

15 Sylvester of Antioch's Printing Works

15.1 Athanasios Dabbās's Printing Press in Aleppo. The English Connection

As a prolific translator and writer, Athanasios Dabbās had a special interest in books. He was the first who succeeded in printing Arabic books for the Byzantine-rite Christians, first in Wallachia (1701–1702) and then in Aleppo (1706–1711). The number of titles published, two in Wallachia and ten in Aleppo, was important, considering the short period the press functioned, and the limited resources Athanasios had at his disposal. The print run of the books (as witnessed by the surviving copies), especially for those printed in Wallachia, seems to have been quite large. The printing activity in Wallachia and the onset of that of Aleppo were financed by Constantine Brâncoveanu, the prince of Wallachia. He issued an official document (*chrysoboullos*) granting an annual allowance for book-printing in the Patriarchate of Antioch.¹

Later, Athanasios turned for help to the Cossacks' lands, obtaining the support of the hetmans Ivan Mazepa and Danylo Apostol for binding the remaining sheet blocks in his printing press. As a result, their coats of arms appear on the very few copies of the *Gospel* printed in Aleppo by Dabbās in 1706 and bound in 1708 with their assistance, in two versions.² The copies published during the first print run of the same book display Constantine Brâncoveanu's coat of arms. This proves that the patriarch secured financial support for his printing activity from multiple sources.

At about the same time, during the early years of printing Arabic books in Aleppo, Dabbās wrote a letter to the Russian Tsar Peter the Great. In the letter, an invaluable source on the (then former) patriarch's ideas about his printing activity, he asks the Russian monarch for assistance in pursuing it. As we mentioned above, he also sent Tsar Peter some of the Arabic books he had printed (most likely from the Aleppo press).³ It is not clear whether the Russians offered their support, and

1 Brâncoveanu's *chrysoboullos*, renewed by two of his successors (Stephanos Kantakouzēnos and Nicholas Mavrokordatos), was mentioned in a later document issued by prince Mihail Rakovitzas in 1731, during the patriarchate of Sylvester of Antioch; see MS 210 Șariřā, f. 21r–21v.

2 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 271–274.

3 The original letter, with Athanasios's autograph signature and his seal, is preserved in the Russian archives. The letter was published by Tchentsova, "Les documents grecs du XVII^e siècle: pièces authentiques et pièces fausses. 4", p. 173–195. See also V. Tchentsova, "La correspondance du patriarche d'Antioche Athanase IV Dabbās avec la cour russe: à propos de l'imprimerie arabe d'Alep", *Travaux du Symposium international "Le livre. La Roumanie. L'Europe". Troisième édition. 20–24 septembre 2010*, 1, Bucharest, 2011, p. 46–58. A little-known copy of the letter is preserved at the

if so, if it was enough to ensure the continuation of the printing press. Although Dabbās was the initiator and the manager of the Aleppo press, some of the books mention on their title page the name of the patriarch of Antioch of the time, Kyrillos V ibn al-Zaʿīm, who supported Dabbās in this project.

Athanasios printed another book in collaboration with the Patriarch Chrysanthos of Jerusalem, who financed the edition and wrote a foreword in Greek.⁴ The book contains one sermon by Saint John Chrysostom and sixty-six sermons by Athanasios of Jerusalem. The author, Patriarch Athanasios of Jerusalem, was either Athanasios II (before 1235–1244) or Athanasios IV (15th century).

After 1711, the printing activity in Aleppo ended. In the *chrysoboullos* of 1731, mention is made of an earlier document issued by the prince Stephanos Kantakouzēnos. It contains a reference to the impossibility of continuing to print Arabic books and stipulated that the annual financial support from Wallachia should be used for copying books in manuscript form. No sources have been found that explain why Athanasios stopped printing books in the Aleppo press. Perhaps his editorial program was complete, the printing material was worn out, or there was some opposition to the idea of printing Arabic books locally. A few suppositions can be formulated, but the lack of sources does not allow exploring the question further.

However, Athanasios Dabbās did not abandon the idea of having Arabic books printed for the Antiochian Christians. There are strong indications that he turned elsewhere to achieve this objective. New opportunities arose when he resumed his patriarchal office in 1720. The English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) was eager to help. Athanasios's efforts to print were known in London:

The present patriarch at Aleppo (a person never to be named without honour), endeavouring to relieve, as much as in him lay, these necessities of his people, did formerly procure a printing press from Europe, which he erected in his own house, and began to print copies of their *Liturgy*. But it soon appeared that this was a work of too much expence and burthen, even for the magnanimity of this extraordinary person to support it; insomuch that he was forced to

Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai, in MS 1605 (530/531), f. 201v–203v. See Beneshevich (ed.), *Описание греческих рукописей*, 1, p. 421.

⁴ Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 276–277. Besides the four copies mentioned in the above book, a complete copy is preserved in the library of the Séminaire Sainte-Anne in Jerusalem (shelfmark MS L55), and another incomplete one, missing the first unnumbered 23 pages (the title page and the Arabic and Greek forewords), is in the library of the Ordre Basilien Alepin in Ṣarbā (Jūniya) (shelfmark Codex 341bis).

desist from that undertaking. And as the press has lain still for some years; so it does not seem to me ever likely to be set on work again.⁵

The SPCK was involved in the printing of an Arabic *Psalter* and a *New Testament*.⁶ A pamphlet was issued in two editions to promote the idea that such books were necessary for the Arabic-speaking Christians (*An extract of several letters relating to the great charity and usefulness of printing the New Testament and Psalter in the Arabick Language*, 1721 and 1725). The patriarch of Antioch's involvement in the project is almost certain.⁷ Most likely, he provided the Arabic manuscripts to be used for printing the two books. A 1721 letter of Henry Newman to Charles, Viscount Townshend, contains "a reminder of the promise of the King's support of £500 for the work of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, particularly for the Patriarch of Antioch". The same letter contains information on the manuscripts of the *Psalter* and *New Testament* ready for printing and distribution. There is also "a copy in Arabic of the letter to be distributed together with free copies of the Psalter and New Testament to poor Christians in Arabia, Syria, and Palestine, etc."⁸ The sovereign's support for the project is also mentioned in a letter addressed by the SPCK to George I in 1724.⁹

The editions were supervised by Salomon Negri (Sulaymān ibn Ya'qūb).¹⁰ The books were printed in London in 1725 and 1727, respectively, and the print runs

5 Letter of Reverend Dr. Samuel Lisle to the secretary of the SPCK, May 26, 1720, in *An extract of several letters relating to the great charity and usefulness of printing the New Testament and Psalter in the Arabick Language*, London, 1725 (1st ed., London, 1721), p. 14–16 (the passage is on p. 16; the original orthography was respected).

6 P. Manstetten, "...for the Benefit of the poor Christians of the Eastern Nations..." – Printing the Psalter and New Testament in Arabic in Eighteenth-Century London", at <https://biblia-arabica.com/for-the-benefit-of-the-poor-christians-of-the-eastern-nations-printing-the-psalter-and-new-testament-in-arabic-in-eighteenth-century-london>; Häberlein, Manstetten, "The Translation Policies", p. 316–327. For Arabic printing in England, see G. Roper, "Arabic Printing and Publishing in England before 1820", *BRISMES Bulletin*, 12, 1985, p. 12–32, online at <http://www.ghazali.org/articles/bsmes-12-1-85-gr.pdf>.

7 Häberlein, Manstetten, "The Translation Policies", p. 317–318.

8 Letter of Henry Newman to Charles, Viscount Townshend, July 12, 1721, Middle Temple, The National Archives, Kew, MS SP 35/27/77, f. 281–284. See <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C17213708>.

9 Letter from the SPCK to King George I, May 13, 1724, The National Archives, Kew, MS SP 35/49/55B, f. 134–135. <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C17213991>. For the king's involvement, see also Häberlein, Manstetten, "The Translation Policies", p. 318.

10 For Salomon Negri, see J.-P. Ghobrial, "The Life and Hard Times of Salomon Negri. An Arab Teacher in Early Modern Europe", in J. Loop, A. Hamilton, C. Burnett (eds.), *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, Leiden/Boston, 2017, p. 310–331; P. Manstetten,

were impressive: 6,250 copies for the Arabic *Psalter* and 10,000 for the Arabic *New Testament*.¹¹ According to a pamphlet published in London on May 26, 1725, there were already “6,250 Psalters printed from a copy, sent from Aleppo, as approved by the Patriarch of Antioch; of which 2,025 were bound, and sent by the last Turkey fleet to Scanderoon”.¹²

The intention was for the books to be published without any preface or recommendation, to avoid the readers' suspicions and to secure a broader distribution.¹³ A book printed in a Protestant country could be considered suspect both by Orthodox and by Catholics.

The plan was that the books be shipped to the Levant with the help of English merchants. Rowland Sherman, based in Aleppo, was especially interested in achieving this goal. His relations with the Patriarchate of Antioch have already featured in an earlier chapter.¹⁴ In November 1725, when Sylvester was in Aleppo, Sherman mentioned in a letter to the secretary of the SPCK Henry Newman that he had sent the patriarch 1,500 Psalters and had shared the plans of the SPCK with him.¹⁵

Both the London *Psalter* and the London *New Testament* were printed during Sylvester's patriarchate, and he must at least have been aware of their distribution. Dabbās would likely have wished for Patriarch Sylvester to be directly involved in it, but the known sources do not shed any light on this matter.

Another printing project of Athanasios Dabbās would have been even more controversial if widely known at the time. In parallel, or even before plans were made for Arabic books to be published in London, the patriarch of Antioch translated from Greek into Arabic Ilias Miniatis's *Rock of Offence* (Πέτρα σκανδάλου).

“Kultureller Vermittler, homme de lettres, Vagabund? Zur Selbstdarstellung arabischer Christen in Europa am Beispiel Salomon Negris (1665–1727)”, in R. Toepfer, P. Burschel, J. Wesche (eds.), *Übersetzen in der Frühen Neuzeit. Konzepte und Methoden/Concepts and Practices of Translation in the Early Modern Period*, Stuttgart, 2021, p. 427–453; P. Manstetten, “Solomon Negri. The Self-Fashioning of an Arab Christian in Early Modern Europe”, in C. Zwiernlein (ed.), *The Power of the Dispersed: Early Modern Global Travelers beyond Integration*, Leiden/Boston, 2022, p. 240–284; Heyberger, *Middle Eastern and European Christianity*, p. 66, 143.

11 Manstetten, “...for the Benefit of the poor Christians of the Eastern Nations...”.

12 *An extract of several letters*, p. 30.

13 *An extract of several letters*, p. 17: “without any manner of Preface or recommendation: which last circumstance is necessary for its being received readily by the Christians of the East”.

14 See Ch. 9.3.

15 Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge*, p. 241. For the number of Psalters and New Testaments sent in the Levant, see G. Roper, “The Vienna Arabic Psalter of 1792 and the Role of Typography in European-Arab Relations in the 18th Century and Earlier”, in J. Frimmel, M. Wögerbauer (eds.), *Kommunikation und Information im 18. Jahrhundert. Das Beispiel der Habsburgermonarchie*, Wiesbaden, 2009, p. 79.

Miniatis's work was a polemical treatise against the innovations of the Roman Catholic Church, from an Orthodox perspective. It was first published in the original Greek version in Leipzig in 1718.¹⁶ Other editions followed, some of which were bilingual, Greek and Latin. The treatise thus found readers not only in Greek speaking areas but also in Western Europe.¹⁷ Dabbās's Arabic translation of this work was finished in 1721 in Aleppo and the manuscript was prepared for printing.¹⁸ Although sources do not provide many details, they do shed light on some aspects. The patriarch of Antioch, presumably Athanasios III and not Sylvester, paid for the edition. The book was eventually published in England, but in Oxford, not in London, as some researchers believed. There, the process of editing the manuscript sent from Aleppo and preparing it for printing was supervised by one of the leading Arabic scholars of the time, John Gagnier.¹⁹

For the Arabic speaking Christians in the Ottoman Empire, it was acceptable to have books printed in England or other Western countries, but there were also considerations which obstructed this solution, for example, the distance. In addition, books printed anywhere in the West, especially in a Protestant country, would have been suspected of containing dogmatic errors. The fact is illustrated by the absence of any indication of the place or the date of printing in the book of Ilias Miniatis published in Oxford in 1726. The book was a faithfully reproduced manuscript, including the date and place of the translator's foreword (patriarch Athanasios Dabbās, dated 1721 in Aleppo). The absence of the date and place of publication was not motivated by an intention to deceive the readers. It was simply omitted, as in the case of the two books mentioned previously, to enable its distribution in the Arabic-speaking world. However, the absence of this information confounded many modern researchers. They attributed the edition to the SPCK in London, where the Psalter and the New Testament were published in 1725 and 1728, and they considered the year of the translation, mentioned in the foreword, as the year of printing. The edition supervisor, John Gagnier, perhaps aware of the implications of the absence of the place and year of publication, added manuscript notes

16 Ἐ. Μένιατις, *Πέτρα σκανδάλου, ἥτοι διασάφησις τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ αἰτίας τοῦ σχίσματος τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν Ἀνατολικῆς καὶ Δυτικῆς μετὰ τῶν πέντε διαφωνουσῶν διαφορῶν*, Leipzig, 1718. See Papadopoulos, *Ἑλληνικὴ Βιβλιογραφία*, 1, p. 315, no. 4250.

17 After the first edition of 1718, the book was published in 1743 (Leipzig), 1752 (Bratislava), 1760 (Amsterdam), 1762 (London), and 1783 (Vienna). See Papadopoulos, *Ἑλληνικὴ Βιβλιογραφία*, 1, p. 315.

18 See Graf, *GCAL* III, p. 132.

19 John (Jean) Gagnier, a Frenchman, was deputy and then full Laudian professor at Oxford. See M. Kilburn, "The Fell Legacy 1686–1755", in S. Eliot, I. Gadd (eds.), *The History of Oxford University Press*, Vol. I. *Beginnings to 1780*, Oxford, 2013, p. 135.

containing this information on several copies (Fig. 29). The data was confirmed by modern archival research and sheds new light on this project of Athanasios Dabbās. The book was thus printed during Sylvester's patriarchate, and he was most likely notified when the print run reached the Middle East. As for the content, the new patriarch would only have approved it. It probably was a useful resource to him in his polemics with the *Latinophrones*.

Possible references to the book identified by researchers in sources dating before 1726 may have been misinterpreted, or they refer to manuscript copies. Except for John Gagnier's statement that most of the print run was sent to the Middle East, there is almost no information about the reception of the book at the time. There is not much data available on the number of copies of the London Arabic books that were distributed in the Middle East. There do not seem to be any copies in libraries in the Levant and the only surviving books have been found in Western libraries. There are indications that they never left Europe in the 18th century but were instead collected as book rarities. A possible explanation for the lack of surviving copies in the Levant is that the book, because of its intensely polemical content, had a high risk of being destroyed by the opposite party.

The original manuscript of Dabbās's translation, as well as a copy of it by John Gagnier, possibly in preparation for printing, are held today in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.²⁰ A copy of the printed book in the same library (as well as other copies elsewhere) has a manuscript note in Latin by John Gagnier himself, providing information on the date and place of the edition: Oxford, 1726.²¹ Additional archival information confirms Gagnier's role²² and mentions the involvement of Richard Mayo or Mayow, a fellow of the Pembroke College, as the sponsor of the editing project.²³

Patriarch Sylvester may have received the print run of the book ordered by Athanasios III and printed in 1726 in Oxford. A note by Gagnier in the above Oxford manuscript mentions that most of the copies, with a few exceptions probably required for Western scholars and libraries, were sent to Aleppo.²⁴

20 A. Nicoll, *Bibliothecae Bodleianae Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium Catalogi*, Part II, Vol. 1. *Arabicos*, Oxford, 1821, p. 39–41, no. XXXIX, MS Bodl. 287.

21 The shelfmark of the book is Cambridge University Library S828.d.72.7. See G. Roper, "England and the printing of texts for Orthodox Christians in Greek and Arabic, 17th–18th centuries", in *Travaux du Symposium international "Le livre. La Roumanie. L'Europe"*. Troisième édition. 20–24 septembre 2010, 1, Bucharest, 2011, p. 439.

22 Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge*, p. 245.

23 Kilburn, "The Fell Legacy 1686–1755", p. 135.

24 H. Carter, *A History of the Oxford University Press*, vol. I. *To the Year 1780*, Oxford, 1975, p. 309; G. Roper, *Arabic Printing in Malta 1825–1845. Its History and its Place in the Development of Print*

The title page of the book mentions the date and place of the translation, as well as the patriarch's name and title: "Athanasios, by the grace of God, patriarch of Antioch and All the East" (اثناسيوس برحمة الله تعالى البطريرك الانطاكي وسائر المشرق). In the Arabic text, a mistake was made in the word *sā'ir*, سائر, erroneously printed ريس.

Since the book was not printed until 1726, after Sylvester's election to the patriarchal Throne, it is possible that the manuscript was sent to England after 1724. An argument in favor of this could be the fact that Athanasios Dabbās was at times reluctant to attack the Latins overtly, in his effort to keep the concord among the various groups.

There were also some Arabic texts printed in England without Athanasios Dabbās's involvement, including an Arabic catechism and a *Compendium of the Holy History* translated from the *Abrégé de l'Histoire Sainte* by Jean-Frédéric Ostervald.²⁵ They were printed around the same time as the Psalter and the New Testament. Sources also mention a "letter" to be distributed with this Psalter, probably a pamphlet of unknown content.

The history of Arabic books printed in the West with the aim of distribution in the East has not yet been surveyed in all its aspects. The same counts for the history of Arabic books printed in the East, although in this area progress has been made recently within the TYPARABIC project, of which the present monograph is a part.

15.2 Sylvester and Book Printing

All the books printed on Sylvester of Antioch's initiative are bibliographical rarities, as the number of surviving copies is extremely limited. In fact, many of them survive in one or two copies only, sometimes incomplete. The implications of this issue are visible in the earlier research on these printed books. Many authors relied on incomplete descriptions found in secondary sources. Major bibliographies, such as *Bibliotheca Arabica*, an annotated catalogue published in 1811 in Halle by Christian Friedrich von Schnurrer (1742–1822), only mentions one of the ten titles printed by Sylvester of Antioch that are known so far.

Culture in the Arab Middle East, unpublished PhD thesis, Durham, 1988, p. 70–71; Roper, "England and the printing of texts for Orthodox Christians", p. 439; G. Roper, "Printed in Europe, Consumed in Ottoman Lands: European Books in the Middle East, 1514–1842", in D. Bellingradt, P. Nelles, J. Salman (eds.), *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe. Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption*, London, 2017, p. 267–288.

25 Häberlein, Manstetten, "The Translation Policies", p. 318.

Based on the existing data for other titles and on the technical limitations, such as the degree of wear of the type and plates, we may deduct that the print run for each book was about several hundred, maximum a thousand copies. Exceptionally, the book published by Sylvester in Iași in 1746 mentions a print run of 1,500 copies. Other factors which might limit print runs, such as the costs or the availability of paper, are not applicable, considering the support of the ruling princes and the scale of the printing activity in the Romanian Principalities in the 18th century.²⁶

In 1745, while struggling to preserve his position, challenged more strongly than ever by Kyrillos Țanās, Sylvester succeeded in finding time, energy, and money to pursue his printing project. When facing the danger of losing the patriarchal Throne or being put in jail by creditors (as Sylvester mentions in one of his letters), book-printing would not be a priority for most people, but it was for Sylvester. In fact, the activity of printing Arabic books which he started in Moldavia in 1745 seems to have been of paramount importance for the patriarch of Antioch.

Sylvester's letters from this period, many of them unknown and unstudied until recently, shed light on the patriarch's ideas about printing books for the Orthodox Arabs. In a letter to Constantine Mavrokordatos, then prince of Wallachia, Sylvester wrote that he received messages from his eparchy that the *Latinophrones* had disseminated many books that spread their errors in the region. The measure he took was to initiate the printing of Orthodox books to raise the level of knowledge of "that nation in difficulty" ("ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἐξηπορημένον γένος") about their faith. The letter was written most likely in late 1745, after the printing of the *Book of the Divine Liturgies*. It offers a rare glimpse into the patriarch's thinking and his motivation for the project of printing Arabic books.²⁷ Other letters complete the image, even if they only contain fragments of information on this topic. The overall image that can be reconstructed from the sources is that Sylvester of Antioch had a very determined plan to print books for the Arab Christians.

In the same letter of late 1745, he informs Constantine Mavrokordatos, the prince of Wallachia, that he sent "his typographers" to Moldavia, where the printing press was located. It is interesting that he presented all this information to him. It is possible that the two had already discussed the possibility of relocating the

26 For the printing activities in Wallachia and Moldavia in the 18th century, see Papacostea-Danielopolu, Démeny, *Carte și tipar în societatea românească și sud-est europeană*, p. 175–180; D. Bădără, *Tiparul românesc la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea și începutul secolului al XVIII-lea*, Brăila, 1998; D. Bădără, "The Beginning of Printing and Print Culture in the Romanian Principalities", in Dîpratu, Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond*, p. 123–144.

27 Undated, [after September 1745 or 1746], *pittakion* of Sylvester to Constantine Mavrokordatos, prince of Wallachia, in MS 210, Țarișă, f. 29r-29v.

press to Wallachia or opening a second one there. The Arabic press in Bucharest started functioning in 1747. It is not difficult to discover who Sylvester's typographers were. They identified themselves in the books printed in 1746 as the monk Mikhā'il of Kūrat al-Dhahab and the *shammās* Jirjis al-Ḥalabī.²⁸ Another typographer employed by Sylvester of Antioch was Jirjis Abū Sha'r, if this was a different person from Jirjis al-Ḥalabī.²⁹ The fact that they were already "typographers" leads to the question of where they learned their craft. The idea that typesetting entire books could be done by a non-native speaker of Arabic, in this case a Romanian, must be discarded from the start. Sylvester's letter is proof enough that this was not the case. Other more technical processes, such as type casting (but not the design of typefaces), inking, and the printing itself could be done in theory by non-Arabic-speaking workers. But the whole process needed a native speaker's supervision for typesetting control, typeface positioning, page order, etc.

At the current level of knowledge, it cannot be determined where Sylvester's typographers were trained.³⁰ It is clear, though, that they did not acquire these skills in Moldavia. They could have learned the printing craft somewhere in the Ottoman lands, but it is unlikely that they worked in the printing press of 'Abdallāh Zākhīr in Khinshāra or that of Ibrahim Müteferrika in Istanbul.³¹ The theory that at least one of the people employed by Sylvester had previously worked in Athanasios Dabbās's press in 1706 is promising, but evidence from sources is needed to establish it.³² The last book printed in Aleppo is dated 1711. There is no evidence that the printing activity continued after this.

We may suppose that the people involved in the printing activity at the Aleppo press until 1711 were still available in 1745, but this requires proof. 'Abdallāh Zākhīr himself was surely involved in the activity of Aleppo. He opened his own printing press decades later, starting to print around 1733. Typographical skills such as typesetting were not difficult to learn in a reasonable amount of time. The most laborious step in the printing process was one of the first: cutting punches. Done in hard metal, such as iron, it took a lot of time and required a skilled craftsman. Creating the matrices and casting the typefaces (known as "sorts") was time-consuming but feasible. The process continued with the typesetting of pages and the printing itself.

²⁸ Nasrallah, Haddad, *HMLÉM* IV.2, p. 89; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 184.

²⁹ Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 238.

³⁰ See V. Căndeia, "Beginning with 1701. The Romanian – Lebanese Dialogue through Books and Printing", *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, 11, 1983, p. 31.

³¹ For Ibrahim Müteferrika, see O. Sabev, *The Müteferrika Press. Arabic Typography in an Ottoman Context*, Berlin/Boston, forthcoming in 2025.

³² For the opinion that the person who worked with Dabbās and Sylvester as a typographer was the monk Mikhā'il of Kūrat al-Dhahab, see Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 184.

Documents from 1747-1750 (almost the entire period in which Sylvester printed Arabic books in Bucharest) provide an image of the printing activity in the capital of Wallachia. They present information about the number of persons involved, their skills, the overall costs of printing a book, the number of presses, wages, etc.³³

There is one difference between Zākhir's printing activity and Sylvester's. Zākhir and the subsequent printers in his press sold the books, while Sylvester presented them as gifts. All of them made financial investments, and selling the books could allow the continuity of the printing business. Whereas printing was relatively cheap but binding the printed sheets, and especially luxury binding, was more expensive. Thus, the printed books were not expensive, and sources provide some information on the prices of the first books printed by Zākhir. The information comes from a rather intense exchange of letters between 'Abdallāh Zākhir and Pierre Fromage, a Jesuit priest who pretended that he had financed the establishment of the press. In his letters, Zākhir answered that his initial investment was far larger than that of Fromage and he had repaid in printed books whatever financial aid he had received with Fromage's help.

Why are the print runs relevant? Is the relatively small number of copies preserved today indicative of limited print runs? Not necessarily. Several other causes may be responsible. A possible factor is the book distribution. What happened to the Arabic books printed in Moldavia and Wallachia at Sylvester's initiative? The intention was to send the bulk of the print run to "Arabia" or "Syria", as Sylvester names the Arabic-speaking regions of his eparchy in his letters. Sending hundreds of books by land or sea at a considerable geographical distance was a real challenge. Proper packaging was required. Although traveling between vassal states and inside Ottoman borders meant they were not dealing in "imported" goods, any indiscretion could cause trouble. While not sharing the opinion that Christian Arabic books were suspected or banned by the Ottoman authorities, the overall bureaucratic system could always attract new and unexpected issues and additional financial costs.

Did Sylvester's books reach the Levant? The answer is affirmative, as can be deduced from letters of the patriarch of Antioch sent to the Patriarchs Matthaïos of Alexandria and Parthenios of Jerusalem. Sylvester sent "a coffer with Arabic books" to the first mentioned. He also suggested to the patriarch of Alexandria that he could print books for him. He does not specify that he means Arabic books, but it is implied by the context. This information can be obtained from a letter to Matthaïos in which Sylvester mentions that he had previously sent "a coffer

33 T. Simedrea, "Țiparul bucureștean de carte bisericească în anii 1740–1750", *BOR*, 83, 1965, 9–10, p. 932–934, 936–942.

with Arabic books of kyr Eustratios and other, according to the catalogue we had inside” (“ἐν σεντούκιον ἐκ τῶν ἀραβικῶν βιβλίων τοῦ κύρ Εὐστρατίου καὶ ἄλλων κατὰ τὸν κατάλογον ὅπου εἶχομεν μέσα”). The books were sent with Hourmouzis, a merchant from Rhodes, sometime before December 16, 1749.³⁴ Sylvester mentions in the letter that two letters were previously sent to the patriarch of Alexandria, which remained unanswered, and he is not aware if the patriarch received the books.

A letter from Sylvester to Parthenios of Jerusalem reveals the following:

Τῆς φανερόνουμε δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν τυπογραφίαν, ὅτι τὴν τελειώσαμεν καὶ ἐδιορθώσαμεν καὶ ἐκαλλωπίσαμεν, ἔχοντες σκοπὸς σὺν Θεῷ νὰ τὴν ἀποκαταστήσωμεν εἰς τὸν ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον μας, καὶ ἐλπίζομεν νὰ γενῇ κάποιον πολὺ ὄφελος, καὶ ἰδοὺ ὅπου τῆς στέλνωμεν καὶ τυπώματα διὰ νὰ τὰ στοχασθῇ, ἐπειδὴ γνωρίζομαστε ὅτι τὸ χαίρεται.³⁵

And we let you know also about the printing press, that we have finished it and fixed it and improved it, aiming, with [the help of] God, to install it again at our Apostolic Throne, and we hope that it will become something very useful, and behold, we are also sending you printed books to peruse, because we know that you would enjoy it.

Some of the Arabic books printed in Wallachia and Moldavia never left the Romanian lands. Even if the bulk of the books was intended to be shipped to the Ottoman-ruled provinces of present-day Syria and Lebanon, there is some logical explanation for the copies left behind. It is possible that they belonged to different categories. Some of them were most likely presentation copies sent to the prince who helped print them, members of his family, and notable local scholars. Others could have belonged to some sort of legal deposit, perhaps intended to enrich the collections of the few emerging libraries in Wallachia.

The study of some of the copies confirms these suppositions and provides even more surprising data about their readers and owners. A small number of books may have remained in the *metochia* of the Patriarchate of Antioch in Wallachia and Moldavia, for the use of the Arabic-speaking clergy residing there. It is worth remembering that Sylvester of Antioch presented a full set of Greek *Menologia* printed in Venice to a Moldavian monastery.

Sylvester himself had no illusions about what could happen to the books he printed. He was well aware that they might end up being burned. In the letter to Patriarch Matthaïos of Alexandria, he formulated this hypothesis about a shipment

³⁴ Letter of Patriarch Sylvester to Matthaïos of Alexandria, December 16, 1749, [Constantinople], in MS 210 Șariṣā, f. 112v.

³⁵ MS 210 Șariṣā, f. 112r.

of Arabic books intended for the Antiochian merchants in Egypt. As the books did not reach their destination, Sylvester suspected that they were hidden or destroyed by the captain of the ship that carried them. Sylvester asked the patriarch of Alexandria to find out who was responsible and what happened to the books. If they were destroyed, Sylvester would order a replacement. The letter provides some important information. First, the books were at risk of being destroyed by ideological opponents, in Sylvester's case, the "Latin-minded", or *Latinophrones*. Second, the books may have been deposited somewhere in the Levant, probably in Damascus, Beirut, or Tripoli, not in Constantinople, where the patriarch was at the time, nor in the Romanian Principalities.

The conflict between Sylvester's supporters and those of Kyrillos manifested itself also in book publishing. The printing press founded by 'Abdallāh Zākhir in Shuwayr was mass producing Arabic books promoting the Latin dogmas. Some of the books were translations from Western works by Latin missionaries such as Pierre Fromage. Other books contained much-needed liturgical texts for the Church services. As proven by the books that survive, the print runs and the quality of type and paper reveal the substantial Western support for the Shuwayr press. This does not diminish Zākhir's merits, as he was well known as a skillful person both in practical matters related to printing and in learned disputes with the Orthodox.

At the same time, in 1745, Sylvester began his first dated experiment with Arabic printing. The first book printed in Iași was the *Book of the Divine Liturgies*, using only the Arabic text of the bilingual edition printed by Dabbās in 1701 in Snagov. Sylvester did not import the type from Western Europe, nor did he have at his disposal a skillful engraver like Zākhir, who was able to replicate Arabic fonts. Although Iași and Bucharest were centers of typographical activity, the Arabic type used in the books published by Sylvester was both original and innovative. The outcomes, in terms of the quality of the printed text, were mixed. Period sources confirm that Sylvester's team experimented with at least two sets of typefaces. From Sylvester's notes it is evident that he took interest in the printing process. He made notes of a recipe for typographer's ink and its components, like *negrofumo*. At the time, preparing ink was part of the typographical process. Sylvester may have been familiar with the preparation of ink from his work as a painter.

An important source for the Arabic printing activity in Iași in 1746 is a list of expenses of the printing press.³⁶ The list was written in Arabic by one of the supervisors of the press at the Saint Sabbas monastery in Iași.³⁷ The document was later

³⁶ MS 210 Ḥariṣā, f. 150v.

³⁷ For the presence of Yūsuf Mark in Bucharest, see Haddad, "La correspondance de Ṭrābulṣī", p. 274; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 201–202.

transcribed in one of the codices used by Sylvester of Antioch to record texts of personal and official interest.³⁸ At first glance, the list does not look so important. It is a rather repetitive enumeration of sums of money spent on various items and activities related to the functioning of the printing press. However, a thorough examination reveals all kinds of interesting details, as we shall explain henceforth.

The amounts spent are listed for every month from January to December 1746. It shows the items needed for the press and the workers, such as cartloads of firewood, as well as other goods needed in the technological process. The sums are recorded in silver and divisionary coins. The printers' wages amounted to twelve coins per month, for an unknown number of workers. At least two typographers and several workers were employed.³⁹ When necessary, additional work force was enlisted and paid. Also, there were several boys as apprentices. This was a common practice in the printing presses of the time, as has been attested for example in Wallachian records from around that time.⁴⁰ The sums spent on the typographers' food are also recorded. Other sums were spent on equipment repairs. The list confirms the data which was recorded in a book printed during this period, containing the works of patriarch Nektarios of Jerusalem and Eustratios Argentis, bound together. In the printers' note at the end of both works it is mentioned that the printing was completed in July 1746. The entry for the month of July includes the amount of the *baksheesh* for the workers as a reward for the printing completion, a small sum paid in divisionary coins.

There are two records that stand out as especially interesting in the rather repetitive list. The first refers to a sum for carving a woodblock with the prince's emblem, no doubt the coat of arms of Moldavia with Prince John Mavrokordatos's initials. For the wood-carved emblem, a sum of twelve divisionary coins was paid. The craftsman was probably a local master, as the prince's initials are printed in Cyrillic.⁴¹ It should be noticed that the quality of the workmanship for the respective woodblock was lower than most similar examples found in Romanian books at the time. The presence of the prince's coat of arms in the book printed in July 1746 in Iași was a request from Patriarch Sylvester as a form of expressing his gratitude for the help he had received. The *Foreword* mentions that the book was printed at the prince's request. Similar, and even more elaborate coats of arms, are present

38 MS 210 Țarișă.

39 For the two typographers, see Nasrallah, Haddad, *HMLÉM* IV.2, p. 89; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 184–185.

40 Simedrea, "Țiparul bucureștean de carte bisericească", p. 932–934, 936–942.

41 *BRV* IV, p. 63–64; D. Simonescu, "Cărți arabe tipărite de români în secolul al XVIII-lea (1701–1747)", *BOR*, 82, 1964, 5–6, p. 557, 559; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 290.

in the two books printed by Athanasios Dabbās in Snagov (1701, 1702) and in the *Aleppo Gospel* (1706).

The book printed in Iași in 1746 contains another unusual feature: a text in Greek printed in Arabic type mentioning the official title of Prince John Mavrokordatos.⁴² Interestingly enough, at the present state of knowledge no other Arabic book printed by Sylvester in Moldavia and Wallachia contains a coat of arms of the country's ruling prince, either John or Constantine Mavrokordatos. Future discoveries may change this picture, considering that the title page is missing from both the *Book of the Divine Liturgies* printed in 1745 in Iași and the Arabic *Akathistos* printed at an unknown date and location.

The second interesting issue mentioned in the list of expenses is a sum of eleven coins given to the *daskalos* Niqūlā Wafā (الدسكله نقولا وفا) in July 1746. There is no mention about the services rendered by this *daskalos*. The Greek δάσκαλος meant “teacher”, a man of letters, but at the time it was also used for a master typographer. As the name is probably Arabic and only one Romanian typographer named Necula (“zățariul”, the “compositor”) is known at the time, the identity of the individual remains unknown.⁴³ Maybe this was a collaborator from Syria who corrected the proofs, as it is logical that proofreading was required. It is also possible that his payment was not related to the printing activity.

What was the activity of the Iași press from August to December 1746, after the first book (a colligate) was finished? The list of monthly expenses mentions the price of binding, an activity that was probably externalized. The price is relatively small. Possible explanations are that either not all the books were bound, or that a cheap “paperback” binding was preferred. The continuation of the list for the following months, with the printers' wages and other expenses recorded, indicates that work on a new book started. The next book printed in Iași was the *Lord's Supper* by Eustratios Argentis. The printing of this 240-page book was finished in February 1747, so it is logical to suppose that it had started some months before, most likely in August 1746.

After printing Argentis's book, the Arabic press, or only the typographers, moved to Wallachia, where Sylvester also arrived in 1746 or 1747.

⁴² BRV IV, p. 63; Simonescu, “Cărți arabe tipărite de români”, p. 557.

⁴³ E. Chiaburu, *Carte și tipar în Țara Moldovei*, 2nd ed., Iași, 2010, p. 71; E. Mârza, F. Bogdan (eds.), *Repertoriul tipografilor, gravurilor, patronilor, editorilor cărților românești (1508–1830)*, 2nd ed., Sibiu, 2013, p. 211.

Bucharest was a well-established printing center in the mid-18th century.⁴⁴ At least three presses had functioned in the city in the previous decades: the first belonged to the Metropolitan See of Ungro-Wallachia, the second worked at the Saint Sabbas Monastery, a *metochion* of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, and the third was supported by the prince of Wallachia. Among those mastering the art of printing, a key person was Stoica Iacovici (Iakovich, Iakovitzēs in Greek), an Orthodox priest who had probably started as an apprentice of Anthimos the Iberian.

In 1747, metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia was Neophytos the Cretan, a close collaborator of prince Constantine Mavrokordatos. Neophytos had an interest in publishing most of the liturgical books in use in the Orthodox Church in Romanian editions, to replace the Slavonic books which had become obsolete. The aim was to publish all liturgical books in the spoken language of the country. The metropolitan's notes prove that he was keen on supervising and managing all printing-related activities: supplies of printing material, type, paper, workers' wages, etc.⁴⁵

There is no doubt that Sylvester met Neophytos in Bucharest. It is likely that the two hierarchs exchanged ideas on various topics. They continued to write to each other sporadically, as testified by a couple of letters sent by the patriarch to the metropolitan.

In 1747, Sylvester went to Wallachia, where Constantine Mavrokordatos had granted a *metochion* to the Patriarchate of Antioch. The Arabic printing activity was relocated to Bucharest. Two books were printed in the capital of Wallachia, both in 1747: a *Book of Psalms* and the *Acts of the Synods of Constantinople*, most likely in this order. The two books were printed with the same type used in Iași. At the patriarch's request, the printers were also manufacturing a new type, as attested by a letter of Musa Ṭrābulṣī dated 1747.⁴⁶ According to his report, the outcome of the type-manufacturing activity was not satisfactory, which makes it probable that the new type was not used. We do not know which books were printed with the new typefaces.

Although no books are known to have been printed on Sylvester's initiative between 1748 and 1751, there is one, the Arabic *Akathistos*, that could be attributed to this period. The fact that the title page is missing from the only copy known so far makes it impossible to determine its date or place of printing. The book encloses a full-page engraving of the *Annunciation* that is present in many books printed

⁴⁴ For the printing activities in Bucharest see Simedrea, "Tiparul bucureștean de carte bisericească", p. 845–942.

⁴⁵ Simedrea, "Tiparul bucureștean de carte bisericească", p. 921, 932–942.

⁴⁶ Haddad, "La correspondance de Ṭrābulṣī", p. 274–275; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 238–239.

in Bucharest from the early 18th century onward, as well as in those printed in Buzău, a bishop's see in Eastern Wallachia. The engraving resembles the one in a Romanian *Akathistos* printed in Buzău in 1746 so closely that it is almost sure that the same woodblock was used for both books. Perhaps this is not a coincidence. Other typographical ornaments also point towards Wallachia as the printing place of this Arabic *Akathistos*. Further research is bound to provide an answer to this question.

The next question is why did Sylvester's printing activity stop. The patriarch of Antioch's printing works in the Romanian Principalities depended on the support and financial aid from the ruling princes. In Moldavia, printing stopped at the end of January 1747, when the patriarch decided to move his residence to Wallachia. The reasons are not revealed in any sources, but a few suppositions can be made. John Mavrokordatos's position was already weakened, internally, by the revolt of the boyars, and externally, by a complaint addressed to the Porte by a resident of Moldavia. These issues required all the attention and financial resources of the prince.

Why did the printing activity not continue in Bucharest? Constantine Mavrokordatos was appointed prince of Moldavia in April 1748, and the throne of Wallachia was occupied by Gregory II Ghikas. Once again, due to these rapid political changes, the patriarch of Antioch decided to leave Wallachia and move the printing activity to another location, even though Ghikas was a longtime acquaintance of Sylvester, and they were on good terms. The frequent political changes made Sylvester think that maybe the Romanian Principalities were not the most suitable place for his printing projects. An additional factor was the effort of the Metropolitan Neophytos of Ungro-Wallachia to secure the control over the ecclesiastical books printed in his eparchy. The metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia had the control over all printing activities, especially of ecclesiastical books. Printing presses also functioned elsewhere in Wallachia, run by the two Bishoprics of Râmnic and Buzău.

It might not be related, but around this time, the printing press of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem also stopped its book production. The typographic implements were stored and some of them were reused later. The distance from Bucharest to his eparchy in Ottoman Syria might have been another factor in Sylvester's decision to move the printing press to another location.

It is possible that the three presses mentioned in a letter of Sylvester, as well as the press transferred from Wallachia that was "fixed" and put in good order, were a gift from the metropolitan or the ruling Prince of Wallachia.⁴⁷ In a letter

⁴⁷ See Ch. 9.4.

to Neophytos, Sylvester expressed his gratitude for the metropolitan's support. Although the content of this support was not mentioned, it may be suggested that it referred to the typographic implements.

In 1750, Sylvester asked an *archōn* of Wallachia, the son-in-law of Gregory Ghikas, to send the *typographia* ("printing press") to him in a *mukaniko* carriage. The adjective *mukaniko*, from the Romanian noun *mocan* (Adj. *mocănesc*) means "related to a transhumant shepherd". Sylvester may have referred to a sort of covered carriage able to protect the transported goods. What exactly was the "typography" sent from Wallachia? Perhaps sets of punches, matrices, and cast sorts, although these were more fragile and likely to be damaged during transportation. The transport may also have included the presses, maybe the three ones just mentioned. To fit into the carriage, they could have been disassembled, thus explaining the need to be fixed and put in good order.

Was the printing press with three presses that Sylvester moved from Wallachia repaired, put in good order, and installed elsewhere, as mentioned in the patriarch's letters? Maybe the patriarch printed one or more books in Constantinople, where he spent almost three years after he left Wallachia. The presence of a Greek press in the capital meant that qualified printers were available, with whom Sylvester could have collaborated. Further research could solve this and other issues, as recent discoveries have revealed. The bibliography of Arabic books of the 18th century is far from being complete at present.

Sylvester's decision to move the printing press from the relatively risk-free environment of the Romanian Principalities to an area directly controlled by the Ottomans may seem strange. Modern historical writing has not come to a clear conclusion regarding the Ottoman attitude towards printing in the languages of the Christian subjects of the empire. A significant contribution to the subject was made in the volume resulting from the first conference of the TYPARABIC project, published as the second volume of collected works of the De Gruyter series *Early Arabic Printing in the East (EAPE-2)*.⁴⁸

The fact that Sylvester decided to establish the printing press "in his See" (i.e., the eparchy of Syria), as he repeatedly declared, indicates that he did not expect difficulties from the central or local authorities. Most likely, no official permit was required or, if needed, it was easy to secure. In the 1750s, books in Greek started to be printed in Constantinople, more than a century after a first attempt. These books were printed in connection with the Patriarchate of Constantinople and addressed polemical subjects. As long as they challenged Latin dogmas and not the Ottoman rule, they were not considered a threat to the system.

48 Dipratu, Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond*, Berlin/Boston, 2024.

This brings us to the question of *where* in his “See” Sylvester established his press. Generally, the term “See” was used to refer to the residence of a Patriarchate, in Sylvester's case, Damascus. But it could mean, in a broader sense, the whole area under the jurisdiction of the patriarch.

In a letter to leaders of the Greek community in Venice, Sylvester asked for paper for the printing press he established “in Arabia”. Sylvester's letters are not clear on where this press was located. Was it first in Damascus, and then in Beirut? This question is not answered in full in the existing sources.

The most plausible opinion is that the printing press was installed in Beirut, where it was supervised by the *sheikh* Yūnus Nīqūlā, Sylvester's *wakīl* or representative in the city.⁴⁹ Three books were printed in Beirut between 1751 and 1753, and after that all activity stopped. A later source connects the end of the printing activity with the effects of an earthquake in 1759.⁵⁰ While the existence of yet unknown books printed in Beirut is not excluded, for now, only two are known to survive in a few copies, the 1751 *Book of Hours* and the 1752 *Book of Psalms*. The scarce information on two more titles, the *Book of the Divine Liturgies* and a second edition of the *Book of Psalms*, relies on the fact that they were mentioned in secondary sources. The *Book of the Divine Liturgies* is mentioned only in an article of Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1767–1811), who may have come across the book during his travels in the East. Seetzen was a German explorer and scientist who travelled extensively in the East and had an interest in printed books and manuscripts.⁵¹ It is possible that Seetzen referred to one of the Iași books, or one of those printed by Zākhīr's press at Shuwayr. But it is also possible that the *Book of the Divine Liturgies* was printed in Beirut, and copies of it are still waiting to be discovered. Such discoveries are possible, as recent research on Sylvester's books has repeatedly demonstrated. Although collecting early Arabic printed books had its enthusiasts, such as Silvestre de Sacy, the 5th Earl of Guilford, or the 2nd Earl Spencer, it was not as popular as collecting manuscripts. In important libraries in the East, early Arabic printed books were generally neglected, and undoubtedly surprises await the researcher in many book collections.

49 For Yūnus Nīqūlā al-Jabaylī, also known as Abū 'Askar and 'al-Bayrūtī', see Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 245.

50 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 245–256.

51 For Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, see “Seetzen, Ulrich Jasper”, in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica. A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature and General Information*, vol. XXIV, 11th ed., New York, 1911, p. 581; Walbiner, “Ulrich Jasper Seetzen”, p. 197–204; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 247–248; C. Walbiner, “The Collection, Perception and Study of Arabic Incunabula from the Near East in Europe (17th–early 19th Centuries)”, in Dīpratu, Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond*, p. 191–208, especially p. 199–200.

According to all available sources (most of them dating from the 19th and the 20th centuries), the Beirut printing press functioned in the Monastery of Saint George in Beirut. Some authors suggested a connection between the 1751–1753 press and the Printing Press of Saint George active in the second half of the 19th century, almost a hundred years later. While the earthquake of 1759 provoked extensive damage in Beirut, including to the church of Saint George, the end of the printing activity in Beirut apparently occurred before that, in 1753. Some sources claim that the 19th-century printing press used some of the recovered pieces of the 18th-century press.⁵²

Sheikh Yūnus Nīqūlā continued to have a preeminent role in the city and financed the repairs of the Orthodox Cathedral of Saint George. In 1756, Patriarch Sylvester painted for the Cathedral two, or possibly three large icons.⁵³

A printing press “of the Rūm”, *maṭba‘at al-Rūm al-kā’ina fī madīnat Bayrūt* (مطبعة الروم الكائنة في مدينة بيروت), is documented to have existed in Beirut in the 19th century. A book was published there in 1846 with the title *An Epistle Containing Various Benefits Translated from Greek by As‘ad bin Jibrā‘il Sursock*.⁵⁴

Was Patriarch Sylvester’s printing program complete? It is difficult to ascertain. Sources suggest a negative answer. In the letter sent to Venice, Sylvester wrote that he intended to print Psalters and Menologia. While the Beirut Psalter was printed in 1751–1752, only five years after the Bucharest one, the Menologia were an entirely different endeavor. Printing twelve large volumes was not an easy task. In Wallachia, with far more resources (in terms of financing and typographic facilities), printing the *Menologia* in Romanian was only achieved in the second half of the 18th century.⁵⁵ While this episode is probably not connected with Sylvester’s activity, it attests to a parallel activity of printing liturgical books in the spoken languages of the Orthodox world. Sylvester’s donation of the Greek *Menologia* printed in Venice to the Monastery of Saint Sabbas in Iași could have been related to a project of translating and printing them in Arabic. Sylvester seems to have developed a project to publish, beside polemical literature, a series of liturgical books in Arabic, the spoken language in the Patriarchate of Antioch. He mentioned this

52 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 245–256, with bibliography. For the Beirut press, see also Panchenko, *Arab Orthodox Christians under the Ottomans*, p. 489.

53 See Ch. 19.11.

54 <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10572786>; <https://archive.org/details/risalamotargama>.

55 An attempt at printing a Romanian edition of the *Menologia* was undertaken in October 1747 by the head of the merchants’ guild (“staroste”) Constantin Boltașul (Κωνσταντίνος Μπολτάσης). He rented a press from the Metropolitan See of Ungro-Wallachia to print the *Menologia*. He eventually abandoned the project. See Simedrea, “Tiparul bucureștean de carte bisericească”, p. 892–894.

intention in at least one letter, addressed to the leaders of the Greek community in Venice. The project was similar with the efforts made at the same time by metropolitans such as Neophytos of Ungro-Wallachia to publish a series of liturgical books in the Romanian language.⁵⁶

15.3 Printing Techniques

The aim of the current section is to shed more light on the issue of the typographical process and the types of activities which are likely to have taken place in the printing presses established by Sylvester. The first step was the production of the sorts (typesets), following the system punch/matrix/sort used since Johannes Gutenberg's times. It involved cutting (engraving) the punch in a hard metal, such as iron, as a negative letter. The second step was the production of the matrices as positives in a softer metal like copper, using the punches. Casting the type sorts or type was the third step, leading to the final product, a negative letter in relief, of a specific height. Additional smoothening or improvement of the cast sorts was sometimes necessary to ensure a clear print.⁵⁷

In the 18th century, the composition for the alloy necessary for the letters was standardized, and Patriarch Sylvester, after encountering it, noted the recipe down in one of his manuscripts. The metal was usually an alloy of lead, tin, and antimony. Quantities were variable. Usually, the lead was around 80%, the rest being antimony and a smaller amount of tin. Several sources survive that confirm the use of such an alloy for casting the printing sorts. The interesting fact is that in Sylvester's note with the title "Μίγμα τῶν χαρακτήρων" ("The alloy for the type"), his alloy is composed of a hundred "litres" of lead (μολίβι), ten "litres" of antimony (ἀντιμόνιον), and four "litres" of copper (χάλκωμα). Thus, the alloy had approximately 87.7% lead, 8.7% antimony, and 3.5% copper.⁵⁸

The presence of copper in the alloy and the absence of tin are difficult to explain. Maybe there is a mistake in the manuscript and copper was written instead of tin (κασσίτερος). However, alloys containing copper are possible, although unusual.

⁵⁶ This letter is discussed in Ch. 15.4. For similar projects in printing Arabic and Romanian books, see V. Cădea, "Une politique culturelle commune roumano-arabe dans la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle", *Association Internationale d'Études du Sud-Est Européen. Bulletin*, 3, 1965, 1, p. 51–56.

⁵⁷ For the functioning of a printing press in the 1740s in Bucharest, see Simedrea, "Tiparul bucureștean de carte bisericească", p. 875–887.

⁵⁸ MS 210 Hărișă, f. 103v.

This type of alloy was more durable than the usual composition, provided the quantity of copper was small.⁵⁹

If copper was used for the type employed for printing Arabic books in the Romanian Principalities, that would be an interesting fact. The more durable alloy could explain the greater number of books and copies apparently printed with the same type in Iași and Bucharest. Of these metals, antimony was the most difficult to find. It was suggested that antimony was not used in Wallachia at the time.⁶⁰ It is still possible that Sylvester followed the composition of the alloy he noted in his manuscript, as the metal could have been imported.

The decorative elements, borders and full-page illustrations were carved in woodblocks or engraved in metal. The same was done for the large size chapter titles. When enough sorts were cast, typesetting could begin. In theory, it was highly skilled work and it required knowledge of the language of the text to be printed. Certain researchers have suggested that this was not always the case, and typesetting could be done in a language unknown to the typesetters. This theory is disputable, especially if one considers that the time needed for typesetting in an unknown language was longer than when the typesetting was made in a known language. A longer time would make no sense in terms of economic profitability and would render the whole printing process more difficult. Another argument against this suggestion is the high risk of typographical mistakes resulting from typesetting in an unfamiliar language, requiring more time for correction and undermining the quality of the book. It was thus much more efficient to find people who knew the language, to train them as typesetters, if they did not already possess the required skills, and to put them to work quickly and efficiently.

Most of the other tasks within the printing process did not require expert skills. Applying the ink and the pressing was largely unskilled manual labor. Some attention was needed in printing the folios on both sides in the right direction.

In the books printed by Sylvester, four different sets of typefaces are discernable. Chronologically, the first one was used in all the five or six books published in Iași and Bucharest. In the foreword of the *Acts of the Synods of Constantinople*, the patriarch mentions that the letters were wrongly connected, as the typesetting had been done by people not familiar with the Arabic language. Moreover, the type was worn out after being used for the printing of six books. The letters preserved in Mūsā Ṭrābulṣī's collection provide additional data.

⁵⁹ Fry's *Printing Metals*, [London], 1972, p. 43, 56. Accessible online at https://www.metatype.co.uk/downloads/fry_typemetal.pdf (accessed on April 9, 2024).

⁶⁰ Simedrea, "Tiparul bucureștean de carte bisericească", p. 879. See also Chiaburu, *Carte și tipar în Țara Moldovei*, p. 21–22, 30.

All books known to have been printed in Bucharest and Iași seem to have used the same typefaces. The impression of the letters in the last book, printed in 1747, shows a certain degree of wear, as Sylvester also mentioned in his preface to the *Acts of the Synods of Constantinople*.

In Bucharest, a new type was manufactured in the beginning of 1747 or 1748. This is also mentioned in the same foreword, alongside the intention to print many new books. One of Mūsā Ṭrābulṣī's letters contains the assertion that the patriarch did not like the new type and searched for a new one. It is unclear what this search meant.

The information that new Arabic type was cast in Bucharest in 1747 or 1748 is also mentioned in a German source. On May 9, 1748, two Greek brothers, Diamantēs and Iōannēs Petalas, arrived in Leipzig from Bucharest to study at the Halle University. Johann Heinrich Callenberg (1694 – 1760), a Halle professor, reported that: „Es sey ietzo in Buckarest der Patriarch von Antiochien zugegen, und habe lassen Arabische Buchstaben giessen. Derselbe habe ihm, da er sein Vorhaben, hieher zu reisen, entdeckt, die Benediction ertheilet” (“The Patriarch of Antioch was present in Buckarest and had Arabic letters cast. When he discovered his intention to travel here, he gave him [Petalas] the blessing”).⁶¹

It is possible that in 1748 one or more different leaflets or brochures were produced in the Arabic press in Bucharest using the new typeface. Some of these could have been small prayer books (*Eὐχολόγια*). Sources mention that a Greek *Euchologion* was printed in Bucharest around the same date, but no copy of it survives.⁶² The reason for the lack of available copies is the same for all leaflets. Due to their small format, brochures and leaflets deteriorate quicker than bound books.

The second set of type is more interesting, as it has some characteristics not found at the time in any other press in the West or the East. One such characteristic is the lack of inclination to the left in many typefaces and the equal vertical lines in *lām alif*. This is the type that was used for printing the Arabic *Akathistos* of unknown date and place. It is interesting to note that no other book was printed with this set of types. The unusual typeface is thus a particular feature of this book. The typeface is neatly carved and entirely different from the one used in the known Arabic books printed in Iași and Bucharest, and from the one in the two books printed in Beirut. A feature which this *Akathistos* shares with many books printed in Wallachia is the impression of a woodblock depicting the Annunciation. Is this enough to suggest that the Arabic *Akathistos* was also printed in Wallachia? And

⁶¹ J. H. Callenberg, *Einige Fürsorge für die alte orientalische Christenheit überhaupt*, 2, Halle, 1754, p. 12; Saracino, *Griechen im Heiligen Römischen Reich*, p. 249.

⁶² Simedrea, “Tiparul bucureștean de carte bisericească”, p. 873, 933–934.

if that was the case, could its typeface be the one the patriarch disliked? In our opinion the new typeface is superior to the one used in the Arabic books printed earlier in Moldavia and Wallachia. This typeface was not used for other Arabic books. It is difficult to conceive that a new typeface was produced to print a single book.

The two other sets of types were used to print the Psalter and the *Book of Hours* published in Beirut. While the first book uses a new type, the second has some distinctive features. The first of them is a very special frame which appears on every page, more complex and elaborate than in other books. Second, the text impression is smooth and equal on the whole page. Although direct observation of the only known copy of this book would be required to provide more details, a study of the available images suggests the use of a printing technique which differs from that used in other books.

It was assumed for a long time that all the books printed after Gutenberg developed the movable-type press were produced in the same way. The traditional punch/matrix/sort technique was at some point challenged by some researchers of Gutenberg's books.⁶³ For the early printed Arabic books, a reexamination of the printing techniques can also provide surprising results. Museum items from the area of Lebanon related to the Shuwayr press offer an interesting glimpse into the printing process. Some of the pages were not typeset with movable type, used in printing and then undone and reused, but were produced by plate-printing. Although the exact technical process is not known, in plate-printing, instead of using copper matrices to produce the sorts, the punches were pressed into a softer material such as *papier maché* or plaster.⁶⁴ Then, the entire plate corresponding to a page was cast in the typographical alloy. The advantage was that a plate was produced that could be stored and re-used for later editions of the same book. At first glance, the Beirut *Book of Hours* printed in 1751 could have been produced in this way, but further research is needed, only possible after the discovery of other copies of the book.

Printing did not require the patriarch's presence in the city where the press functioned. Once all the legal, logistical, and technical preparations were made, the press could start working. Skilled craftsmen, typographers, and unskilled

⁶³ See P. W. Nash, "The 'first' type of Gutenberg. A note on recent research", *The Private Library*, 7, 2004, 2, p. 86–96.

⁶⁴ Conidi, *Arabic Type in Europe and the Middle East, 1514–1924*, p. 497. The author mentions the existence of metal letterpress plates for whole pages in the museum of the Saint John Monastery in al-Shuwayr, where members of the TYPARABIC team have also seen them. These plates were made by shallow casting or etching, a technique different from the traditional mobile type.

apprentices usually worked under the supervision of a master typographer, who sometimes called himself a “teacher” (Gr. δάσκαλος, Rom. *dascăl*).⁶⁵ The number of people involved in the functioning of a press in Bucharest in the 1740s is accurately known from the notes of Metropolitan Neophytos of Ungro-Wallachia. These notes contain the overall costs of the printing process, with details about wages, the cost of food and other supplies for the workers, printing materials, and paper. The print runs, the cost of printing books, and the selling price were also noted.⁶⁶

Metropolitan Neophytos's notes reveal that a master printer could work with two skilled and two unskilled workers, and a couple of “boys”, perhaps apprentices employed for simpler jobs. It is possible that the responsibilities of the master typographer included some initial proof-reading, or at least supervising the correct page setting. Proofreading was not typographic work *per se* and was preferably ascribed to individuals with a solid knowledge of the language the book was printed in.

15.4 Paper

As we mentioned above, in a letter to the leaders of the Greek community in Venice, the so-called *archontes*, Sylvester asked for paper for book-printing, because good quality paper was not available in the Levant.⁶⁷ Indeed, quality paper was not readily available in the Middle East at the time Patriarch Sylvester relocated his printing activity to Beirut. He was therefore compelled to enlist the help of the Greek community in Venice in order to obtain the necessary supplies of good paper for book-printing. In fact, Italian, and especially Venetian paper was imported by Wallachian printers for the needs of the presses there, although paper was also produced locally. Books printed in Bucharest, for example, were sometimes printed on Italian paper.⁶⁸ In Istanbul, Ibrahim Müteferrika also printed his books on paper imported from Venice, most likely due to its superior quality.⁶⁹

The letter was probably addressed to each of the *archontes* separately, but the text was copied in the Damascus codex only once. The recipients of the letters were

65 Sîmedrea, “Tiparul bucureștean de carte bisericească”, p. 899–920; D. Lupu, “Barbu Bucureșteanul, un tipograf din epoca domniilor fanariote”, *București. Materiale de istorie și muzeografie*, XXIII, 2009, p. 46–54.

66 Sîmedrea, “Tiparul bucureștean de carte bisericească”, p. 932–934, 936–942.

67 Letter of Sylvester to the (Greek) *archontes* of Venice, August 1751; cf. Arampatzoglou, *Φωτισμός Βιβλιοθήκη*, 2, p. 188–189, no. ΣΤ' δ/1.

68 Sîmedrea, “Tiparul bucureștean de carte bisericească”, p. 895.

69 W. Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie: évolution de l'environnement culturel (1706–1787)*, Tunis, 1985, p. 207.

sior Panos Marositzis, sior Zaharias Maroutzis, Stefanis Karaioannis, and Tzortzis Karaioannis. All the above recipients can be identified on the list of the presidents (*guardiani*) of the Greek Brotherhood in Venice: Pano Maruzzi (*guardiano* in 1747, 1750, and 1761), Zaccaria Maruzzi (*guardiano* in 1749), Steffano Caraggiani (*guardiano* in 1755), and Giorgio Caraggiani (*guardiano* in 1745, 1752).⁷⁰

Sylvester, who was at the time (August 1751) in Smyrna, requested the paper as a donation, to be able to print books in his newly established press in “Arabia”, presumably the one in Beirut. He wrote: “ἔχομεν τύπον ἀραβικὸν εἰς Ἀραβίαν καὶ μελετοῦμεν νὰ τυπώσωμεν καὶ Ψαλτήρια καὶ Μηναῖα καὶ μᾶς χρειάζεται χαρτί” (“We have an Arabic press in Arabia, and we plan to print Psalters and Menologia, and we need paper”).⁷¹ The number of available copies of the books produced in the Beirut press was very limited, but further research could reveal if Venetian paper was used. Sylvester asked the paper to be sent in “Tripoli of Syria” (“εἰς Τρίπολιν τῆς Συρίας”), to the English consul (“πρὸς τὸν κόνσολο τῶν Ἑγγλέζων”), from whom it could be collected. The reason was that “in those places one cannot find good paper” (“εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέρη δὲν εὐρίσκεται καλὸν χαρτί”).⁷² The letter is of great importance in finding the sources of paper for the Beirut printing press. It is possible that the Psalter of 1751–1752 was printed on paper received from Venice, if the patriarch’s appeals for aid were answered favorably by the Greek *archontes* of Venice.

In the list of expenses of the printing press for the year 1746 mentioned above, paper is mentioned only once, in January, for printing some essays. Since the cost amounted to only two coins, it could not have been the price for the entire quantity of paper used in the printing activity. The price of paper usually represented an important percentage of the overall price of printing a book. The fact that it is not mentioned means that paper was provided from another source. It could have been donated by the prince, or Sylvester obtained it from another source, such as the Greek community in Venice. It is known that later, when he had established his printing press in Beirut, he asked them for paper. The fact that the paper price was not part of the expenses recorded in the 1746 list explains the relatively small cost of printing the 1,500 copies of the book. The total expenses for the year 1746 were 267 silver coins, probably in piasters or in *groschen*. From the 267 coins, 40 were spent on the bookbinding. The larger part of the sum of 264 silver coins was provided by the patriarch in two installments of 100 coins. For the rest of 64 coins,

⁷⁰ Archive of the Greek Institute in Venice (AEIB), A'. Οργάνωση - λειτουργία, 3. Πρακτικά Συνεδριάσεων, Κατάστιχο 33, f. 311v (p. 588).

⁷¹ Arampatzoglou, *Φωτειός Βιβλιοθήκη*, 2, p. 188.

⁷² Arampatzoglou, *Φωτειός Βιβλιοθήκη*, 2, p. 189.

there is a mention about printing a letter of absolution, the sum obtained from its copies being probably the source for obtaining this sum. There is no indication as to how many letters of absolution were distributed. At about the same time, in Wallachia, the overall production price of printing a book in 500 copies was 750 *gro-schen*. The difference is important, even when considering the price of paper and the difference in book format.

The print run of 1,500 copies stated in the foreword of the 1746 colligate book of Iași was exceptional. Records of books printed in Bucharest in 1747–1749 mention print runs of around 500–700 copies.⁷³ By comparison, ‘Abdallāh Zākhir printed his first book in al-Shuwayr in 1,000 copies.⁷⁴

The larger print run of this book printed by Sylvester also explains the long period that was needed for its production (six months, from January to July). It is possible that the printing of the next book, *The Lord's Supper*, started in August. The book was finished in February 1747, so the production also required six or seven months.

Based on the distinguishable watermark, a *lion rampant*, the paper used for the Arabic *Akathistos* could also have been produced in a Western factory, most probably in Italy.⁷⁵

15.5 Locating Copies of Sylvester's Books

Why are the books printed by Sylvester in Iași, Bucharest, and Beirut so rare? It seems that considerably fewer copies survive of Sylvester's books than of other Arabic books printed in the same period, and those printed by Athanasios Dabbās in Snagov, Bucharest, and Aleppo.

Before the research of the TYPARABIC project set off, many important works dedicated to the Arabic printed books ignored the printing activity supervised by Patriarch Sylvester in Iași, Bucharest, and Beirut in 1745–1753, or presented it in a very inadequate manner. During our research for this book, it became increasingly clear that the major priority was to present, in as much detail as current knowledge allows, the whole extent of Sylvester's printing works. Finding all available copies of the rare books was, therefore, considered important. Some of them had been hidden in plain sight for years, on platforms such as Google Books or in the digital

⁷³ Sîmedrea, “Tiparul bucureștean de carte bisericească”, p. 895, 898, 937.

⁷⁴ Walbiner, “The appearance of Nieremberg's *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno* in Arabic”, p. 437.

⁷⁵ Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 306.

repositories of major libraries, available on the internet. Some were miscataloged, with mistaken or missing data in their descriptions.

The *Book of the Divine Liturgies* printed in Iași in 1745 is preserved in three incomplete copies in libraries in Lebanon and Syria. For the colligate of 1746, only four copies are known. For the 1747 *Lord's Supper* there is only one known copy, with another one documented as existing somewhere in Lebanon, but inaccessible. The book containing the *Acts of the Synods of Constantinople*, printed in Bucharest in 1747, survives in two copies.

Two of the Arabic books printed by Sylvester of Antioch in Moldavia and Wallachia and preserved in the Austrian National Library belonged to Giovanni Marghich, who acquired them in 1763 in Constantinople. In the same library in Vienna there are three Christian Arabic manuscripts with notes written by him.⁷⁶ One manuscript was received by Giovanni Marghich in Pera in 1762, a short time before the convent where it was kept was destroyed by fire.⁷⁷

Who was Giovanni Marghich, and why was he interested in Arabic books? A note in a manuscript dated 1774 in Adrianople reveals that Giovanni Marghich was a *giovane di lingua della ecc(ellen)t(issi)ma Republica di Ragusa*.⁷⁸ This information explains his interest in the Arabic language. The institution of the "Youths of Language" served European states involved in various activities in the Levant by training individuals as translators and interpreters of Oriental languages. Young people were regularly sent to Pera, a suburb of Constantinople where Western embassies and Roman Catholic institutions were historically located, to learn Oriental languages. They were granted a state scholarship. Venice was the first to establish such an institution in the 16th century, Ragusa followed, and then France.⁷⁹

Giovanni Marghich seems to have been successful in learning Arabic. Not only did he collect books and manuscripts, but he also took notes about their contents.

76 G. Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, vol. 3, Vienna, 1867, p. 5, no. 1543, p. 21, no. 1562, p. 22, no. 1563.

77 Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften*, vol. 3, p. 22, no. 1563.

78 Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften*, vol. 3, p. 5, no. 1543.

79 For the "Youths of Language", see H. Dehétrain, "Jeunes de Langue et interprètes français en Orient au XVIII^e siècle", *Anatolia moderna. Yeni Anadolu*, 1, 1991, p. 323–335; F. Hitzel, "Les Jeunes de langue de Péra-lès-Constantinople", *Dix-Huitième Siècle*, 28, 1996, p. 57–70; R. Mantran, "L'École des jeunes de langue. L'exemple vénitien", in F. Hitzel (ed.), *Istanbul et les langues orientales*, Paris, 1997, p. 105–108; A. Pippidi, "Drogmans et enfants de langue. La France de Constantinople au XVII^e siècle", in F. Hitzel (ed.), *Istanbul et les langues orientales*, Paris, 1997, p. 131–140; C. Villain-Gandossi, "Giovani di lingua, drogmans auprès du baile de Venise et la Porte ottomane au XVI^e siècle", in G. Buti, M. Janin-Thivos, O. Raveux (eds.), *Langues et langages du commerce en Méditerranée et en Europe à l'époque moderne*, Aix-en-Provence, 2013, p. 33–56.

He made notes on the books, indicating that he either understood Arabic or enlisted the help of someone who helped him understand the content of the books. This is visible in his copy of the *Acts of the Synods of Constantinople* printed by Sylvester of Antioch at Bucharest. Marghich was not part of the intended readership of Sylvester's books, but the fact that he owned some of the few preserved copies is illustrative of their circulation. It is also interesting to note the availability of these books in Constantinople in 1763.

For the *Acts of the Synods of Constantinople*, the copy in Vienna is the only one accessible of the two known copies, although mentions of other copies do appear in secondary literature. The explanation is that the book was highly polemical against the Roman Catholic Church and many copies were presumably destroyed or discarded.

The Arabic *Psalter* of Bucharest is preserved in only two copies, one in Yale (formerly, Silvestre de Sacy's copy), the other in Manchester (library of the 2nd Earl Spencer). Several other copies are mentioned in bibliographies, but their locations still need to be confirmed.

Of the Beirut *Psalter* of 1751–1752 there is only one known copy, located in Uppsala. The same is true for the *Book of Hours* (1751), known only from a fragmentary copy that surfaced in 2023 in an antiquarian bookshop in the United States of America. Acquired by a private person, its present location is unknown.

The Arabic *Akathistos* printed by Sylvester of Antioch in an unknown press is equally known in one copy, surveyed by Ioana Feodorov at the owner's request, before he sold it at an auction in Paris.⁸⁰ The book had belonged to the well-known bibliophile Frederick North, 5th Earl of Guilford.

No copies are known of the *Book of Liturgies* printed at Aleppo that Ulrich Jasper Seetzen mentioned.

The auction of the 5th Earl of Guilford's library holds other surprises for the researchers of early Arabic printed books. The English aristocrat had some other rare copies of 18th century Arabic printed books in his famous collection, some of them unknown to modern research.

Besides the known titles mentioned in this book, there is always the possibility of new discoveries, as recent research has repeatedly proven.

Several reasons could be advanced to explain why only a few copies survive despite the large print runs. First, the distribution of the books was not possible because of unfavorable circumstances such as the conflicts between the Orthodox and the Catholic factions and the intervention of the Latin missionaries. A small number of the books printed by Sylvester was kept and even sought after in

⁸⁰ Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 250 and n. 64.

Catholic environments to be informed about the book production of the opposite party and be ready to give the appropriate reply, if needed. Distribution problems also arose in the case of the two books printed in London in the 1720s, the *Book of Psalms* and the Arabic *New Testament*. These books arrived in the Levant, but many copies remained in storage there, because their distribution was difficult, or even impossible. The idea was at some point for the books to be sent back in England or to be redirected to Persian prisoners in the Russian Empire.⁸¹ The fact that a larger or smaller number of books remained in storage for a longer period could explain the surviving pages used as binding waste.

A second explanation could be the destruction of the books, very likely during Sylvester's life.⁸²

A third reason is the natural wear of the books. Many liturgical books of the period used in churches were subject to wear and tear, and new editions were often needed at regular intervals of time. By analogy, many Romanian editions of liturgical books printed in the 18th century are preserved in one copy, or just a few. For some books, such as a small Greek prayer book printed in Bucharest in 1748, there are archival records but no known copies.⁸³

Until the early 20th century, no books printed by Sylvester were known to have belonged to Romanian libraries. In the 1900s, a book printed by Sylvester in Iași in 1746 was obtained by the Library of the Romanian Academy from Rome.⁸⁴ Most major European libraries (with some notable exceptions) do not own copies of the books printed by Sylvester. No library anywhere in the world owns a complete series. The process of identifying, locating, and describing them is a work in progress, often rewarded by discoveries. At this stage, it is safe to say that even the number of titles printed by Patriarch Sylvester is still unknown.

The research on the books printed by Sylvester of Antioch offered once again surprising results. Pieces are falling into place, but more research is needed for a complete image of his printing activity to emerge.

⁸¹ Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge*, p. 242–243.

⁸² S. E. Assemanus, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum mms. orientali-um catalogus*, Florence, 1742, p. 65; Roper, "The Vienna Arabic Psalter of 1792", p. 79; Häberlein, Manstetten, "The Translation Policies", p. 325.

⁸³ Simedrea, "Tiparul bucureștean de carte bisericească", p. 873.

⁸⁴ See Ch. 16.2.