating versions. This foreword provides information on the editor, sponsor, and reasons for deciding to print this collection of sermons. The colophon indicates the date '1711 of the Christian era'. The pages are numbered. The typographic ornaments are the same as in previous books printed in Aleppo.

Starting on page 13, a *Fihris* gives the sermons in their chronological succession beginning with Easter Sunday. The text starts on page 1 with the *basmala* followed by the title: "Easter Sunday. Sermon of our father most elevated among the saints John Chrysostom, patriarch of the city of Constantinople". The second text contains the series of sermons composed by the Patriarch Athanasios of Jerusalem.

The book was recorded by Schnurrer.⁸⁷ A complete copy is preserved in the Library of USEK, in Lebanon. A copy in the library of the University of Balamand is missing the first 11 pages, the front matter, first sermon, and beginning of the second. The last passage, on p. 213, is the beginning of Chapter 10, the pericope for the feast of the beheading of Saint John the Baptist, which ends abruptly. Another copy is held by the Bibliothèque Orientale in Beirut, and a fourth by the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

⁸⁷ Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, 273. See also Dabbās and Raššū, *Tārīḥ al-ṭibā'a al-'arabiyya fī al-Mašriq*, p. 105.

11. *Kitāb al-Bāraklitikī, 'ayy al-Mu'azzī al-hāwī 'alā al-ṭamāniya 'alḥān wa-qānūnī al-bāraklisī wa-l-iksābūstulāriyāt wa-l-'iyūṭinā ṭubi'a al-'ān ḥadīṭ^{an} bi-madīnat Ḥalab min 'a'māl Sūriyā bi-sa'ī wa-iḡṭihād al-'ab al-mukarram kīr 'Atānāsiyūs al-baṭriyark al-'Anṭākī sābiq^{an} sana 'alf sab'ami'a wa-'iḥdā 'ašar masīḥiyya / Book of the Paraklitiki (Oktoechos), or 'the Comforter',⁸⁸ containing, in the Eight Tones, the Canon of the Paraklisis, the Troparia (Gr. Exaposteilarion) and the Canons for Orthros, newly printed now in the city of Aleppo, following [written] works of Syria,⁸⁹ with labor and toil, by the righteous father kīr Athanasios, former Patriarch of Antioch, in the Christian year one thousand and eleven, Aleppo, August 1711, [6] + 806 pp.*

The book is divided in two parts of 314 pp. and 492 pp., respectively, numbered from 1 to 806, with a catchword in the lower left corner. According to Nasrallah, it contains a translation from Greek revised by Athanasios Dabbās.⁹⁰ Greek text is inserted in many passages, which means that, at the time, the Aleppo typographers mastered the skill of printing in two alphabets – Arabic and Greek – and had also procured Greek type.

On p. 1, the title page, there is a floral frame and within it, there are icons of saints: the Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ, Saint John the Baptist, Saint John Damascene, Saint Kosmas, Saint Joseph, and others (Fig. 33). The introductory text (p. 2–4) contains thanks given to God, a eulogy to Athanasios Dabbās (by another author) and a foreword composed by Dabbās. He reports on the miserable condition of the Christian communities in Syria and declares that he revised himself the text of the Oktoechos by comparing it to the Greek original, “part for part and word for word” (*qit'a fa-qit'a bal lafza fa-lafza*), so that in future it is never altered or misinterpreted again by anyone (probably referring to an attempt to adapt it to Catholic dogmas). The first page of text is also nicely adorned with icons. (Fig. 34).

On p. 7–12, an *Errata* list was inserted (“Rectification of the mistakes found in this book”), which is not the *Contents*, as mentioned in previous descriptions (Fig. 35). The section ends in two beautiful floral ornaments followed by an explanation from the printer who oversaw the Arabic part (perhaps Athanasios Dabbās

⁸⁸ Schnurrer translates the Arabic term *al-mu'azzī* with *Consolatorium*, cf. his *Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 273. Charon notes that the Greek verb παρακαλῶ, the origin of the Arabic word (here in masculine form), can be read also as “to pray” or “to intercede”, cf. Cyrille Charon, *Le Rite byzantin dans les Patriarcats melkites*, p. 142.

⁸⁹ This is most likely a reference to manuscripts that circulated in Syria.

⁹⁰ *HMLÉM* IV.1, p. 144, 146.

himself) concerning the form of certain printed characters: the appearance of *lām alif*, the occurrence of *dāl* instead of *ḏāl*, *tā'* instead of *tā*, etc. On several pages that give the Arabic text of the Oktoechos placed in two columns, from 14 to 783, the beginning of the text is also given in Greek.

The book is decorated with headpieces and vignettes. According to a note in the text, it was printed also at the expense of Patriarch Cyril V: “The hand of God touched me and, answering our plea, the Patriarch kyr Cyril printed this book”.

It seems that two versions of this book were printed, because Fr Cyril Charon, who saw another copy than the one preserved in Bucharest, stated that the title on the first page was *al-Bāraklītikūn*. He also comments that there is a mistake in gender here, in the noun that was borrowed from Greek.⁹¹

The book was first recorded by Julius Theodor Zenker.⁹² Apparently, the antiquarian Samonati of Rome temporarily owned a copy that bore the seal of a “Monastery of Târgoviște”,⁹³ as recorded in his catalogue for 1911, p. 20, no. 351.⁹⁴

A copy of this book is held by the B.A.R. in Bucharest (CRV 161A). An elegantly handwritten note on p. 6 (blank page), in black ink, reveals that the book was donated to the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Greek Catholic in Aleppo on June 1, [18]51, “when it was headed by Kyr Dīmītriyūs”, i.e., Dimitrios Anṭākī (1844–1863), the Greek Catholic bishop of Aleppo.⁹⁵ (Fig. 36)

Three copies of this book are preserved at the Monastery of the Savior in Ġinšāra and one in Ġinšāra.

The Oktoechos is one of the liturgical books also printed in Ġinšāra, with a somewhat different title: *Kitāb al-Uktū'ihūs al-muštamil 'alā al-ṭamāniya 'alḥān li-l-Qiyāma li-yurattal fī 'ayyām al-'āḥād 'alā dawr al-sana ṭumma tallā al-'alḥān al-maḏkūra al-iksābūstlāriyāt wa-diyūmālāt al-'iyūṭinā wa-l-'anāḡil al-muḥtaṣṣa bi-l-Qiyāma* (*Book of the Oktoechos, Containing the Eight Tones of the Hymns of Resurrection to be Sung on Sundays All the Year Round, then the Hymns Called Troparia (Gr. Exapostearion) and the Canons for Matins (Orthros), and the Gospels for Resurrection*). This large book of 955 pp. was published in no less than seven editions: 1767, 1784, 1816, 1827, 1840, 1856, and 1866. A comparison of the 1711 edition of Aleppo with the editions of Ġinšāra would shed light on the simi-

⁹¹ Charon, *Le Rite byzantin dans les Patriarcats melkites*, p. 142.

⁹² Zenker, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, p. 88. See also Charon, *Histoire des Patriarcats Melkites*, p. 142–143; Nasrallah, “Les imprimeries melchites au XVIII^e siècle”, p. 233.

⁹³ Archim. Policarp Chiṭulescu suggested to me that this was either the Metropolitan see of Târgoviște, or the Stelea Monastery in the same city.

⁹⁴ BRV IV, p. 38.

⁹⁵ I am grateful to Habib Ibrahim (CEDRAC) for this identification and his help in deciphering the date.

larities and variances between these versions, revealing the interventions on the text – if any – when later reprinted. It would also be useful to compare manuscript copies of the *Oktoechos*, from its earliest Syriac and Arabic versions,⁹⁶ with the one printed by Dabbās in 1711. This would go in the same direction of studying the Arabic liturgical texts in their historical evolution.

12. *Risāla waḡīza tūḏīḥu kayfiyyat al-tawba wa-l-i'tirāf [...] wa-fī-mā yalzamu al-mu'tarif wa-l-mu'arrif ('aw) Silk al-durr al-naẓīm fī sirr al-tawbat wa-l-i'tirāf al-qawīm / Brief Epistle on how to repent and confess, which specifies what the repentant and the confessor have to do, [or] The String of well-strung pearls of the great mystery of repentance and confession, Aleppo, 1711, 170 pp.*⁹⁷

This is an anthology of texts by Greek scholars, including Agapios Landos (but mostly unidentified), translated and adapted into Arabic by Athanasios Dabbās. A note in the text states that the author collected these texts from the ‘teachers’ garden’ (*bustān al-mu'allimīn*). The book includes several sections: Foreword; On repentance; On confession; On the qualities required of a confessor; Conclusion.

Three historians of Oriental book-printing mentioned this book in the 19th century. The first description was published by Ulrich Jasper Seetzen. As I mentioned above, one of his tasks was to collect Oriental books and manuscripts for the duke's library in Gotha. These precious Arabic books, among the first that were printed in the Ottoman world, are preserved to this day in the Gotha Branch of the Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt. Seetzen published a brief commented list of his acquisitions in Aleppo.⁹⁸ Placed on p. 170–171 and scarcely described, item 4 is a copy of the *Risāla waḡīza tūḏīḥu kayfiyyat al-tawba wa-l-i'tirāf* of Aleppo, printed in 1711. After the Arabic title, the only data provided by Seetzen is that the book has 170 pp., and it is an 8^o-format. Seetzen states that he could not find in the book the place and the year of its printing, but he was assured by locals that it was produced in Aleppo. He also found that the paper and printing features were similar to those of the first books listed in his catalogue, which comprised the indication “Aleppo”.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ See Natalia Smelova, “Syro-Melkite Liturgical Books and the Lost Stage in the Formation of the *Oktoechos*”, *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter*, 3, 2012, 1, p. 4–5.

⁹⁷ Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie*, p. 146, n. 103.

⁹⁸ Seetzen, “Nachricht von den in der Levante befindlichen Buchdruckereyen von U. J. Seetzen in Haleb 1805”, cols. 641–650.

⁹⁹ I am grateful to my colleague Oana Iacubovschi for translating from German this passage of Seetzen's list.

Christian Friedrich von Schnurrer repeated Seetzen's description of the *Risāla waḡīza* in his *Bibliotheca Arabica*, on p. 273–274, under the cat. no. 271. He mentions the identical data provided by U. J. Seetzen and gives the precise reference to his published acquisition list. Schnurrer added a description of the book contents, which he might have composed himself: *Tractatus brevis de recta ratione Poenitentiae et Confessionis et quid confessarii et confitentis, nunc prima vice impressus in usum Christianorum* (Brief treaty on repentance and confession, and what the confessor and the penitent should do, now printed, for the first time, for the Christians' use). It is possible that Schnurrer did not see the copy of the Gotha library, but he was, as always, well informed on the sources concerning early printing and book collections that were available in Western Europe at the time.

Julius Theodor Zenker recorded this book under no. 1613 of his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, giving only the Arabic title and the indication "(impr. à Aleppo)".¹⁰⁰ More than a century later, Georg Graf, in his *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (III, 1949, p. 129), having recorded two manuscripts of this text, briefly mentions that it was printed: "Gedruckt [Aleppo 1711] (16°)".¹⁰¹

In *HMLĒM* IV.1, after he provides a list of six copies preserved in Lebanon and Syria and their descriptions,¹⁰² Joseph Nasrallah mentions that a printed version was made in 1711 at the Aleppo press.¹⁰³ His description of Dabbās's work is based on the manuscript copies, not on the printed book, which he apparently did not see, but read about in Schnurrer's bibliography.¹⁰⁴ He mentions a handwritten note on one of the manuscripts (not indicated precisely) stating that this work was "collected and compiled from the Garden of the Fathers."¹⁰⁵

A rare copy of the printed *Risāla waḡīza tūḏīḥu kayfiyyat al-tawba wa-l-ʿitirāf* is preserved at the Bibliothèque Orientale in Beirut (shelf-mark 203.133).¹⁰⁶ It is an in-8° sized book of 171 unnumbered pages, later numbered in pencil (possibly

¹⁰⁰ Zenker, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, p. 197.

¹⁰¹ There is no knowing where he took from the information that this is a 16°-format book.

¹⁰² *Šarfe* 8/74 (1711), *Deyr eš-Šir N.C.* 711 (1758), *Al-Maʿūnāt* 41 (1797), *Balamand* 177 (1770), and two at the Antiochian Orthodox Patriarchate of Damascus, *Patr. Orth. Damas* 1581 (1870) and *Patr. Orth. Damas* 1581 1575, 3; cf. *HMLĒM* IV.1, p. 135.

¹⁰³ This information is repeated *ibid.*, p. 146.

¹⁰⁴ See also Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie*, p. 146, n. 103.

¹⁰⁵ *HMLĒM* IV.1, p. 135, n. 286. The anonymous writer of the note may have been referring to the Coptic collection *Apophthegmata Patrum* or *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, whose versions (some in Ethiopic and Greek) were translated and circulated widely all across the Arab East.

¹⁰⁶ I express my thanks to Stefano Di Pietrantonio for drawing my attention to the presence of this book at the Bibliothèque Orientale and Fr Ronney el Gemayel for confirming this information to me.

by a librarian). Deteriorated by usage and badly eaten by bookworms (the same as the printed text inside), the book's cover is made of brown leather stuck over thick cardboard, with a non-figurative stamp pressed on both the front and back covers. The shape of this stamp, a polygonal medallion, was widespread in binding workshops all over the Ottoman East.¹⁰⁷ The inside sheet of the front cover holds a modern rectangular stamp: "Université St.-Joseph, *al-Maktaba al-Šarqiyya*, Bibliothèque Orientale".

The first page, on the left of the front cover inside-sheet, holds an identical title to the indicated by Nasrallah as present in manuscripts of this work: *Risāla wağīza tūdiḥu kayfiyyat al-tawba wa-l-ʿi-tirāf wa-fī-mā yalzamu al-muʿtarif wa-l-muʿarrif*, i.e., *Brief epistle that explains how repentance and confession are done and what the one who confesses and the confessor have to do*. Next come the words: *ṭubiʿat ḥadīṭ^{an} li-manfaʿ al-masīḥiyyīn*, "recently printed for the benefit of the Christians". The title page is richly decorated, with an elaborate vignette on top, above the title, followed by a smaller portion of the same vignette and a seraph. Written in pencil, the date 1711 (Ar. ١٧١١) appears, and, to the lower left, the word *Rūmiyya*, probably to be read as 'Rome'.¹⁰⁸ As the title page does not provide any information on the place where the book was printed, the bibliographer might have proposed this city, the main source of Arabic printed books that reached the Middle East. Two round ownership-stamps are visible: a small, faded one, and a larger one, belonging to "Université Saint-Joseph".

Page 2 begins with the Christian *basmala*: *bi-smi l-ʿĀb wa-l-Ibn wa-l-Rūḥ al-Muqaddas Allāh al-Wāḥid*. This is followed by thirteen lines of praises addressed to God, ending in the upper part of page 3. The twelve lines that follow, composed in the third person, are occupied by the titles of, and praises to, the former Patriarch Athanasios Dabbās, ending with the word *ʿamin* in the middle of page 4. Immediately after, a text written in the first person, seemingly composed by the author of the book, Athanasios Dabbās, reports on the chief reason for writing this work: his awareness of the lack of knowledge of the Christians in his eparchy about repentance and confession. Thus, the author felt compelled to right this wrong and collected in this Epistle, from the "garden of the teachers' books", some of its overflowing flowers (*ḡanaytu la-hum min riyāḍ kutub al-muʿallimīn*

¹⁰⁷ Luminița Kövari (B.A.R. Bucharest) indicated to me that this polygonal form was used also quite extensively in Romanian book binding workshops of the 17th–18th c., in many versions, but this specific center-model is not a familiar one here.

¹⁰⁸ The reading *rūmiyy* is also an option, if the bibliographer intended to mark the Greek Orthodox, Byzantine-rite tradition of the book-content, but the position of this word at the end of the title page, after the year (1711), indicates that this was intended to be the presumed city of the press.

ba‘ḍ ‘azhār fawā’idi-hi). The structure of the book is presented afterward (p. 6): it is divided into three parts, with an Introduction and an Ending. The main text divisions are Part One, “On repentance altogether”; Part Two, “On total repentance, which is the secret confession”; Part Three, “On what the confessor needs to do”. The rest of this opening text, i.e., 16 lines on p. 6–7, contains advice and recommendations to the reader, to study this epistle and observe all its teachings, for the benefit of his soul and God’s forgiveness. The phrase ends in the customary request to the reader: *wa-min-ka al-du‘ā al-mustaḡāb*, “I call for your prayers.” All across the text, the author will address *al-mu‘min*, “the believer”.

From p. 8 to p. 19, the Introduction, *al-Muqaddima*, “explains who should repent, what are the requirements of repenting, and the advice to proceed to it.”

Part One, “On repentance altogether”, beginning on p. 19, line 4, is divided into four chapters: “On the definition of repentance”, p. 19–20; “What is repentance”, p. 20–21; “On the two kinds of repentance” (inner and outer), p. 21–23; “On soul-searching (*faḥṣ al-ḍamīr*, *faḥṣ al-naḥs*), which is the reason and sign of repentance”, p. 23–31.

Part Two, beginning on p. 31, is divided into five chapters: “On the definition of confession, how to make it, and its requirements”, p. 31–40; “On contrition” (*Insīhāq*),¹⁰⁹ p. 40–42; “On determination”, p. 42–51; “On obeying of the canons”, p. 51–58. This chapter is followed on p. 59–69 by a note (*tanbih*) discussing the case of someone who did not confess his sins before dying.

Part Three, beginning on p. 73, has a slightly different title than the one first indicated: “On what the priest who receives the confession needs to do”. This part is made of five chapters too: “On how he needs to be and behave”, p. 73–82, starting with “On how he has to be”; “On what the priest must do and what his task is, to achieve this holy sacrament”, p. 83–112; “On the sins that the confessor needs to know about, to examine them when confessed, and the one who confesses must know about, to search his soul”, p. 113–166.

The ending, *al-ḥātima* (p. 167–171), begins with the explanation: “This is about what the spiritual and the bodily parents need to teach their children.” The last four lines, typeset in a *cul-de-sac* shape, provide information about the book: “The year one thousand seven hundred and eleven of the Christian era. To our Lord, eternal glory and everlasting gratitude, Amen.” On the lower third of the page, after the text ends, is printed the smiling head of an angel, with a halo and wings underneath (an Italian-style *putto*).

¹⁰⁹ *Insīhāq* = contrition, penitence, repentance, cf. *The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J.M. Cowan, 4th ed., 1994, Ithaca, NY, p. 466, s.v. *saḥaqa*.

A definite factor of closeness is its decoration.¹¹⁰ The book is poorly decorated, with only a few ornaments that complement the text. Several ornamental elements are common to books printed in Wallachia and those of Dabbās's press in Aleppo. We recognize easily, several times on each page, the complex star that separates lines and paragraphs that is also present in all the Aleppo books, as well as in those printed in Beirut during Sylvester's patriarchal tenure. The element that forms the vignette on the title page is identical to one of the elements in Antim's presses, and also one present in books printed in Iași before 1700. The Seraph on the same page is also found in the Aleppo Gospels of 1708 and in two Romanian church-books printed in Iași in 1747.¹¹¹ Its source could be common, possibly a book printed in Venice or Moschopoli. The Baroque appearance of the Angel on the final page, which is also present in the 1711 Oktoechos or Paraklitikon of Aleppo,¹¹² may suggest the involvement of 'Abdallāh Zāḥir, Dabbās's disciple at the Aleppo press, who was in favour of the Western-style illustration of the books printed in Italy.

The Arabic type is identical to that used at the Aleppo press for the 1708 Apostolos, and quite different from the first type used in books printed in 1706–1707, which had a nicer, more regular shape, and showed a greater resemblance to the Arabic type cast at the press of Antim the Iberian at the Monastery of Snagov. Having surveyed several copies of the books printed in Aleppo, I can safely state that there was a change in the type between 1707 and 1708. As happened in the Romanian presses as well, when a set of type became too worn-out to be used for further printing, it was replaced with a new set of types. This one, the last one made in Dabbās's press, is considerably less elegant than the one used in his first books of 1706, which still reflected the influence of Antim the Iberian's printing style.

Moreover, differences are visible in the typesetting of this book, as compared to earlier ones. This reveals the option of the typesetter for a text version closer to the pronunciation of the Arabic-speaking readers of Ottoman Syria. For example, the letter *dāl* is frequently replaced by *dāl* and *tā* has become *tā* (especially in numerals), reflecting a Middle Arabic reading. This occurs not only in frequent words such as *allaḏī*, but also in verbs: *ʿaḏuba* (to be pleasant, agreeable) > *ʿaduba* (p. 72), or *haḏḏaba* (to educate, instruct, correct, set right) > *haddaba* (p. 73). On the other hand, the typesetter of the 1711 book correctly typesets *ʿilā* with *ʿalif maqṣūra*, not *yāʾ*, as the one of the 1708 book had done.

¹¹⁰ For the ornamental elements mentioned here, see Feodorov, "Recent Findings Regarding the Early Arabic Printing in the Eastern Ottoman Provinces", p. 104–105.

¹¹¹ *Liturghier (Book of the Divine Liturgies)*, CRV 255, and *Triodion*, CRV 262.

¹¹² The copy at the B.A.R. has the indicative CRV 161A.

A comparison between the content of this book and the *Kitāb muršid al-ḥāfi' fī sirr al-tawba wa-l-i'tirāf*, *The Sinner's Guide to the Mystery of Repentance and Confession*, printed at Hînsăra in 1747,¹¹³ is worth considering in future research.

6.3 Books printed in Moldavia in 1745–1747 by the Patriarch of Antioch Sylvester I

1. *Kitāb al-Qundāq (al-Fallāḥi) / Book of the (Wallachian) Condac, or Book of the Divine Liturgies*, Iași, completed on July 19, 1745, 126 pp.¹¹⁴

The book contains the three Divine Liturgies followed by readings and *apolis* (final prayers, priest's blessing) for vespers and matins. This is a re-edition of the Book of the Divine Liturgies of Snagov, printed in 1701 in Greek and Arabic, but it contains only the Arabic version of the text. In the foreword, Sylvester declares that in 1744 he revised the version accomplished by Meletios Karma,¹¹⁵ which Athanasios Dabbās had also used for his edition and amended the mistakes that had crept into the Arabic text of the 1701 edition. As acknowledged by the Patriarch Sylvester, the book was printed at the expense of Ioan Mavrocordat, the Prince of Moldavia.

A printed copy of the Book of the Divine Liturgies is comprised in a manuscript codex preserved at Dayr Sayyidat al-Balamand (Tripoli, Lebanon), with the shelfmark MS 15.¹¹⁶ The text is available in the Virtual Reading Room of the Hill Museum and Manuscripts Library (vHMML), as an item in the manuscripts collection scanned at Dayr Sayyidat al-Balamand and concisely described for the purpose of the HMML project (i.e., focusing on the manuscript sections). An older stamp on the cover spine gives the no. ٤٨٥ (485). In the HMML catalogue, MS 15 is described as a *Qundāq Gospel Commentary*, i.e., a *Qundāq*, or Book of the Divine

¹¹³ This book, an in-8° size, has VIII unnumbered pp. (Introduction) + 286 pp.

¹¹⁴ I published a preliminary commentary on this book in my article “The Arabic Book of the Divine Liturgies Printed in 1745 in Iași by Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch” (*Scrinium*, 2020, 16). For my survey, I relied on the unique incomplete copy accessible on the vHMML database, at <https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/view/107680> (HMML Project Number BALA 00010). Here, the folio numbers of MS 15 are indicated at the bottom of each image, preceded by the HMML project number, labelled “bala 00010”.

¹¹⁵ Charon, *Le Rite byzantin dans les Patriarcats melkites*, p. 55–59.

¹¹⁶ This codex was brought to my attention by Dmitri Morozov and Nikolay Seleznyov. I am very grateful to both of them for having given me the opportunity to survey it in depth and ascertain its contents, as presented below.

Liturgies, accompanied by comments. It covers 142 pages (= 71ff. r/v), numbered in pencil in Arabic numerals, as a manuscript, on the recto page (one digit for every two pages).¹¹⁷ The catalogue description indicates the folio dimensions 19.5 x 29.5 cm and a volume thickness of 2.2. cm.

In fact, the codex is made of two texts with no connection between them, one a manuscript text and the other a printed book, with missing pages. The first section, a manuscript, covers 10ff. and envelops the second section like a cover. It originally formed a 4-ff. quire + 2 separate ff. at the end: in the current numbering, ff. 001[r/v] to 002[r/v] and 070[r/v] to 071[r/v] + 2 pages indicated as “00010 – b p” and “00010 – f p”. The manuscript folios show an original Arabic numbering, seemingly in the same hand and ink as the text, starting with ٧٧ (72). The text is handwritten for the greater part in Syriac and the rest in Arabic. This section presents a commentary about the Pharisees’ hypocrisy, the story of Jesus walking on water, Peter’s original belief and later disbelief.¹¹⁸ The author cites several passages of the *Gospel of Mark*, all in Syriac, except one, given in Arabic. By the looks of it, the manuscript folios, a section of a long text, were bound around the second section (described below) to protect it. In support of this theory is also the position of the two manuscript folios at the end, right after the end of the second section (070[r/v] to 071[r/v] + 00010 – b p): they were bound in bottom-up position, as if reading these five pages of text was not considered a priority by the binder.

The second section of the codex, covering f. 3r to f. 65v, contains an Arabic liturgical book printed with Arabic type: the Book of the Divine Liturgies, the first book that the Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch printed in Iași, in 1745. The text covers 126 pages (= 63ff. r/v). In MS 15 the title page is missing. The printed text has a signature in Cyrillic script (digit-value characters) placed under the frame of the printed text, center-bottom, and visible only on some pages, quite irregularly.¹¹⁹ I compared this text with the Arabic section in the 1701 Snagov Book of the Divine Liturgies and concluded that the 1745 version is a re-edition of the Arabic text printed by Antim the Iberian and Athanasios Dabbās on parallel columns with the Greek Liturgikon.

The Patriarch Sylvester asserts in his foreword to the Iași edition that in 1744 he had improved the text of the 1701 Arabic version printed by Athanasios Dabbās

¹¹⁷ In the description below, this penciled numbering is not taken into consideration.

¹¹⁸ I owe the description of the Syriac text to Dr Ephrem Aboud Ishac, an expert in Syriac studies (The VESTIGIA Manuscript Research Center, University of Graz and Yale Institute of Sacred Music, Yale University), to whom I am very grateful.

¹¹⁹ For example, 010r, 013r, 018r, 025r, 037r. The irregularity may be accountable to the poor state of some pages, where the bottom area, below the frame of the printed text, is not visible.

in Snagov and corrected certain language mistakes. As far as we know from the foreword of the Snagov edition, the manuscript copy that Dabbās had brought with him to Bucharest hoping to have it printed, was an Arabic version revised by the metropolitan of Aleppo Meletios Karma before being elected as Patriarch of the Church of Antioch (Euthymios II, 1634–1635).

In the 1745 edition the text begins with a *Foreword* composed by the Patriarch Sylvester, covering four pages (ff. 3r–4v). The text ends with:

سيلبسترس برحمة الله تعالى البطريرك الانطاكي وسائر المشرق

“Sylvester, by the grace of God Patriarch of Antioch and All the East”.

Then follows the introductory text of the *Book of the Divine Liturgies*, preceded by the usual *basmala*:

باسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الله الواحد

“In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, One God.”

The printed text ends on f. 065v, close to the completion of the last section, the *Metalēpsis*, which gives the prayer before receiving the Eucharist.¹²⁰ The last line is the beginning of an additional indication to the celebrating priest: “And when you go to partake [of the Eucharist], secretly say (//end of the f. 065v//, continuing by hand – see below) these verses by Simeon Metaphrastes: “I now strive to approach the Holy Communion. Do not consume me, O, my Fashioner,¹²¹ at [the time of my] partaking – for You are Fire consuming the unworthy – but rather purify me of all filth.”

In the 1701 edition, where this passage is missing, there are four pages of prayers of thanksgiving after partaking of the Eucharist (only in Arabic), and the final chapters, in Greek and Arabic: a ten-pages section of “*Apolyseis* for the whole week, to be uttered at Vespers, Matins, and the Divine Liturgy”, then the prayer over the *collybes* (< Gr. κόλλυβος), on three pages, and a final note, on one page, with details about the printing work: its financing by the Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu, the printers’ names, the place and year of printing. In *MS 15* the text resumes, copied by hand on seven folios, from f. 66r to f. 69v. After the above-mentioned additional text, the final section is identical to the 1701 version; the copyist probably followed it in a copy of the *editio princeps*.¹²² The last three

¹²⁰ In the 1701 edition, the corresponding page is 235 (2nd seq.).

¹²¹ Textually: *ḡābil* < *ḡabala* = ‘to mold, form, shape, fashion something’.

¹²² The other possibility is that the copyist had access to one of the manuscript copies of Sylvester’s revised versions, mentioned in *HMLÉM* IV.2, p. 87.

words indicate that this book was a donation (*waqf*) to the Monastery of Balamand (وقف دير البلمند). The note probably dates from the time when the printed section was whole, and an independent book, not part of *MS 15*.

The book is printed in black ink and, to a lesser extent, in red: Typikon indications for the priest and the deacon, the first word of certain phrases uttered by them, explanations of important liturgical moments. The printed text is included in a simple black frame, doubled at the top to encompass a running title. Under the frame, at the lower left bottom of all verso folios, a catchword is placed, in black or red ink. This element seems to have followed the model of Antim the Iberian's books, but the richness of typographic ornaments in his works is absent from this book. In the 1745 edition, the type is in two sizes, small for the text, large for titles and introductory words, the latter probably printed with engraved woodblocks. The chapter titles are part of the text lines. The pages were printed in two successive movements, first the black text was printed, then the red one. Often, black and red lines are not aligned, as if the second movement was not done with great precision. The Snagov printers' superior skill is quite visible: they had no trouble perfectly aligning the black text with the red one.

An important aspect is that of the printed engravings of icons and ornaments in the 1745 Book of the Divine Liturgies. The *Deisis* icon that was present in the 1701 edition is missing here.¹²³ Three Saints' icons are present, with their names printed in Greek type: Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Basil the Great and Saint Gregory the Theologian, each placed before the onset of the Liturgy that he composed. I have not been able to identify the origin nor the model of these icons. On the other hand, the icon of the *Proskomidia* is identical with the one in the 1701 edition of Snagov. Therefore, a new woodblock was carved for it, with a different shape of characters, but the same design and graphic elements.

In 1745 there are vignettes only at the end of the main sections. The art historian Oana Dimitriu identified almost all these vignettes in other books printed in Iași between 1743 and 1757, besides one in the Gospels printed by Athanasios Dabbās in Aleppo, in 1708. Apparently, one of the vignettes was designed at the press of Duca Sotiriovici, a Greek private printer of Iași (who signed "The Printer of Thassos"). He used this vignette again in a Book of the Divine Liturgies that he printed in Romanian in 1747. Some vignettes in Sylvester's book may have been made especially for him, and then remained at the presses of Iași to be used again later, in Romanian books. One of the vignettes appeared before Sylvester's Book of the Divine Liturgies, in a book printed in Moschopolis¹²⁴ in 1742: *The Service*

¹²³ Chițulescu (coord. ed.), *Antim Ivireanul. Opera tipografică*, p. 93 (reproduction).

¹²⁴ Alb. Voskopojë, Gr. Μοσχόπολις, today a village in southeastern Albania, was a flourishing

of *Saint Clement of Ohrid*, printed by Hieromonk Gregorios Constantinidis.¹²⁵ If Sylvester obtained ornamental woodblocks from Moschopolis, could that have been also the source of the icons of saints? Moreover, could the Arabic type have also come from Moschopolis?¹²⁶ These are intriguing directions of investigation, worth following up.

Remarkably, a similar typographic tool was apparently used to print one of the ornamental elements: the complex four-ray star, or square cross, ending in three leaf shapes, which is present both in the 1745 Book of the Divine Liturgies of Iași and the *Psalter* printed in Beirut in 1752.¹²⁷ This printing tool could have travelled from Iași to Bucharest and then to Beirut, together with the Arabic types made at the Monastery of Saint Spyridon under the supervision of Yūsuf Mark.

This book was first recorded by Zenker¹²⁸ and was also mentioned by Kesarios Dapontes in his *Katalogos historikos*.¹²⁹ Subsequent comments were made based on these sources, as this became a rare book.

No copy is preserved in Romania. This is probably the reason for not including its title in the *BRV*,¹³⁰ where the authors recorded, as a rule, the books that they were able to study.

In addition to the copy contained in MS 15 of Balamand, four copies of this book were preserved in Syria, two at the Monastery of Saint Thekla in Ma'lūla,¹³¹ one in Ṣaydnāyā,¹³² and one in the library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch

Ottoman city during the 17th century (ca. 60,000 inhabitants in 1760), and home to the first printing press of the Balkans. See Max Demeter Peyfuss, *Die Aromunische Frage. Ihre Entwicklung von den Ursprüngen bis zum Frieden von Bukarest (1913) und die Haltung Österreich-Ungarns*, Vienna and Köln, 1974.

125 *Dumnezeieștile și Sfintele Liturghii, a celor dintru Sfinți Părinților noștri, a lui Ioan Zlatoust, a lui Vasilie cel Mare și a Prejdesșteniii*, Iași, 1747, 246 pp. I owe this remark to Archim. Policarp Chițulescu.

126 The Greek press of Moschopolis was active in 1731–1769. See Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria românilor*, vol. III/2, Bucharest, 1946, p. 914–915; Max Demeter Peyfuss, *Die Druckerei von Moschopolis, 1731–1769*, Vienna and Köln, 1989.

127 See Feodorov, “New Data on the Early Arabic Printing in the Levant and Its Connections to the Romanian Presses”, p. 220, Fig. 2 and 13.

128 Zenker, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, p. 88. See also Sévérien Salaville, *Liturgies orientales, notions générales, éléments principaux*, Paris, 1932, p. 46.

129 Erbiceanu, *Cronicari greci*, p. 103.

130 Neither in vol. II. 1508–1830, under the year 1745, nor in vol. IV. *Adăogiri și îndreptări* (*Additions and Corrections*).

131 The latest news involving these two books is that the terrorists who attacked the church of Ma'lūla in the recent war destroyed the book collection there, so the books are lost.

132 These copies were recorded by Al-Ma'lūf, “Maṭba'a rûmâniyya al-urtûduksiyya al-'arabiyya al-anṭâkiyyā”, p. 55.

in Damascus. In one of the copies of Ma'lūla there was a note stating that the book entered the library "during the term of Sylvester, the Patriarch of Antioch".¹³³ Until any of these books is found, the only extant copy, contained in MS 15 of the Monastery of Balamand, though incomplete, allows for further research.

2. Nektarios of Jerusalem, *Kitāb qaḍā al-ḥaqq wa-naql al-ṣidq, ta'lif al-'ab al-fāḍil wa-l-faylasūf al-ḡazil al-ḥikmat al-kāmil kīriyū kīr Naktāriyūs al-baṭriyark al-Ūraṣalīmiyy al-kulliyy al-ḡibṭa fī l-radd 'alā ruḥbān al-lātīniyyīn [...]* mutarḡim^{an} min luḡatay al-yūnāniyya wa-l-lātīniyya 'ilā al-luḡa al-'arabiyya ṭibqa nushati-hi al-'aṣliyya fī sanat 1733 masīḥiyya wa-l-'ān qad ṭubi'a ḥadiṭ^{an} bi-maṣraf wa-muṣārafat al-'ab al-ṭūbānī kīriyū kīr Silbistrus al-baṭriyark al-'Anṭākī al-kulliyy al-ḡibṭa bi-ltimās al-sayyid al-'amḡad al-rafi' al-ša'n mutaḡallid ḥukm bilād al-Buḡdān Yuwānī Bak Ibn Niqūlā Bak al-muḥtaram [...] fī maḥrūsāt Yāṣi al-maḥmiya [...] fī sanat 1742 masīḥiyya / *Book of the rule of justice and the transmission of truth, written by His Beatitude the devoted Father Kyriu Kyr Nektarios, Patriarch of Jerusalem, the great philosopher and accomplished sage, to answer to the Latin monks [...], translation into Arabic from two languages, Greek and Latin, after the original manuscript, in the Christian year 1733. It is newly printed now at the expense and under the care of the devoted Father Kyriu Kyr Sylvester, His Beatitude the Patriarch of Antioch, at the request of the great and lofty Prince Ioan-Bey,¹³⁴ the son of the righteous Nicolae-Bey, who is the ruler of Moldavia [...], in the well-protected and well-guarded city of Iași [...], in the Christian year 1742 [sic],¹³⁵ Iași, completed on February 25, 1746, [11] + 239 pp.*

The printed text measures 21 x 16 cm. On p. 3, the coat of arms of Moldavia is present, enclosed in a flower garland that contains the Slavonic initials of the prince's title, 'I. I. H. B. E. M. F. 3. MJT', meaning: "Io Ioan Nicolae Voevod domn Țării Moldovii" ("I, Ioan Nicolae, Voivode and Prince of Moldavia") (Fig. 38). On p. 4 is printed the Patriarch Sylvester's title and a eulogy to him, unsigned. Then follows the foreword (p. 4–7) (Fig. 39), which was composed by the Patriarch Sylvester, and then the Contents (p. 8–11). Sylvester reports on his travel to

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ioan Mavrocordat, the Prince of Moldavia.

¹³⁵ This is a confusion by the printer between the Arabic digits 2 and 6, which are somewhat similar in handwriting. At the conclusion of the book, the year is printed correctly: '1746'. See BRV IV, p. 63, n. 2, and Simonescu, "Impression de livres arabes et karamanlis en Valachie et en Moldavie au XVIII^e siècle", p. 74, n. 76.

Moldavia in 1735 and the circumstances in which he obtained the printing of books necessary to the Christians of the Antiochian Church, from “Ioan-Bey, son of Nicolae-Bey, Prince of the whole country of Moldavia” (p. 5). The first part of the book (p. 12–265) contains a translation from Greek into Arabic, achieved in 1733 by Sophronios of Acre, of *Peri tis arhis tou papa antirīsis...* (Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πάπα Ἀντίρρησις, *Against the Pope’s Primacy...*), a book composed in 1671 by Nektarios, the Patriarch of Jerusalem (1661–1669), in three parts, comprising twenty-seven chapters (Fig. 40). The final pages of this text contain a colophon where the date of printing, 1746, is indicated, alongside the printers’ names and a series of elegant ornamental motifs that cover the last page, before the next text begins (Fig. 41). Obviously, the editor of this double-text book wished, as editors nowadays would, that the following text begins on a left-hand page, or to simply leave a space (ornamental-elements page) between the two texts.

In this book, Patriarch Nektarios presents a firm refutation of the Roman Catholic Church and papal authority, in his capacity as head of the Greek Orthodox Church of Jerusalem. The Greek original was printed by Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem at the Moldavian Monastery of Cetățuia near Iași, in July 1682. The book contains general arguments against the Catholic doctrines, focusing on those preached by the Franciscan Order and disseminated by a certain father Peter. The topics include those usually discussed in polemical texts: unleavened bread, the Catholic baptism, papal primacy, the celibacy of the priests, the Gregorian calendar, etc.¹³⁶ The report on the Latin missionaries’ actions in the Levantine provinces of the Ottoman Empire is very important as a historical witness for understanding of the relationship between the Roman Church and the Eastern Churches in the 17th century. According to Ferdinand Kattenbusch, “in his doctrine of the Eucharist Nektarios was strictly orthodox, and a zealous opponent of Cyril Lukaris and the ‘Calvinistic’ movement”.¹³⁷

For the first time, the size of the print run, 1,500 copies, is mentioned in an Arabic book printed in the Romanian Principalities, on the back page of the first foreword. These copies were meant to be distributed freely to the faithful: *Wa-qad ṭaba’nā min haḍā al-muḡallad ’alf wa-ḥamsami’at kitāb li-kay tatawazza’a ’alā al-masiḥiyyīn*.

¹³⁶ On the significance of Patriarch Nektarios’s criticism of papal primacy, see Frédéric Gabriel, “Tradition orientale et Vera Ecclesia: une critique hiérosolymitaine de la primauté pontificale. Nektarios, de Jassy à Londres (v. 1671–1702)”, in Blanchet and Gabriel (eds.), *Réduire le schisme?*, p. 197–236.

¹³⁷ Samuel Macauley Jackson et al. (eds.), *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, t. VIII. *Morality – Petersen*, Grand Rapids, 1910, p. 98.

The Arabic version circulated in manuscripts before being printed: Nasrallah mentions six handwritten copies in private as well as monastic libraries in Syria.¹³⁸

The B.A.R. holds one copy of this book (CRV 250C + 250D, see below),¹³⁹ presented to the library by Cyrille Charon, who had brought it from Rome for this purpose.¹⁴⁰ Its description in *BRV* is especially thorough, presenting almost in full the translation of the forewords and a list of chapters. At the end, a note in Latin, dated to the 18th century, was probably transcribed from an Italian catalogue of early printed books, thus cited by Simonescu: *Silvestri Patriarchae Antiocheni et Nectarii Patriarchae Hierosolymitani Justi[ti]a et Veritas adversus Latinos. Iassy in Regno Babyloniae [i.e., Bogdaniae]¹⁴¹ in Monasterio S. Sabbae¹⁴² die 13 Julii 1746. Editore Michaelae Bezi Monacho.¹⁴³* On the inner cover of the book, Ioan Bianu wrote in black ink: „1746 Jassy – arab. Justitia et veritas adversus latinos. Silvestru Patr. Antiochiei. Nectarie – ” [Patr.] – Ierusalimului. Eustratie Argentis, Manual în contra infailibilității Papii, Iași 1746.” The association between the name of Sylvester and that of Nektarios may have led Simonescu to the conclusion that the Antiochian patriarch had translated this work from Greek into Arabic. Nasrallah states, however, that the Patriarch Sylvester only initiated and supervised the printing of this book.¹⁴⁴

3. Eustratios Argentis, *Risāla muḥtaṣara fī al-radd ‘alā ‘adam ḡalaṭ bābāwāt Rūmiya / Brief Epistle against the Pope’s Infallibility*, Iași, completed on February 25, 1746, [2] + 58 pp.

This text is bound in the same volume with the previous work. It has no title page. The text starts after two blank pages (numbered in pencil 250 and 251).¹⁴⁵ A

¹³⁸ *HMLÉM* IV.2, p. 97.

¹³⁹ See *BRV* IV, p. 61–67; Ioan Bianu, note in *AARPAD*, S. II, t. 35, 1912–1913, p. 113–114; Simonescu and Muracade, “Tipar românesc pentru arabi în secolul al XVIII-lea”, p. 21–26; Simonescu, “Impression de livres arabes et karamanlis en Valachie et en Moldavie au XVIII^e siècle”, p. 73–75.

¹⁴⁰ Having acquired two copies of this book, Charon probably presented one of them to Bianu, to receive in exchange another book that the BAV did not hold.

¹⁴¹ Simonescu notes (*ibid.*) that the author of this note made a mistake in writing the name ‘Bogdan’ (Ar. *Al-Buḡḍān*), which was commonly used for Moldavia in Ottoman historians’ works.

¹⁴² Added at the end.

¹⁴³ Libreria Antiquaria S. Bocca, Roma, Catalogo num. 256, p. 32, no. 523; cf. Simonescu, “Impression de livres arabes et karamanlis en Valachie et en Moldavie au XVIII^e siècle”, p. 64, n. 53. It is possible that the note was copied in the book by Ioan Bianu.

¹⁴⁴ *HMLÉM* IV.2, p. 87–88, n. 151, and p. 97.

¹⁴⁵ The book was described in *BRV* IV, p. 66–67, then in Simonescu and Muracade, “Tipar românesc pentru arabi în secolul al XVIII-lea”, p. 21–26. Simonescu took the book title from *HMLÉM* IV.2, p. 221.

two-page unnumbered foreword explains the benefit of reading this book for the faithful of the Church of Antioch. This foreword, written in the 1st person, but not signed, seems to have been composed by the Patriarch Sylvester, who strongly condemns here the Catholic propaganda in the Levant and the Latin missionaries' attempts to lure the Christians of the Middle East into union with Rome.

After the foreword, the pages are numbered from 1 to 58 with Arabic numbers and there are catchwords in the lower left corner of the page. There is an ornamental headpiece on p. 1, before the customary prayer to God (Fig. 42). Page 57 only contains decorative elements, while on p. 58, the last one of this composite volume, there is a note indicating that printing was completed on July 13 in Iași, at the Monastery of Saint Sava.

The book contains a translation from Greek of the anti-Catholic work *Peri tis psevdhous apsevdhias tou Papa Romis* (Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πάπα Ἀντίρρησις/*A Handbook against the Roman Pope's Infallibility*) composed by Eustratios Argentis. The Arabic version was achieved in 1740 by the priest Mas'ad Našū.

Born in Damascus to an old Coptic family that subsequently embraced Greek Orthodoxy, Našū left for Egypt and became the *oikonomos* of the Patriarchate of Alexandria. In addition to several other translations from Greek, including almost the entire corpus of Saint Athanasios the Great, he is also the author of original works: a history of the early centuries of the Church, a polemical treatise on the Council of Florence, a large number of homilies, etc. Našū was in Cairo when he achieved this translation.¹⁴⁶ In 1754, Našū was asking Yūsuf Mark, in a letter sent from Cairo, for a list of the Patriarchs of the Church of Antioch, which he needed for a historical work that he had started to write.¹⁴⁷

The book begins with praises to God, then follow an unsigned presentation of the author and its work translated into Arabic and printed here, the text, and an epilogue.

The Syrian printers who worked on these books are also mentioned: *Mihā'il bi-zayy* [Bizzī?] *rāhib min bilād Kūrat al-Ḍahab min mu'āmalat Ṭarābulus al-Šām wa-l-šammās Ġirġis al-ḥalabiyy tawābi' al-baṭriyark al-'Anṭākiyy kiryū kir Silbistrus al-kulliyy al-ġibṭa*, i.e., “Michael, in the habit of a monk (Bazzī?) from the city of Kūrat al-Ḍahab, county of Tripoli in Syria, and deacon George of Aleppo, companions of the Patriarch of Antioch, His Beatitude Kyriu Kyr Sylvester”.

As I mentioned before, on May 3, 1913, Ioan Bianu, the director of the B.A.R., informed his colleagues of the Romanian Academy about Charon's present of this

¹⁴⁶ *HMLÉM* IV.2, p. 219–223.

¹⁴⁷ Haddad, “La correspondance de Ṭrābulṣī”, p. 278.

book (CRV 250C + 250D), which he declared to be a true revelation, since “of the existence of an Arabic press in Iași we had no knowledge until now.”¹⁴⁸

Under the decorative elements of the last page of text (second text), there is a stamp inscribed with the words: “Exlibris Bibliotecæ Petri ad Vincula”. Therefore, this book previously belonged to the Roman Catholic parish of Sanctus Petrus ad Vincula (‘Saint Peter in Chains’). This church, known today as San Pietro in Vincoli, is a minor basilica in Rome, known for hosting Michelangelo’s statue of Moses (an element of the tomb of Pope Julius II). The church had an associated convent which probably owned a library.

This is an extremely rare book. The National Library of Austria owns a copy, the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana another.¹⁴⁹ Al-Ma’lūf mentions that a copy was preserved in the library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Damascus, but today it is not to be found.¹⁵⁰

4. Eustratios Argentis, *Kitāb al-‘ašā al-Rabbānī / Book of the Lord’s Supper*, Iași, completed on February 25, 1747, 240 pp.

This book contains a translation from Greek into Arabic of *Syntagma kata azimōn* (*Pronouncement against the unleavened bread*) by Eustratios Argentis, concerning the Holy Mystery of Eucharist and the controversy between the Orthodox and the Catholic about the unleavened bread. The Greek original was printed posthumously in Leipzig, in 1760, under the supervision of the hieromonk Gedeon of Cyprus. A part of this work was also translated by Sophronios of Acre, but his version only circulated in manuscripts.¹⁵¹

The book was printed at the expense of Ioan Mavrocordat, the Prince of Moldavia. The Arabic version was mostly achieved by Mas‘ad Našū. The Patriarch Sylvester contributed to the translation of the third part and wrote the foreword, where he related the circumstances of his travel to the Romanian Principalities, his presence in Iași in 1745, and his success in printing this book, despite opposition from the Catholics. A copy of the Arabic manuscript of Mas‘ad Našū came

¹⁴⁸ Bianu, note in *AARPAD*, S. II, t. 35, 1912–1913, p. 114.

¹⁴⁹ See its description in Tatay and Andriescu, *Carte românească veche și modernă la Roma, în Biblioteca Apostolică Vaticană (sec. XVII–XIX). Catalog*, p. 352–353. Charon probably found a second copy and presented it to Ioan Bianu in exchange of a title that was missing from the Vatican Library.

¹⁵⁰ Al-Ma’lūf, “Maṭbā‘a rūmāniyya al-urtūduksiyya al-‘arabiyya al-anṭākiyyā”, p. 56.

¹⁵¹ *HMLÉM* IV.2, p. 97–98.

into the ownership of ‘Abdallāh Zāḥir, who wrote in 1745 a refutation of Argentis’s opinions, preserved in several copies.¹⁵²

This is an extremely rare book. We know of a single copy today, in the collections of the Library of Congress in Washington, DC.¹⁵³ Al-Ma’lūf declared that he saw a copy of *Kitāb al-‘aṣā al-Rabbānī* in Damascus, in the library of the Melkite Greek Catholic Cathedral of the Dormition of Our Lady (not to be found).

5. *‘Aṡmāl al-mağma‘ayn al-kanīsiyayn al-mun‘aqidayn fī-l-Qusṭanṭīniyya bi-ša’n zuḥūr al-kāṭūlik bayna šufūf al-masiḥiyyīn al-‘anṭākiyyīn / Acts of the two Church Synods held in Constantinople concerning the advent of the Catholics amidst the Antiochian Christians*, Iași, 1747.

This book, which is enigmatic, presumably contains the Acts of the Synod of Constantinople convened by Patriarch Jeremiah III in 1723, and of those of the Synod of 1727, presided over by Patriarch Paisios. Among other issues, both synods discussed the status of the Church of Antioch. In the final part of this book, five brief doctrinal works were included, which contain the reasons for rejecting the five “novelties” or “inventions” (Ar. *mustaḥḍiṭāt*) introduced by the Catholics to the original Christian dogmas. They are followed by an Orthodox Creed.¹⁵⁴ Assad Rustum, in his *Kanīsat madīnat Allāh ‘Anṭākiya al-‘Uṡmā*, reproduced the last pages of this book.¹⁵⁵

We know of no surviving copy of this book.

6.4 Books Printed at Beirut after 1750

I have included here only the books that I have surveyed (4.1. and 4.2.) or have found information about in trusted sources, i.e., the above-mentioned Arabic book records and catalogs (4.3.). Additionally, a second edition of the Psalter, a Horologion, and a *Book of Christian Teachings*, apparently printed in 1753, were

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 122.

¹⁵³ Recently identified by Samuel Noble. My attempts to obtain a scan of this book for research purposes has been unsuccessful so far.

¹⁵⁴ Al-Ma’lūf, “Maṭba‘a rūmāniyya al-urtūduksiyya al-‘arabiyya al-‘anṭākiyyā”, p. 56; Simonescu, “Impression de livres arabes et karamanlis en Valachie et en Moldavie au XVIII^e siècle”, p. 62.

¹⁵⁵ Rustum, *Kanīsat madīnat Allāh ‘Anṭākiya al-‘Uṡmā*, t. 3, p. 146–148.

also mentioned in Arabic sources over the last century, but no details are given about them and no copies are available in the public domain.¹⁵⁶

1. *Kitāb al-Zabūr al-Šarīf al-manṭūq bi-hi min al-Rūḥ al-Quds ‘alā fam al-Nabiyy wa-l-Malik Dāwūd wa-‘iddatu-hu mi’at wa-ḥamsūna mazmūr^{am} / The Holy Book of the Psalms inspired by the Holy Spirit, speaking through the mouth of David the Prophet and King, and their number is one hundred and fifty*, Beirut, 1752, 25 pp. + [3] + 367 pp.

The comments that I present below are based on the copy preserved at the Uppsala University Library.¹⁵⁷ This is a reedited version of the Psalter printed by Athanasios Dabbās in Aleppo in 1706, which had a wide circulation in the Levant.

The title recorded in its catalogue is: “Brief Book on the Christian teaching; The Book of the Divine Psalms inspired by the Holy Spirit, speaking through David the Prophet and the King; concluded in ten chants.” It was catalogued under the name of ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī (‘the Antiochian’), the eminent scholar and translator active in the 11th century,¹⁵⁸ who had revised an earlier Arabic version of the Book of Psalms.¹⁵⁹ The unexpected fact that a book printed in the mid-18th century was recorded under the name of an 11th century translator, ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl, could be explained by its connection to the *editio princeps* of Aleppo, 1706. According to the opening pages, the text was revised by Sophronios of Kilis

¹⁵⁶ Prof. Joseph Zeitoun, on his website <https://josephzeitoun.com>, mentions that these books are still preserved in Syrian monasteries and churches. Hopefully, the TYPARABIC team will be able to survey them while the project is still under way.

¹⁵⁷ On the University of Uppsala, Pierre Deschamps wrote in 1870: “L’Université d’Upsal est encore l’une des plus importantes d’Europe; c’est pour tous les pays du Nord le véritable ‘*Emporium Scientiarum*’. Plusieurs de ses professeurs jouissent d’une réputation méritée; mérite et renommée qui doivent être bien réels, puisque les Français eux-mêmes, si dédaigneux de ce qui n’est pas la France, ont été forcés de saluer leurs beaux travaux littéraires et scientifiques”. See Deschamps, *Dictionnaire de géographie ancienne et moderne*, col. 1287.

¹⁵⁸ It is somewhat unexpected for the researcher of Arabic printing in the 18th century to find a book placed under the name of an 11th century translator. Nevertheless, ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl’s version is precisely the one that was printed uninterruptedly until late in the 19th century, its last edition being probably that of 1888, in the Franciscan press of Jerusalem. See Charon, *Le Rite byzantin dans les Patriarcats melkites*, p. 132; Graf, *GCAL* I, 1944, p. 116–119; *HMLÉM* III.1, p. 217.

¹⁵⁹ See Alexander Treiger, “From Theodore Abu Qurra to Abed Azrié: the Arabic Bible in Context,” in Miriam Hjälm (ed.), *Senses of Scripture, Treasures of Tradition: The Bible in Arabic among Jews, Christians and Muslims*, Leiden, 2018, p. 11–57, at p. 18–21 and 43.

and Elias Faḥr at the request of Yūsuf Mark, who aspired to print an improved Arabic text.¹⁶⁰

The text comprises the 150 canonical Psalms divided into twenty kathismata, then Psalm 151 and the ten odes (*taṣābiḥ*) traditionally added at the end. Deacon ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl followed the Septuagint version in his translation. The kathismata were revised by Athanasios Dabbās for his Aleppo edition.¹⁶¹

The title on the first page of the Psalter of 1752 is identical to that of Dabbās’s version of 1706 (Fig. 43). The foreword placed after the title page opens with praises to God and concludes with brief prayers (Fig. 44). Pages 41 to 43 contain a text attributed to Sophronios of Acre where details about the coming into being of this book are provided.

The humble Sophronios, metropolitan of Acre, stated the following: ‘When the honourable Yūsuf Mark of Tripoli asked my advice on the *Book of Psalms inspired by the Holy Spirit*, translated from Greek into Arabic a long time ago by the late deacon ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl, having surveyed the said book I noticed that it contained errors that occurred later because of copyists, for they did not know the meaning of certain words that resemble each other when they are hand-written and then copied, but vary in their meaning and their correct and precise understanding. Thus, [in the Arabic version] the desired meaning can turn out differently than the original one in the Greek form, such as it was composed or written in the text. And even if certain predecessors of ours¹⁶² corrected some of the mistakes by comparing the text with the Greek one, others remained uncorrected, as they were not well-versed in Classical Arabic writing. [...] Therefore, I started carefully to correct the text in order to make it match the old original, as much as I was able, and this under the supervision of Deacon Elias Faḥr, the secretary [logothetes] of the Antiochian Apostolic See; I preserved the phrases and words that people used years and decades ago, i.e., the way they were written in the old copies. [...] This Arabic version is similar to the Greek original, after the revision of the Arabic texts and phrases, word for word. I have discarded whatever had been added and I put back whatever was missing from it.

Indeed, the text of the 1752 Psalter differs from the one printed by Dabbās. The foreword is a different one than that composed by ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl, and the one in the Aleppo edition. In that edition we see the title: “The Ninth Chant to the Lady, *Theotokos (li-s-Sayyida al-Thāwuṭūkus)*”, while in 1752 (p. 361) it goes: “The Ninth Chant to the Lady, Mother of God” (*li-s-Sayyida Wālidat Allāh*). This alteration could have occurred because of the new editor’s wish to “Arabicize” the text, leaving aside the Greek loan words previously used by Arab Christians,

¹⁶⁰ As noted also by Panchenko, *Arab Orthodox Christians under the Ottomans*, p. 489.

¹⁶¹ *HMLĒM* IV.1, p. 146. On the Beirut books, see also Šayḥū, “Tārīḥ fann al-ṭibā’a fī al-Mašriq”, 3, 1900, 6, p. 501–508.

¹⁶² This is probably an allusion to Athanasios Dabbās.

which were not comprehensible anymore – to the common reader, at least. Therefore, while revising the *Psalter* for a new edition, he had in mind not only the clergy but also the common people.

Next, the title mentions the ten odes that conclude the book and the year 1751 of the Christian era, “in the time of His Holiness Father Kiriū Kīr Sylvester, the blessed and great Patriarch of Antioch, under the care of his honorable and revered vicar, *ṣayḥ* Yūnus Nīqūlā.”¹⁶³

Pages have fifteen lines each, enclosed in a double frame, and text printed in black ink, with red ink for titles; ornamental elements appear inside the text: stars, friezes, vines, vignettes, etc.

Before the *Psalter* text, on p. 1–36, there is a section that contains texts absent from previous *Psalter* books. The first three lines are filled with the Arabic alphabet in the standard order of the letters, while lines 4 and 5 give the alphabet in an unusual arrangement: two by two letters in one direction, until the middle of the alphabet, and then the other half of them, similarly arranged (Fig. 45). This was probably a method for pupils to practice the correct order of the Arabic alphabet. Here is a testimony to the teaching function of the *Psalter* in Arab Christian communities: this was a handbook and an exercise-book for learning the Arabic language and script.

The text continues with a *Brief Teaching on the Christian Faith* opening with the title: *On the Christian's Way and the Sign of the Holy Cross*.

Lines 6 to 13 comprise: the Trisagion or Angelic Hymn; the Orthodox Evening prayer;¹⁶⁴ the invocation “God have mercy on us”, three times; “Glory to God, and so on”. On the last line, the prayer “Our Father Who art in Heaven” starts, and it continues on page 2. These are all prayers that Christians read at home, privately.

Between two ornamental vignettes on page 2 we see: “In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit”. Below, in red ink, is the title: “Brief teaching on the Christian faith”, and then, in black ink: “On the Christian's way and the sign of the Holy Cross.” From line 9 on there are questions and answers introduced by letters printed in red ink: *s* for *su'āl*, „question”, followed by *ġ* for *ġawāb*, ‘answer’ (Fig. 46). The first question is: „Are you a Christian?” and the answer is: “Yes, glory to the Holy God”. Then the chain of questions and answers goes on,

¹⁶³ The trustee of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Beirut, sponsor of the press at the Saint George Monastery.

¹⁶⁴ “Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us. Glory to the Father and the Son and the Holy SpiritGhost, both now and ever and to the ages of ages, Amen! All-Holy Trinity, have mercy on us. Lord, be merciful on our sins. Master, forgive our transgressions. Holy One, visit us and heal our infirmities, for your name's sake.”

as customary in an Orthodox Christian catechism: “What is the meaning of being a Christian?” – “A Christian is the person who confesses the faith in Jesus Christ and His Law.”¹⁶⁵ There are forty-five questions followed by answers – some brief, some 1–3 pages long. At the end there is a vignette that completes the final page of the text, 26, erroneously printed 25. Placing this catechism as an introduction to the Psalter confirms the educational purpose of the book; it also goes to show that the Patriarch Sylvester, who supervised the printing of this book, followed an Eastern European model: in the Romanian Principalities,¹⁶⁶ Ukraine, and Russia, the Orthodox catechism was used as a textbook in church schools.

The library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch in Damascus preserved a miscellany, MS nr. 221,¹⁶⁷ where the first text is a *Teaching of the Orthodox Christian faith, translated from Greek into Arabic* by Sophronios of Kilis. The text is divided in three parts that contain 128 questions and their answers. As for the questions, Sophronios’s version is similar to the one printed in the Psalter of Beirut. A work with the same content had circulated in manuscript form in present-day Lebanon and Syria at the end of the 17th century.¹⁶⁸

In 1675, Christodoulos, the bishop of Gaza and Ramla,¹⁶⁹ prepared the first Arabic translation of the Greek version of the Metropolitan Petru Movilă’s *Orthodox Confession*.¹⁷⁰ Petru Movilă, the Metropolitan of Kyiv and Galicia, presented to a council of metropolitans and bishops in Kyiv, on September 8–18,

165 Lit., Ar. *Šarī’a*.

166 Between 1508 and 1830, ninety-six editions of the Psalter were printed in the Romanian Principalities, cf. Doru Bădără, “O ediție necunoscută a *Psaltirii în versuri* a lui Dosoftei”, *Revista de istorie*, 41, 1988, 3, p. 282.

167 This miscellany is described in *al-Maḥtūṭāt al-‘arabiyya fī maktabat Baṭriyarkīyyat Anṭākiyya wa-Sā’ir al-Mašriq li-l-Rūm al-‘Urtūduks*, Beirut, 1988, p. 38. Its third section is a foreword to the *Book of Psalms* composed by ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl.

168 This text is preserved at the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Damascus in MS 188, a 19th century copy of 99 folios r/v, cf. *al-Maḥtūṭāt al-‘arabiyya fī maktabat Baṭriyarkīyyat Anṭākiyya*, p. 32. In 1905 it was in the possession of Gregory, the metropolitan of Tripoli, later, the Patriarch Gregory IV of Antioch (seal of 1906). The Ukrainian diplomat and orientalist Yuriy Kochubey, who obtained a copy of this manuscript, described it in his article “Pour une histoire des contacts entre l’Orient Orthodoxe et l’Ukraine”, published in Petrova and Feodorov (eds.), *Europe in Arabic Sources: The Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch*, p. 110–112.

169 He seemingly succeeded Paisios Ligaridis on this See.

170 See the edition of Movilă’s “Orthodox Confession” in Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-huitième siècle*, posthumous work completed and published by Mgr Louis Petit and Hubert Pernot, t. 2, Paris, 1928, p. 68–75; *HMLÉM* IV.1, p. 198–199. On the reedition of the Greek version, in February 1699, and its consequences for the anti-Latin discourse of the time, see Olar, *La boutique de Théophile*, p. 334–339.

1640,¹⁷¹ a *Confession of the Orthodox Faith* in Latin: *Expositio fidei Ecclesiae Russiae Minoris*. Translated into Russian, Serbian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Romanian, English, Dutch, German, and Hungarian, as a catechism for pastoral teaching,¹⁷² this text had a wide outreach, granting the Metropolitan Petru Movilă eminence and fame across the Orthodox world. Between 1691 and 1932, it was printed in the Romanian lands in seventeen editions: ten in Bucharest, two in Neamț, three in Sibiu, one in Buzău, and one in Iași.¹⁷³

An Arabic-speaking bishop of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, Christodulos translated several Greek theological works, including the book of Meletios Syrigos against the Calvinists, *Orthodoxos antirhissis kata ton calvinikon kefalaion...* (printed at Bucharest in 1690 by Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem).¹⁷⁴ His version bears the title: *Kitāb i'tirāf al-ra'y al-mustaqīm*, “The Book of the Confession of the Orthodox Faith” and it is made up of three parts, on *Faith, Hope, and Love*.¹⁷⁵ The author of the Greek text is named *Mūgīlās*. The Arabic version comprises

171 Reporting on the council convened in May 1640 in Kyiv by Parthenios I, Émile Picot suggests that Peter Movilă wrote the *Orthodox Confession* during the course of the council's activity; see Émile Picot, in Émile Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-huitième siècle*, t. I, Paris, 1918, p. 73. See also Antoine Malvy and Marcel Viller, S. J. (eds., introd., and notes), “La Confession orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila, Métropole de Kyiv (1633–1646), approuvée par les patriarches grecs du XVII^e siècle. Texte latin inédit,” *Orientalia Christiana*, 10, 1927, 39, p. I–CXXXI, 1–178, and p. XLVI, n. 2.

172 Peter Movilă's reasons for composing this text were connected by early commentators to a reaction against Cyril Lukaris's earlier printed *Confession of the Orthodox Faith* (dated March 1629, in Constantinople, and printed in Latin and Greek in Geneva in 1633), which allegedly contained Calvinist beliefs. See Malvy and Viller, “La Confession orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila, Métropole de Kyiv (1633–1646),” p. XXIX.

173 The first Latin edition was printed in Amsterdam in 1662: *Orthodoxa Confessio catholicae atque apostol. ecclesiae orientalis a Pet. Mogila compos., a Meletio Syrigo aucta et mutata, gr. c. praef. Nectarii*. The original Latin text was translated into Romanian (the first translation into a national language) by Radu and Ștefan Greceanu: *Pravoslavnică mărturisire*, printed in Buzău in 1691. A new critical edition was published by Nicolae M. Popescu and Gheorghe I. Moisescu (eds.), in Petru Movilă, *Mărturisirea ortodoxă: text grec inedit (Ms. Parisinus 1265), text român (ed. Buzău 1691)*, foreword by Tit Simedrea, Bucharest, 1942–1944; 2nd ed., Iași, 2001. Other editions and Romanian translations: *Mărturisirea de credință a Bisericii Ortodoxe*, Romanian translation by Alexandru Elian, Bucharest, 1981 (reprinted at Chișinău, 1996, and in *Sinodul de la Iași și Sf. Petru Movilă, 1642–2002*, Iași, 2002); Petru Movilă, *Împăcarea Bisericii ortodoxe*, Ștefan Lupan (trans.) and Vlad Chiriac (ed.), Iași, 2002. See also Dragoș Mârșanu, “Old News Concerning Petru Movilă's ‘Orthodox Confession’: The First Edition Revisited,” *Archæus: Études d'histoire des religions*, 10, 2006, 1–2, p. 273–286.

174 In Modern Greek, a second version, done by the author himself; see *ibid*.

175 The text was revised by the priest (*qass*) Leontius, a nephew of the bishop of Hamâ, who would also become a bishop of this city, in 1733.

a foreword reporting on the approval of the text in Iași and Constantinople, a note composed by the translator, an opening word by Patriarch Nektarios of Jerusalem that he had written in 1662 in Constantinople, and the Arabic translation of the approval issued by the Holy Synod on March 11, 1643, also signed by the Eastern Patriarchs. This document was also signed by Makarios III Ibn al-Za'im, the Patriarch of Antioch at the time. Sophronios of Kilis may have used Christodulos's Arabic version as well, leaving aside the foreword and abridging the text of the *Confession*. A comparison between the two Arabic versions could result in a record of common elements.¹⁷⁶

The Psalms start on page 40,¹⁷⁷ with the first title inside a frame made of vignettes. The number of the Psalm¹⁷⁸ and its title are printed in red ink, as well as the words *li-l-Sayyida*, "To the Holy Lady", within the kathismata. A prayer to the Mother of God always follows these words. At the end of certain Psalms is present the word *Doksa*, "Glory", in red ink. After Psalm 150 the twentieth kathismata is given, then Psalm 151, with the title: "Psalm outside the number sequence, uttered by David when he fought and defeated Goliath." Starting with page 335, the ten odes follow: two of the Prophet Moses, one of the Prophet Samuel's mother, then those of the Prophets Avvakum, Isaiah, Jonas, of the Three Holy Youths, the Holy Mother of God, and Zachariah.

From page 364 to page 367, there is a *Final Word* containing explanations on: the origin of the Psalms, their translation from Hebrew to Greek, then the translation of the other included texts from Greek, with citations from the Old Testament indicated in red ink ("Jacob, 3", "Jeremiah, 13", etc.) placed vertically outside the text frame. Finally, some details are provided regarding the way the translation from Greek to Arabic was done. This text, absent from the Aleppo edition, is probably due to the editor, Yūsuf Mark, and it was written especially for the new edition of Beirut.

The text ends on p. 400 with two phrases, the first one in red ink: "Glory to the One God", the second, in black ink: "Completed on 21 of the month of May, the year 1752 of the Christian era." Underneath this last phrase, a librarian (probably) wrote in French, in black ink: "Fini le 21 May l'année 1752" (Fig. 47).

¹⁷⁶ For a detailed discussion of Peter Movilă's work as a source for this section of the Beirut Psalter, see Ioana Feodorov, "Was Peter Movilă's *Confession of the Orthodox Faith* a Source for the Teachings on the Orthodox Faith Printed in the 1752 Beirut Psalter?", in Feodorov, Heyberger and Noble (eds.), *Arabic Christianity between the Ottoman Levant and Eastern Europe*, p. 193–223.

¹⁷⁷ But the numbering restarts from page 1.

¹⁷⁸ This number is sometimes expressed both with letters and figures.

The continuity of the circulation of Antim the Iberian's typographic material in the Arab Christian communities of the East Mediterranean lands is noticeable in the Beirut Psalter. On page 1 of the Beirut Psalter there is an engraving of the *Deisis* icon derived from the one created at Antim the Iberian's press but clumsily copied, and then printed as a mirror image (Fig. 48). The original image was printed by Antim the Iberian at Snagov in the Akathist of 1698 (Fig. 49) and the *Proskynetarion of the Holy Mount Athos*, in 1701 (Fig. 50). The same woodblock was used again in the 1701 Greek and Arabic Book of the Divine Liturgies (Fig. 51).¹⁷⁹ It was included afterwards in several other books printed in Antim's workshops:

- *Ceasoslov slavonesc*, Bucharest, 1703.
- *Învățătură pe scurt pentru taina pocăinții*, 1705.
- *Învățătură besericească*, Târgoviște, 1710.
- *Ceasoslov*, Târgoviște, 1715.¹⁸⁰

For the Beirut Psalter, the matrix was cut by a beginner's hand, which resulted in a clumsy appearance of the new image. Moreover, it was set in the wrong position on the page (right way round), leading to a reversal in the position of the two Divine Persons near the Christ, *i.e.*, the Mother of God and St John the Baptist. This unusual and non-canonical representation would have been avoided by an experienced printer (such as those of Iași and Bucharest). Apparently, the Arab printer was not aware of the fact that when using an image copied from a book the new matrix or printing plate created should be reversed or flipped across its horizontal axis (as a mirror-image) to obtain a correct printed image, similar to the original. Reversed images are also present in early books printed in Europe, before this skill of reversing images when making woodcuts or printing plates was properly developed.

On page 38, between the opening section (p. 1–36) and the beginning of the Psalter, an engraving of an icon of David the Prophet is printed, facing in the other direction than customary, for the same reason explained above (Fig. 52). The correct representation, which was obviously the model followed by the Beirut Psalter master engraver of the Beirut Psalter, was printed by Antim the Iberian in 1694 in his Psalter of Bucharest (Fig. 53) and again in the Psalter of Snagov, 1700. In the Beirut Psalter, the inscription above the image, “PRO DAVID”, in Cyrillic

¹⁷⁹ See the reproduction in *ibid.*, p. 259, Fig. 6, and Chițulescu, Bădără, Croitoru, Dumitrescu and Feodorov, *Antim Ivireanul, Opera tipografică*, p. 93.

¹⁸⁰ See the reproductions in Ioana Feodorov, “Beginnings of Arabic Printing in Ottoman Syria (1706–1711)”, p. 260, Fig. 7 (illustration of Bucharest, 1703) and *Antim Ivireanul, Opera tipografică*, p. 115, 133, 158, and 194 (respectively).

script (and a Romanian form), was printed in reverse, most likely by setting the woodblock in an incorrect position. It seems that the printer did not use the mirror image technique consistently while typesetting.¹⁸¹ The frame of the engraving has a more complicated model than the first engraving: it is decorated with the thistle pattern typical of Ukrainian presses – and the Romanian ones that borrowed it. There are some similarities of composition with the icon of *David the Prophet and King* engraved at Antim's press.¹⁸² In the Aleppo Psalter of 1706, David's icon, signed by a Greek engraver, follows a different pattern. We do not know what model was used for the engraving included in the Psalter of Beirut, but it was presumably obtained by copying a printed model, in the same technique as the first icon.

For the time being, all elements lead to the conclusion that the woodcuts for engravings contained by the Beirut Psalter were carved in Bucharest by a less skilled master and used in printing, possibly in Beirut, by an unexperienced typographer.

Nasrallah is among the few to have mentioned a second edition of the Beirut Psalter, without indicating a year.¹⁸³ A second edition printed in Beirut was also mentioned in the magazine *al-Hilāl* edited by Ġirġi Zeydān, possibly with Nasrallah as a unique source.¹⁸⁴ No copy of this book is known to exist today.

Ulrich Jasper Seetzen was in the possession of a copy of this book when he drew his list of acquisitions of Aleppo in 1805. He describes it as an in-8°, XXXII + 367 p., printed in 1751, and adds that the printing quality was better than that of Aleppo, but poorer than that of the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Ĥinšāra.¹⁸⁵

Schnurrer recorded in 1811 the information given by Seetzen about the Beirut Psalter that he had brought from his travels east.¹⁸⁶ Zenker repeated in 1846 Schnurrer's description, as mentioned in Seetzen's list.¹⁸⁷ It seems that neither

181 Luminița Kövari pointed out to me that the inscription below, "IOAN TIP" (perhaps < Rom. *tipograf*, "printer"), is correctly printed except for one letter, A, which is reversed.

182 See the reproductions in *Antim Ivireanul, Opera tipografică*, p. 49 and 77.

183 Nasrallah, "Maṭābi' al-Malakiyyin", p. 462.

184 Louis Cheikho cites *al-Hilāl* in "Tārīḥ fann al-ṭibā'a fi al-Mašriq", *Al-Machriq*, 3, 1900, 6, p. 253.

185 Seetzen, "Nachricht von den in der Levante befindlichen Buchdruckereyen von U. J. Seetzen in Haleb 1805", col. 648.

186 Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 383–384, nr. 354.

187 This information was repeated by other historians of early printing. In Bucharest, Dan Simonescu used, in order to describe this hypothetical book, the data provided by Zenker.

Schnurrer nor Zenker saw the Psalter of Beirut. Nor did Joseph Nasrallah, who cites Schnurrer (and Seetzen) when commenting on the production of the Beirut press.¹⁸⁸

2. *Akathist*, Beirut [?], [ca. 1752], 53 pp.

As I mentioned before, I was shown in 2017 by its owner, an antiquarian and book-collector, an *Akathist* to the Mother of God printed in Arabic, in a small format, sized 10.5 x 16 cm, close to an in-16^o (10 x 17 cm), with no front matter and no closing page, printed in black ink with Arabic type, 15 lines per page, with catchword on every page, below on the left (Fig. 54). The binding is made of leather and cardboard, with a triangular clasp, sewn with silk thread, and the spine is decorated with a nice pattern.

The text is a translation put in writing after many centuries of oral circulation, based on the Greek original attributed to Saint Romanos the Melodist, a son of Syrian Christianity (Homs, end of the 5th century – Constantinople, ca. 555–565).¹⁸⁹

To discover which was the press that produced this book, I compared the Arabic types with the ones used for books printed in Snagov, Bucharest, Aleppo, Beirut, Istanbul, and several printed earlier, in the 16th century, in Venice. I could not find anywhere the same set of type as in the *Akathist*. A few of the types look similar to some in the colligate volume holding the works of Nektarios of Jerusalem and Eustratios Argentis that was printed in Iași in 1746 by the Patriarch Sylvester. But if this book is one of his printed works, then newly made type was added to the initial set of Arabic type, possibly worn out.

On the first page of the Arabic *Akathist*, before the text starts, there is an engraving of the *Annunciation*. The fact that the page was numbered ‘4’ (٤) in pencil may suggest that there originally *existed* a front matter. The same engraving of the *Annunciation* is present in several books printed in the Romanian Principalities between 1698 and 1745 (Fig. 56). The first occurrence is in the Romanian *Akathist* printed by Antim the Iberian in 1698 at Snagov, which is, however, an in-8^o size (Fig. 57).

¹⁸⁸ Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban*, p. 46, n. 2 and 4.

¹⁸⁹ See Samuel Noble, “The Development of the *Akathist* Hymn in Arabic”, in Dipratu and Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond*, Berlin, 2023 (forthcoming).

The engraving was printed again in Romanian workshops:¹⁹⁰

- *Ceaslov slavonesc și românesc*, [Bucharest], [1703], printed by Antim;
- *Ceasoslov* [Horologion], Târgoviște, 1715, printed by Gheorghe Radovici (Fig. 58);
- *Acatist către Prea Sfânta Născătoare...*, [Buzău], [1743], printed by Ioan Stoicovici (Fig. 59);
- *Ceasoslov*, Râmnic, 1745, printed by Dimitrie Pandovici;
- *Ceaslov*, Râmnic, 1753 (an almost identical replica, signed ‘Pop. Costandin);
- *Ceaslov*, Bucharest, 1767;
- *Ceaslov*, Bucharest, 1777.

However, it is not present in the Horologion printed by Antim and Athanasios Dabbās in Bucharest in 1702, nor in the Aleppo books of 1706-1711: presumably, it was not brought to Syria by Dabbās. Nevertheless, it was created in a Romanian press to which the Patriarch Sylvester and his Syrian apprentices had access, in Iași or Bucharest.

At the end of the text, on the last page of the book, an Orthodox bishop’s insignia (emblem) is included (Fig. 60). As I discussed above, the Orthodox crozier and cross are placed in an X shape under the Orthodox miter. Lambrequins and crowned figures are baroque, influenced by the Western style, or perhaps Ukrainian heraldry. In the center of the emblem are clearly visible the consonants of the Greek name ‘Silvestros’. This is an element that I consider decisive in placing this bewildering book among the Arabic books printed by the Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch.

In all probability, some decorative elements of the Arabic Akathist that are identical to those created by Ukrainian masters also came from Romanian presses. It is the case of a typographic sign placed above and below the *Annunciation*, a pattern used in various graphic combinations and positions since the first half of the 17th century. It is also present in books printed at the Pechersk Lavra, from where it migrated to Moldavia and Wallachia. Another element is repeated in a frieze: the thistle flower or burgeons, common in Ukrainian and Romanian printed books of the 17th–18th centuries, visible on the first page and many others (Fig. 54). It was also included in the Beirut Psalter of 1752. The third decorative element shared by the Arab Akathist and the one of Antim the Iberian (1698) is a frieze made up of a sequence of oval and round shapes (Fig. 55). The complex four-ray star, or small cross, is absent from the books printed in the Romanian Principalities, but we find it in the Beirut Psalter

190 The following list was drawn for me by Luminița Kövari.

of 1752. This shape could have been created by Yūsuf Mark and his team, either in Bucharest or in Beirut. In any case, the Arabic Akathist and the Beirut *Psalter* share several decorative elements. This makes it highly probable that they were printed by the same team, or in the same printing press.¹⁹¹

Another clue that can help find the press where the *Akathist* was produced is the watermark of the paper. It is barely visible, difficult to reconstruct, since to obtain an in-16° format the paper folio needed to be folded many times, and thus the contour of the filigree shape was hidden to a large extent. Tudor Tiron, a Romanian expert in heraldry, suggested to me that this is a '*lion rampant*'. One of the most common watermarks applied to paper produced in Western and Central Europe, it could have travelled to Eastern Europe and even to the Levant, as the same paper was used both for manuscripts and for printing books.¹⁹² A *lion rampant* shape that is quite close to the watermark under scrutiny is recorded in Edward Heawood, *Watermarks Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries. Monumenta chartae papyraceae historiam illustrantia*.¹⁹³ The reference is to a book printed in 1732,¹⁹⁴ which matches the period of the Patriarch Sylvester's printing activities. The subject, though, is vast and requires the expertise of a watermark specialist.¹⁹⁵

A hand-written note at the end of the book states that it was printed in Wallachia, cf. Schnurrer's catalogue, no. 266. Actually, as far as Arabic books printed in Wallachia go, Schnurrer only recorded in his *Bibliotheca Arabica* the

¹⁹¹ For the illustrations of these visual art elements, see Feodorov, "Beginnings of Arabic printing in Ottoman Syria (1706–1711)".

¹⁹² The website of the International Association of Paper Historians, a body that connects the members of a large community of paper specialists, provides an extensive list of watermark catalogues from all over the world.

¹⁹³ In t. 1, Hilversum, 1950, p. 19, nr. 12. Vera Tchentsova indicated it to me.

¹⁹⁴ F. Petis de la Croix, *Istoria del Gran Genghizchan*, Venice, 1737, cf. Edward Heawood, *Watermarks Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries. Monumenta chartae papyraceae historiam illustrantia* (reprint), Hilversum and Amsterdam, 2003, p. 63.

¹⁹⁵ I have tentatively searched some sources, including the ones referring to paper that circulated in the Romanian Principalities, basically used for manuscripts: Alexandru Mareş, *Filigranele hîrtiei întrebuintate în Țările Române în secolul al XVI-lea* (Bucharest, 1987). Nothing close came up. As for the paper that circulated in Central Europe and the Ottoman Empire, several works can prove useful in a future search for this watermark: Asparouh Velkov and Stefan Andreev, *Les Filigranes dans les documents Ottomans*, Sofia, 2005; Stefan Andreev, *Les Filigranes dans les documents Ottomans: couronne*, Sofia, 2007; A. Zonghi, *The Watermarks, Monumenta chartae papyraceae historiam illustrantia*, vol. 3, Hilversum, 1953; D. and J. Harlfinger, *Wasserzeichen aus Griechischen Handschriften*, vol. 1, Berlin, 1974; E. Laucevičius, *Popierius Lietuvoje XV-XVIII a. Atlasas*, Vilnius, 1967. I am grateful to Vera Tchentsova for the information and bibliographic suggestions that she provided to me.

Book of the Divine Liturgies printed by Antim the Iberian in Snagov (1701), in Arabic and Greek.¹⁹⁶

Some information on the circulation of this book can be gleaned from elements added to it in the course of time. A paper stamp fixed on the interior of the back cover indicates that the book belonged to Frederick North, 5th earl of Guilford (no. 122 in the catalogue of his collection). This is the same person who in 1824 acquired in Aleppo a copy of the manuscript containing Paul of Aleppo's *Travels of Patriarch Macarius III of Antioch*, which was later in the care of Francis Cunningham Belfour, who translated it into English.¹⁹⁷ Frederick North, the son of the prime minister of Great Britain during the American Revolution, was a member of the House of Lords, where he replaced his brother in 1791. He travelled to Syria, Greece, and the Island of Corfu, where, in 1824, he founded the Ionian Academy.¹⁹⁸ On his return home, he brought to London many manuscripts and books that he had acquired in Oriental bazars and antiquarians' shops. Since Frederic North died in 1827, the Arabic Akathist must have been printed before that date; therefore, it could not have come from one of the presses installed in Beirut by the Catholic or Protestant communities, which only started working in the second half of the 19th century.

What we can ascertain for now, based on the information presented above, is that the Arabic Akathist was printed in the 18th century using typographic implements that were created in Wallachian or Moldavian printing presses, or recreated based on models from books printed there, and that the Patriarch Sylvester was involved in this either by commissioning the book, or by paying for its publication – possibly both.

3. *The Book of the Divine Liturgies*, Beirut, ca. 1753.

This book was apparently printed around 1753 in Beirut, at the press established at the Saint George Church with the financial support of *šayḥ* Yūnus Niqūla al-Ġebeyli (or Abū 'Askar, d. 1787). Information about this book is scarce.

Ulrich Jasper Seetzen was the first to mention a Book of the Divine Liturgies printed in Beirut and is apparently the only one to have examined it. The information that he offered was repeated by Chr. F. Schnurrer in his *Bibliotheca Arabica* (p. 383–384), by Pierre Deschamps, *Dictionnaire de géographie ancienne*

¹⁹⁶ This is recorded on p. 266–272, no. 266. He did not mention the Horologion of Bucharest, 1702.

¹⁹⁷ See Ioana Feodorov, "Chapter 12: Paul of Aleppo", in Noble and Treiger (eds.), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World 700–1700. An Anthology of Sources*, p. 252–275.

¹⁹⁸ Lucy Braggiotti (ed.), *Icons Itinerant. Corfu, 14th–18th century*, Corfu, 1994, p. 191.

et moderne à l'usage du libraire et de l'amateur de livres (cols. 1182–1183), citing Schnurrer, and by Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban* (p. 46).

In the absence of any known copies, it is difficult to ascertain the model and specifics of this new edition. However, we may presume that it was based on the *editio princeps* of Snagov, 1701, printed by Antim the Iberian and Athanasios Dabbās, since in the same period a reedition was made of the Arabic text in their other joint work, the Horologion (*Kitāb al-'Ūrūlūḡiyyūn*, Bucharest, 1702, originally in Greek and Arabic).¹⁹⁹

199 Ioana Feodorov, “Livres arabes chrétiens imprimés par l’aide des Principautés Roumaines au début du XVIII^e siècle. Répertoire commenté”, *Chronos*, 34, 2016, p. 39–41.