

16 Books Printed by Patriarch Sylvester in Moldavia, Wallachia, and Beirut

16.1 *Book of the Divine Liturgies*, Iași, 1745

Kitāb al-Qundāq / *Book of the Qundāq*, or *Book of the Divine Liturgies*, Iași, 1745, in-4^o, 126 p. (Fig. 12).¹ The title page, if one existed, is missing from the known copies.

The *Book of the Divine Liturgies* seems to have been the first Arabic book printed by the Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch.² It contains an Arabic text and a foreword. The text is based on the Arabic version of the bilingual Greek-Arabic book printed by Athanasios Dabbās, the former patriarch of Antioch, with Anthimos the Iberian in Snagov in 1701. The manuscript was prepared in 1744, and the text was revised by the patriarch himself, as he states in the foreword. He made several corrections and additions to the text of Athanasios's edition. The book is thus not a mere reprint of the (Arabic part of) Athanasios Dabbās's bilingual book. The Greek text of the previous edition was not reprinted. The new *Book of the Divine Liturgies* was necessary as this liturgical text was used almost daily. Many copies of the 1701 edition had become unusable, and replacement books were scarce. Evidently, the 1701 edition had become rare.

In the foreword, Patriarch Sylvester mentioned that a new edition was needed especially to correct the textual mistakes of the previous version. A further comparative study of the Arabic text of the 1701 text with that of the 1745 edition will provide additional elements regarding the alterations made by Sylvester, or by his collaborators, to Dabbās's text.³

The Arabic liturgical books published in Rome by the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide were considered suspect and were usually rejected by the Orthodox, and by Sylvester himself. Even if they were accepted, it is unlikely that they could be obtained by the patriarch, given his relations with Rome. The information that Sylvester asked the Sacra Congregatio in 1725 to print books in Rome is doubtful and should be verified.⁴

1 Feodorov, "The Arabic Book of the Divine Liturgies", p. 285–290.

2 Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe*, p. 182; Feodorov, "The Arabic Book of the Divine Liturgies", p. 158–176.

3 Some of the differences between the two editions are mentioned by Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 286.

4 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 277.

Using the books printed in Shuwayr by ‘Abdallāh Zākhir, a prominent figure of the “Latin” party, would also have been out of the question. In fact, the activity of the Shuwayr press seems to have been one of the motivations for Sylvester to start his printing activity.

The *Book of the Divine Liturgies* printed in Iași in 1745 is accessible only in incomplete copies. The title page is missing from all of them. Several other copies have been mentioned in secondary literature, but for various reasons their locations cannot be confirmed. The missing pages of the incomplete copies are usually added in manuscript form. This is proof of their intensive use as liturgical books for long periods.

Sylvester’s decision to print this book was successful: the books reached their intended public, and they were surely used in churches. Several manuscript copies of this book survive. In areas where printed books were difficult to obtain, copying printed editions was a common phenomenon. Apart from the manuscript dated 1744 that may have been used in printing the edition of Iași (MS 1674 = MS 251 of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch in Damascus, discussed above), some of the manuscripts seem to be copies of the printed book. The manuscript of Damascus dates from the 18th century and contains the Psalms.⁵

Although Pope Benedict XIV, by the document *Demandatam caelitus humilitati nostrae* issued in December 1743, established the “Greek” rite as mandatory for the Arabic-speaking Melkite Catholic Christians, and projects to publish a new edition of the *Book of the Divine Liturgies* for them were consequently initiated, this book was never printed in Rome. The basis for the new Arabic edition in Rome should have been Athanasios Dabbās’s Snagov text of 1701, as proven by a copy of the book, with annotations preparing the new edition, preserved in the library of the Greek College in Rome.⁶ The first Arabic Catholic *Book of the Divine Liturgies* was printed only in 1839, in Rome, by the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide.⁷

The Arabic Orthodox *Book of the Divine Liturgies* of 1745 was first described by Ioana Feodorov based on the incomplete copy within MS no. 15 of the Monastery of Balamand.⁸ Before that, some authors merely mentioned the book, without provid-

5 Gemayel, Dabaghy, Dabaghy, “Les manuscrits du Patriarcat grec-orthodoxe de Damas”, p. 252; Jubāra, *Al-makḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiya fī maktabat Baṭṭriyarkiyat Anṭākiya wa-sā’ir al-Mashriq li-l-Rūm al-Urthūdhuks*, p. 43, no. 251. See the HMML Project Number MARI 00251 at <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/607542>.

6 C. Charon, *Le rite byzantin dans les Patriarcats Melkites Alexandrie – Antioche – Jérusalem. Adoption – Versions – Pratique – Particularités*, Rome, 1908, p. 90-92 [562-564].

7 Charon, *Le rite byzantin*, p. 93 [565].

8 Feodorov, “The Arabic Book of the Divine Liturgies”, p. 158–176; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 285–290.

ing commentaries or details. Examples include Kaisarios (Kōnstantinos) Dapontes in his *Historical Catalogue of the Learned Greeks* (Ιστορικὸς κατάλογος).⁹ However, Dapontes's information is misleading, as he mentions that it was a bilingual edition in Arabic and Greek: “ἐτύπωσε καὶ Λειτουργίαν Ἀραβικὴν καὶ ἑλληνικὴν ἀντάμα εἰς τὸ Γίαισι, καὶ Ἀντιμίνσια” (“He also printed a Liturgy in Greek and Arabic, together, in Iași, and *antimensia*”).¹⁰ This demonstrates the low reliability of narrative sources, often written, as in this particular case, decades after the events. Dapontes's account is nonetheless relevant for the impact the printing of Arabic books had on the contemporaries as a remarkable event. Mentioning only the *Book of the Divine Liturgies*, Dapontes was probably unaware of the other books printed on Sylvester's initiative in Iași and Bucharest, as he himself left Moldavia in 1745.

The printing of the book was finished on July 19, 1745,¹¹ while Sylvester was still in Moldavia. He left a couple of months later for Constantinople to obtain his new patriarchal *berat* after Kyrillos's attempt to replace him. According to the patriarch's foreword, the printing expenses were covered by Prince John Mavrokordatos of Moldavia. Like his brother Constantine (who owned a copy of the 1702 Arabic *Book of Hours* printed in Bucharest), he knew about the books printed by Dabbās in Wallachia and wished to emulate the cultural patronage of the previous rulers of Moldavia and Wallachia.

Known copies:

1. Library of Dayr Sayyidat al-Balamand, in MS no. 15. This is a fragmentary copy missing the title page.¹²
- 2–3. Two copies in the monastery of Ma'lūla, Syria. One of them contains an inscription from 1762, in the time of Sylvester of Antioch, attesting that the books printed by the patriarch were distributed in his eparchy.¹³ The inscription mentions Gregorios Qarbā, the metropolitan of Ḥawrān. The second copy, mentioned by 'Īsā Iskandar al-Ma'lūf, seems to be a manuscript dating from 1783, copied from another manuscript of 1744, with a foreword by Sylvester mentioning his corrections to the text. The manuscript of 1744 was probably like the one used for the printed edition.

⁹ Dapontes, “Κατάλογος ιστορικὸς”, p. 89; C. Erbiceanu, *Cronicarii greci cariți au scris despre români în epoca fanariotă. Textul grecesc și traducerea românească*, Bucharest, 1888, p. 103.

¹⁰ Dapontes, “Κατάλογος ιστορικὸς”, p. 89.

¹¹ 'Ī. I. al-Ma'lūf, “Maṭḥa'a rūmāniyya al-urthūdhuksiyya al-'arabiyya al-anṭākiyya”, *al-Ni'ma*, 1911, 3, p. 55; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 285.

¹² HMML Project Number BALA 00010, at <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/107680>; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 285–290.

¹³ al-Ma'lūf, “Maṭḥa'a rūmāniyya al-urthūdhuksiyya”, p. 55; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 289 (presumes, based on recent events, that these copies are lost).

4. A copy in the monastery of Şaydnāyā.¹⁴ It contains a note indicating that the Orthodox Metropolitan Ierotheos of Şaydnāyā donated it to the monastery of Our Lady of Şaydnāyā in 1751. Ierotheos's term as metropolitan of Şaydnāyā started before 1744 and finished after 1765.¹⁵
5. A copy in the library of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch in Damascus.¹⁶
6. A copy in MS no. 4 of the Parish Church in Muhrada, Syria. The printed pages missing in the beginning and the end were replaced with manuscript pages.¹⁷

16.2 Polemic Treatises, Iași, 1746

In the known copies, the book is a collection of two texts bound together (a colligate).¹⁸

- A. Nektarios of Jerusalem, *Kitāb qaḍā al-ḥaqq wa-naql al-sidq / Book of the Rule of Justice and the Transmission of Truth*, Iași, 1746, in 4^o, [3] blank + [11] + 249 p. (Fig. 13, 14, 15).
- B. Eustratios Argentis, *Risāla mukhtaṣara fī al-radd ‘alā ‘adam ghaḷaṭ bābāwāt Rūmiya / Brief Epistle against the Pope's Infallibility*, Iași, 1746, in 4^o, [3] + 60 + [3] p. (Fig. 16).

The book was printed by Sylvester of Antioch to explain to the Arabic-speaking Orthodox Christians the dogmatic and ritual distinctions between the Greek Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church.

The first work is an Arabic translation “from Greek and Latin”, achieved in 1733, of a book written by Patriarch Nektarios of Jerusalem. The original text was composed in Greek and remained unprinted. Apparently, no manuscript of the original Greek text is available for study. A Latin translation was published in London in 1729. The title of the Latin edition is: *Reverendissimi in Christo patris ac domini d(omi)ni Nectarīi nuper Patriarchae Hierosolymitani, De artibus quibus missionarii Latini, praecipuè in Terrâ Sanctâ degentes ad subvertendam Graecorum fidem, utuntur, & de quamplurimis Ecclesiae Romanae erroribus corruptelis, libri tres, ex autographo Graeco Latinè redditi*.

14 al-Ma'lūf, “Maṭba'a rūmāniyya al-urthūdhuksiyya”, p. 55; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 289.

15 Zayyāt, *Khabāyā al-zawāyā min tāriḫ Şaydnāyā*, p. 233.

16 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 289.

17 HMML Project Number MHAR 00004, at <https://www.vhmm.org/readingRoom/view/537908>.

18 Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe*, 1985, p. 183. For the first, brief description of this book, see *BRV IV*, p. 61–67. For an improved description, see Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 290–294.

The version of Patriarch Nektarios's *Book of the Rule of Justice and the Transmission of Truth* published in Arabic by Patriarch Sylvester differs in content from another version which was printed in Greek in Iași in 1682.¹⁹ The number of chapters is different, and although there are common ideas, clearly, these are two different works. The Arabic text published in 1746 closely follows the 1729 Latin edition. The difference between the two texts (the Greek one of 1682 and the Arabic one of 1746) has already been noticed by other researchers, e.g., Dan Simonescu, who wrote that they present the same ideas, but the Arabic one is a shortened form of the Greek one.²⁰

The name of the translator is not mentioned but the translation was attributed to Sophronios of Kilis, metropolitan of Ptolemais (Acre).²¹

The translation was revised by Ilyās Fakhr, the logothetes of the Patriarchate, who considered himself the real translator.²² It is not improbable that the patriarch himself revised the text. In previous research, two aspects of the Arabic version of this work have been neglected. The first is the fact that the translation was made in 1733 “from Greek and Latin”. The Greek text of this work is difficult to locate today, the Latin edition published in 1729, although rare, is available for comparison.²³ There is no information if Latin was one of the languages mastered by the polyglot Sophronios. As we mentioned before, Ilyās Fakhr worked in Rome, and it is probable that he knew Latin.²⁴ If the translation from Greek was made by Sophronios, maybe Ilyās Fakhr revised it based on the Latin edition.

The second element is the role of Rowland Sherman who, according to a letter of Iakovos of Patmos, translated one of Patriarch Nektarios's works into Arabic, alongside with the *Rock of Offence* of Ilias Miniatis, then printed them in England and distributed them in the East. While the passage in Iakovos's letter might sound ambiguous, it offers interesting information on Sherman's role in the translation

19 Τοῦ μακαριωτάτου καὶ σοφωτάτου πατριάρχου τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Ἁγίας πόλεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ κυρίου Νεκταρίου, *Πρὸς τὰς προσκομισθίσας θέσεις παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις φρατόρων διὰ Πέτρου τοῦ αὐτῶν μαϊστόρος περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πάπα ἀντίρρησις*, Τυπωθεῖσα νῦν πρῶτον ἐν τῇ Σεβασμίᾳ Μονῇ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἐνδόξων καὶ Πρωτοκορυφαίων Ἀποστόλων, τῇ καλουμένῃ Τζετατζούϊα κατὰ τὸ ἀχπβ' ἔτος τὸ σωτήριον, ἐν μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ, Ἐν Γιάσιω τῆς Μολδαβίας.

20 Simonescu, “Cărți arabe tipărite de români”, p. 545.

21 Nasrallah, Haddad, *HMLÉM* IV.2, p. 97 (the author also mentions four manuscripts of the Arabic text); Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 291.

22 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 242.

23 There are four known copies: 1. Christ Church, University of Oxford, shelfmark Christ Church Wb. 7.23; 2. Westminster Abbey; 3. Institut Néohellénique de la Sorbonne, Paris, France; 4. Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos, Greece.

24 Heyberger, “Security and Insecurity”, p. 112–115.

of patriarch Nektarios's book. Rowland Sherman could very well have translated the book from Greek into Latin and have it printed in London in 1729. Is he also the author of the 1733 Arabic translation, not mentioned on the title page of Sylvester's edition? Further research could provide additional data on this subject. In any case, Sherman was able to bring copies of the 1729 London edition to the Levant and present them to his acquaintances, such as Ilyās Fakhr.

The second text in the book is a treatise composed by Eustratios Argentis against the Pope's infallibility.²⁵ The Greek text of Argentis's work was translated by Mas'ad Nashū in Cairo.²⁶

There are four copies of the book preserved in various libraries. All of them contain both works, thus indicating that they were intended to be bound together. The lack of a title page or foreword for the second text suggests the same, despite the individual pagination.

Known copies:

1. Library of the Romanian Academy; the book once belonged to the Roman church of San Pietro in Vincoli, bought in Rome from Libreria Antiquaria Silvio Bocca, and donated to the Romanian Academy by Kyril Korolevsky (Cyrille Charon).²⁷
2. Austrian National Library; the book was bought in Constantinople by Giovanni Marghich. He also bought other manuscripts and printed books now in the same library. This volume has been digitized and is available on the institution's website and on Google Books.
3. National Library of Israel, unknown provenance. The copy was unknown to previous scholarship. Its existence illustrates that copies of the book did reach the Middle East, although it may have arrived in Israel from Europe or North America and well after Patriarch Sylvester's time.
4. Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa, in Alexandria, Egypt, Early Printed Books Collection, no. 1831. The bibliographical note refers only to the Arabic version of Eustratios Argentis's book, so it is

²⁵ Graf, *GICAL* III, p. 140-141; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 292.

²⁶ Born in Damascus in a Coptic family that subsequently embraced Greek Orthodoxy, Našū left for Egypt, where he became the *oikonomos* of the Patriarchate of Alexandria. He is known for his translations from Greek and several original works. See Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 293.

²⁷ *Libreria Antiquaria S. Bocca, Roma*, Catalogo num. 256, p. 32, no. 523. See D. Simonescu, "Impression de livres arabes et karamanlis en Valachie et en Moldavie au XVIII^e siècle", *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, V-VI, 1960, p. 64, n. 53; D. Simonescu, "Monumente ale culturii noastre de vânzare la o licitație publică din Londra", *Apulum. Arheologie – Istorie – Etnografie*, VIII, 1970, p. 215; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 292, n. 143.

possible that in this case only the second part of the colligate was preserved.²⁸ It may be one of the copies sent to Egypt by Sylvester of Antioch, which he mentioned in his above-mentioned letters to the patriarch of Alexandria.

16.3 *The Lord's Supper* by Eustratios Argentis, Iași, 1747

Eustratios Argentis, *Fī al-‘ashā al-Rabbānī / The Lord's Supper*, Iași, 1747, in-4^o, [12] + 231 [228] p. (Fig. 17, 18).²⁹

Argentis's book was translated by Mas'ad Nashū in Cairo in 1740.³⁰

The Arabic version of *The Lord's Supper* by Eustratios Argentis printed in Iași in 1747 had for a long time not been available for study. Comments in earlier sources were mostly based on indirect information.³¹ At present, a brief presentation is available, due to Ioana Feodorov's survey of the copy in the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.³²

The work was printed in Greek in Leipzig in 1760, and it contains a note on the Arabic printed version. The title of the Greek edition is:

Εὐνταγμα κατὰ ἀζύμων εἰς τρία διαιρεθὲν τμήματα. Ὡν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐστὶ, περὶ ὕλης τοῦ Μυστηρίου τῆς Ἁγίας Εὐχαριστίας. Τὸ δὲ δεύτερον, περὶ ἀγιασμοῦ τοῦ Μυστηρίου. Τὸ δὲ τρίτον, περὶ χρήσεως τοῦ Μυστηρίου. Συντεθὲν παρὰ τοῦ φιλοσοφώτατου, καὶ ἐν ἱατροῖς ἀρίστου μακαρίτου Εὐστρατίου τουπίκλην Ἀργέντη τοῦ Χίου. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς ἀραβικὴν ἐρμηνεύθη γλῶσσαν καὶ εἰς τύπον ἐδόθη παρὰ τοῦ Μακαριωτάτου Πατριάρχου Ἀντιοχείας κυρίου κυρίου Σιλβέστρου. Νῦν δὲ δι' ἐξόδων συμπατριωτῶν τινῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ συζηλωτῶν τοῦ μακαρίτου Εὐστρατίου, τῇ ἰδίᾳ φράσει ἐτυπώθη, ἀκριβῶς τε καὶ ἐπιμελῶς διορθωθὲν παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις κυρίου Γεδεῶν Ἀγιοταφίτου τοῦ Κυπρίου, Ἐν Λιψία τῆς Σαζωνίας, Παρὰ Ἰωάννη Γόττλοπ Ἐμμανουὴλ Βρεῖτσκοπφ, αψξ'.

Treatise against the unleavened bread divided into three parts. Of which the first is about the substance of the Holy Eucharist, the second, about the sanctification of the Mystery, and the third, about the use of the Mystery. Composed by the most distinguished in philosophy and

28 P. Tzoumerkas, "Arabic heritage via rare editions found in the Patriarchal Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa", *Ανάλεκτα*, 11, 2011, 2nd period, Alexandria/Athens, p. 84–85.

29 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 294–295; I. Feodorov, "Sylvester of Antioch's Arabic Books Printed in 1747 at Bucharest. Recent Findings", *Scrinium*, 19, 2023, 1, p. 24–25. See also <https://www.loc.gov/item/2002554985>.

30 Graf, *GCAL* III, p. 141.

31 Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe*, p. 182.

32 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 294–295; Feodorov, "Sylvester of Antioch's Arabic Books", p. 24–25.

the best among physicians, the late Eustratios called Argentis of Chios. And first, it was translated into the Arabic language and printed by his Beatitude the Patriarch of Antioch, *kyrios kyrios* Sylvester. And now, with the expense of compatriots and friends and sympathizers of the late Eustratios, it was printed in its proper language, precisely and diligently corrected by the monk Gedeōn Agiotaphitēs of Cyprus. In Leipzig of Saxony, by Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 1760.

Sylvester is mentioned again in the *Foreword*: [...] καὶ ταῦτα ἀναγνοὺς ὁ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων Πατὴρ καὶ Πατριάρχης κύριος Σίλβεστρος τὰ ἐμεταγλώττισεν εἰς ἀραβικὴν γλῶσσαν, καὶ εἰς τύπον τὰ ἔβαλε, διὰ τῶν εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν αὐτοῦ Ἀράβων Χριστιανῶν ὠφέλειαν (“[...] and having read these, the father and patriarch of the Antiochians, kyr Sylvester, translated them into the Arabic language and printed them for the benefit of the Arab Christians in his eparchy”).

This information reveals the fact, also confirmed by other sources, that the patriarch of Antioch was not the person who commissioned Argentis to compose this book.

Sylvester knew Argentis personally and it is probable that he received his book from him. Argentis was in Egypt at the time he composed his work on the variances between the Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church. The translation was also made in Egypt. It is interesting that a copy of Argentis's text of the *Σύνταγμα κατὰ ἀζύμων* (“Treatise against unleavened bread”), in two volumes, survives in the library of the Metropolis of Kition in Cyprus, a place Sylvester had connections with and may have been his birthplace.

Known copies:

1. Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
2. A copy mentioned in a 1986 advertisement of the Brill Antique Bookshop in Leiden, published in the American periodical *AB Bookman's Weekly* (September 8, 1986).³³ The book was presented by the bookshop at the Venice Book Fair in 1986. It was described as “an extremely rare Arabic Iași printed text (1747)”. The only book which corresponds to this description is the *Lord's Supper* by Argentis. Its present location is unknown. It may be the copy now in the Library of Congress, Washington, DC. In the same advertisement, Brill mentioned a copy of “The Arabic Bucharest Horologion (1702)”, also presented at the Book Fair in Venice.
3. Leaves of the book were used as binding waste in MS no. 11 in the Dayr Sayyidat al-Balamand. Among the preserved pages are 16 and 77. It demonstrates that copies of the book did reach the Middle East.³⁴

³³ *AB Bookman's Weekly*, September 8, 1986, p. 810.

³⁴ <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/107679>.

4. A photograph in a tourist guide published in 1969 in Beirut shows one page from a copy of the book, probably in a private collection.

The present location of other copies in Eastern libraries mentioned by various authors cannot be confirmed.³⁵

16.4 *Book of Psalms, Bucharest, 1747*

Kitāb al-Zabūr al-Sharīf / The Holy Book of Psalms, Bucharest, 1747, in-4^o, 250 p. (Fig. 20, 21, 22).³⁶

Although mentioned in scholarly bibliographies,³⁷ no copy of the Arabic *Book of Psalms* printed in Bucharest had been available to researchers since the early 19th century, when it was surveyed by Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy and Christian Friedrich von Schnurrer. Owing to the TYPARABIC project, recent research has revealed the existence of two copies of this book. We have identified them in an American collection, the Beinecke Library, and a British library. Both books formerly belonged to famous book collectors: Silvestre de Sacy and the 2nd Earl Spencer. Recently, Ioana Feodorov published a short presentation of the copy in the USA.³⁸

I shall describe henceforth the interesting and fruitful quest for locating the copies of Sylvester's Arabic *Book of Psalms*. In addition to the discovery of the two books, it provided a lot of information on the western book collectors' interest in early Arabic printing in the early 19th century.

In 1747, Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch printed an Arabic *Book of Psalms* in the recently established press of Bucharest, located in the Monastery of Saint Spyridon. This is the monastery which prince Constantine Mavrokordatos had granted to the Patriarchate of Antioch as a *metochion* in 1746.

The *Book of Psalms* was translated into Arabic already in the 11th century by Abū l-Faṭḥ 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī.³⁹ An edition of this translation was published in London in 1725 by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. It was supervised by Salomon Negri and, according to sources, the print run

35 Feodorov, "Sylvester of Antioch's Arabic Books", p. 25.

36 Feodorov, "Sylvester of Antioch's Arabic Books", p. 11, 12, 16, 22, 26.

37 Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe*, p. 182.

38 Feodorov, "Sylvester of Antioch's Arabic Books", p. 11–16.

39 For 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl, see Al. Treiger, "'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī'", in D. Thomas, A. Mallett, J. P. Monferrer Sala et al. (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, Volume 3. (1050–1200), Leiden/Boston, 2011, p. 89–113; S. Noble, "'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī'", in S. Noble, Al. Treiger (eds.), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World 700–1700. An Anthology of Sources*, DeKalb, IL, 2014, p. 171–187; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 98.

was large, about 6,000 copies (four times the 1,500 copies of a book published by Sylvester in Iași).⁴⁰

Before 1747, two other editions of the *Psalter* were published by the Shuwayr printing press run by ‘Abdallāh ibn Zākhir. The first of these was printed in 1735, the second in 1739. In this case too, there were concerns about the content of the books, as the Roman Catholic influence on the book production of the Shuwayr press was well known.

In this context, in 1747, Sylvester decided to publish an edition of the *Book of Psalms* in Arabic, endorsed by him as the Patriarch of the Greek-Orthodox Church of Antioch. He printed it in the new Arabic press in Bucharest. Although the print run is not indicated, based on similar editions, it can be tentatively estimated at 1,000–1,500 copies. There is no information about how and when the copies of the *Book of Psalms* were shipped to present-day Syria and Lebanon, to reach their intended public.

In less than a century, the *Book of Psalms* published by Sylvester became a bibliographical rarity. Christian Friedrich von Schnurrer mentioned the 1747 Bucharest edition in the *Addenda* of his *Bibliotheca Arabica* published in 1811.⁴¹ His description includes the full title and a part of the foreword in Arabic and in Latin translation. The information is published as a note to the bibliographical description of another Psalter, published in 1751 in Beirut.⁴² The author does not mention where he surveyed the copy of the 1747 book he described, nor where it was located.

Not long after the publication of the *Bibliotheca Arabica*, the origin of the information about the Bucharest *Psalter* was revealed. Schnurrer's book was dedicated to the leading French Oriental scholar of the time Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy. De Sacy published a review of Schnurrer's book in 1814, which included some details about the *Book of Psalms* of 1747. He mentioned that he owned the book described by the German scholar.⁴³ Silvestre de Sacy also stated that he had received from Rousseau, the French consul in Aleppo, two rare books printed in Aleppo, the *Evangeliarium* of 1706 and the *Liber Prophetiarum* of 1708. He adds that he compared the type of the books with the *Liturgikon* printed in 1701 in Bucharest and found them entirely different.

⁴⁰ BRV IV, p. 65; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 291.

⁴¹ Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 515a)–518a).

⁴² Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 383–384, no. 354.

⁴³ A. I. Silvestre de Sacy, “Littérature Orientale” [book review of Schnurrer's *Bibliotheca Arabica*], in *Magasin encyclopédique, ou Journal des sciences, des lettres et des arts*, I, 1814, p. 201: “(...) le Psautier de 1747 que je possède, Psautier dont M. Schnurrer a donné la notice dans ses *Addenda*”. See also the same text in Silvestre de Sacy, *Notice de l'ouvrage intitulé Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 21.

The Bucharest Arabic *Psalter* remained in the French scholar's library, as can be deduced from the presence of the book in the *Catalogue* of his library composed by Romain Merlin before the sale of the books at an auction in Paris in 1843.⁴⁴ This *Catalogue* includes a useful bibliographical description of the Arabic *Book of Psalms* of 1747, which was intended to be an academic source, not a simple sale list.⁴⁵ For the Arabic titles, Merlin enlisted the help of two Arabic scholars, and the result was a well-documented catalogue in the field of early Arabic printing, as illustrated, e.g., by historical data and a list of books printed at the Shuwayr press.⁴⁶ The catalogue provided an excellent contribution to the development of Arabic bibliography.

Among the over 1,800 books described in the first volume of this catalogue, the Bucharest *Book of Psalms* printed by Sylvester of Antioch attracted the editor's attention. He mentioned it in the opening of the *Catalogue* as one of the rarest books in the collection and one that is of interest to every book lover: "Which cabinet would close itself before the Bucharest Psalter, 1747, which Mr. de Sacy thought was the only one in Europe (no. 1348)?"⁴⁷ Indeed, in his note inside the book cover, de Sacy mentioned: "This copy, sent to me from Bucharest, I suspect, not without reason, is unique in Europe" (Fig. 23).⁴⁸

Merlin's description of the book is thorough, and he was the first scholar, after Silvestre de Sacy, to see the book, since it is not sure that Schnurrer actually saw de Sacy's copy. He may have described it from notes sent to him by the French scholar. Several elements of Merlin's description are relevant for the later identification of this copy: the mention of de Sacy's note written in Latin, the number of pages and the four missing pages, as well as the binding in red half-maroon.⁴⁹ Merlin considered this copy of the book, "even if incomplete", a "precious curiosity".⁵⁰ He also praised the esthetic qualities of the type, affected, however, by the poor quality of the printing.⁵¹

44 *Bibliothèque de M. le Baron Silvestre de Sacy*, vol. I. *Imprimés. Philosophie, Théologie, Sciences Naturelles*, Paris, 1842.

45 On this topic, see R. Merlin's "Avertissement" in the first volume of *Bibliothèque de M. le Baron Silvestre de Sacy*, vol. I, p. XXXI-XL.

46 *Bibliothèque de M. le Baron Silvestre de Sacy*, vol. I, p. 412–414.

47 "Quel cabinet se fermerait au Psautier de Boukharest, 1747, que M. de Sacy croit être le seul en Europe (n° 1348)?"

48 "Hoc exemplar Bucharesto ad me missum, unicum esse in Europa non sine causa suspicor", cf. *Bibliothèque de M. le Baron Silvestre de Sacy*, vol. I, p. 289.

49 *Bibliothèque de M. le Baron Silvestre de Sacy*, vol. I, p. 288–289, no. 1348.

50 "Tout incomplet qu'il est, ce volume est une précieuse curiosité".

51 "Les caractères en seraient assez beaux si le tirage qui a les mêmes imperfections que celui d'Alep (voyez le n° 1337) ne leur ôtait pas une partie de leur netteté".

Another book, the fourth edition of the *Manuel du Libraire* of Jacques-Charles Brunet (1839, followed by several reprints), mentions the 1747 *Book of Psalms* printed in Bucharest. He also (mistakenly) identifies an edition printed in the same city in 1751, by erroneously citing Schnurrer's information.⁵² Brunet's errors were reproduced by Julius Theodor Zenker in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, as well as by other authors in later works.⁵³

After 1842, the trail went cold, and this copy of the *Book of Psalms* printed in Bucharest by Sylvester of Antioch was nowhere to be found. It can be assumed that it was sold at the auction of 1843 and found its way to an unknown private library. While recording the book, publications like the French *Manuel du libraire* give no indication about its price at the de Sacy auction.⁵⁴ In this book there is, however, a mention of the price obtained at the auction for the 1735 *Psalter* printed by Zākhir.

The information provided by Émile Picot in his study about Anthimos the Iberian published in 1886 left the impression that he owned a copy of the 1747 *Psalter* printed in Bucharest. An inspection of Picot's text demonstrates that he only quotes a passage of Silvestre de Sacy's article published in 1814 in *Magasin Encyclopédique*.⁵⁵ The 1747 Arabic *Book of Psalms* was never in Picot's hands.

After Picot's quote from de Sacy's article, there was no mention of the Bucharest *Psalter* from any independent source, nor any based on previous publications. The book was referred to in several studies, based on previous descriptions. And while some of the authors could even have located copies of the book, no description was provided.

In the 20th century, references to the Bucharest Arabic *Book of Psalms* were mentioned in several publications. Most of them drew on previous secondary literature. On two occasions, a copy of the Bucharest *Psalter* was mentioned as

52 J.-C. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, 4th ed., t. III, Paris, 1838, p. 603.

53 J. Th. Zenker, *Bibliotheca Orientalis. Manuel de Bibliographie Orientale*, I, Leipzig, 1846, p. 186, no. 1529. However, the author mentions this non-existing 1751 Bucharest *Psalter* only in a comment in his description of the 1747 edition, and adds the reference to the Beirut *Psalter* of 1751 from Schnurrer (p. 187, no. 1530).

54 J.-C. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, 5th ed., t. IV, Paris, 1863, col. 922.

55 É. Picot, "Notice biographique et bibliographique sur l'imprimeur Anthime d'Ivir, métropolitain de Valachie", *Nouveaux Mélanges Orientaux. Mémoires, textes et traductions publiées par les professeurs de l'école spéciale des langues orientales vivantes*, Paris, 1886, p. 542–544. Picot states: "Nous empruntons à une notice publiée par Silvestre de Sacy sur la *Bibliotheca Arabica* de Schnurrer (*Magasin encyclopédique*, 1814, I, 198–203) la description détaillée de ce volume" (p. 522).

being held by the library of the Monastery of the Holy Prophet Elias Shuwayyā in Lebanon.⁵⁶

Without access to the book itself, the *Book of Psalms* printed in Bucharest remained an enigma. It was not even clear whether Sylvester's printing activities in the capital city of Wallachia had really produced any books.

Online databases provide a large amount of information and are very useful for researchers to locate rare books. This was also the case for the Psalter published by Patriarch Sylvester in Bucharest in 1747. In 2021, using online resources, we discovered a copy of the book in the Beinecke Library of the Yale University in New Haven, CT (USA). Shortly afterwards, an electronic copy was provided to me by this institution. The surprise was that this turned out to be the same book once owned by Silvestre de Sacy, the one described by Schnurrer and Merlin. The provenance of the book was clear beyond doubt due to de Sacy's handwritten note on the first page, which was also mentioned in the above-mentioned *Catalogue* of his library.

The Beinecke Library holds a copy of Sylvester's Arabic *Psalter*, also recently discovered. According to the stamp on a typewritten note pasted inside the front cover, the book was acquired by the library in 1961 with funding provided by the Library Associates. It is kept in the Rare Book Room, under shelfmark MLf400 747A. There is no information regarding the whereabouts of the book between 1842 and 1961. Further research for copies in auction sales catalogues and library archives may provide additional data on the previous owners.

Similarly mysterious is the earlier phase in the book's travels. Silvestre de Sacy provided contradicting accounts with respect to the copy of the Bucharest Psalter he owned. The mystery originates in the contradictory reports provided by the French Oriental scholar regarding the place from where he had received the Psalter. In the book itself, there is an indication written by de Sacy in Latin "*exemplar hoc Bucharesto ad me missum*", "this copy sent to me from Bucharest". However, as we shall see, de Sacy wrote elsewhere (in a letter) that he received a copy of the Psalter from Aleppo. There are two persons of interest in solving this enigma. Both were consuls of France, the one in Aleppo, the other in Bucharest. The renowned French scholar exchanged letters with both. Some of these letters are kept in the library of Institut de France in Paris (MS 2376, no. 533–539). Nevertheless, there is no guaranty that all the letters exchanged by de Sacy with the two consuls are preserved in this collection.

56 al-Ma'lūf, "Maṭba'a rūmāniyya al-urthūduksiyya", p. 55; D. Simonescu, E. Muracade, "Tipar românesc pentru arabi în secolul al XVIII-lea", *Cercetări literare*, III, 1939, p. 7; Simonescu, "Cărți arabe tipărite de români", p. 542; Căndea, *Histoire des idées en Europe du Sud-Est*, p. 345.

The French consul in Aleppo, Jean-Baptiste-Louis-Jacques-Joseph Rousseau (1780–1831), a member of the same large family as the famous French philosopher, started exchanging letters with Silvestre de Sacy in 1806. De Sacy asked him to try to find Arabic books printed in Aleppo in 1706 for the Imperial (Royal) Library in Paris.⁵⁷ Rousseau's answer was, at least at first, negative. He asked some learned people, and no one knew about any books printed in Aleppo, so, he thought there might be a confusion with the editions printed on "Mount Lebanon".⁵⁸ In his answer dated January 14, 1808, de Sacy assures Rousseau that the printing press in Aleppo did exist and that two or three Arabic books were printed there, one being a Psalter. There is no other reference to these books, at least in the published correspondence of Silvestre de Sacy with Rousseau. However, Rousseau clearly remembered the French scholar's request. He eventually found several books printed in Aleppo (and maybe elsewhere, as we shall see), as can be deduced from the books he sent to Silvestre de Sacy sometime after 1808. As mentioned above, in 1814, de Sacy wrote that he had received from Rousseau the *Evangeliarium* of 1706 and the *Liber Prophetiarum* of 1708, both printed in Aleppo.⁵⁹ In a collection of manuscripts that Rousseau tried to sell in 1817 there were, according to de Sacy, who acted as an intermediary, "several books printed in Aleppo in the first years of the 18th century".⁶⁰ The books were part of Rousseau's collection that was eventually bought by Count Uvarov for the Russian Empire. These books, currently preserved in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in Saint Petersburg, are two copies of the Psalter, the Gospels, and the Lectionary, all printed in 1706, and the *Sermons of Saint John Chrysostom* printed in 1707.⁶¹ No book printed by Sylvester of Antioch was present in Rousseau's collection.

57 "Il a été imprimé à Alep en 1706 plusieurs ouvrages en arabe soit liturgiques, soit autres livres de piété à l'usage des chrétiens. Aucun de ces livres n'existe ici, et si vous pouviez en procurer pour la Bibliothèque impériale, vous lui rendriez un vrai service". He also mentions that the German Seetzen might have found some of these books and acquired them for the Weimar library. See H. Dehérain, *Silvestre de Sacy et ses correspondants*, Paris, 1919, p. 2.

58 Dehérain, *Silvestre de Sacy*, p. 3.

59 Silvestre de Sacy, *Notice de l'ouvrage intitulé Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 21.

60 Dehérain, *Silvestre de Sacy*, p. 14: "Dans sa collection de manuscrits, il se trouve plusieurs livres arabes imprimés à Alep dans les premières années du XVIII^e siècle".

61 See S. A. Frantsouzoff, "Les vieux livres imprimés en écriture arabe dans la collection des Rousseau, père et fils, conservée à Saint-Petersbourg", in I. Feodorov, B. Heyberger, S. Noble (eds.), *Arabic Christianity between the Ottoman Levant and Eastern Europe*, Leiden/Boston, 2021, p. 255–266.

The second person of interest in this matter is the French consul in Bucharest, Joseph Charles Ledoulx.⁶² Silvestre de Sacy exchanged letters with him in 1811–1812, asking for information on and copies of Arabic books printed by Athanasios and Sylvester of Antioch in Bucharest. While Ledoulx's answer provided the French scholar with little useful data, and the consul was not able to find any Arabic printed book in Bucharest, de Sacy's letter is interesting. He mentions that he had just received from Aleppo, from Mr. Rousseau, the French general consul, a copy of the Arabic Psalter printed in 1747 in Bucharest.

At first, the whole image seems to be clear. In 1811 or shortly earlier, de Sacy obtained a copy of Sylvester's *Book of Psalms* from Rousseau, who was then in Aleppo. This is apparently the copy he used to share information with Schnurrer for his *Bibliotheca Arabica*, and the one he refers to in his 1814 book review. There is a problem, however, in identifying it with the copy described by Merlin in the *Catalogue* of de Sacy's library and with the copy in the Beinecke Library of the Yale University. We shall try to shed some light on this issue.

First, there is the note written and signed by de Sacy, stating that the book was sent to him from Bucharest and that he thought it was the only one in Europe.⁶³ In 1811, the French scholar definitely had only one copy of the book, which had been sent to him from Aleppo by Consul Rousseau. However, de Sacy described the same copy as being in "very poor condition" ("en fort mauvais état"), while the book in the Beinecke Library appears to be in very good condition, compared with other similar books. Apart from some partial discoloration on the title page and four missing pages (i.e., two missing folios from two sections of the book), already noted by de Sacy in his handwritten note and by Merlin in his *Catalogue*, there are no significant issues with its condition. Another discrepancy seems easier to solve: the red half-maroon binding mentioned in the *Catalogue* is in fact a narrow strip of leather, while the rest of the book cover was made of red cardboard.

There is no simple explanation for de Sacy's contradicting information regarding the provenance of his copy of the 1747 Psalter. Maybe in the note written later the French scholar made a mistake and wrote Bucharest instead of Aleppo, being surprised by the printing place. Another possibility is that eventually, after 1812, he received another copy, in a better condition, from his other correspondent, consul

⁶² De Sacy's correspondence with Ledoulx is part of the MS 2377 held by Institut de France in Paris. It does not seem, however, to contain more data about the books printed in Bucharest than that published in T. Holban, "Tipografia și cărți armenesti [sic] în Țările Românești", *Arhiva. Revistă de istorie, filologie și cultură românească*, 43, 1936, p. 111–115.

⁶³ "Hoc Psalmorum editio Bucharesti a(nn)o 1747 prodiit. De quam vid. *Bibliotheca arab.* Schnurreri, p. 515. Exemplar hoc Bucharesto ad me missum, unicum esse in Europam, non sine causam, suspicor. Desunt in eo 4 pagine. S. de Sacy".

Ledoulx in Bucharest, who had promised him further enquiries in local monastic libraries. And if so, why did he state that it was the only one in Europe? In the end, the solution might be that he had only one copy of the book, which he received from Aleppo, and it initially had some binding issues (in connection with the missing pages) that de Sacy repaired. As a passionate bibliophile, he might have defined the book as “in poor condition” because of the few missing pages.

There is, however, another possibility which, even if remote, would explain the book’s provenance. The advantage of this theory is that it does not contradict the note de Sacy wrote on the book. In his letter to Ledoulx, he mentions that he did not know him personally, but that he had information on him from other persons, among them, Count d’Hauterive.⁶⁴ It is possible that the French scholar *did* receive the copy of the book from Bucharest, but he was unwilling to share with Ledoulx the information on the person involved or the circumstances surrounding this affair. Instead, he tried to obtain a new, better copy from the consul in Bucharest. Further research of de Sacy’s correspondence held at Institut de France in Paris, especially that with Rousseau, could reveal more details on these matters.

As for the book itself, according to the description in the library catalogue, it is a small in-4^o (21 cm) of 249 pages, with four missing pages. The pages are not numbered, but they have signatures. There is page numbering in pencil at the beginning and a numbering of the Psalms, probably done by de Sacy or another European owner. As for decorations, apart from the woodblock for the word *Kitāb* on the title page, some frontispieces and tailpieces, the most important is the illustration representing David the King and Prophet. The woodcut illustration resembles the representations used in Romanian Psalters printed in Bucharest in the 1740s and earlier, and it is almost identical with that in the 1745 Psalter of Bucharest. The same woodblock might have been used, or a very similar one was manufactured for the Arabic Psalter. In any case, this proves that the Arabic press in Bucharest collaborated with other presses in the capital of Wallachia.⁶⁵

The quest for Sylvester’s *Book of Psalms* did not end here. As it continued, it led to another important discovery. During the research for the present book, we were able to locate and study another copy of the book, this time a complete one located in the UK. It thus turns out that Silvestre de Sacy’s statement that he owned the only copy of the Arabic Psalter of Bucharest preserved in Europe was not correct after all. At some point in the late 18th or early 19th century, a copy of the same book was

⁶⁴ Alexandre Maurice Blanc de Lanautte, count d’Hauterive (1754-1830), was a French diplomat. He travelled in Moldavia and Wallachia in 1787 and wrote an account of his journey and a description of Moldavia.

⁶⁵ Feodorov, “Sylvester of Antioch’s Arabic Books”, p. 11-16.

acquired by George Spencer, 2nd Earl Spencer (1758–1834). Spencer was a bibliophile with a particular passion for rare editions of printed books. The main part of his library and the fine art collection were located at Althorp, the family residence. In 1814–1823, the reverend Thomas Frognall Dibdin published the Althorp library catalogue in four volumes as *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, followed by two more volumes of *Aedes Althorpianae*, and a supplement. The first volume of *Aedes Althorpianae* mentions an Arabic Psalter, an in-4^o published “in urbe Jassy”.⁶⁶

The main part of Earl Spencer’s rare book library, some 40,000 books, was acquired in 1892 for the John Rylands library in Manchester, now part of the University of Manchester. A search in the Special Collections online catalogue revealed the existence of a *Psalterium Arabicum* at the John Rylands Research Institute and Library Special Collections, in-4^o, published in Iași “in 1690”.⁶⁷

Intriguingly, the information provided does not correspond with any known Arabic printed book. Therefore, only a direct study of this item could solve the mystery. The TYPARABIC project was able to acquire a scan of this book, so that team members have access, for the first time, to a complete copy, including the beginning of the text, after the engraving of David the King and Prophet missing from the book in the Beinecke Library. The book turned out to be a copy of the 1747 Arabic *Book of Psalms*, in very good condition, without missing pages, bound in red leather, with gilded leaves.

16.5 Acts of the Synods of Constantinople, Bucharest, 1747

Risāla min al-majma‘ al-muqaddas al-Qusṭanṭīnī al-kā’in fī sanat 1723. A‘māl al-majma‘ayn al-kanīsiyayn al-mun‘aqidayn fī al-Qusṭanṭīniyya bi-sha’n ḡuhūr al-kāthūlik bayna šufūf al-masīhiyyīn al-anṭākiyyīn / Epistle from the Holy Synod of Constantinople in the Year 1723. Acts of the Two Church Synods Convened at Constantinople concerning the Advent of the Catholics among the Antiochian Christians, Bucharest, 1747, in-8^o, [2] + 271 + [6] p. (Fig. 15).⁶⁸

⁶⁶ T. F. Dibdin, *Aedes Althorpianae or an account of the mansion, books, and pictures, at Althorp; the residence of George John Earl Spencer, K.G., to which is added a Supplement to the Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, London, 1822, p. 99: “Psalterium. Arabicè. In Urbe Jassy. Quarto. In a loosely composed large character, upon paper of very indifferent quality. A fine copy; in Russia binding, gilt leaves”.

⁶⁷ The link to the catalogue entry of the book is: https://www.librarysearch.manchester.ac.uk/permalink/44MAN_INST/bofker/alma9913050184401631. Its reference number is 10916. The identifier of the book is (OCoLC)644136749, MMS ID 9913050184401631.

⁶⁸ Feodorov, “Sylvester of Antioch’s Arabic Books”, p. 26.

The second book printed by Sylvester of Antioch in Bucharest has unnumbered pages, with no signature marks. The fact that the books printed in Bucharest do not have page numbers probably indicates a lack of professional printers in the newly established press.

The book was mentioned in bibliographical research, but for a long time no copy was accessible for study.⁶⁹ Because the book does not (and most likely did not) have a proper title page, and as the title is rather long and difficult to transcribe, the book has been catalogued in various ways. Ioana Feodorov recently published a preliminary general description, having examined the only copy of this book known today,⁷⁰ held in the collection of the Austrian National Library in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).⁷¹

The book contains the acts of three synods that took place in Constantinople in 1723 (actually, 1722), 1725, and 1727, with an introduction written most likely by Sylvester of Antioch. As the documents of the Synods were issued in Greek, the material contained in the book was at some point translated into Arabic either by Sylvester, or by an unknown translator, at the patriarch's request. One of the first interesting endeavors related to this book would be to identify the Greek originals of the texts. For one of the texts, the Greek original can easily be located. It has been published several times. For the others, only the Arabic version is available, as well as a French translation.

An Arabic text of the decision of the Synod of 1722, with the mention that it was transmitted in Greek and Arabic to the "Greeks" of the Antiochian diocese, is recorded in the MS Arabic XIX of the Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana.⁷²

An Arabic text of unknown date with the title *History of the Schism* preserved in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Orientale of the Saint-Joseph University in Beirut contains a description of the causes of the "papal heresies and the schism"

69 H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, 2, Leipzig, 1861, p. 403–404 (mentions the edition of Bucharest, with the wrong date 1727); Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe*, p. 182.

70 Feodorov, "Sylvester of Antioch's Arabic Books", p. 20–24.

71 On Google Books it is described as "Polemik gegen das römische katholische Dogma von Standpunkt der griech. Kirche. arab. Bukurest 1747"; see <https://books.google.ro/books?id=n-s1WAAAAcAAJ>. See also the entry in the online catalogue of the Austrian National Library at <http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/10885266>.

72 J. S. Assemanus, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana in qua manuscriptos codices Syriacos, Arabicos, Persicos, Turcicos, Hebraicos, Samaritanos, Armenicos, Aethiopicos, Graecos, Aegyptiacos, Ibericos, et Malabaricos, jussu et munificentia Clementis XI Pontificis Maximi ex Oriente conquisitos, compratos, avectos, et Bibliothecae Vaticanae addictos*, vol. III, 1, Rome, 1725, p. 639, no. XIX. For the Greek text, see Ch. 1.2.

from the Greek Orthodox point of view.⁷³ Chapter 9 contains a brief historical presentation. Patriarchs Kyrillos V ibn al-Zaʿīm and Athanasios III Dabbās are blamed for having approached the Roman pope to obtain his help towards the Union. The text was attributed by Joseph Nasrallah to Michael Brayk, based on the fact that the manuscript also contains a work which is known to have been written by him.⁷⁴ Its Arabic title is *Sharṭūnīyāt alladhīn tamadhabū awwal^{an} bi-madhab al-Lātīnīyīn*.⁷⁵ The role of Euthymios of Tyre and Sidon is also mentioned, as well as his rebellion against Kyrillos V ibn al-Zaʿīm, who wanted to force him to return the patriarchal insignia sent to him by the pope. The causes for the Latin influence in Aleppo are mentioned in the 1725 text, starting with the missionaries' "trick" when they pretended that the dogmas of the Greeks and the Latins were similar. They frequented the houses of the "Greek nation" and distributed erroneous commentaries of the Holy Books and falsified texts of the Holy Fathers' works. In this way, they won over the clergy and the leaders of the "Greek nation". Patriarch Athanasios III Dabbās's "weakness" was also blamed. This is an interesting point, as a similar attitude was expected by the Latins from the new patriarch. When Sylvester acted in a different manner than anticipated, conflict arose. Later, when pressured by the patriarch of Constantinople and the Synod, Athanasios decided to oppose the missionaries. The text is also unappreciative of Gennadios, the metropolitan of Aleppo, for being influenced by the Latins. This led to his exile to the citadel of Baalbek for his false beliefs. Some of the "Greeks" were discontent with the punishments against them and their bishops by the Synod of Constantinople. In Lebanon, the teachings of the priest Nicolas Sāyegh and those of ʿAbdallāh Zākhīr were responsible for spreading the Latin influence. In Beirut, Kyrillos VI secured the help of the Dahhān family by appointing one of its members, Joasaph, a monk from Shuwayr, as metropolitan of the city.⁷⁶ Chapter 9 of the 1725 work contains the *Acts* of the Synod of Constantinople of that year. Most likely, they were translated from the Greek original. The text provides the names of all the individuals excommunicated from the Church of Antioch, beginning with Seraphim Ṭanās.⁷⁷ The document published by Rabbath corresponds with the text in the book published by Sylvester of Antioch in Bucharest in 1747.

73 Rabbath, *Documents inédits*, vol. II, p. 416–417, with the French translation of two chapters. The editor states that the manuscript is "of recent date", but the information comes undoubtedly from 18th-century sources.

74 Nasrallah, Haddad, *HMLÉM* IV.2, p. 50–51.

75 HMML Project Number USJ 00014, at <https://www.vhmm.org/readingRoom/view/504446>.

76 Rabbath, *Documents inédits*, vol. II, p. 415–418.

77 Rabbath, *Documents inédits*, vol. II, p. 418–420.

The text is, in fact, a letter of the synod of Constantinople of 1725 signed by Jeremias III of Constantinople, Sylvester of Antioch, and Chrysanthos of Jerusalem.⁷⁸ There is no known Greek text available of this letter, which contained a great number of Arabic names, but the Arabic text is preserved, for example in MS no. 14 of Bibliothèque Orientale in Beirut.⁷⁹ A French translation was published by Antoine Rabbath, as previously mentioned, while the Arabic text was partially published by Qusṭanṭīn al-Bāshā.⁸⁰

The Greek Acts of the Synod of February 1727 are preserved in several Greek manuscripts: the Kritiou (Kritias) codex in the patriarchal library in Constantinople, MS no. 622 (122), f. 7r–13v; MS no. 28, f. 212–217, in the library of the *metochion* of the Holy Sepulcher in Constantinople,⁸¹ and Gr. MS 82 at Christ Church College in Oxford.⁸² Another copy, identifying Chrysanthos of Jerusalem as author of the text, was preserved in a manuscript of the 19th century on the Greek island of Leros.⁸³ The same attribution is made by Nikolaos Karatzas in his *Πανδέκτη* (*Pandects or Digest*).⁸⁴ There is also a copy of the text on f. 20–23 in MS no. 124 of the library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The text was first published by Manouël I. Gedeōn *et al.* as a letter of Jeremias III of Constantinople.⁸⁵

The original title is:

Ἐκθεσις σύντομος καὶ κεφαλαιώδης τῶν ἱερῶν ὄρων τε καὶ δογμάτων τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας ἣτοι ἡ Ὁρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία τῆς εὐσεβοῦς καὶ ἀμωμήτου πίστεως τῶν Χριστιανῶν, καθὼς ὁμολογεῖ καὶ φρονεῖ καὶ δοξάζει αὐτὴν ἡ Ἀνατολικὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ

⁷⁸ Nasrallah, Haddad, *HMLÉM* IV.2, p. 50–51.

⁷⁹ For a description of the manuscript, containing two works, most likely written by Michael Brayk, copied in 1885 from a manuscript in the library of the Orthodox Patriarchate in Damascus, see L. Cheiko, “Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits historiques de la Bibliothèque Orientale de l’Université St. Joseph”, *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph*, 6, 1913, p. 221–222, no. 14.

⁸⁰ Al-Bāshā, *Tārīkh ṭā’īfat al-Rūm al-Malakiyya*, 2, p. 156–167.

⁸¹ Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 4, p. 41–44. The manuscripts are now in the National Library in Athens.

⁸² Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 37, col. 889–890.

⁸³ Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 37, col. 889; M. I. Gedeōn, “Αἱ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλωσιν σχολαὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς”, in *Ἑταιρεία τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Ἑρευνῶν. Δελτίον τῶν ἐργασιῶν τοῦ Α΄ ἔτους*, 1, 1880, Constantinople, p. 88, n. 3; Karmiris, *Τὰ δογματικά καὶ συμβολικά μνημεῖα τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*, vol. II, p. 861 [941].

⁸⁴ Karmiris, *Τὰ δογματικά καὶ συμβολικά μνημεῖα τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*, vol. II, p. 861 [941].

⁸⁵ M. I. Gedeōn, “Ἀνέκδοτος ἐγκύκλιος τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἱερεμίου Γ΄ (1727)”, *Πανδώρα*, 21, 1871, 504, p. 560–565; 21, 1871, 505, p. 15–20; M. I. Gedeōn, *Ἀνέκδοτος ἐγκύκλιος τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἱερεμίου Γ΄ (1727) ἐξ ἀνεκδότου κώδικος τοῦ Κριτίου*, Constantinople, 1872.

Ἐκκλησία, ἥντινα ὀφείλουσι πάντες οἱ ἀπανταχοῦ Χριστιανοί, ὅσοι τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰσὶ γνήσια τέκνα, ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ πιστεύειν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν ἀπαρallάκτως, καθὼς ἐνταῦθα ἐκτίθενται”.⁸⁶

Brief presentation in chapters of the sacred decrees and doctrines of the Eastern Church of Christ, that is, the Orthodox Confession of the pious and unblemished faith of the Christians, as the Eastern Church of Christ confesses and believes, that all the Christians from everywhere, those who are true children of the Eastern Church, are bound to accept and believe and confess without alteration, as they are presented here.

The text has an introduction and 16 chapters. It was issued in February 1727 and signed by Paisios II of Constantinople, Sylvester of Antioch, Chrysanthos of Jerusalem, and twelve metropolitans.⁸⁷ It was published by Manouël Gedeōn (1871 and 1872), then, by Jean Baptiste Martin and Louis Petit in the Mansi collection (1905),⁸⁸ and again by Ioannis Karmiris (1953 and 1968).⁸⁹

The *Acts* of the 1727 Synod are the most significant part of this work, as they discuss the main points of the faith of the Greek Orthodox Church. The decision of the Synod of 1725 was only of local interest, addressing questions related to the Patriarchate of Antioch, which may explain why it was not copied repeatedly.

Known copies:

1. A recently discovered copy in the Austrian National Library, in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).⁹⁰ It belonged to the Ragusan Giovanni Marghich,⁹¹ who purchased it on March 6, 1763, in Constantinople, according to a note in Italian on the first page: “Di Giovanni Marghich comprato in Cos(tantino)poli 6 marzo 1763”.⁹² He also applied his seal on several pages. Marghich tried to translate or to abridge the title of the book: “Libro di Silvestro Patriarca d’Anthiochia Greco scismatico contro il dogma Latino-Chattolica stampato in Bukoreste capital di Vallachia”.⁹³ He also wrote several notes in the book, mainly to mark the beginnings and the content of the sections and the chapters. These notes present him as a Roman Catholic who disagreed with the content of the book. The notes also reveal that he had a good knowledge of

⁸⁶ Karmiris, *Tà dogmatiká kai συμβολικά μνημεία τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*, vol. II, p. 861 [941]; Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, col. 889–892.

⁸⁷ Metallēnos, “Σὺλβεστρος. Πατριάρχης Ἀντιοχείας”, col. 150.

⁸⁸ Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, col. 889–910.

⁸⁹ Karmiris, *Tà dogmatiká kai συμβολικά μνημεία τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*, vol. II, p. 861 [941]–870 [950].

⁹⁰ Shelfmark 30439-A ALT MAG, see <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC10320457>.

⁹¹ For Giovanni Marghich, “giovane di lingua” of the Republic of Ragusa, see Ch. 15.5.

⁹² First blank page of the first folio before the text.

⁹³ In transcribing the Italian text, the original spelling was retained.

the Arabic language. For example, the last part, containing a letter of Jeremias III of Constantinople, is marked as “Specie di lettera Sinodale scritta dà Jeremia Patriarca Cos(tantino)politano al popolo d’Antiochia ad ricevere il Patriarca loro [...] Silvestro”.⁹⁴

2. A second copy is preserved in the Cambridge University Library (Cambridge, UK). The book is mentioned in the library’s *Bulletin* of 1887: “14. 43. 28. Silvester, *patriarch of Antioch*. Writings put forth by two councils held at Constantinople (1723–27) against the Romanizing party in the Levant, with other pieces (Arabic). 8vo. *Bucharest, 1747*”.⁹⁵
3. Several pages of the book were found in the binding of a manuscript preserved in a monastery in Romania.⁹⁶

16.6 *Akathistos*, Bucharest or Beirut, 1747–1753?

Tartīb khidmat al-madih alladhi lā yajibu al-julūs fi-hi / *Order of the Service of the Hymn during which it is not Allowed to Sit*, small in-8^o (10 x 17 cm, described also as “close to in-16^o”), 54 numbered pages (52 in the only known copy) (Fig. 24, 25, 26).⁹⁷ A folio (two pages), containing most likely the title page, is missing.

The only known copy of this book was sold at an auction in Paris by a major European auction house. The book was surveyed for the first time by Ioana Feodorov, who had the privilege to briefly study it personally and later obtained a digital copy from the owner, before the auction sale.⁹⁸ It contains illustrations and graphic elements also used in the printing presses in Wallachia (Buzău and Bucharest). At the same time, the Arabic typeface is unique and unlike any other typeface used anywhere in the East in the 18th century that we know of. At the present stage of research, a comparison with Arabic typefaces used in Western presses did not identify a similar one either. If this is the new typeface mentioned in Mūsā Ṭrābulṣī’s letter as manufactured in Bucharest, why was its usage discontinued? The typeface used in the new printing press in Beirut, active since 1751, looks completely different.

⁹⁴ Note at f. 116v–117r (the pagination is the modern one in pencil).

⁹⁵ *University Library Bulletin*, vol. III, January–December 1887, Cambridge, 1888, p. 157.

⁹⁶ Feodorov, “Sylvester of Antioch’s Arabic Books”, p. 24.

⁹⁷ I. Feodorov, “Conexiunile românești ale primului Acatist arab tipărit”, *Philologica Jassyensia*, XVIII, 2022, 1 (35), p. 15.

⁹⁸ See the description of the book in Feodorov, “Sylvester of Antioch’s Arabic Books”, p. 8, 26; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 304–307.

The only clue that connects the Arabic *Akathistos* with Sylvester of Antioch is the Greek name Σίλβεστρος on the emblem at the end of the book.⁹⁹ As this emblem represents an Orthodox bishop's insignia, an entirely new element for Arabic book art, and in the 18th century no other bishop of the Church of Antioch was called Sylvester nor was involved in printing Arabic books, there is little doubt about its owner's identity.

The Arabic *Akathistos* belonged to Frederick North, 5th Earl of Guilford (1766–1827), and bears the *ex libris* of the well-known bibliophile, with his coat of arms and his motto “La vertu est la seule noblesse”.¹⁰⁰ Starting from this information, research in the Earl of Guilford's library catalogue published in 1835 has led to the identification of the book as one of the three mentioned under number 1896: “A school book, Proverbii Arabi etc. 1788. Office of Devotions in Praise of Saint Mary, together 3 vol.”¹⁰¹ These books are listed alongside the in-8^o “Arabic printed books”. The Arabic *Akathistos* is the third of the three books offered for sale as one lot in 1835. At the present stage of research, it is not known whether the book was acquired by someone at the 1835 sale and where it was located until it resurfaced in Paris in 2017.

16.7 *Book of Hours*, Beirut, 1751

Kitāb mukhtaṣar al-sawāṭ / *Abridged Book of Hours*, over 368 pages, unknown format, Beirut, 1751 (Fig. 30, 31, 32).

Although mentioned in earlier sources, the *Book of Hours* printed in 1751 in Beirut was not accessible for study for a long time. In fact, not even the title page, or the book's complete title, were available. We have located and obtained images of a few pages of a unique copy of this book offered for sale on eBay by a bookshop in Westport, CT. It had already been sold to an unknown buyer at the time of the

⁹⁹ Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 305.

¹⁰⁰ Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 307.

¹⁰¹ [Robert H. Evans], *Catalogue of the remaining portion of the library of the late Earl of Guilford, removed from Corfu [...]. Which will be sold by auction, by Mr. Evans, at his house, No. 93, Pall-Mall, on Monday, November 9th, and seven following days (Sunday excepted)*, [London], 1835, p. 98, no. 1896. The number 1896 was also mentioned in the description on the website of the seller, Giquello (<https://www.giquelloetassociés.fr/lot/116936/16636419>), and that of the Hôtel Drouot, where the book was sold in 2021 (<https://drouot.com/fr/1/16636419>), and in the auction catalogue: Binoche et Giquello, *Collection d'un amateur. Reliures – manuscrits – impressions rares sciences – économie – les Outre-mer*, expert Dominique Courvoisier, [Paris], 2021, p. 59, no. 92. For the Paris sale, see also Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 250.

discovery.¹⁰² The images available on the website provide valuable information about this rare book, probably the first one at the Beirut press.

The discovery of a copy of the *Book of Hours*, even fragmentary, is a confirmation of the indication given in various studies that the printing activity in Beirut started in 1751. It also confirms the information present in sources about Sylvester's intention to set up a printing press in "Arabia". As a result of the discovery, a brief note about the book was published, based on a study of the available images.¹⁰³

The book preserves its original binding, but it misses an undetermined number of pages, possibly because it survived a fire. The last page in the recently identified copy is 368.

The book also offers a solution to the question on who initiated the Arabic printing activity in Beirut. According to the available pages, although *sheikh* Yūnus Nīqūlā is mentioned on the title page, he acted as a representative (*wakīl*) of Patriarch Sylvester, who signs the foreword of the book. The information both confirms and clarifies the already known data regarding the involvement of these two persons in the printing activity in Beirut. In the foreword, Patriarch Sylvester explains the reasons for printing the book.

The complete title of the *Book of Hours* is:

Kitāb mukhtaṣar al-sawā'ī farq al-'ammī al-mushā'ī ṭubi'a ḥadīth^{an} bi-mulāḥaẓat waladi-nā al-rūḥī al-shaykh Yūnus Nīqūlā wakīli-nā al-mukarram bi-madīnat Bayrūt al-maḥrūsa fī sanat 1751 masīḥiyya.

كتاب
مختصر السواعي فرض العامي المشاعي
طبع حديثا بملاحظة ولدنا الروحي
الشيخ يونس نقولا وكيلنا المكرم
بمدينة بيروت المحروسة في
سنة ١٧٥١ مسيحية

For a comparison of the number of pages, we should consider the Arabic *Horologion* of 732 pages printed by Anthimos the Iberian with Athanasios Dabbās, Bucharest, 1702 (Greek and Arabic), and *Kitāb al-Ūrūlūjyūn aw al-Sawā'ī* printed in Shuwayr in 1764, which holds a total of 717 pages in the copy preserved at the Bavarian State Library in Munich.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² The find was presented by the author of this book in a conference of the TYPARABIC project in 2023.

¹⁰³ Feodorov, "Sylvester of Antioch's Arabic Books", p. 25.

¹⁰⁴ <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10249433>.

16.8 *Book of Psalms*, Beirut, 1751–1752

Kitāb al-Zabūr al-Sharīf al-manṭūq bi-hi min al-Rūḥ al-Qudus ‘alā fam al-nabī wa-l-malik Dāwūd wa-‘iddatu-hu mi‘at wa-khamsūna mazmūr^{an} / 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, in-8°, 25 + [3] + 367 p. (Fig. 27, 28).¹⁰⁵

Wahid Gdoura mentions three books printed in Beirut in 1751–1753: two editions of the *Book of Psalms*, in 1751 and 1753, and a *Book of Hours* in 1753.¹⁰⁶ Gdoura based his information on Schnurrer’s *Bibliotheca Arabica*,¹⁰⁷ on a study of Louis Cheiko¹⁰⁸ and one by Athanāsiyūs Ḥājī.¹⁰⁹ In the Arabic edition of Gdoura’s book (p. 237), the printing press is located at the Monastery of Saint George, Beirut.

The first accurate description of this book was provided by Ioana Feodorov after she discovered in the Uppsala University Library the only copy known today.¹¹⁰ In 1805, Ulrich Jasper Seetzen had consulted a copy of this book in Aleppo. He provided a brief description: “*Msamihr*, die Psalmen”, printed in 1751. This is clearly the *Book of Psalms* of 1751/1752. Seetzen saw the book while visiting the Greek Orthodox metropolitan of Aleppo (“Bischof der nicht-unierten Griechen”, in the text).¹¹¹ He did not own the book, and most likely the book he saw is not the copy now in the Uppsala University Library.

Gdoura also discussed the roles of Sylvester and Yūnus Nīqūlā in organizing the printing press in Beirut, referred to by the author as “the printing press of Saint

¹⁰⁵ Feodorov, “New Data on the Early Arabic Printing”, p. 208–216; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 296; Feodorov, “Sylvester of Antioch’s Arabic Books”, p. 26.

¹⁰⁶ Gdoura, *Le début de l’imprimerie arabe*, p. 185, 260. See also Walbinder, “The Collection, Perception and Study of Arabic Incunabula”, p. 203.

¹⁰⁷ Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 383–384, no. 354. The information about the three books is from Seetzen.

¹⁰⁸ Shaykhū, “Tārīkh fann al-ṭibā‘a fī al-Mashriq”, p. 502.

¹⁰⁹ Fr. A. Ḥājī, *Al-Rahbāniyya al-Bāsilīyya al-Shuwayriyya fī tārikh al-kanīsa wa-l-bilād*, vol. I, Jūniya, 1973, p. 550.

¹¹⁰ Feodorov, “New Data on the Early Arabic Printing”, p. 208–216; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 296–304. See also I. 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, Noble (eds.), *Arabic Christianity between the Ottoman Levant and Eastern Europe*, p. 193–223.

¹¹¹ U. J. Seetzen, “Nachricht von den in der Levante befindlichen Buchdruckereyen”, *Intelligenzblatt der Jenaische allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, 1805, no. 76, col. 648 (states that the book had XXXII chapters and 367 pages, and its format was *in-octavo*).

George”. He also mentions the letter of Augustinus Maksūd of 1840, and the information provided by Louis Cheiko about Yūnus Nīqūlā.¹¹²

It is interesting to note that a new edition of the *Psalter* was needed only a short time after the publication of the one in Bucharest. A possible explanation is that the text was corrected, and the Beirut book also included new material. A careful comparison of the two texts is required to determine if this is indeed the case.

16.9 *Book of the Divine Liturgies, Beirut, 1751–1753?*

There are no copies available of this book, but the fact that it is mentioned in the secondary sources makes it plausible that it was printed. Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, in his “Nachricht von den in der Levante befindlichen Buchdruckereyen”, mentioned an Arabic “*Kundák*, ein Missale” that he learned about while travelling in the Levant.¹¹³

Consequently, the number of books printed in the Beirut press would be three or four, of which only two are accessible in complete or fragmentary copies. Of the books printed at the Beirut press, this last one and the presumed second edition of the *Book of Psalms*, reportedly printed in 1753, are the ones we know the least about.

¹¹² Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe*, p. 183–185. For the letter of Augustinus Maksūd, see Feodorov, “New Data on the Early Arabic Printing”, p. 208–209; Feodorov, “Was Peter Movilă’s Confession of the Orthodox Faith a Source”, p. 194–195.

¹¹³ Seetzen, “Nachricht von den in der Levante befindlichen Buchdruckereyen”, no. 76, col. 648; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians*, p. 307–308; Feodorov, “Sylvester of Antioch’s Arabic Books”, p. 26.