Icons, Ornaments, and Other Charms of Christian Arabic Books

Early Arabic Printing in the East

Edited by
Ioana Feodorov

Volume 4

Icons, Ornaments, and Other Charms of Christian Arabic Books

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of the TYPARABIC Project

Edited by
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Preface

The second volume of collected works of the TYPARABIC project, the fourth in the series *Early Arabic Printing in the East (EAPE)* published by De Gruyter, aims to encompass many of the themes and sub-themes that the project has ambitiously proposed to cover in its five-year lifetime, from 2021 to 2026. Divided into five Parts, it contains the enlarged papers from two conferences convened by the project team: "*Spread the Word*. Books Printed for the Arabic-Speaking Christians in the 18th Century", held on June 22 and 23, 2023, at the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha (Germany), and "Towards a Printed-Book Culture in Eastern Europe and the Ottoman Levant", held on March 19 and 20, 2024, at the Library of the Holy Synod in Bucharest (Romania).

Of the twenty-one authors, seven are members of the TYPARABIC project, two are researchers with its host institution, the Institute of South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest, and twelve are affiliated with various universities and institutes in Europe and the Middle East (Romania, Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom, Lebanon, and Georgia). This demonstrates the wide cultural and geographical reach of the themes that the project team is investigating.

It seemed important for the general background of the project to discuss the situation of *The Arabic-Speaking Christians in the Age of Printing* in the first Part of this volume, with contributions ranging from the social circumstances of Christians living in the Ottoman Empire, either Greek Orthodox or Melkite Greek Catholic, to the first attempts at printing in Arabic for the Christian faithful. The four papers grouped in Chapter 1 deal with the history of the monastery of Balamand (Souad Slim), a center of spiritual life in Lebanon, the views on the Council of Florence expressed in the works of Patriarch Makarios III Ibn al-Zaʿīm (Bishara Ebeid), Athanasios Dabbās's links with the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge – the SPCK (Simon Mills), and the Catholic texts printed by the monastic community of Dayr al-Shuwayr (Aurélien Girard).

In order to accurately reflect the broad scope of the project's aims, the boundaries of time and space have been expanded in Part 2, *The Avatars of Printing for a Middle Eastern Readership*, to include the fields of Catholic, Armenian, and Turkish printing with Arabic type. This section looks at the first presses in Italy to have printed for an Arabic-speaking readership (Antonella Ghersetti), the first Arabic

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book printed in Lebanon in 1734 (Joseph Moukarzel), and the features of the opening texts in the books printed at Khinshāra (Yulia Petrova). In addition, the lives and works of two outstanding figures of the culture(s) of the Ottoman Empire are examined: Oskan Erevants'i (David Neagu) and Ibrahim Müteferrika (Radu Dipratu). These contributions show that all the major "agents of change" who worked for the writing and printing of books in one or another of the Eastern peoples' languages were moved by the same passion for the cultural and social progress of the confessional families to which they belonged.

The research that required the practical study of an Arabic book corpus would not have stood a chance had it not been for the zealous collectors and emissaries of European rulers who scoured the Middle East for manuscripts, books, and artefacts now proudly held by many libraries on our continent. Their journeys and explorations from Germany to Transylvania in Romania and Tbilisi in Georgia, alongside their outcomes, are explored in Part 3, *Collectors and Collections of Oriental Books from the West to the East*. Here, the reader learns about German travelers who returned home with treasure troves of Oriental items (Feras Krimsti), the scholarly study of Oriental languages and the largest collection of Arabic manuscripts in Transylvania (Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan and Nicholas Bishara), and the exceptional collections of early Georgian printed books at the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts in Tbilisi (Nino Kavtaria).

In Part 4, *Artistic Encounters in the Iconography and the Printed Books of the East*, the art historian's perspective takes the lead: four texts are dedicated to the links between the Romanian and the Arab Christian cultures, as reflected in Sofian Boghiu's ecclesiastical paintings in Lebanon (Nada Hélou), the elements of book art in the Arabic works printed by Athanasios Dabbās in Aleppo (Oana Iacubovschi), the influence of Ukrainian presses on the typographers of the Romanian Principalities (Anca Elisabeta Tatay and Cornel Tatai-Baltă), and the sources of church leaders' insignia in printed books, concluding with preliminary remarks on an emblem in the first Arabic printed Akathistos, supposedly created for the Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch (Alina Kondratiuk).

The last Part is devoted to the *Patrons of Printing in the 18th and 19th Centuries: The Phanariot Princes and Their Like*, proposing a 21st-century assessment of the overlooked role played by the Phanariot rulers, descendants of noble Greek families in Istanbul, in the promotion of printing and the dissemination of Greek culture in the Romanian Principalities (Daniela Lupu, Andreea-Mihaela Badea, and Ştefan Petrescu). This Part is introduced by a historical account of Serbian printing at home and in the neighboring territory of Wallachia in the 16th-18th centuries, highlighting its contribution to laying the foundations for the advance of Phanariot-era presses in the Romanian Principalities (Mihail-George Hâncu).

The link between these wide-ranging themes is ensured by their focus on printing as a human activity dedicated to the progress of learning and the dissemination of knowledge, whether in the East or the West, with a great interest in Arabic printing and especially in the books printed in the East: the Romanian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, Ottoman Syria, the Holy Land, and Georgia. It is striking that *Orthodoxy* linked many of the typographers, editors, and patrons of printing in the 16th to 19th centuries. Nevertheless, like the TYPARABIC project itself, several authors complete the picture with insights into the printing of Arabic books in Italy for the Greek Catholic readership on the eastern Mediterranean coast and the influences of Catholic book art on the decoration of books printed in the East.

Another feature of this collection of essays is that several commentaries complement each other, while looking at the same printing press or book output from different perspectives and using different sources (e.g., the chapters signed by Aurélien Girard, Joseph Moukarzel, Yulia Petrova, and Feras Krimsti). In other cases, a contribution to this volume echoes a theme discussed in EAPE-2, the first volume of collected works of the TYPARABIC project (this is the case of the chapters signed by Antonella Ghersetti and Radu Dipratu, among others).

What is striking about this cluster of diverse themes is their ability to "fall into place" like pieces of a large puzzle, inviting each other to form a harmonious image. Today, the picture of Arabic printing in the East, which was still struggling to become as commonplace as in Western Europe three centuries after Gutenberg's invention, is closer to becoming complete. The TYPARABIC team's following two conferences, in 2025 and 2026, will deal with complementary topics that have either been considered since the project's inception, or have emerged from the team members' encounters with their guests, who are represented in the two volumes of collected works in the *EAPE* series.

Many of the contributors to this volume recall in their essays the schism of 1724 in the Church of Antioch, a frequent theme of conferences and publications this year, which marked the 300th anniversary of that momentous event. Printing in Arabic played an important role in the discussion of dogmas and rituals and in the dialogue (and polemics) between the Greek Orthodox and the Melkite Greek Catholics, confirming the usefulness and value of the TYPARABIC team's research on the first century of printing with Arabic type, and for the Arabic-speaking Christians in the Ottoman Empire.

Before the TYPARABIC project comes to an end in June 2026, there is still time to add the final pieces to the puzzle and gain a comprehensive picture of this crucial moment in the formation of an Arabic-language print culture. Given the significant role that printing played in the emergence of national consciousness in the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire, like in many societies around the world, the

outcomes of this cluster of rigorous and in-depth studies are likely to shed new light on the progress towards modernity in Middle-Eastern societies.

***

As a few sources are cited repeatedly by many of the authors in this volume, we have compiled a list of abbreviations used in all the footnotes, to avoid redundancy, while the full titles of these sources are still given in the bibliography at the end of each text.

The authors and the editors wish to express their deep gratitude to all the organizations and individuals who have kindly allowed them to reproduce the many illustrations in this volume, which support the authors' comments and greatly enhance its aesthetics. Above all, we are grateful for the excellent cooperation that the Institute of South-East European Studies and the TYPARABIC project have enjoyed with the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest and the Cluj-Napoca Branch, which has enabled many of the authors of contributions to this volume to reproduce illustrations that are crucial to the presentation of their research. Thus, all illustrations marked "B.A.R." are published with the permission of the Library of the Romanian Academy.

Last but not least, the editors would like to thank Eva Frantz, Teodor Borşa, and their colleagues at De Gruyter, who patiently guided the progress of this volume to completion.

Abbreviations

AARMSI	*Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, Bucharest.
BOR	*Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, Bucharest.
BRV I	Ioan Bianu, Nerva Hodoș, *Bibliografia românească veche*, t. I. *1508-1716*, Bucharest: Socec, 1903.
BRV II	Ioan Bianu, Nerva Hodoș, *Bibliografia românească veche*, t. II. *1716-1808*, Bucharest: Socec, 1910.
BRV III	Ioan Bianu, Nerva Hodoș, *Bibliografia românească veche*, t. III. *1809-1817*, fasc. 1-2, Bucharest: Socec, 1912.
BRV IV	Ioan Bianu, Dan Simonescu, *Bibliografia românească veche*, t. IV. *Adăogiri și îndreptări*, Bucharest: Socec, 1944.
Chronos	*Chronos. Revue d'histoire de l'Université de Balamand*, Al-Kūra.
CMR 3	David Thomas, John Chesworth, with Luis F. Bernabe Pons, Stanisław Grodź, Emma Gaze Loghin et al. (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History, Volume 3: (1050-1200)*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015.
CMR 10	David Thomas, John Chesworth, with Lejla Demiri, Emma Gaze Loghin, Claire Norton et al. (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History, Volume 10: Ottoman and Safavid Empires (1600–1700)*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017.
CMR 12	David Thomas, John A. Chesworth, with Jaco Beyers, Karoline Cook, Lejla Demiri et al. (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History, Volume 12: Asia, Africa and the Americas (1700–1800)*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2018.
GCAL I-V	Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, vol. I, 1944; vol. II, 1947; vol. III, 1949; vol. IV, 1951; vol. V, 1953.
HMLÉM III.1	Joseph Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église melchite du V^e^ au XX^e^ siècle. Contribution à l'étude de la littérature arabe chrétienne*, vol. III, t. 1. *(969–1250)*, Louvain/Paris: Peeters/Chez l'auteur, 1983.
HMLÉM IV.1	Joseph Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église melchite du V^e^ au XX^e^ siècle. Contribution à l'étude de la littérature arabe chrétienne*, vol. IV. *Époque ottomane: 1516-1900*, t. 1. *1516–1724*, Louvain/Paris: Peeters/Chez l'auteur, 1979.
HMLÉM IV.2	Joseph Nasrallah (in collaboration with Rachid Haddad), *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église melchite du V^e^ au XX^e^ siècle. Contribution à l'étude de la littérature arabe chrétienne*, vol. IV. *Époque ottomane: 1516-1900*, t. 2. *1724-1800*, Louvain/Paris: Peeters/Chez l'auteur, 1989.
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, Beirut.
RESEE	*Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, Bucharest.

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Part 1. **The Arabic-Speaking Christians in the Age of Printing**

Souad Slim

Le monastère Notre Dame de Balamand, foyer de la culture chrétienne à l'époque ottomane

1 Histoire et mission du monastère de Balamand

Le monastère de Balamand fut fondé par les moines cisterciens venus en Orient en 1157 à la suite de l'échec de la deuxième croisade, pour aider les Croisés par leur travail et leurs prières.[1]

L'architecture de Balamand est un mélange entre l'Orient et l'Occident.[2] Le rez-de-chaussée est entièrement cistercien, avec un cloître carré dans un plan carré (Fig. 1). Le carré est une figure sacrée, symbole des quatre Évangélistes, des quatre directions, des quatre fleuves de l'Eden, des quatre éléments de la nature…, de la Jérusalem céleste descendue du ciel, telle que décrite par saint Jean dans l'Apocalypse.[3] Les pièces principales consacrées aux moines sont réparties autour du cloître, alors que celles consacrées à l'agriculture sont rattachées à l'abbaye par l'extérieur.[4]

Le style cistercien se doit d'être simple, dépouillé, sans aucun décor ou ajout. Ce style doit correspondre à la vie ascétique des moines, qui va se distinguer du luxe et

1 A. Vauchez, « Saint Bernard, un prédicateur irrésistible », in *Les Croisades*, présentées par Robert Delort, Paris, 1988, p. 51.

2 Pour une bibliographie de l'évolution de l'architecture du monastère, voir : C. Enlart, « L'abbaye cistercienne de Belmont en Syrie », *Syria*, 4, 1923, p. 1–22 ; C. Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem. Architecture religieuse et civile*, Paris, 1928, p. 45–63 ; A. C. Breycha-Vauthier, « Deir Balamand : témoin de Cîteaux en terre libanaise », *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 20, 1967, p. 1–22 ; C. Asmar, « L'abbaye de Belmont dite Deir el Balamend », *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 27, 1972, p. 3–69 ; S. Slim, *Balamand: Histoire et patrimoine*, Beyrouth, 1995 ; S. Slim, « The Patriarchal Monastery of Our Lady (Lady of Balamand) », in S. Slim (éd.), *Monasteries of the Antiochian Orthodox Patriarchate*, Balamand, 2007, p. 26–53 ; N. Panayot-Haroun, « Le monastère patriarcal Notre-Dame-de-Balamand », *Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaise*, 14, 2010, p. 367–384 ; A. Chaaya, « Observations sur l'abbaye de Belmond (monastère de Balamand) à partir des archives photographiques de la Direction Générale des Antiquités », *Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaise*, 14, 2010, p. 385–398 ; C. Asmar, *Christian Footprints in the Lebanon. Série Archaeology and History in the Lebanon*, 32 & 33, Beirut, 2010–2011, p. 11–45 ; N. Panayot-Haroun (éd.), *Dayr Sayyidat al-Balamand al-Baṭriyarkī. Āthār, tārīkh wa-tūrāth māddī*, Balamand, 2018.

3 G. Duby, *Saint Bernard. L'art cistercien*, Paris, 1976, p. 136.

4 Asmar, « L'Abbaye de Belmont dite Deir el Balamand », p. 14–15.

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des artifices décoratifs des monastères bénédictins.[5] Les grandes fenêtres de l'église ont été transformées en meurtrières. La fonction défensive de l'abbaye a masqué toutes les ouvertures vers l'extérieur.[6]

Le monastère fut occupé par les moines grecs-orthodoxes avant sa fondation officielle par les autorités cléricales et les gouverneurs de Tripoli en 1603 (Fig. 2). Youssef Pacha Seyfa, le gouverneur de Tripoli (d. 1622), donna l'autorisation à son secrétaire Sulaymān al-Yāzijī pour que les Grecs-orthodoxes occupent le monastère. Par la suite, al-Yāzijī œuvra avec les notables des villages voisins à promouvoir un nouveau départ pour le monastère.[7] Cependant, il y a trois dates antérieures qui attestent la présence des moines à Balamand :

1499 : Le colophon du MS 87 conservé à la Bodleian Library à Oxford, un Triodion grec orthodoxe, indique que le manuscrit a été écrit à Damas en arabe et en syriaque et qu'il devait être envoyé à Balamand.[8]
1520 : Les premières statistiques fiscales ottomanes indiquent que le monastère payait 300 aspres.
1570 : Les secondes statistiques fiscales ottomanes indiquent que le monastère payait 400 aspres.[9]

Plusieurs bâtiments furent ajoutés aux édifices cisterciens afin de recevoir un nombre plus grand de moines. Chaque fois que le monastère devait agrandir ses locaux ou construire d'autres appartements, les moines devaient prendre l'autorisation du qadi musulman de la cour de justice de Tripoli. Les ajouts sont :

1. L'aile alépine, construite par le supérieur Philotheos (1652 – 1695) sur l'écurie, entre les deux églises (Fig. 3). Cette aile accueille les premiers moines alépins venus à Balamand.[10]
2. L'aile patriarcale, construite par le père Mīkhā'īl en 1713 (Fig. 4). Ce dernier obtint du gouverneur de Tripoli, Hassan Pacha, un firman précisant que Balamand hébergeait beaucoup de moines et se trouvait sur la route du pèlerinage.[11]

5 Duby, *Saint Bernard. L'art cistercien*, p. 128–136.
6 S. Slim, « L'abbaye de Belmont : prototype cistercien et tête de pont des croisades », in Françoise Micheau (éd.), *De Toulouse à Tripoli. Itinéraires de cultures croisées*, Toulouse, 1997, p. 257–268.
7 Registre du cadastre de Notre-Dame-de-Balamand, p. 1.
8 R. Payne Smith, *Catalogus Codicum Syriacorum*, *Pars Sexta. Codices Syriacos Carshunicos, Mendaeos, Complectens*, Oxford, 1864, col. 301.
9 Propos transmis par Issam Khalifé.
10 Manuscrit n°80 (435), Évangéliaire de la collection de Balamand.
11 Registre du cadastre de Notre Dame de Balamand.

3. L'école cléricale fondée par le supérieur Athanasios Qasir en 1833. Elle était appelée Al-Qasr, car elle se trouvait à l'écart du monastère et était construite à l'étage. Elle est divisée en deux grandes pièces et huit petites cellules qui se trouvent au-dessus de la grande salle cistercienne du XIII[e] siècle.[12]
4. L'école de la fin du XIX[e] et début du XX[e] siècles, construite après l'intronisation, en 1899, du premier patriarche arabe, Malatios al-Dūmānī. Trois grandes salles, un dortoir et une salle d'études encadrent une cour en forme de U, tandis que cinq petites cellules servaient de salles de classe.[13]

Le monastère de Balamand a exercé une grande influence sur son environnement à travers les siècles. Lieu de prière, ce monastère était un endroit où hôtes, religieux et pèlerins se rencontraient pour approfondir leur foi grâce à la liturgie et la lecture des Écritures saintes et des œuvres patristiques consignées au fil des siècles dans les manuscrits conservés aujourd'hui dans sa riche bibliothèque.[14]

Centre de rayonnement de la foi orthodoxe depuis quatre siècles, Balamand a reçu un grand nombre d'icônes et de manuscrits. Ses deux églises, Notre-Dame et Saint-Georges, ont été décorées de riches iconostases, en bois pour Notre-Dame et en marbre pour saint-Georges (Fig. 5, 6). Faisant usage d'une pluralité de styles, ces icônes offrent un saisissant raccourci de l'histoire de cet art (Fig. 7).[15]

Trésor culturel, ce patrimoine est le conservatoire d'une longue tradition de piété populaire qui conduisait les croyants de toute catégorie et de diverses régions à faire des donations au monastère. On en trouve le témoignage émouvant dans les inscriptions sur les icônes et dans les colophons des manuscrits. Cette tradition culturelle et cette fonction pédagogique attestées pendant des siècles trouvent leur prolongement avec l'inauguration en 1833 à Balamand de la première école cléricale orthodoxe, qui enseigne la théologie en langue arabe.

Dans le passé, les manuscrits du monastère étaient lus par les visiteurs et les pèlerins qui savaient lire et écrire. Quant aux croyants illettrés, ils apprenaient leur religion en regardant les icônes, qui avaient une fonction pédagogique. L'icône

12 S. Abboud, *Le monastère de Balamand et son séminaire*, mémoire de Maîtrise, Faculté de pédagogie de l'Université de Balamand, soutenu en 1978 sous la direction du Dr. Issam Khalifé (inédit).
13 Abboud, *Le monastère de Balamand et son séminaire*, p. 56.
14 S. Slim (éd.), *Al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya fī al-adyira al-urthūdhūksīya fī Lubnān (Balamand)*, Balamand, 1993.
15 V. Cândea (éd.), *Icônes melkites. Catalogue de l'exposition organisée par le Musée Nicolas Sursock du 16 mai au 15 juin 1969*, Beyrouth, 1969, p. 134–156, Fig. 3–8, 10, 14 ; M. Zibawi, *L'icône. Sens et histoire*, Paris, 1993, pl. 76–80 ; M. Zibawi, *Orients chrétiens : entre Byzance et l'Islam*, Paris, 1995, p. 95–97, pl. 22–23 ; R. Ziadé, *L'art des chrétiens d'Orient : de l'Euphrate au Nil*, Paris, 2022, p. 481–484, pl. 515, 516, 518.

est la Bible des pauvres. Ainsi, en regardant les icônes de Balamand, un croyant apprend que Jésus-Christ est le Pantocrator, que la Vierge Marie est la Mère de Dieu. De la même manière, on apprend la vie des saints représentés: saint Siméon le Stylite, saint Georges, les 40 martyrs, et les sens des fêtes, telles que le Dimanche de l'Orthodoxie et l'Assomption.

Le rayonnement du monastère trouve sa source dans un passé où les croyants, en priant devant les icônes et en méditant les lectures des manuscrits, s'imprégnaient de la parole divine et apprenaient les dogmes essentiels de leur foi orthodoxe.

2 Les manuscrits des XVII^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles

Dans le patrimoine de Balamand, les manuscrits, au nombre de 200, représentent un fond d'une très grande valeur car ils furent presque en totalité rédigés à Balamand. Présents dans l'histoire de Balamand depuis sa reprise par les orthodoxes et sans cesse enrichis, ce trésor a été l'une des principales assises de la vie spirituelle et monastique de Balamand et un support pour son action pastorale et culturelle.

Les manuscrits qui, pour la plupart, remontent aux XVII^{e}, XVIII^{e} et XIX^{e} siècles sont écrits en arabe. Mais certains, plus anciens, qui datent des XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles, comportent à côté de l'arabe des écrits en syriaque.[16] Ainsi, le Liturgicon, livre de la messe (n° 19), comprend deux colonnes écrites en grec et en syriaque, l'Évangéliaire (n° 77) reproduit des instructions et des explications en syriaque. Dans un autre Évangéliaire (n° 79) qui comporte douze pages sur les règles du Typikon, les titres des Évangiles et des Épitres lus pendant la messe sont écrits en arabe et en syriaque.

L'évêque d'Alep Meletios Karma (plus tard, le patriarche Euthymios III) a traduit dans la première moitié du XVII^{e} siècle les livres liturgiques en arabe à partir des sources grecques et a achevé de marginaliser les copies syriaques, dont on retrouve des pages insérées dans les reliures des manuscrits.

Malgré la priorité donnée à la langue grecque depuis le schisme de l'Église d'Antioche en 1724, nous ne trouvons que très peu d'écrits en grec dans les manuscrits de Balamand. Même les passages récités en grec dans la célébration eucharistique sont écrits en lettres arabes dans le texte. Les patriarches grecs qui ont visité Balamand ont encouragé les moines à copier les manuscrits arabes et offert au monastère des manuscrits écrits en cette langue.

16 Slim (éd.), *Al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya*, p. 67–70.

Les manuscrits couvrent différentes périodes et différents thèmes de la théologie et de la pensée orthodoxes.[17] Ils nous donnent une idée des épisodes successifs de la vie de l'Église aux niveaux théologique, monastique, dogmatique et liturgique (Fig. 8). Parmi ces œuvres théologiques il existe une seule copie de l'*Exposé de la foi orthodoxe* de saint Jean Damascène et une seule apologétique de saint Sophrone, le *Livre des preuves de la foi*.[18] À côté des œuvres patristiques, les manuscrits de Balamand insistent sur les œuvres spirituelles nécessaires à la vie monastique. Il y a les textes de *l'Échelle des vertus* de saint Jean Climaque, le *Jardin des moines*, tous deux copiés par Germānos Farḥāt, évêque maronite d'Alep, le *Paradis intellectuel* de saint Grégoire de Nysse et la petite *Encyclopédie* par le moine Antiochus du monastère de saint Sabas.[19]

Le *Roman de Barlaam et Joasaph* existe en deux copies. La plus ancienne comporte neuf enluminures qui illustrent l'histoire de ces personnages et les paraboles qu'elle contient. Le style des enluminures traduit l'interaction des tendances de l'iconographie byzantine et syriaque avec l'art islamique arabe et perse.[20] Le texte se trouve être une des premières versions arabes de l'adaptation chrétienne de la vie du Bouddha à partir d'une version géorgienne traduite en grec.[21]

En matière de théologie, les collections conservent des écrits patristiques, des manuscrits entiers consacrés aux exégèses de saint Jean Chrysostome, des chapitres de saint Basile le Grand et de saint Grégoire de Nazianze présentés sous forme de questions/réponses. Plusieurs manuscrits comportent les sermons de saint Ephrem le Syrien et ceux de saint Isaac de Ninive.[22]

Nous retrouvons dans les manuscrits de Balamand des hagiographies rédigées en deux versions : d'une part, des synaxaires officiels lus pendant les célébrations liturgiques suivant l'éphéméride ; d'autre part, des versions plus longues qui détaillent la vie des saints et leurs miracles dans le but d'honorer les saints et les martyrs.[23]

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17 Slim, *Balamand*, p. 66–76.

18 Slim (éd.), *Al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya*, n° 126–127.

19 Slim (éd.), *Al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya*, n° 162–163.

20 R. Smine-Gannājat, « Munamnamāt qiṣṣat Barlām wa-Yuwāṣaf fī makhṭūṭ dayr Sayyidat al-Balamand », in Slim (éd.), *Al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya*, p. 21–36 ; R. Smine, « The Miniatures of a Christian Arabic Barlaam and Joasaph, Balamand 147 », *Parole de l'Orient*, 18, 1993, p. 171–229.

21 Voir *Le roman de Barlaam et Joasaph. Version arabe chrétienne*, introduction, traduction française, notes et index par Marlène Kanaan, texte critique arabe établi en collaboration avec le Père Hareth Ibrahim, Paris, 2023.

22 Manuscrit n° 187 dans Slim (éd.), *Al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya*, p. 139.

23 Manuscrit enluminé n° 190 acquis par le grand homme politique libanais Michel Eddé, qui l'a offert à Balamand. Il fut publié par l'Université de Balamand avec planches, icônes et exemples de calligraphie.

Quatre manuscrits sont consacrés à l'histoire de l'Église. Parmi eux, l'ouvrage d'Agostino Orsi, cardinal de l'Église romaine, sur l'histoire de l'Église universelle, traduit de l'italien en 1777 par Germanos Adam (*Al-Tārīkh al-kanā'isī*),[24] et le *Kitāb al-durr al-manẓūm fī akhbār mulūk al-Rūm (Le livre des perles rangées des rois byzantins)* de Theodore de Monembasie, traduit par Yūsuf al-Musawwir et le diacre Būlos ibn al-Za'īm, auquel nous allons revenir.

Deux manuscrits consacrés aux conciles œcuméniques traitent du droit byzantin. Sur ces deux manuscrits, un seul, écrit par Dawūd al-Ḥomsī, comporte des représentations de différentes icônes et des pages où sont inscrites des phrases en arabe pouvant être lues de droite à gauche et de gauche à droite selon la technique *sūfī* de l'écriture en miroir. Nous retrouvons ce genre d'écriture à Balamand dans la décoration de l'iconostase de l'église Saint Georges, où le marbre noir sert à décorer le marbre blanc dans le pur style de l'art islamique. Les mots *san'at* (« fait par ») et *Sa'ada* (le prénom de l'artisan) sont inscrits de droite à gauche et de gauche à droite pour désigner l'artisan qui a conçu l'iconostase (Fig. 9). Ceci prouve que des artistes chrétiens connaissaient et pratiquaient ce genre d'écriture en miroir issu de la spiritualité musulmane propre au soufisme.

Pour ce qui est des livres saints, il y a à Balamand sept manuscrits, dont l'un, appelé *Kashkūl* (n° 1), renferme un ensemble d'extraits de différents chapitres de la Bible, écrit par le moine Isaïe de Hama en 1873. Parmi les Évangiles nous avons trois manuscrits écrits selon les quatre Évangélistes[25] et cinq Évangiles liturgiques rédigés selon les dimanches et les fêtes de l'année. Ce système de rédaction, utilisé essentiellement dans la liturgie, s'applique aussi aux manuscrits consacrés aux Prophéties, aux Épitres et aux Psaumes.[26]

Les catalogues relatifs à la fin de l'exécution du travail du copiste nous renseignent sur la date et l'origine du manuscrit. Certains de ces manuscrits ont été copiés sur place au cours des cinq derniers siècles par les moines, dont c'était une des dimensions de la vie spirituelle et religieuse. Dans ces cas, les colophons insistent sur le but spirituel de leur rédaction. La cause la plus souvent invoquée est la rémission des péchés du copiste et le repos de l'âme de ses parents défunts. Copier un manuscrit était un moyen de se faire accueillir au paradis à côté du larron repenti.

Echelonnés sur plusieurs siècles, les manuscrits de Balamand renferment de riches données sur les courants religieux et la piété populaire de ces époques. L'évolution de la liturgie apporte un témoignage précieux sur la vie religieuse des

24 Slim (éd.), *Al-makhṭūṭāt al-'arabīya*, p. 140–141.
25 Slim (éd.), *Al-makhṭūṭāt al-'arabīya*, p. 66–68.
26 Slim (éd.), *Al-makhṭūṭāt al-'arabīya*, p. 86–90.

centres monastiques. Ces textes nous donnent une idée des relations entre différents monastères comme Balamand, Hamatūra, Saydnāya, Sainte-Catherine au Sinaï et Saint-Sabas au sud de la Palestine, et sur la coopération entre eux dans la traduction et la conservation du patrimoine culturel et religieux de l'orthodoxie. Les monastères ne fournissaient pas seulement les manuels nécessaires à l'enseignement, à l'évangélisation et aux célébrations dans les églises. C'était aussi dans ces monastères que la majeure partie des évêques et des patriarches qui furent moines, puis supérieurs, étaient recrutés avant d'accéder aux charges épiscopales.

D'autres manuscrits ont été apportés par des moines à leur arrivée au monastère. Beaucoup de familles qui conservaient chez elles d'anciens manuscrits ont jugé bon de les offrir au monastère de Balamand. Jusqu'à une époque récente, des livres de prières et surtout des Évangiles manuscrits étaient utilisés dans les familles, même après la diffusion des livres religieux imprimés.

Les monastères ont continué à utiliser les manuscrits dans les services liturgiques. Dans les milieux religieux et monastiques, les manuscrits sont considérés comme porteurs d'un certain charisme que ne possèdent pas les livres imprimés ; manuscrits, icônes et objets liturgiques sont l'objet d'une même vénération. En inscrivant leurs noms sur les pages vides, dans les marges ou sur l'intérieur de la couverture, les hôtes de passage au monastère et les visiteurs espéraient s'attirer les bénédictions de la grâce divine.

La richesse de ces manuscrits ne se limitait pas aux membres du clergé, moines et prêtres, mais profitait aussi aux laïcs qui venaient se ressourcer ou se réfugier au monastère durant les grandes épidémies, les tremblements de terre et les guerres. Les colophons nous rapportent que très souvent les manuscrits circulaient entre les monastères et évêchés et les diverses personnalités qui visitaient Balamand. Évêques, curés et laïcs empruntaient, échangeaient et rendaient les manuscrits selon leur besoin. Parfois, le manuscrit périssait à la suite d'évènements violents, comme ceux survenus au Mont-Liban et à Damas en 1860. Celui qui avait emprunté le manuscrit devait le réécrire. Très souvent, les manuscrits étaient empruntés et rendus au monastère avec des précisions sur les aventures et épisodes ayant accompagné ses transferts.[27] Les visiteurs, durant leurs séjours, lisaient les manuscrits et signaient leurs noms sur les pages blanches. Plusieurs copistes étaient des laïcs spécialisés dans la copie des manuscrits ou le faisaient pour eux-mêmes. Nous avons pu répertorier 62 copistes laïcs parmi les 130 copistes qui ont signé leurs noms.

Avant l'institution des écoles et des séminaires, les manuscrits de ce monastère ont joué un rôle essentiel dans l'élaboration de la culture et la propagation de

27 Slim (éd.), *Al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya*, n° 179.

l'enseignement. En ce sens, l'installation des écoles dans les couvents et monastères du XIX[e] siècle fut une continuation naturelle du rôle qu'ils avaient accompli durant des siècles d'une manière informelle. En particulier, la première école fondée en 1833 à Balamand s'inscrivait dans la continuité de la tradition religieuse et culturelle du monastère.

3 Balamand comme lieu de rayonnement de la renaissance religieuse et culturelle grecque

À la suite de la défaite de l'armée byzantine et la chute de la capitale, Constantinople, la dépression et la déception se sont transformées en renaissance dans les régions hellènes de la Grèce, de l'Anatolie, de la Crète et de l'Europe de l'Est : ses populations hellènes considéraient le règne des Turcs musulmans qui envahirent l'empire comme celui de l'Antéchrist, annonciateur de la fin du monde prévue par l'Apocalypse finale. Il s'agissait de s'armer culturellement et moralement pour résister aux souffrances de la nouvelle ère qui s'imposait.

De grands efforts furent déployés par les curés des villages et dans les paroisses des villes pour alphabétiser les enfants et les initier aux préceptes de la foi orthodoxe.[28] Dès le XVIII[e] siècle et ensuite au XIX[e] siècle, Balamand devint le dépositaire de ce patrimoine. Après le schisme de 1724, les patriarches et les évêques d'Antioche étaient choisis parmi le clergé grec hellène, pour protéger les orthodoxes du prosélytisme catholique. Chaque prélat venait occuper son siège accompagné de l'un de ses parents qui avait pour fonction : secrétaire, traducteur, peintre ou hymnographe.[29] Un exemple de la politique de nomination des patriarches grecs est l'évêque de Tripoli, qui arriva au début du XIX[e] siècle de l'île de Crète accompagné de son frère le peintre Michel le Crétois, qui nous laissa un grand nombre d'icônes dans les églises de Tripoli et de Beyrouth.

Les œuvres spirituelles, historiques, musicales, et les sermons furent traduits en arabe et copiés dans des manuscrits que nous retrouvons dans la bibliothèque de Balamand. Déjà avant le schisme, un certain essor religieux de l'Église orthodoxe est à noter avec, successivement, les trois patriarches :[30]

28 A. Argyriou, *Les exégèses grecques de l'Apocalypse à l'époque turque (1453–1821) : esquisse d'une histoire des courants idéologiques au sein du peuple grec asservi*, Thessalonique, 1982, p. 46.

29 S. Slim, « L'influence du siècle des lumières grec sur le monastère de Balamand », in Željko Paša (éd.), *Between the Cross and the Crescent: Studies in Honor of Samir Khalil Samir, S.J., on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, Rome, 2018, p. 187–200.

30 Propos rapportés par le Pr. Spyridon Fayyad de Lattaquié, qui a restauré les icônes des églises de Tripoli. Voir Mihai Țipău, *Sylvester of Antioch. Life and Achievements of an 18th-Century Christian*

1. Meletios Karma, devenu le patriarche d'Antioche sous le nom d'Euthymios III, qui entreprit la traduction de tous les livres liturgiques à partir du grec, d'après des versions imprimées à Venise.
2. Macaire III ibn al-Zaʿīm, qui, durant ses deux voyages en Europe de l'Est et en Russie accompagné de son fils, l'archidiacre Paul (« d'Alep »), a encouragé la traduction de plusieurs textes inclus dans trois florilèges appelés *Majmūʿ mubārak* (« Collection bénie »), *Majmūʿ laṭīf* (« Collection plaisante ») et *Kitāb al-naḥla (*« Livre de l'abeille »). Ces manuscrits sont un ensemble d'écrits théologiques, historiques, des vies de saints, sermons, passages de la liturgie et des Évangiles, rédigés sans aucun ordre thématique.
3. Athanase III Dabbās, qui entreprit des voyages en Valachie (en Roumanie actuelle) où le moine érudit Anthime l'Ibère, futur métropolite du pays, l'aida à concevoir et exécuter des outils d'imprimerie arabe qu'il transporta à Alep, où il fonda la première imprimerie en langue arabe au Proche Orient.[31]

Cette activité intellectuelle a amené certains chercheurs à affirmer qu'une "proto-renaissance" des chrétiens arabes a eu lieu dans le nord du Liban et à Tripoli au XVII[e] siècle avant de démarrer à Alep.[32] Le mouvement de traduction qui débuta dans les monastères du Nord du Liban (Hamatūra, Balamand, Deddeh) et l'action des notables orthodoxes de Tripoli auprès des gouverneurs ottomans ont favorisé l'essor des chrétiens dans la région.

Les restrictions imposées par les Ottomans dans les villes (interdiction des festivités et des processions dans les rues) ont amené les orthodoxes à se rendre pour les grandes fêtes importantes dans les monastères de la campagne ou la montagne. Les notables des villes et les paroissiens passaient quelques jours dans ces églises rupestres ou monastères. C'était pour eux l'occasion de discuter des affaires de leur communauté et de consulter les moines, qui étaient devenus les guides spirituels incontestés d'une population en désarroi.[33] Ainsi, les centres de décision furent transférés des villes vers la campagne. Durant les guerres, les épidémies, les catastrophes naturelles, les orthodoxes de Tripoli se réfugiaient à Balamand.[34]

La renaissance hellène post-byzantine s'est essentiellement manifestée par un essor de la vie monastique. C'est principalement l'œuvre d'Agapios Landos, ou

Orthodox Patriarch, Berlin/Boston, 2024, p. 255–258.

31 A. Rustum, *Kanīsat madīnat Anṭākiya al-ʿuẓmā*, Beyrouth, 1958, p. 115.

32 C. Panchenko, « A 'Melkite Proto Renaissance' : A Forgotten Cultural Revival of the Melkites in the Late 16th Century », *Parole de l'Orient*, 39, 2014, p. 133–151.

33 Argyriou, *Les exégèses grecques*, p. 46.

34 Slim (éd.), *Al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya*, n° 112, 136, 154, 169, 176 etc.

Agapios de Crète, *Amartolon Sotiria*, qui est traduite en arabe et que nous retrouvons dans les monastères de la région. Cette œuvre est formée de deux parties, *Le salut des pécheurs* et *Les miracles de la Vierge*. Il y a aussi un renouveau de l'intérêt pour les anciennes œuvres qui sont recopiées, tels que *l'Échelle des vertus* de saint Jean Climaque, les écrits des pères du désert, les écrits et sermons des pères Philoxène de Mabboug, Isaac de Ninive et Éphrem le Syrien.

À cette époque, une conjoncture ottomane majeure contribua à l'essor des monastères et à leur expansion. Dès la deuxième moitié du XVII[e] siècle, les sultans ottomans inaugurèrent une pratique interdite par la *Sharīʿa* islamique : ils commencèrent à octroyer des terres prises sur le domaine public (*miri*) à certains membres de leurs familles qu'ils estimaient lésés par les lois de l'héritage. L'exemple des sultans fut rapidement suivi par les officiels de l'empire et par les gouverneurs des provinces.[35] Dans les provinces de Syrie, les gouverneurs ottomans avalisaient les dons en *waqf* que les payeurs d'impôts accordaient aux monastères à partir des terres *miri*. Les terrains cédés aux monastères, en devenant fertiles et productifs, payaient plus d'impôt. Les manuscrits conservés dans les monastères nous renseignent sur le rôle social accompli par ces nouvelles règlementations.

La principale œuvre historique de cette époque est *Kitāb al-durr al-manẓūm fī akhbār mulūk al-Rūm* (*Le livre des perles rangées des rois byzantins*), une chronique relatant les biographies des empereurs byzantins écrite par Théodore de Monembasie et traduite en arabe par Paul ibn al-Zaʿīm, avec son ami le peintre Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir, lors du deuxième voyage du patriarche Macaire en Russie.[36] Le règne de chaque empereur y est détaillé dans ses plus importantes réalisations, en passant par les épisodes les plus marquants de l'histoire de Byzance et ceux du Patriarcat de Constantinople. L'original grec, écrit en 1630, fut imprimé à Venise et réédité dix-neuf fois dans le courant du XVII[e] siècle, malgré la fin de l'Empire Byzantin en 1453. L'auteur poursuit sa chronique jusqu'au règne de Murad IV en 1570, dans la mesure où les sultans ottomans étaient eux aussi considérés comme les rois des *Rūm*. Les vaincus semblent avoir bien adopté, malgré eux, leurs nouveaux maîtres, nonobstant leurs injustices. L'évêque auteur de cette histoire nous

35 J. B. Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire*, Leyde, 1987, p. 56.
36 S. Frantsouzoff, « Le patrimoine manuscrit de Paul d'Alep conservé à St. Pétersbourg », dans I. Feodorov (éd.), *Relations entre les peuples de l'Europe Orientale et les chrétiens arabes au XVII[e] siècle. Macaire III Ibn al-Zaʿīm et Paul d'Alep*, Bucarest, 2012, p. 31–49. Charbel Nassif étudia l'œuvre peinte (icônes et miniatures) de Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir : voir C. Nassif, *L'œuvre du peintre alépin Youssef al-Musawwer. Contribution à l'essor de la peinture religieuse melkite au XVII[e] siècle*, thèse pour obtenir le grade de Docteur de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne en Histoire de l'art, Paris, 2017 (inédite).

propose un récit positiviste qui se présente comme la réalisation de la volonté divine venue remplacer le destin aveugle, la *moira* des Grecs.[37]

Si ce livre visait à redonner du courage et à rappeler aux Grecs leur passé glorieux, quel pouvait être l'intérêt de le diffuser parmi les lecteurs arabes chrétiens ? Serait-il un retour aux origines visant à donner une plus grande confiance à des populations qui ont vécu le martyre du silence sans connaître la gloire de Byzance et l'arrogance de l'Occident ?[38] C'était aussi un moyen de reconnaître la classe gouvernante, de mieux la comprendre afin de pouvoir traiter et négocier avec elle et peut-être de se faire mieux traiter.

Les sermons sont un troisième genre dont la traduction s'est imposée chez les Antiochiens. Il s'agit des sermons de deux moines très connus : Elie Miniates et Macaire Notaras, appelé Le Maître. Leurs sermons constituaient des manuels très utiles pour les prêtres des paroisses, les moines, les pères spirituels et les prédicateurs. Il était essentiel de communiquer l'enseignement religieux par l'intermédiaire du culte aux personnes qui ne maîtrisaient pas la lecture. En Orient, les écoles qui s'étaient répandues dans le monde grec en réaction à l'occupation ottomane vont attendre le XIX^{e} siècle pour commencer leur activité. Par le rôle des *Scriptoria* et par les conseils assurés par les moines, les monastères ont pu, au moins en partie, assurer l'éducation religieuse de leurs paroissiens. Ces sermons étaient lus durant la liturgie de la messe, après la lecture de l'Évangile. Avec l'enseignement religieux, ces sermons devaient assurer la formation éthique et morale des croyants et leur fournir les éléments d'espérance afin de renforcer leur foi et leur résistance aux difficultés.[39] Parmi ces théologiens prédicateurs, les deux auteurs mentionnés, dont les manuscrits traduits du grec se trouvent à Balamand, étaient très connus.

1. Elie Miniates (1669–1714), professeur et diplomate de talent, fit ses études à Venise. Grand érudit, il soutint l'unité de la religion et du patriotisme. Ses sermons édités en 1717 furent réimprimés plusieurs fois.[40] Le manuscrit conservé à Balamand compte 21 sermons répartis sur trois chapitres. Les sermons sont répartis selon les dimanches précédant le Carême et continuent sur les cinq dimanches du Carême, pour finir avec les Rameaux, le Vendredi saint et la Résurrection. Les autres séries de sermons abordent les thèmes de la vie spirituelle et religieuse : la mort, la confession, le Jugement dernier, la véné-

37 Slim (éd.), *Al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya*, n° 187.

38 Ignace IV Hazim, patriarche de l'Église d'Antioche, « Le martyre du schisme », conférence donnée à Athènes en 1991 (inédite).

39 A. Argyriou, *Spirituels néo grecs : XV^{e}–XX^{e} siècles*, Namur, 1967, p. 3.

40 Argyriou, *Spirituels néo grecs*, p. 40.

ration de la Vierge, la foi, le repentir, l'expiation des péchés et l'importance de la communion.[41]

2. Macaire Notaras, ou Macaire de Corinthe (1731–1805), est l'auteur de 53 sermons inclus dans la *Philocalie des Pères néptiques* qu'il composa avec Nicodème l'Hagiorite (« du mont Athos »). Macaire est né à Corinthe dans une famille noble. Dès sa jeunesse il se consacra au service de l'église et approfondit l'étude des saintes écritures. Il circula entre les monastères de Patmos, Chios, du Péloponnèse et du mont Athos, où il participa au mouvement des Kollyvades.[42] Dans le manuscrit de Balamand, les sermons sont répartis selon les dimanches du Triode et du Carême. Mais juste après, des sermons sont consacrés à des sujets de polémiques avec les catholiques, tels que la procession du Saint Esprit et la primauté du pape, tenus comme les raisons essentielles du schisme dans l'Église Antiochienne en 1724.[43] D'autres sermons sont consacrés au pain azyme, à l'Assomption, aux carêmes, au Purgatoire, à la Lumière incréée etc. À part les fêtes du Seigneur et de la Vierge, les sermons portent sur les fêtes principales des Apôtres, de la Pentecôte, des trois Docteurs, de sainte Catherine et de saint Nicolas.

4 Conclusions

Pour conclure, nous devons reconnaître que les résultats de ce siècle des Lumières grecques ne furent pas les mêmes dans les deux mondes grec et arabe.

Dans le monde religieux des Grecs, cet essor intellectuel aboutit à promouvoir un sentiment national grec qui mena la péninsule à la guerre d'indépendance de 1822–1828, puis à l'indépendance de la Grèce. Nous avons là une identification entre hellénisme et orthodoxie.

En Orient, les choses furent différentes. La langue grecque, quoiqu'essentielle à la liturgie, n'étant pas la langue maternelle des gens du pays, était souvent translitérée en arabe dans les manuscrits liturgiques.

Le monastère de Balamand a continué à jouer un rôle religieux, social et culturel au sein de la communauté orthodoxe et de la région du Kūra où il se trouve. Son patrimoine spirituel et l'étendue de ses terres *waqf* ont facilité la fondation d'institutions culturelles et pédagogiques qui servirent les habitants de la région et les étudiants qui venaient de tout le pays. L'Institut de Théologie Saint-Jean-Damascène,

41 Slim (éd.), *Al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya*, n° 175.
42 Argyriou, *Spirituels néo grecs* p. 57–58.
43 Slim (éd.), *Al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya*, n° 174.

les écoles secondaires francophone et anglophone et l'Université continuent de porter et de transmettre les valeurs humaines et chrétiennes que le monastère a toujours œuvré à promouvoir.

Fig. 1: Monastère Notre-Dame-de-Balamand, cour intérieure (Photo Ioana Feodorov).

Fig. 2: Acte de fondation du monastère grec-orthodoxe de Balamand (cf. S. Slim, *Balamand : Histoire et patrimoine*, Beyrouth, 1995, p. 24).

Fig. 3: Monastère Notre-Dame-de-Balamand, aile alépine (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 4: Monastère Notre-Dame-de-Balamand, aile patriarcale (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 5: Église Saint-Georges, intérieur (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 6: Église Saint-Georges, iconostase (Photo Ioana Feodorov).

Fig. 7: Église Saint-Georges, icônes (Photo Ioana Feodorov).

Fig. 8: Évangile de saint Marc, miniature, manuscrit no. 6 (499), collection de Balamand (cf. S. Slim (éd.), *Al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya fī al-adyira al-urthūdhūksīya (Balamand)*, Balamand, 1994, Fig. 6).

Fig. 9: Église Saint-Georges, détail de l'iconostase avec l'inscription arabe qui se lit des deux côtés : *san'at* (« fait par ») et *Sa'ada*, le nom du peintre (Photothèque d'ARPOA – Université de Balamand).

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Bishara Ebeid

Makarios III Ibn al-Zaʿīm and the Council of Florence

1 Introduction

Makarios III ibn al-Zaʿīm, the patriarch of Antioch (1647-1672), was born around 1600 in Aleppo, Syria, into a family of priests. Following in the clerical footsteps of his father and grandfather, he also became a priest. In 1635, Makarios was elected metropolitan of Aleppo, adopting the name Meletios, that of his spiritual and intellectual father, the previous metropolitan of Aleppo, Meletios Karma (1527–1634). By this time, his wife had passed away, and his son and future collaborator, Paul ("of Aleppo"), was just eight years old. It was during his tenure as metropolitan that Makarios began his intellectual activities. In addition to Arabic, he was well-versed in the Greek language and literature, and many of his works were translations of contemporary Greek authors.[1]

Upon becoming patriarch of the Orthodox Church of Antioch in 1647, Makarios faced several serious problems: 1) Financial issues exacerbated by rising taxes; 2) Apostasy and conversions to Islam due to the increased taxing on Christians; 3) The poor intellectual and educational level of the clergy; 4) The activity of the Western missionaries among the Orthodox flock. To address the financial issues, Makarios travelled to Orthodox Christian countries such as Wallachia, Moldavia, Ukraine, and Russia, seeking help and assistance from their rulers.[2] It appears

1 On his life, context and writings, see, among others, *GCAL* III, p. 94–110; *HMLÉM* IV.1, p. 87–127; H. Kilpatrick, "Makāriyūs Ibn al-Zaʿīm (ca. 1600–1672) and Būlus Ibn al-Zaʿīm (Paul of Aleppo) (1627–1669)", in J. E. Lowry, D. J. Stewart (eds.), *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography 1350–1850*, Wiesbaden, 2009, p. 262–273; C.-M. Walbiner, "Macarius Ibn al-Zaʿīm", in *CMR* 10, p. 343–354; ʿĪ. I. al-Maʿlūf, "Al-Baṭriyark Makāriyūs ibn al-Zaʿīm baṭriyark Anṭākiya wa-sā'ir al-Mashriq", *al-Niʿma*, 4, 1912, p. 35–51, 119–134. On the importance of Greek culture in Makarios's vision and thought, his interests to collect Greek manuscripts, and his Greek collaborators, see V. G. Tchentsova, "Les artisans grecs des projets culturels du Patriarche Macaire III d'Antioche", *RESEE*, 52, 2014, p. 315–346.

2 On Makarios's first journey, see, among others, I. Feodorov, "Paul of Aleppo", in *CMR* 10, p. 355–370; I. Feodorov, "Paul of Aleppo", in S. Noble, A. Treiger (eds.), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World (700–1700). An Anthology of Sources*, DeKalb, IL, 2014, p. 252–275; H. Kilpatrick,

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that he obtained some alms, which provided a temporary solution to the economic crisis. Although Makarios had already established contacts and relationships with Latins and local Catholics during his time as a priest, and later as metropolitan of Aleppo, his first journey added to these relations significant political dimensions.

After Makarios's return, these contacts were further strengthened, especially when he moved his patriarchal residence to Aleppo between 1661 and 1664. During this period, to assist his community against Ottoman oppression, he collaborated with Latin missionaries and established contacts with French consuls. He aimed to secure essential help from Western countries; thus, he believed that fostering closeness with Rome and certain Western rulers was crucial. It is evident that his position was not solely political but also had an important ecclesiastical dimension.

From this period, we have three texts belonging to Makarios ibn al-Zaʿīm's corpus that deal with the Council of Florence and the Union between Rome and the Eastern Churches that occurred there. The first text, entitled *Khabar al-majmaʿ al-thāmin alladhī ṣāra fī madīnat Flūranṣā* (*Report Concerning the Eighth Council Held in Florence*), is a section in the historical book *al-Durr al-manẓūm fī akhbār mulūk al-Rūm* (*The Ordered Pearls on the News of the Kings of the Rūm*). This *Khabar* was extracted and included in the patriarch's *Majmūʿ laṭīf*, a collection of various treatises on different topics, to which Makarios annexed another text on the same council. This annexed text, which I call *Dhayl*, was abbreviated and then inserted in a revised version of *al-Durr al-manẓūm* as a note, *Ḥāshiya*, attributed to Makarios himself.[3]

Vera G. Tchentsova has already analyzed in detail the relationship between Makarios III and the Latin Church, examining it within the general historical and geopolitical context.[4] With this contribution, I aim to highlight this relationship through the examination of these three texts. The fact that the patriarch himself included both the *Khabar* and the *Dhayl* in his *Majmūʿ laṭīf* indicates his acceptance of their content from both the historical and the doctrinal perspectives. My analysis

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"Journeying Towards Modernity. The 'Safrat al-Baṭrak Makâriyûs' of Bûlus Ibn Al-Zaʿîm Al-Halabî", *Die Welt des Islams*, 37, 1997, p. 156–177. See also the references in Walbiner, "Macarius Ibn al-Zaʿīm", p. 345–346; *The Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, written by his Attendant Archdeacon, Paul of Aleppo, in Arabic*, transl. F. C. Belfour, 2 vols., London, 1829 & 1834–1836. See also the recent publication *Paul of Aleppo's Journal*, Volume 1: *Syria, Constantinople, Moldavia, Wallachia and the Cossacks' Lands*, Introductory study, Arabic edition and English translation by I. Feodorov, with Y. Petrova, M. Țipău, S. Noble, Leiden, 2024.

3 References regarding these texts, still unedited, will be given in the analysis below.

4 V. G. Tchentsova, "Le Patriarche d'Antioche Macaire III Ibn al-Zaʿīm et la chrétienté latine", in M.-H. Blanchet, F. Gabriel (eds.), *Réduire le schisme? Ecclésiologies et politiques de l'Union entre Orient et Occident (XIII^e^-XVIII^e^ siècles)*, Paris, 2013, p. 313–335.

seeks to further illustrate Makarios's position towards the Latins, his understanding of the Union with Rome, and the development of this understanding in relation to these texts, their dates of composition, as well as the historical and geopolitical circumstances of that time.

Finally, at the end of this contribution, an edition of the texts is provided: excerpts from the *Khabar* as transmitted in the *Majmūʿ laṭīf* and the *Dhayl* annexed to it, as well as the entire *Khabar* as transmitted in *al-Durr al-manẓūm*, and its *Ḥāshiya*.

2 The Khabar and the Dhayl and their Transmission

As noted, the section titled *Khabar al-majmaʿ al-thāmin alladhī ṣāra fī madīnat Flūranṣā*, that is, *Report Concerning the Eighth Council Held in Florence*, is part of the work known as *al-Durr al-manẓūm fī akhbār mulūk al-Rūm*, namely, *The Ordered Pearls on the News of the Kings of the Rūm*. This work chronicles the history of the emperors and sultans of Constantinople from Constantine the Great to Murad IV.[5] The work remains unpublished; it is found in various manuscripts,[6] some of which include an introduction written by Makarios III himself.[7] According to this

5 See *HMLÉM* IV.1, p. 95–96. On the importance of historiography for Ibn al-Zaʿīm, see C.-M. Walbiner, "Macarius Ibn al-Zaʿīm and the Beginnings of an Orthodox Church Historiography in Bilād al-Shām", in *Le rôle des historiens orthodoxes dans l'historiographie. Actes du colloque 11–14 mars 2007*, Balamand, [2010], p. 11–28.

6 See, e.g., MSS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate (henceforth, GOP) 261; Aleppo, Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem (henceforth, FGMS), Ar. 199; Ṣarbā, Ordre Basilien Alepin (henceforth, OBA) 804; Aleppo, FGMS, Ar. 470; Tripoli, Dayr Sayyidat al-Balamand (henceforth, Balamand) 187; Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Bibliothèque orientale (henceforth, USJ, BO) 12; Beirut, USJ, BO 13; Durham, NC, Duke University Library (henceforth, DUL), Arabic 18. I am grateful to the HMML (https://www.vhmml.org/, accessed June 11, 2024) for providing access to most of the manuscripts mentioned here and below, as well as the metadata regarding their composition dates, contents, copyists, etc. It must be noted that the earliest manuscript that copies this work is MS St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (henceforth, IOM), C 358, which is dated to 1660. Unfortunately, I have had no access to this manuscript. Nevertheless, I have seen some images of it thanks to my colleagues Ioana Feodorov and Charbel Nassif. The details regarding this manuscript taken into consideration here are derived from the description found in V. Rosen, *Notices sommaires des manuscrits arabes du Musée Asiatique*, St. Pétersbourg, 1881, p. 135–141, and that in N. Serikoff et al. (eds.), *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Christian Arabic Manuscripts Preserved in the St Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, forthcoming, p. 545–545 (draft copy obtained from Ioana Feodorov). See also *HMLÉM* IV.1, p. 95–96, n. 139.

7 See, e.g., MSS Damascus, GOP 261, f. 1v–3r; Ṣarbā, OBA 804, f. 1v–4r; Aleppo, FGMS, Ar. 199, f. 1v–3r; Durham, NC, DUL, Arabic 18, f. 2v–3v. The same we can say concerning MS St. Petersburg,

introduction, we learn that the work is a translation of a Greek source and that Ibn al-Zaʿīm, as metropolitan of Aleppo, enlisted the help of his son Paul[8] and the priest Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir, the painter,[9] to complete this translation, which he subsequently titled as mentioned above. The introduction also reveals that the translation was concluded in the year 1648 of the Incarnation (*li-l-tajassud*), which, as the same Makarios declares, coincides with the year he was elected patriarch.[10]

The manuscripts that include the introduction, and even one that does not,[11] transmit an *incipit*[12] providing additional information about the translated work. It is stated that the work is an Arabic translation of a Greek source composed by Matthaios Kigalas of Cyprus,[13] titled in Arabic *Kitāb tārīkh al-mulūk al-masīḥīyīn*, i.e., *The Book of the History of the Christian Kings*. Furthermore, it is stated that this translation was commissioned by Makarios. The manuscripts containing Makarios's introduction also feature indexes of the names of the emperors, sultans, and patriarchs of Constantinople, and include another *incipit* before the preface of the original author. This *incipit* reaffirms that the work by Matthaios Kigalas of Cyprus was translated by Makarios.[14] It appears that since the patriarch does not provide specific information about the translated Greek source and its author in his introduction, the *incipit* attempt to fill this gap. Finally, according to an *incipit* in another manuscript, the work is referred to as *Kitāb tawārīkh mulūk al-Rūm*,

IOM, C 358, f. 1v–3r; see Rosen, *Notices sommaires*, p. 136–137; Serikoff et al. (eds.), *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 548.

8 On Paul of Aleppo, see, among others, Feodorov, "Paul of Aleppo", and the references given there at p. 356.

9 The *kunya* "al-Muṣawwir" means, in fact, "the painter". On him, see Ch. Nassif, *L'œuvre du peintre alépin Youssef al-Musawwer. Contribution à l'essor de la peinture religieuse melkite au XVII^e siècle*, PhD thesis, Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2017. See also Ch. Nassif, "Les gravures des livres imprimés au XVIII^e siècle au Monastère Saint-Jean-Baptiste à Khenchara – Mont Liban", *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia*, 21, 2024, p. 73–96.

10 It is known that Makarios III ibn al-Zaʿīm was elected patriarch in 1647. I believe the date given here refers to the year of his enthronement.

11 It should be noted that the first folios of this manuscript, namely MS Aleppo, FGMS, Ar. 470, f. 3r–4v, were inserted by a later scribe to replace lost leaves.

12 See MSS Damascus, GOP 261, f. 1v; Ṣarbā, OBA 804, f. 1v; Aleppo, FGMS, Ar. 199, f. 1v; Aleppo, FGMS, Ar. 470, f. 3r; Durham, NC, DUL, Arabic 18, f. 1v. The same we can say regarding MS St. Petersburg, IOM, C 358, f. 1vr; see Rosen, *Notices sommaires*, p. 136.

13 On him and his historical chronicle *Nea Synopsis*, see I. Kyriakantonakis, P. Kitromilides, "Matthaios Kigalas", in *CMR* 10, p. 200–208.

14 See MSS Damascus, GOP 261, f. 12v; Ṣarbā, OBA 804, f. 11v; Aleppo, FGMS, Ar. 199, f. 13v; Durham, NC, DUL, Arabic 18, f. 7v. The same we can say concerning MS St. Petersburg, IOM, C 358, f. 11r; see Rosen, *Notices sommaires*, p. 137–138; Serikoff et al. (eds.), *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 546–549.

The Book of the Histories of the Kings of the Rūm, without mentioning its author or indicating that it was translated at Makarios's request.[15]

Before exploring the potential relationship between *al-Durr al-manẓūm* and Matthaios Kigalas's historical work, known as *Νέα σύνοψις διαφόρων ἱστοριῶν* (*New Summary of Different Histories*), we must examine another work, translated into Arabic by Paul of Aleppo by request of his father Makarios. This work, known as *Kitāb al-tārīkh al-Rūmī al-ʿajīb al-jadīd*, that is, *The Book of the Wonderful and New History of the Rūm*, focuses on the history from Adam to Constantine the Great.[16] This translation remains unpublished and is transmitted in various manuscripts. I have surveyed some of these manuscripts, all of which include an introduction by Makarios III and Paul, written after the translation was completed,[17] probably in 1667.[18] In this introduction, Paul provides some information about the Greek version he translated, along with other details: 1) *al-Durr al-manẓūm* is the translation of the second part of a Greek chronicle; 2) *Kitāb al-tārīkh al-Rūmī* is the translation of the first part of the same Greek chronicle; 3) The chronicle is a compilation of many histories; 4) Its author is Dorotheos of Monemvasia, who 5) published his work in Venice in the year "one thousand and six and thirty of the Incarnation" (*sanat alf wa-sitta wa-thalāthūn li-l-tajassud*); 6) Both translations were requested by Makarios, and, finally, 7) the first book (i.e., the chronicle's second part) was translated by Paul and Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir, while the second was translated by Paul alone.

Consequently, as Ioana Feodorov correctly notes, the work mentioned by Paul here is the *Βιβλίον ἱστορικόν* (*Historical Book*) attributed to a certain Dorotheos of Monemvasia,[19] known among scholars as Pseudo-Dorotheos of Monemvasia's *Chronographos*, first printed and published in Venice in 1631.[20] This raises the question of how to interpret the publishing year mentioned by Paul in his introduction,

15 See MS Tripoli, Balamand 187, f. 2v. Note that the first folio of MS Beirut, USJ, BO 12, is missing, while from MS Beirut, USJ, BO 13, the first part of the work is missing.

16 See *HMLÉM* IV.1, p. 96.

17 This work is also unedited. It is found in many manuscripts, including the following, where the specified folios concern Paul's introduction: MSS Beirut, USJ, BO 11, f. 1v–3r; Homs, Greek Orthodox Diocese of Homs (henceforth, GODH) 38, f. 1v–3r; Homs, GODH 72, f. 5v–7r; Tripoli, Balamand 188, p. 1–4. I know also of the existence of a copy in St. Petersburg, to which I could not gain access, about which see Rosen, *Notices sommaires*, p. 129–135.

18 See R. G. Păun, "Pseudo-Dōrotheos of Monemvasia", in *CMR* 10, p. 181.

19 According to Ioana Feodorov, a large part of *Kitāb al-tārīkh al-Rūmī* is to be considered a translation of Dorotheos of Monemvasia's *Chronographos*; see Feodorov, "Paul of Aleppo", p. 356. See also Rosen, *Notices sommaires*, p. 129–131.

20 On him and the discussion among scholars, etc., see Păun, "Pseudo-Dōrotheos of Monemvasia", and the references there.

that is, *sanat alf wa-sitta wa-thalāthūn* (1036). It is plausible that a part of the given year is missing, and it should be read as *sanat alf wa-sittat* [*mi'a wa-wāḥid*] *wa-thalāthūn* (the year one thousand and six [hundred] and thirty-[one]), corresponding to the year of publication of the first edition of the *Βιβλίον ἱστορικόν*.

This situation prompts us to question which source Makarios and his son accessed: Matthaios of Cyprus's *Νέα σύνοψις*, Dorotheos of Monemvasia's *Βιβλίον ἱστορικόν*, or both. Before addressing this question, we need to consider the following elements: 1) The structure and content of both *Kitāb al-tārīkh al-Rūmī* and *al-Durr al-manẓūm* align to some extent with that of the *Βιβλίον ἱστορικόν* published in Venice in 1631, which begins with the Creation of Adam and concludes with the year 1591, covering the period of sultan Murad III;[21] 2) Matthaios's *Νέα σύνοψις* was also published in Venice, but in 1637.[22] It begins with the Creation of the world and continues up to the time of the author, incorporating various earlier historical sources, including the *Βιβλίον ἱστορικόν*, without explicitly mentioning their titles;[23] 3) The complete titles of the printed versions of both *Βιβλίον ἱστορικόν* and Matthaios's *Νέα σύνοψις* are quite similar.[24] These points suggest a close relationship between the two works, making it plausible that Makarios and his son could have used either or both sources in their translations. Further textual analysis is required to determine which specific texts they referenced.

For a definitive conclusion, a critical edition of the Arabic translation is necessary, along with a comparison between it and the edition of the *Βιβλίον ἱστορικόν* published in 1631, as well as with Matthaios's *Νέα σύνοψις* printed in 1637.[25] Additionally, comparing the Arabic version with translations of both the *Βιβλίον*

21 Păun, "Pseudo-Dōrotheos of Monemvasia", p. 177.

22 Kyriakantonakis, Kitromilides, "Matthaios Kigalas", p. 200.

23 Kyriakantonakis, Kitromilides, "Matthaios Kigalas", p. 202.

24 Even if the title we find on the printed cover of Pseudo-Dorotheos's *Chronographos* is *Βιβλίον ἱστορικόν περιέχον ἐν συνόψει διαφόρους καὶ ἐξόχους ἱστορίας: Αρχόμενον ἀπό Κτίσεως Κόσμου μέχρι τῆς ἁλώσεως Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ επέκεινα...* (*The book of histories containing various and excellent histories in abridged form. Beginning from the Creation of the world up to the fall of Constantinople and thereafter...*), inside the book we find the following title: *Σύνοψις Ἱστοριῶν ἀρχομένη ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου μέχρι τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ...* (*Synopsis of histories from the Creation of the world to the reign...*), whose beginning is indeed similar to the one of Matthaios's chronicle, i.e., *Νέα σύνοψις διαφόρων ἱστοριῶν ἀρχομένη ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου και λήγουσα ἕως τήν νῦν ἐχρονίαν* (*New synopsis of diverse histories from the Creation of the world to the present...*).

25 See also the opinion of Victor Rosen regarding this matter, in Rosen, *Notices sommaires*, p. 139, where he concludes that the attribution to Matthaios is Makarios's error and not the copyists'. Additionally, even though the Arabic text follows the work of Pseudo-Dorotheos, it contains some important additions, such as indexes and other sections. See also Serikoff et al. (eds.), *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 546–547.

ἱστορικόν and *Νέα σύνοψις*, such as those in Russian, Romanian, Georgian, and Turkish,[26] would further enhance our knowledge of the transmission of these works, their complexity, and the interdependence of the two.[27] However, such an investigation is beyond the scope of this contribution, which focuses on the section concerning the Council of Florence as transmitted in *al-Durr al-manẓūm*.[28]

As we will see, the differences between the manuscripts that copy *al-Durr al-manẓūm* are sometimes significant, highlighting the necessity of producing a critical edition of the Arabic text. Such an edition would not only help verify its Greek source but would also illuminate the complexity of its transmission. In fact, four of the eight manuscripts that I have surveyed[29] include, within the narrative on the Emperor John VIII Palaiologos, a section concerning the Council of Florence. This section, according to its *incipit*, considers the Council as the Eighth Ecumenical Council.[30]

خبر المجمع الثامن الذي صار في مدينة فلورنصا التي هى بقرب رومية ومن كان فيه من روسا الكهنة والكهنة والملك والبطريرك، وفي اي زمانٍ كان ذلك وماذا صارت عاقبة امرهم

> Report concerning the Eighth Council held in the city of Florence, which is near Rome, and concerning those who took part in it, bishops, priests, the king and the patriarch, and concerning the time in which it occurred and what happened because of their decision.

The remaining manuscripts not only exclude the section on Florence but also omit the entire narrative on John VIII Palaiologos. Indeed, after the account on Manuel II Palaiologos, these manuscripts contain a section titled *Ibtidā' al-hijra al-islāmīya*, *The Beginning of the Islamic* [*Era of*] *Hejira*, which can be considered an introduction to the Ottoman period that the following part of the work narrates.[31] However, an analysis of the content of this introduction, in relation to the preceding and

26 Păun, "Pseudo-Dōrotheos of Monemvasia", p. 181.

27 On which, see also the study of Gh. M. Țipău, *Identitate post-bizantină în sud-estul Europei. Mărturia scrierilor istorice greceşti*, Bucharest, 2013, p. 141–167, 233.

28 It must be noted that the *Βιβλίον ἱστορικόν* also contains a section on the Council of Florence; see Păun, "Pseudo-Dōrotheos of Monemvasia", p. 177. Even if the copy Makarios III had in his hands was the first printed edition, the analysis below will be limited to the Arabic translation and its use by the patriarch himself.

29 Although I could not gain access to MS St. Petersburg, IOM, C 358, according to the description of Rosen, the work includes this section on the Council of Florence; see Rosen, *Notices sommaires*, p. 138.

30 The section on the Council of Florence is found in MSS Damascus, GOP 261, f. 190r–206v; Aleppo, FGMS, Ar. 199, f. 200r–220r; Ṣarbā, OBA 804, f. 170v–185r; Durham, NC, DUL, Arabic 18, f. 190v–211v; see also, based on the information given by Rosen, *Notices sommaires*, p. 138, MS St. Petersburg, IOM, C 358, f. 151v–166r.

31 See MSS Aleppo, FGMS, Ar. 470, f. 139r; Tripoli, Balamand 187, f. 123v; Beirut, USJ, BO 12, f. 124r; Beirut, USJ, BO 13, f. 229r.

following narratives, reveals confusion in the historical and chronological order of events. This seems to result from a deliberate effort to exclude the account on the Council of Florence and its consideration as ecumenical.

A detail that supports the notion of deliberate exclusion is the following: In one of the manuscripts that copy the narrative on John VIII Palaiologos and the Council of Florence, we find, immediately after the account on Constantine XI Palaiologos and the fall of Constantinople, a section on Manuel II Palaiologos. This section is notable because there is no prior mention of Manuel II Palaiologos in the preceding account. For this section, the translator provides an *incipit*, informing us that the source of this and the subsequent sections is a historical work by the German Martin Crusius.[32] According to the translator, this part focuses on the period from the beginning of Muslim rule in Constantinople until the reign of Sultan Murad.[33]

Interestingly, this same section on Manuel II Palaiologos, with its *incipit*, appears before the narrative on John VIII Palaiologos and the Council of Florence in the other two manuscripts that copy this narrative.[34] This discrepancy could suggest a disordering of the leaves in the first manuscript. However, the more significant point is the presence of this *incipit* in the three manuscripts at the beginning of the narrative on Manuel II Palaiologos. This placement indicates a new part in the chronicle, marking the fall of Constantinople and the start of the Islamic Ottoman era. In fact, one of these three manuscripts explicitly shows this element through the title given to this part: *Min ajl saby madīnat al-Qusṭanṭīnīya* (*On the Fall of Constantinople*).[35] It must be noted, finally, that one manuscript does indeed have an *incipit* for the account on Manuel II Palaiologos, indicating the start of a new section in the work, i.e., the one dedicated to the Islamic Ottoman era; however, this *incipit* does not mention Crusius's historical work.[36]

As previously said, the manuscripts that exclude the account on John VIII Palaiologos and the Council of Florence also contain a section on the beginning of the Islamic and Ottoman era in Constantinople. This section, however, starts immediately after the part on Manuel II Palaiologos. It is noteworthy that in this

32 About him and his work, see G. Ph. Wolf, "Martin Crusius (1526–1607). Philhellene und Universitätsprofessor", in E. Schneider (ed.), *Fränkische Lebensbilder*, vol. XXII, Würzburg, 2009, p. 103–119.

33 See MS Ṣarbā, OBA 804, f. 199v.

34 See MSS Aleppo, FGMS, Ar. 199, f. 198v; Damascus, GOP 261, f. 188r. We can say the same concerning MS St. Petersburg, IOM, C 358. According to Rosen, *Notices sommaires*, p. 138, this section is copied on f. 150v.

35 See MS Aleppo, FGMS, Ar. 199, f. 198v. Note that the other two manuscripts indicate in the *incipit* the source of this part, namely, the work of Martin Crusius.

36 MS Durham, NC, DUL, Arabic 18, f. 189r.

manuscript tradition, the section on Manuel II Palaiologos is identical to the one found in the other group of manuscripts, but it lacks an *incipit*.

All these elements demonstrate that there are two families of manuscripts that transmit *al-Durr al-manẓūm*. The second family shows that, for theological or apologetic reasons, there was an attempt to exclude this account, resulting in modifications to the structure and content of this part of the chronicle. This effort suggests an attempt to assert Makarios's Orthodoxy according to the Seven Councils, in opposition to the version in the first family of manuscripts, which presents a sort of acceptance of the Council of Florence and its doctrine. In fact, the colophon of MS Tripoli, Balamand 187, copied in 1875 and belonging to the second family, warns on folio 148v against any modification or alteration of the text, under threat of anathema by the Trinitarian God, the Seven Councils, and Makarios III himself. The same colophon informs us that this manuscript was copied from another one dated to 1654-1655. It was signed by the Patriarch Makarios III, who asked the priest Mūsā ibn al-Ḥājj Yūsuf ibn Swīdān, one of his companions during his first journey to Europe, to copy it.

Here follows a table that summarizes the analysis up to this point.

MS	Date	Makarios's introduction	*Incipit*	Indexes	Matthaios's preface	Section on Florence
St. Petersburg, IOM, C 358	1659–1667[37]	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ṣarbā, OBA 804	1667	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Aleppo, FGMS, Ar. 199	After 1667	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Beirut, USJ, BO 13	17th c. (?)	Missing	Missing	Missing	Missing	No
Aleppo, FGMS, Ar. 470	1679	No	Yes[38]	No	No	No
Durham, NC, DUL Arabic 18	Before 1699[39]	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Beirut, USJ, BO 12	1790	Missing	Missing	Missing	Missing	No

37 Concerning the date of the composition, see Rosen, *Notices sommaires*, p. 141; see also Serikoff et al. (eds.), *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 545–547.

38 The *incipit*, however, belongs to three leaves written by another scribe, as mentioned in n. 11 above.

39 See https://find.library.duke.edu/catalog/DUKE008004921 (accessed June 12, 2024).

MS	Date	Makarios's introduction	*Incipit*	Indexes	Matthaios's preface	Section on Florence
Damascus, GOP 261	1866	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Tripoli, Balamand 187	1875	No	Yes[40]	No	No	No

According to the data we have, the oldest manuscripts in the list above, MSS St. Petersburg, IOM C 358, Ṣarbā, OBA 804, and Aleppo, FGMS, Ar. 199, not only transmit, as we will see, a revised version of the earliest version of *al-Durr al-manẓūm*, but also contain some noteworthy elements: 1) The first manuscript includes illustrations of the emperors and the sultans by Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir;[41] 2) The other two manuscripts have spaces left for such illustrations that were never added, probably because Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir died in 1667, before completing them;[42] 3) This suggests that the archetype of these two later manuscripts was MS St. Petersburg, IOM, C 358, copied by Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir, but it belonged to Paul, Makarios ibn al-Zaʿīm's son, who added numerous marginal glosses and notes.[43] 4) Since the archetype and, consequently, the other two manuscripts include Makarios's introduction, it likely means that they were based on a version revised by the patriarch himself; 5) After the *Khabar,* i.e., the section dedicated to the Council of Florence, all three manuscripts add a note concerning the Council, attributed to Makarios III. This note, i.e., *Ḥāshiya*, has the following *incipit*:[44]

حاشية لكير ماكاريوس بطريرك انطاكية الحلبي مما وجده مكتوبًا في نسخة باللسان الرومي

A note by Kyr Makarios of Aleppo, Patriarch of Antioch, from what he found written in a Greek manuscript.[45]

40 The *incipit* in this manuscript, analyzed above (see n. 15), is different from the one we find in the other manuscripts.

41 See Rosen, *Notices sommaires*, p. 141; Serikoff et al. (eds.), *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 545–547.

42 This is certain at least for MS Ṣarbā, OBA 804, since it was copied by Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir himself, and in the same way he copied MS St. Petersburg, IOM, C 358. It seems that he died before even starting to work on the illustrations of the kings and sultans.

43 See Rosen, *Notices sommaires*, p. 139–141.

44 Aleppo, FGMS, Ar. 199, f. 220r–v; Ṣarbā, OBA 804, f. 185v–186r. The same we can say concerning MS St. Petersburg, IOM, C 358. According to Rosen, *Notices sommaires*, p. 138–140, this note is copied on f. 166v.

45 Litt., "written in a copy [composed] in the language of the *Rūm*".

Another manuscript that belongs to this family, containing the section on the Council of Florence and the *Ḥāshiya*,[46] namely, MS Durham, NC, DUL, Arabic 18, lacks blank spaces for illustrations. All these manuscripts also have the *incipit* placed before Makarios's introduction, the indexes, and the preface attributed to Matthaios of Cyprus. The fifth manuscript belonging to this family, namely, MS Damascus, GOP 261, besides also having spaces for non-added illustrations, shares all the aforementioned elements except the *Ḥāshiya*, i.e., Makarios's note. The absence of the *Ḥāshiya* in a manuscript with the section on the Council of Florence might indicate either that the *Ḥāshiya* was inserted at a later stage or that the copyist omitted it on purpose. If the latter hypothesis is correct, then one might wonder from where this *Ḥāshiya* derives. This important question will be addressed in the analysis below.

The section on the Council of Florence is extracted from *al-Durr al-manẓūm* and included in Makarios's catechetical collection known as *Majmūʿ laṭīf*, where history, ecclesiastical practices, spirituality, and dogma intertwine without a clear organizing principle.[47] The *Majmūʿ* is a literary genre that was widespread at the time, where the compiler gathers sections and parts, usually derived from works he himself had composed or translated.[48] For this reason, and as I shall explain below, it is very plausible to suggest that the section on the Council of Florence found in *Majmūʿ laṭīf* was extracted from the first draft of *al-Durr al-manẓūm*.

Despite *Majmūʿ laṭīf* being copied in at least three manuscripts, I could only access one of them, MS Tripoli, University of Balamand, Institute of History, Archaeology & Near Eastern Studies (IOHANES) – 39 (henceforth, IOHANES 39),[49] whose date is difficult to determine due to lacunae at the beginning and end. Nonetheless, it can be argued that it (or its source) was copied before 1660.[50]

46 Durham, NC, DUL, Arabic 18, f. 210v–211r.

47 For more details on this work, see *HMLÉM* IV.1, p. 97–99.

48 On the literary genre of *Majmūʿ*, see S. Abou el-Rousse Slim, "Le manuscrit 'Majmūʿ mubārak' du Patriarche Macaire III Zaʿīm", *al-Machriq*, 68, 1994, p. 181–182.

49 The other two manuscripts are MS Ṣarbā, OBA 600, dated to 1670, and MS Damascus, GOP 500, dated to the 17th century. For the first manuscript, see a detailed description in M. Abrass, "Le manuscrit 'Majmūʿ laṭīf' du Patriarche Macaire III Zaʿīm (1647–1672)", *al-Machriq*, 68, 1994, p. 421–448, while for the second see the information given in R. el Gemayel, "Les manuscrits du Patriarcat grec-orthodoxe de Damas dans l'*Histoire* de Joseph Nasrallah et Rachid Haddad: Index et concordance avec le catalogue d'Élias Gebara", in Ž. Paša (ed.), *Between the Cross and the Crescent. Studies in Honor of Samir Khalil Samir S.J. on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, Rome, 2018, p. 251–252.

50 According to Abrass's description of MS Ṣarbā, OBA 600, between the years 1660 and 1670 Makarios revisited some parts of this work and added some others, as the different colophons of the manuscript testify; see Abrass, "Le manuscrit", p. 425–426. Examining, however, MS IOHANES 39, these colophons, added to sections already present in the manuscript, are missing, which leads to maintain that it (or its source) was copied before these additions.

According to the colophon of this manuscript, on f. 270r, the *Majmūʿ laṭīf* was compiled by the patriarch himself and concluded in 1658, while he was visiting a monastery in Câmpulung, Wallachia, during the last year of his first journey.[51] However, various colophons inside the manuscript, written by Makarios himself after some sections, confirm that the entire work was composed at different periods.[52]

A careful comparison between the version of the *Khabar* found in *Majmūʿ laṭīf*[53] and the version in *al-Durr al-manẓūm* demonstrates that they are two quite different texts. The version in *Majmūʿ laṭīf* is longer, contains some more details, and from a linguistic point of view, is written in Middle Arabic, while the version in *al-Durr al-manẓūm* is abbreviated and features more accurate Arabic. For example, one can provide the titles in both versions:

Title in *Majmūʿ laṭīf*	خبر المجمع الثامن الذي صار في مدينة فلورنصا التي هى بقرب رومية *واسامي* من كان فيه *من الملوك والبطاركة وروسا الكهنة* والكهنة *والاكليرس* وفي اي زمان كان ذلك وماذا *جرى بينهم واخيرًا كيف انتهت امورهم*
	Report concerning the Eighth Council held in the city of Florence, which is near Rome, and *the names* of those who took part in it, *kings*, *patriarchs*, *bishops*, priests and *clergy*, and the time in which it occurred and what *happened between them and, finally, how things concluded*
Title in *al-Durr al-manẓūm*	خبر المجمع الثامن الذي صار في مدينة فلورنصا التي هى بقرب رومية ومن كان فيه من روسا الكهنة والكهنة *والملك والبطريرك*، وفي اي زمانٍ كان ذلك وماذا *صارت عاقبة امرهم*
	Report concerning the Eighth Council held in the city of Florence, which is near Rome, and those who took part in it, bishops, priests, *the king and the patriarch*, and the time in which it occurred and what *happened because of their decision*

51 On his stay in Wallachia, see I. Feodorov, "La Chronique de Valachie (1292–1664). *Tawārīkh wa akhbār mukhtaṣira ʿan afandiyyat al-Aflākh*. Texte arabe du patriarche Macaire Zaʿīm. Introduction, édition arabe et traduction française", *MUSJ*, 52 (1991–1992), 1995, p. 3–71. See also I. Feodorov, "Un lettré melkite voyageur aux Pays Roumains: Paul d'Alep", *Kalimat al-Balamand. Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines de l'Université de Balamand*, 4, 1996, p. 55–62; O. Olar, "The Travels of Makāriyūs Ibn al-Zaʿīm across Moldavia and Wallachia (1653–1654; 1656–1658): Documents from Romanian Repositories", in Y. Petrova, I. Feodorov (eds.), *Europe in Arabic Sources: The Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch. Proceeding of the International Conference "In the Eyes of the Orient: Europe in Arabic Sources" (Kyiv, 22–23 September 2015)*, Kyiv, 2016, p. 135–159.

52 See, e.g., MS IOHANES 39, f. 221v, 227v, 270r.

53 For the narrative, see MS IOHANES 39, f. 236v–268r. Abrass's description confirms that the *Khabar* is present also in MS Ṣarbā, OBA 600, and that its title is the same as the one in *al-Durr al-manẓūm*; see Abrass, "Le manuscrit", p. 447–448.

All this suggests that the version we have in *al-Durr al-manẓūm* is indeed a revised version, completed after the patriarch's first journey. In contrast, the version in *Majmūʿ laṭīf* belongs to *al-Durr al-manẓūm*'s first draft composed by Makarios and his collaborators. To support this hypothesis, we should consider the following element.

The *Khabar* in *Majmūʿ laṭīf* concludes with a colophon by the patriarch, affirming that it was copied in 1657, i.e., some months before he concluded the entire work. Among the few things he wrote in these months and added to the collection[54] is a passage annexed to the same *Khabar*,[55] which I refer to as a *Dhayl*. A careful reading of the *Dhayl* reveals similarities with the *Ḥāshiya* copied in *al-Durr al-manẓūm*. However, the *Dhayl* is longer and is written without the *incipit* transmitted in *al-Durr al-manẓūm*.[56] In fact, it has another *incipit* that states the following:[57]

اعلم بانّنا وجدنا في النسخ الرومية بان الافرنج في القديم لمّا انشقّوا من الكنيسة الجامعة كان في سنة ستة الاف ومايتين وتسعة عشر للعالم

> Know that we have found in [some] Greek manuscripts that the Franks of old, when they split off from the Catholic Church, the year was 6219 of the world

Consequently, we have a *Dhayl*, a passage annexed by Makarios to the *Khabar* on Florence, copied in his *Majmūʿ laṭīf*, which, after being abridged, was annexed to an abbreviated and more accurate version of the same *Khabar* in *al-Durr al-manẓūm*, where it was considered a note, a *Ḥāshiya*, written by the patriarch.

These three texts also circulated in other manuscripts not related to *al-Durr al-manẓūm*. In fact, MS Ṣarbā, OBA 828, includes the *Khabar* with the *Ḥāshiya* and its *incipit*. In this manuscript, copied after the split in the Patriarchate of Antioch in 1724 for apologetical reasons, in an attempt to defend the Union with Rome, the *Khabar* is transmitted as an independent text and exactly according to the version of *al-Durr al-manẓūm* that includes the *Ḥāshiya*. It is composed of three parts:

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54 As we will see immediately, after the *Khabar*, Makarios annexes a passage to it, then he writes the colophon on f. 271r. After that, he adds another paragraph on the separations between the Western and Eastern Churches before the Great Schism (see below 3.1), and then he adds yet another treatise. The manuscript, however, has a lacuna at the end, so we do not know whether there were other treatises, another colophon, etc.

55 See MS IOHANES 39, f. 268r–270r. From the description of Abrass it is impossible to know whether MS Ṣarbā, OBA 600, copies this annexed passage or not.

56 In fact, since the *Majmūʿ laṭīf* was composed by the patriarch himself, there was no need to specify that it is a note written by him, which had to be mentioned in *al-Durr al-manẓūm*. This indicates that the note was inserted after the revision was concluded.

57 MS IOHANES 39, f. 268r.

1) The section on Florence (the *Khabar*); 2) The note by Makarios (the *Ḥāshiya*); 3) The rest of the narrative on John VIII Palaiologos, which follows the *Ḥāshiya* in *al-Durr al-manẓūm*.[58]

Similarly, MS Ṣarbā, OBA 372, dated to the year 1719, i.e., some years before the split, was composed to defend the Union with Rome and the righteousness of the Catholic doctrines. This manuscript copies the *Dhayl* as an independent treatise without, however, any attribution to Makarios. For its apologetical purposes, the *incipit* of the *Dhayl*, as transmitted in *Majmū‘ laṭīf*, is modified as follows:[59]

وجدنا في النسخ الرومية على افتراق الروم من الافرنج

We have found in [some] Greek manuscripts on the separation of the *Rūm* from the Franks

The *Dhayl* is also copied independently and anonymously in MS Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Special Collections, Mingana (henceforth, Mingana) Ar. Ch. 59, a manuscript dated to the end of the 18th century, which, according to Alphonse Mingana, was copied by a Syrian scribe around the year 1780.[60] This manuscript is a collection of various treatises on historical, biblical, liturgical, spiritual, and theological issues, some written directly in Arabic and others translated from Greek. The *Dhayl* is transmitted according to its version in *Majmū‘ laṭīf* with the same *incipit*.[61] Given that this manuscript also copies some parts from Patriarch Makarios's *Majmū‘ laṭīf*,[62] it is certain that the *Dhayl* derives directly from this collection.

Finally, we find the *Dhayl* copied separately and anonymously in MS Tripoli, Balamand 131, a manuscript copied in 1830 and containing various prayers, liturgical treatises, hagiographies, short poems, and apologetic works. Unfortunately, only one folio from the *Dhayl* remains, and the text on this folio is struck through by the hand of another Orthodox reader. In fact, on a marginal note, this Orthodox reader expresses disagreement with the content of this text, rejecting the Council of Florence and its doctrine.[63] Nevertheless, we can notice that the passage is

58 MS Ṣarbā, OBA 828, f. 133v–167v.

59 MS Ṣarbā, OBA 372, f. 134v–136r.

60 See A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts: Now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement Selly Oak Birmingham*, vol. II, Cambridge, 1936, p. 85–83.

61 MS Birmingham, Mingana Ar. Ch. 59, f. 41v–43v.

62 A comparison between the content of this manuscript and the material found in *Majmū‘ laṭīf* demonstrates that the manuscript in the Mingana collection copies some parts of Makarios's miscellany.

63 MS Tripoli, Balamand 131, f. 61v.

transmitted according to the version in *Majmūʿ laṭīf*, with the same *incipit*. Besides the fact that this manuscript copies some parts of the patriarch's *Majmūʿ laṭīf*,[64] we find the expression *al-Majmaʿ al-thāmin* (the Eighth Council) written, highlighted, and colored two lines before the *Dhayl*. Thus, we can affirm, without any doubt, that the copyist of this manuscript had direct access to Makarios's *Majmūʿ laṭīf* and the *Khabar* transmitted in it.

Here follows a table that summarizes the transmission of the *Khabar,* the *Dhayl*, and the *Ḥāshiya* in the manuscripts I had access to.

Manuscript	**Date**	**Transmission of the *Khabar*, *Dhayl*, and *Ḥāshiya***
IOHANES 39	Before 1660	The *Dhayl* is annexed to the *Khabar* without any clear title/ *incipit*. It starts directly with its first sentence.
St. Petersburg, IOM, C 358	1659–1667	The *Ḥāshiya* is annexed to the *Khabar* and has an *incipit* that demonstrates the source, a note written by Makarios.
Ṣarbā, OBA 804	1667	
Aleppo, FGMS, Ar. 199	After 1667	
Durham, NC, DUL, Arabic 18	Before 1669	
Ṣarbā, OBA 828	18th century	
Ṣarbā, OBA 372	1719	Only the *Dhayl*, giving as title/ *incipit* the first sentence, modified.
Birmingham, Mingana Ar. Ch. 59	1780	Only the *Dhayl*, considering its first sentence as title/*incipit*.
Tripoli, Balamand 131	1830	
Damascus, GOP 261	1866	Only the *Khabar*.

64 *Al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya fī al-adyira al-urthūdhūksīya al-anṭākīya fī Lubnān*, vol. II, *Dayr Sayyidat al-Balamand*, Beirut, 1994, p. 112.

3 The *Dhayl* and the *Ḥāshiya*: Makarios's Position on the Union with Rome

To understand the relationships among the *Khabar,* the *Dhayl*, and the *Ḥāshiya*,[65] as well as their connections to Makarios III's stance on the Council of Florence and the union with Rome, we must first present the content of the *Dhayl*. After that, we will compare it with the *Ḥāshiya* and examine how they differ from the *Khabar.* The aim of this analysis is not to verify the accuracy of the historical facts presented in the accounts, but rather to understand the purposes behind his mentioning them.

3.1 The *Dhayl*: Makarios's Early Understanding of the Union with Rome

The brief narrative of the *Dhayl* aims to provide historical details about the Council of Florence, including who convoked it, for what reason, who attended, what doctrines were declared, who accepted them, and how these doctrines were later rejected in the East after initial acceptance. The narrative begins with the *incipit*: "Know that we have found in [some] Greek manuscripts that the Franks of old, when they split off from the Catholic Church…". Here, the composer explicitly claims that his narrative is based on Greek sources and states that the Franks, i.e., the Latins, split off (*inshaqqū*) from the Catholic Church in the year 6219 of the world (*li-l-ʿālam* = AM), a reference to the first period of Iconoclasm (726–787 AD). It is known that during this era there were tensions between Rome and Constantinople. However, the fact that the Latins are defined here as separating from the Catholic Church, i.e., the Universal Church and not the one of Rome, reflects an important ecclesiological stance.[66] Nevertheless, the position of the author, who immediately begins to narrate the period of the Council of Florence, is in favor of this council and the Union that occurred then.

The account starts in the year 1438 AD, when the pope was Eugene IV, who, according to the author, sought the Union between the Churches and therefore wrote to John VIII Palaiologos, the Byzantine emperor, to Joasaph, the patriarch of Constantinople, Philotheus, the patriarch of Alexandria, Dorotheos, the patriarch of Antioch, and Joachim, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and convoked them to

65 In the analysis below, I will not mention references to the texts of the *Khabar*, the *Dhayl* and the *Ḥāshiya*. The reader can consult them at the end of this contribution.

66 On the relationship between Eastern and Western Churches during Iconoclasm, see Th. F. X. Noble, "Iconoclasm, Images, and the West", in M. Humphreys (ed.), *A Companion to Byzantine Iconoclasm*, Leiden, 2021, p. 538–570.

the Council in Florence.[67] After two years, the Council was concluded and an agreement was reached, particularly on the Eucharistic bread, stating that while the Eucharist should be from leavened bread (*khamīr*),[68] each Church, East and West, could continue its traditional practices, that is, the practice handed down from the Holy Fathers.

Among the five topics discussed during the Council and on which agreements were reached, Eucharistic bread is the one explained in detail in the *Dhayl*, while the rest of the agreed points are also not ignored. The narrative asserts, as the same *Khabar* tells us, that two *Tomoi* of faith were written, one in Greek and the other in Latin, containing the agreements on the *Filioque*, leavened and unleavened bread (*azymes*), Purgatory, and "similar matters", as well as on the hierarchy of the pope and the Eastern patriarchs, based on the system of the Pentarchy established at the Seven Ecumenical Councils. Moreover, the narrative highlights a political aspect of the agreement: the Byzantine emperor and his descendants would govern both Latins and Greeks, and the kingdom in Constantinople would last forever. This final information reflects the economic, political, and military assistance the pope promised to the Byzantine emperor in exchange for accepting all the Western doctrines and signing the *Tomoi* of the Council of Florence.[69] It must be noted that the *Khabar* narrates these details extensively, but the way it is presented by the *Dhayl* suggests an attempt by the latter to place it in a positive light.

The *Tomoi* of faith were signed by the emperor, the pope, the patriarch of Constantinople, the representatives of the other three Eastern patriarchs, and the rest of the participants. According to the account, the decisions allowed both groups to keep their traditions, customs, and prayers, emphasizing that the Union was founded on the right faith based on the one Creed, likely alluding to that of

67 The only error one might notice here is the name of the patriarch of Constantinople, who at the time of the council was not Joasaph but Joseph II. This error, as we will see in the analysis below, is common in the *Khabar*. On the Council, its context, doctrine, and participants, see, among others, I. Ostroumov, *The History of the Council of Florence*, in J. M. Neale (ed.), London, 1861 (Reprint by Charleston, SC, Bibliolife, 2009); J. Gill, *The Council of Florence*, Cambridge, 1959; J. Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence and other Essays*, Oxford, 1964; A. Papadakis, *The Christian East and the Rise of Papacy: The Church AD 1071–1453*, Crestwood, NY, 1994, p. 379–408.

68 Indeed, in Florence, there was a discussion on Eucharistic bread and whether it was correct to use leavened or unleavened bread. However, we do not find among its decisions what the text asserts here. For this reason, in fact, this element was deleted from MS Birmingham, Mingana Ar. Ch. 59, which might indicate either a correction or elaboration meant to confirm the Catholic doctrine on the use of unleavened bread.

69 Undoubtedly, the Ottoman threat against Constantinople was one of the major concerns of the Byzantine emperor and an important point in the negotiations for the approval of the decisions taken at the Council.

Nicaea, without providing specific details.[70] A comparison with the narrative in the *Khabar* suggests that again the *Dhayl* aims to present the decisions of the Council of Florence as acceptable for the Eastern Churches.

The *Dhayl* also notes that on May 8, 1448, twelve years after the Council, the pope and the emperor sent Nathaniel, the metropolitan of Rhodes, with letters to the Eastern patriarchs containing the Council's decisions, starting with the patriarch of Antioch, whose residence had been moved to Damascus.[71] It is known that Nathaniel attended the Council and was one of the Greeks who accepted its decisions, as recorded in the *Khabar.* However, it appears that on the date mentioned in the *Dhayl*, the Metropolitan See of Rhodes was vacant.[72] For this reason, I think, the *Khabar* states that the letters were sent to the Eastern patriarchs with three different bishops.

Returning to the narrative of the *Dhayl*, the letters were translated, or better said, interpreted and explained (*fassara*), probably in Arabic, by the bishop of Beirut, who was in Damascus at that time, and consequently they were accepted. Despite this achieved Union, the *Dhayl* concludes that Satan succeeded in undermining both the doctrinal agreement and the act of love established between the Churches.[73]

A careful reading of the *Dhayl* reveals several elements indicating how its author takes into consideration the *Khabar* and its contents: 1) Three times, he explicitly refers to what was previously mentioned in the *Khabar,* stating in the first case "what was previously explained" (*mā taqaddama sharḥu-hu*), in the second "as we clarified previously" (*kamā awḍaḥnā sābiq*^{an}), and in the third "as it was written at the end of the explanation above" (*kamā huwa maktūb fī ākhir al-sharḥ aʿlā-hu*); 2) The first time the author of the *Dhayl* mentions the name of the patriarch of Constantinople, Joasaph (*Yūwāṣāf*), he uses the adjective "the aforementioned" (*al-madhkūr*), thus alluding to the *Khabar.* He also mistakenly aligns with the *Khabar* in considering Joasaph I (1462–1463) as the patriarch of Constantinople during the Council of Florence, instead of Joseph II (1416–1439); 3) The *explicit* of the *Dhayl* is also indicative: it states "the report (*Khabar*) of this Eighth Council was

70 This element should be read in relation to the fact that the text here does not discuss in detail the topic of the *Filioque*, but simply attests that the Churches are not forced to change anything in their prayers.

71 In fact, the Patriarchate was moved to Damascus in the 14th century.

72 See the catalog of names of the bishops and metropolitans of Rhodes at https://www.imr.gr/article/7/episkopikos-katalogos (accessed April 6, 2024).

73 On the acceptance of the Union in Florence by the Eastern Churches and its subsequent rejection, see D. J. Geanakoplos, "The Council of Florence (1438–1439) and the Problem of Union between the Greek and Latin Churches", *Church History*, 24, 1955, p. 324–346; Papadakis, *The Christian East*, p. 409–414.

completed…" (*najaza khabar hādhā al-majmaʿ al-thāmin…*), probably suggesting that the author considers the *Dhayl* and the *Khabar* as a single text.[74]

The author, despite declaring that he relied on Greek sources, adapts the *Dhayl*'s narrative to his Arabic and Antiochian context. For instance, he includes Nathaniel's mission to Damascus and the translation/interpretation of the Council's letters by the bishop of Beirut. In one case, he provides the given date according to Creation (Anno Mundi), the Christian Era (Anno Domini), and the Muslim Era of Hijra (Anno Hegirae), an element not found in the *Khabar.* This is not the only discrepancy between the *Dhayl* and the *Khabar.* For example, according to the latter, the Council was convoked by the emperor, while the former states it was convoked by the pope.[75] Additionally, the *Khabar* does not mention any agreement on leavened bread (*khamīr*) but only on the *azymes* (unleavened, *faṭīr*). Finally, the *Dhayl* includes new details absent from the *Khabar,* such as Nathaniel's mission and the "acceptance" of the Council's decisions in Damascus.

These elements lead to the conclusion that the *Dhayl* was composed by Makarios Ibn al-Zaʿīm himself. In fact, based on "new" sources written in Greek, which he probably accessed after compiling *al-Durr al-manẓūm*, Ibn al-Zaʿīm intended through the *Dhayl* to confirm, complete, and occasionally revise the statements in the *Khabar.* In other words, he aimed to place the Council of Florence in a more positive light, not merely to consider it the Eighth Ecumenical Council, as the *Khabar* does.

These details and the way they are mentioned reflect the patriarch's position, developed during that specific period, concerning the Council of Florence, and his understanding of the Union with Rome that occurred there: 1) It is a union (*ittiḥād*) between the Churches, an act he attributes to the pope, giving it a symbolic dimension; 2) The agreement is an act of charity (*ulfa*) and love (*maḥabba*); 3) It does not force any party to change their liturgical customs and theological traditions as transmitted by the Holy Fathers, and this should be read in relation to 4) the correctness of faith based on the one Creed.

This position of Makarios III can be also understood through a passage he adds after the colophon of *Majmūʿ laṭīf*, on folio 270v, where he declares that before this Eighth Council (*al-majmaʿ al-thāmin*) there were seven separations (*infiṣāl*) between the people of Constantinople and those of Rome, and that after each separation they were reunited. However, from the time of Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople, they were separated from each other (*infaṣalū min baʿḍi-him baʿḍ*)

74 Note that one might also suggest that the copyist could be referring to "news" with the term *khabar* rather than to "Report" as in *Khabar*.

75 On the importance of the figure of Pope Eugene, see J. Gill, *Eugenius IV: Pope of Christian Union*, London, 1961.

and their separation continues until this day.[76] This statement reflects three aspects of the patriarch's thinking: 1) The separation of the Latins is considered as from the Catholic (i.e., Universal) Church. 2) Historically, there was more than one separation between Westerners and Easterners; it was a reciprocal action. 3) A union after a separation is always possible.

Given that the *Dhayl* was authored between 1657 and 1658, it should be considered an authentic testimony of Makarios III's position concerning the Union with Rome. This topic was among the most significant debates during that period of his journey to Eastern Europe, both from the religious and the political perspectives.[77]

Indeed, even if the patriarch of Antioch had connections with the Latins in Syria, these connections gained considerable political importance during his first journey. This is evident, for instance, upon his arrival in Moscow in February 1655.[78] At the same time, negotiations between Moscow and the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth) were taking place in the capital of the Russian tsars, mediated by Habsburg ambassadors. These negotiations aimed, from a political standpoint, at the unification of the two states under Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, a matter that also raised discussions on the possibility of a Church union between the Orthodox and the Latins. It is also known that the tsar's representatives aimed to ensure that this union respected the religious traditions, customs, and prayers of both sides, without imposing any change to them.

It is not surprising that Makarios participated in these discussions, and in 1657 he wrote two letters, one to the tsar and the other to the patriarch of Moscow Nikon, regarding the validity of Latin baptism.[79] Moreover, according to the testimony of his son Paul, while in Moscow, Makarios had access to numerous Greek manuscripts, some from Mount Athos, where he could find material regarding the Union with Rome as well as the validity of the Latin baptism.

It is highly plausible that these Athonite manuscripts are the sources to which Makarios refers in the *incipit* of the *Dhayl*. Indeed, it is known that his opinion on

76 MS IOHANES 39, f. 270r-v.

77 The analysis here is based on Tchentsova, "Le Patriarche d'Antioche", p. 317–322; for more details, see the references given there.

78 On the various sojourns of Makarios in Russia, mainly in Moscow, see C.-M. Walbiner, "The Second Journey of Macarius Ibn az-Zaʿīm to Russia (1666–1668)", in S. Abou el-Rousse Slim, G. Nahas (eds.), *Rūsiyā wa-urthūdhuks al-Sharq / La Russie et les orthodoxes en Orient*, Balamand, 1998, p. 99–114; C.-M. Walbiner, "Traces of Russian (Church) History in the Writings of Makarios ibn al-Zaʿīm", in I. Feodorov, B. Heyberger, S. Noble (eds.), *Arabic Christianity between the Ottoman Levant and Eastern Europe*, Leiden/Boston, 2021, p. 95–114.

79 On these letters and the context in which they were written, see Tchentsova, "Le Patriarche d'Antioche", p. 322–326.

the validity of the Latin baptism was also influenced by the position of Markos of Ephesus, one of the most important Greek participants in the Council of Florence.[80]

The *Dhayl* was written during Makarios's journey back home, precisely when he left Moscow and headed to Wallachia. This coincides with the same period and place in which the two aforementioned letters were composed. The prince of Wallachia was seeking connections with the Latins and Western European rulers in his attempt to fight the Ottomans, although the Wallachians remained Orthodox and did not accept the Latin dogmas.[81] Consequently, if the two letters on the validity of the Latin baptism are to be understood within the political context of Walachia, it is also appropriate to read the *Dhayl* and its content within the same political and theological framework.

3.2 The *Ḥāshiya* and Makarios's Greater Closeness to the Latins

In July 1659, Makarios returned to Damascus, bringing with him the *Majmūʿ laṭīf*, wherein he had annexed the *Dhayl* to the *Khabar*. It is plausible that either his son and close collaborator Paul, or more likely Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir, produced, probably at Makarios's request, a new, revised, and more accurate version of *al-Durr al-manẓūm*. This version included an abbreviated form of the *Dhayl*, considered a *Ḥāshiya*, a note, which was attributed to Makarios himself, as previously mentioned. Indeed, Paul's copy of *al-Durr al-manẓūm*, the earliest manuscript known to us that witnesses this version, was completed after the first journey and incorporates the *Ḥāshiya*.[82]

A comparative analysis between the two texts, coupled with a linguistic and structural examination, elucidates the techniques employed by the abbreviator of the *Dhayl*: 1) He rewrote some passages, reformulating verbs and expressions so the sentences became shorter, as illustrated by examples 1, 2 and 3 in the table below; 2) In certain cases, elements within a passage were omitted, as they were deemed unimportant or redundant, as in example 3, where the author mentions the given date according to one era, while disregarding other eras present in the original text; 3) In other cases, entire sentences or passages were omitted, as demonstrated by example 4:

80 Cf. Tchentsova, "Le Patriarche d'Antioche", p. 321.

81 For more details, see Tchentsova, "Le Patriarche d'Antioche", p. 323–325.

82 The fact that the annexed passage was considered a note can be explained by the way we find the *Dhayl* in the *Majmūʿ laṭīf* as witnessed in MS IOHANES 39, where the *incipit* is written in the left margin of f. 268r.

	Dhayl	Ḥāshiya
1	*ولأجل قوة* عضدهم *وكثرتهم* استحوذوا على كرسي *مدينة* رومية*وصاروا يحكموا* على*كافّة الجزاير وساير البلاد الغربية* وصار يقوم فيهم بابا بعد بابا على رومية إلى سنة ستة آلاف وتسعماية وخمسة وثلاثين للعالم *الموافق ألف وأربعماية وثمانية وثلثين لتجسّد المسيح* وكان وقتيذٍ على رومية بابا يدعا اسمه افجانيوس	*وبقوتهم* استحوذوا على كرسي رومية *وحكموا* على ساير الجزاير الغربية وبلادها وصار يقوم بابا بعد بابا إلى سنة ستة آلاف وتسعماية خمسة وثلاثين للعالم وكان وقتيذٍ على رومية بابا اسمه افجانيوس
2	وكان وقتيذٍ يوحنا البالاولوغس ملك الروم في القسطنطينية وكان عليها بطركا يدعا يواصف المذكور وكان على الاسكندريّة فيلوثاوس بطركًا وعلى أنطاكية فكان ضوروثاوس بطركاً وكان على أورشليم يواكيم بطريركا	وكان وقتيذٍ ملك القسطنطينية يوحنا البالاولوغس وبطركها يواصف وبطرك الاسكندريّة فيلوثاوس وأنطاكية دوروثاوس وأورشليم يواكيم
3	ووصل خبر هذا الاتفاق بمكاتبه من يوحنا الملك المذكور ومن افجانيوس البابا المذكور إلى الثلثه بطاركة واحضر هذه الرسايل ناتانائييل مطران رودس إلى مدينة دمشق المحروسة *وأوصلها ليد البطرك كير* دوروثاوس الأنطاكي *لأنّه كان وقتيذٍ موجودًا هناك وكان ذلك* في الثامن من شهر *أيّار سنة ستة آلاف وتسعماية وثمانية وأربعين للعالم الموافق لسنة ألف وأربعماية وثمانية وأربعين للتجسّد الإلهي وفي الخامس من شهر ذي الحجّة سنة ثمانماية وثلاثة وثلثين للهجره وفسر هذه الرسايل المنكورة* مطران بيروت في دمشق المحروسة *وانبثت هذه الرسايل في دمشق وما يليها*	ووصل خبر هذا الاتفاق بمكاتبه من الملك يوحنا ومن البابا افجانيوس إلى الثلاثه بطاركة واحضر هذه الرسايل ناثاناييل مطران رودس إلى مدينة دمشق المحروسة للبطريرك دوروثاوس الأنطاكي في الثامن من شهر أيّار سنة ألف وأربعماية ثمانية وأربعين للتجسّد *وفسرها* مطران بيروت في دمشق وانبثت *في ذلك الصقع كله*
4	وهكذا رجع كل واحدٍ منهم إلى مكانه شاكرين لله لأن الإنجيل المقدس الطاهر يقول أين ما كان منكم اثنين أو ثلاثة على اسمي فأنا أكون فيما بينهم، فكيف إذا التحم الاتفاق والمحبّة بين هولاء الربوات ربوات والألوف ألوف وشكروا السيد المسيح على ذلك، الذي اطلع وافتقد شعبه وأفاض بينهم المحبّة والالفة	

Additionally, it is important to note that the way the two texts conclude is different: while in the *Dhayl*, referring to the rejection of the union of Florence in the East as an act of Satan, the author refers back to explanations provided earlier in the *Khabar*, the *Ḥāshiya* refers to what would be mentioned in the account henceforth, stating "*kamā sa-nadhkur*" ("as we will mention"), which indicates a continuation of the narrative on John VIII Palaiologos.

However, upon examining the two versions of the *Khabar*, one might argue that the stylistic and linguistic modifications were usually applied by the editor responsible for the revised version of *al-Durr al-manẓūm*. Nonetheless, some important doctrinal changes between the *Ḥāshiya* and the *Dhayl* deserve attention. For instance, in one case the expression "the Franks split off from the Catholic Church" is changed to "were separated from us", where the verb *inshaqqa* ("to split off") is replaced by *infaṣala* ("to separate"), and *min al-Kanīsa al-jāmi'a* (from the Catholic, i.e., Universal, Church) is replaced with *min-nā* ("from us"). In another

case, the *ittiḥād fī al-kanā'is* ("Union between the Churches"), representing the desire of Pope Eugene, is altered to *yaḍummu al-kanā'is ilā ra'y wāḥid* ("to bring the Churches together to one opinion"):

	Dhayl	Ḥāshiya
1	الافرنج في القديم لمّا *انشقّوا من الكنيسة الجامعة*	الافرنج *انفصلوا منا*
2	وكان وقتيذٍ على رومية بابا يدعا اسمه افجانيوس فهجس في قلبه فكر صالح هو ومن طابقه على ذلك بأن يرسل إلى ملك الروم والبطاركة ويعمل معهم محبّة *ويصير ايتحاد في الكنايس*	وكان وقتيذٍ على رومية بابا اسمه افجانيوس فهجس في قلبه فكر صالح وهو أن يرسل إلى ملك الروم والبطاركة ويعمل معهم محبّة *ويضم الكنائس الى* **راي** *واحد*

These changes, in my view, reflect Makarios's evolving attitude towards the Latins after his first journey, especially during the period when he moved his patriarchal residence from Damascus to Aleppo, spanning from 1661 to 1664. During this phase, the patriarch strengthened his contacts with Latin missionaries and the French consul François Picquet. He also made efforts to establish connections with Rome, not only for the printing and publishing of liturgical books in Arabic but also because he believed in restoring the unity of all Christians, to overcome the unfortunate schism. Consequently, he not only intensified and deepened his relationships with local Catholic circles, such as the Maronites and the Syrian clergy loyal to Rome, but he also expressed his desire to visit Rome. Ultimately, to achieve his goals, he signed a Catholic profession of faith and forwarded it to the Propaganda Fide.[83]

Analyzing the modifications made in the abbreviated text, we can infer that they reflect Makarios's increased closeness to the Latin Church, which began during this specific period and persisted thereafter. In fact, the Roman Curia viewed Makarios's position as a tangible example of closeness between Rome and the Eastern Churches, which could lead to their official attachment to the Roman Church.[84]

Makarios III embarked on a new journey to Orthodox Christian countries between 1664 and 1668,[85] during which he continued to play an important part on the political and ecclesiastical scene. He was involved in negotiations between the Russian Orthodox Church and other Orthodox Churches, on one side, and the

83 For more details concerning Makarios's position towards the Latins in this period, see Tchentsova, "Le Patriarche d'Antioche", p. 326–330.

84 Tchentsova, "Le Patriarche d'Antioche", p. 335.

85 On this second journey, see Walbiner, "The Second Journey". See also the references in n. 78 above.

Kingdom of Poland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the Church of Rome, on the other.[86]

Although upon his return to Syria Makarios adopted a more conservative Orthodox position, moderating his openness towards the Latin missionaries,[87] his desire to establish unity with Rome remained paramount. In 1671, he drafted two letters to the French consuls outlining the common principles of confidence between the Orthodox and the Latin Churches, intending for them to be published in Rome. However, his death a year later ended this attempt of closeness to the Church of Rome.[88]

4 Concluding Remarks

Scholars agree that Makarios's stance towards the Latin Church was not consistent. At times, he leaned towards the Orthodox side, seeking assistance and support for his flock, while at other times, especially when the Orthodox were unable to provide the necessary aid, his proximity to the Latins increased, as he was hoping to receive aid from them.

My study aims to illustrate Makarios ibn al-Zaʿīm's position towards the Latin Church and to trace the development of his understanding of the Union between Western and Eastern Churches through an analysis of three texts belonging to his corpus of works, which focus on the Council of Florence and the Union achieved there.

Makarios's positive stance towards the Latins began to develop during his first journey, especially after his involvement in the negotiations between the Orthodox and the Latins upon his arrival in Moscow in February 1655. This date is crucial, as it signifies a turning point in Makarios's policy and thinking. Evidence found in the colophon of MS Tripoli, Balamand 187, supports this hypothesis.

If these details are accurate, it suggests that after 1655, the patriarch began to reflect on a potential union with Rome as a result of his participation in the theological discussions during and after his sojourn in Moscow, influenced by its particular geopolitical context. During this period of reflection, he extracted the *Khabar* on Florence from *al-Durr al-manẓūm* and included it in his *Majmūʿ laṭīf*. Then, he annexed to it a passage, a *Dhayl*, on the same Council, to confirm, complete, and even modify what was stated in the *Khabar.* This addition demonstrates

86 Tchentsova, "Le Patriarche d'Antioche", p. 330–334.
87 Cf. Walbiner, "Macarius Ibn al-Zaʿīm", p. 344.
88 Tchentsova, "Le Patriarche d'Antioche", p. 335.

a first development in his thinking concerning the Union with Rome. Subsequently, this annexed text was abbreviated and finally inserted after the *Khabar* in a revised version of *al-Durr al-manẓūm*, considered a note, a *Ḥāshiya*, attributed to Makarios himself, representing a further development in his thinking. Indeed, comparing the theological content of these three texts allows us to trace the chronological evolution of Makarios III's position towards the Latins and the Union of the Churches.

Despite the fact that Makarios's ultimate closeness to the Latin Church and his desire for union with Rome ended with his death, his successors pursued a similar policy. This eventually led to a split within the Patriarchate of Antioch in 1724 between those in favor of the Union with Rome and those opposed. It is not surprising, then, that Makarios's three texts on the Council of Florence, whether explicitly attributed to him or not, were copied and used apologetically by the pro-Union party during and after the split in the Church of Antioch.

Appendices

Edition of the *Khabar,* the *Dhayl*, and the *Ḥāshiya*

To prepare the edition of excerpts from the *Khabar* as transmitted in *Majmūʿ laṭīf* and the *Dhayl* annexed to it, as well as the *Khabar* in *al-Durr al-manẓūm* and the *Ḥāshiya*, I consulted nine manuscripts, which I mention in the edition below and its apparatus according to the following sigla.

Siglum	Manuscript
A	IOHANES 39
B	Ṣarbā, OBA 804
C	Aleppo, FGMS, Ar. 199
D	Ṣarbā, OBA 828
E	Ṣarbā, OBA 372
F	Birmingham, Mingana Ar. Ch. 59
G	Tripoli, Balamand 131
H	Damascus, GOP 261
I	Durham, NC, DUL, Arabic 18

In the apparatus, when present, I have only noted the omissions with the symbol "-" (minus), additions with "+" (plus), and variations in word choice found in the

manuscripts under examination.[89] Orthographical and grammatical disparities and errors, as well as minor differences in phrasing, were excluded. Between brackets "[ ]" I noted the changes of the folios of each manuscript using the manuscript's siglum according to the table above. When expressions and phrases are enclosed in parentheses "( )" and followed by a footnote, this indicates that they differ in some manuscripts, as specified in the apparatus. The edition of the *Khabar* with the *Dhayl* is based on manuscript A, while for the edition of the *Khabar* with the *Ḥāshiya*, manuscript B served as the basis.

Appendix 1. Excerpts from the *Khabar* Transmitted in the *Majmūʿ Laṭīf* and the *Dhayl* Annexed to It

A. The *Khabar*

[A 236v] خبر المجمع الثامن الذي صار في مدينة فلورنصا التي هى بقرب رومية واسامي من كان فيه من الملوك والبطاركة وروسا الكهنة والكهنة والاكليرس وفي اي زمان كان ذلك وماذا جرى بينهم واخيرًا كيف انتهت امورهم

لما كان في سنة الف واربعماية وسبعة واربعين لتجسّد المسيح لـ[...] الملك يوحنّا البالاولوغس الضابط وقتيذٍ مملكة الروم بان الامم قد تكاثروا واستحوذوا على مدنٍ وبلاد كثيرة وهم في نموٍ وزيادة، واحوال الروم في نقصان واضمحلال افتكر هاذا الملك يمضي بذاته الى بلاد الافرنج ليعمل محبة واتّحاد مع البابا، وانه عزم على ان يرسل الى البابا برساله ليعمل معه محبة واتفاق ويصير والكنيسة واحدة، لعل يقدروا بهذا الاتفاق بان ينقذوا جنس المسيحيين من العبودية. وانه ارسل البابا يعلمه بذلك وان البابا اقتبل قول الملك بكافة الفرح والسرور، وللوقت ارسل البابا الى الملك نفقة للطريق ومراكب السفر لانه قد كان له شوقًا عظيمًا لهذا الامر منذ زمانٍ طويل بان يرسل الى الروم. توهم بانه يقدر بسهولة بان يسترجعهم الى ايتحاد الكنيسة مع الافرنج. وكان الملك قد ارسل يعلم البابا بانه مزمع [A 237r] ان يحظر الى عنده لروميه، ثم ارسل ايضًا الملك يستدعي روسا الكهنة المشرق والمغرب مع الحكما بان يحظرو الى عنده للقسطنطينية، فحظروا الى عنده وهم مطران طرابزون الفيلسوف العظيم الذي كان قرايب ملك درابزون، وفيصاريون مطران نيقية، ومطران الروس الممتلي فلسفة وحكمة، وجرجس السخولاريون وغيرهم كثيرين من روسا الكهنة والكهنة مع يواصف بطرك القسطنطينية. وكان الملك وقتيذٍ قد ارسل واحضر مريم ابنة اول الاجناد من مدينة درابزون، الفايقة بحسنها وحكمتها على ساير النسا، واتزوجها وجعلها ملكة وكان يحبها كثيرًا. ولما اجتمعوا كل روسا الكهنة في القسطنطينية عملوا كلهم قداس في كنيسة اجيا صوفيا الموقر وكان عددهم ثلثماية من روسا الكهنة والاكليرس، وشرطنوا في ذلك اليوم مرقص الجليل الحسب الملك مطران على افسس وعملوه اكسرخس هذا المجمع المزمع ان يصير. واخذوا معهم ديمتريوس الجليل الردي العزم اخو الملك ليلا ليعمل في مملكة الروم شيًا رديًا

89 Note that some manuscripts add the title *kīr*, which is an abbreviated form of the Greek *κύριος*, before the names of the emperor, Byzantine political persons, and bishops. I do not indicate in the apparatus the omissions or additions of this title.

كمثل ما فعل سابقًا. ودخلت المراكب الى مينا القسطنطينية ودخلوا اليهم الملك والبطرك وروسا الكهنة الاكليرس وصار عليهم في مسيرهم [A 237v] رياح عاصفة لان الوقت كان زمان الشتا، وبمعونة الله وصلوا الى بارنظرو التي هي مقابل البندقية مسيرة ماية ميل. وان مركب الملك سبق ساير المراكب ووصل الى البندقية خارج كنيسة مار نقولا نهار الاثنين في الثامن من شهر اشباط، واما مراكب البطرك وروسا الكهنة فوصلوا يوم الاربعا ...

... وعند السحر احضروا للملك ماية وخمسون فرسًا، فركب الملك مع رفقته واتوا الى مدينة فارانا باكرامٍ عظيم ودالة. وكان البابا قد خرج لاستقباله مع كل حاشيته، وان الملك استقبلوه كثيرًا من مطارنة البابا واساقفته وحاكم المدينة وكهنة الملك معلم اعترافه اول السناقلة بابا اغريغوريوس وغيرهم، نحو مايتين جبل، بطبول وزمورٍ، وأحظروه الى مدينة فارار وكل شعب المدينة استقبلوه بمجدٍ عظيم وبصنوف من البهجة والزينة. وكان البابا مع كل حاشيته والمطارنة والاساقفة والاكليرس مع كثيرًا من الروسا والولاة والامر لكي يستقبلوه الملك. وهكذا اتوا الروسا راكبين قدام الملك مع اخو الملك ماشيين قدام الملك ودخلوا من الباب العظيم الذي هو في وسط بلاط البابا، واما الملك دخل راكبا من غير باب في بلاط. وان البابا عرف الملك وقام من كرسيه لاستقباله، وان الملك لما نزل الى الارض عن الفرس [A 239v] وصعد الى البلاط فوجد البابا واقفًا فاراد بان يسجد له على ركبتيه فلم يتركه البابا ان يعمل ذلك لكن احتضنه واعطاه يده فقبلها، وهكذا جلس البابا والملك جلس على شماله والكردناليه جلسوا عند ارجلهم، وعملوا كلهم تقبيلا بالمسيح، واما البابا فتكلم مع الملك بالسر والسلامة. وهكذا نهضوا فاما البابا فاقام في بلاطه، واما الملك فخرج وركب يتبعوه حاشيته والات الاغاني وذهب البلاط واقام هناك، وهناك كانوا يخدموه كما يليق به. واما البطرك فخرج من البندقية مع روسا الكهنة واللابسين الصلبان مع كافة الاكليرس وساروا في مركب واتوا الى فارارا ، وقبل ان يصلوا الى هناك استقبلوهم جماعة البابا بمركبٍ عجيب جدًا موشح بافانين الصنايع. ولما كان البطرك في البندقية ارسل قدامه اثنين من روسا الكهنة الى البابا ليسجدوا له من قبله وهما مطران ايراكلية ومطران مونوفاسيه. ثم ان البابا ارسل من الكردنالية اربعة وخمسة وعشرون اسقف مع حاكم المدينة مع كل الروسا ليستقبلوا البطرك وارسل معهم خيل وبغال وخرج البطرك من المركب وركب هو وكل روسا كهنته ورفقته ودخل الى هناك باكرامٍ عظيم وحضر البابا مع اثنين من الكردنالية [A 240r] ليستقبل البطرك وان البطرك لما قرب الى البلاط نزل يمشي هو وجماعته، وصعد الى عند البابا فوجده واقفًا فعانق احدهما الاخر وقبلا بعضهما بعض ثم جلسا، وهكذا فعلوا كل روسا الكهنة وسجدوا للبابا، ثم خرج البطرك مع جماعته وذهب الى البلاط الذي اعد له من البابا، وروسا الكهنة ذهبوا الى منازلهم ايضًا ...

... وبعد ذلك رسم الملك والبابا بان يقروا على الانبلن [A 242v] ويظهروا علّة هذا المجمع، وهكذا صعد وكيل البطرك والشماس وصوت هكذا نحو الجانبين قايلًا باسم الثالوث القدوس عنصر الحياة الاب والابن والروح القدس، اعلموا جميعكم باننا اليوم قد اتفقنا وانذرنا بالمجمع الطاهر المسكوني المزمع بان يصير بحضور روسا كهنة كنيسة المشرق والملك الحسن العبادة يوحنا البالاولوغس والبطرك يواصف وما يتبعهم من الاكليرس. وهكذا فعلوا ايضًا من الجانب الاخر الافرنج اعني كل روسا كهنة المغرب وما يتبعهم. وان البابا حينيذٍ قال بهذا نرضا كلنا ونعترف بهذا المجمع المقدس الذي هو مزمع بان يصير في مدينة فارارا في هيكل مار جرجس، ونحن قد كنا ارسلنا واعلمنا بهذا، والان فاعلموا بان لي مدة ثلثة شهور لا يبقا احدًا من روسا الكهنة والعلما والروسا والملوك والدوكات الا ويحضر هذا المجمع ويرضا به، ومن لم يحضر هذا المجمع من غير علة مرض او احتقارًا به فيكون مفروزًا، ومن لم يقدر على الحضور من الربغات فيرسل وكيل من قبله ويعترف بانه راضي بما يعملوه اصحاب هذا المجمع، ومن لم يكتب هكذا ويرسل يعترف بهذا الامر مع وكيله فيكون مفروزًا [A 243r] ناقص. وبعد ذلك كتبوا قرااه بالرومي والافرنجي وامر البطرك يواصف لدوروثاوس مطران ميتيلني بان يقراها في الانبلن على اهل المشرق، والبابا اعطاها لغرادانسيس ريس الاساقفة بان يقراها بالافرنجي على اهل المغرب، وهذا فهو

مضمونها افجانيوس الاسقف عبد عبيد الاله البابا الغرض الحاظر المكتوب بان نقف دايمًا بقوة الاله العظيمة القادر على كل شي الذي يجب له علينا بان نشكره على الحقيقة الذي لاجل راافته لم ينسا كنيسته لكن يشا بان تزيد وتنجي بالنعمة، والان فحسنًا اتوا الى هذه المدينة في هذا المنشا العظيم والامواج والتجارة المخوفة، وهذا الفعل الالهي فهو من ولدنا الروحاني المشوق يوحنا البالالوغس ملك مدينة القسطنطينية مع اخينا الحسن العبادة يواصف بطرك مدينة القسطنطينية، ونظر اليه البطاركة الثلثة وما يتبعهم من روسا الكهنة والكهنة والاكليرس والروسا وقد وافوا نية الله لاتحاد الكنايس ولكي يصير اتفاق فيما بيننا، وكان مجيهم في الثامن من شهر اشباط الماضي، ودخلهم الى مدينة البندقية واكابرها اتضرعوا الى الملك بان يعمل هذا المجمع هناك، فلكن الملك لم يريد بان يصير المجمع هناك لكن [A 243v] قال في مدينة فارارا، وهكذا اتى الملك واخبرنا بهذا الامر. ونحن رضينا بان يكون هذا المجمع في فارارا ووكدنا طلبة الملك وكتبنا الى كل الديغات والدوكات وغيرهم من الاكابر المعظمين بان يجتمعوا وياتوا، لان هكذا صار اتفاق واتحاد من غير شيًا من المجادلات والسجس لكن بكافة المحبة، والان فنبتدي بهداية الله في هذا المجمع الطاهر لكي تتحد الكنائس، ونحن نرجو من الله بان يهدينا وينيرنا ليصير هذا الاتفاق والمحبة لنسبحه ونمجده الذي اهلنا بان نبتدي بذلك في التاسع من نيسان من سنة الف واربعماية وثمانية وثلثين لتجسد المسيح...

... وبعد يومين سقط الملك في مرض وكذلك البطرك فكان مريض جدًا وبعد عبور ستة عشر يومًا اتعافا البطرك يسيرًا وقام وذهب الى المجمع مع الملك وساير الروم، وهناك عملوا شور مع الملك في بلاطه فيما بينهم واقاموا هناك مدة يومين، وان الملك احتدّ وقال لهم نحن تركنا موطننا واتينا الى هاهنا بتعب عظيم وشدايد طالبين المحبة وايتحاد الكنايس وكف الانشقاقات والشرور من الوسط، وكلكم تعنّيتم لاجل هذا الامر واتيتم فروسا الكهنة لاجل استقامة احوال كنايسهم واما الولاة والمسلطين فلاجل تهذب الامانة ولرجا الملكوت الأبدية، فانا لاجل رجا واحد تعبت وشقيت الى هاهنا [A 252v] لكي انال من الله المغفرة لان ليس لي ولد ولا اريد غير ذلك من الكرامات، لكن لاجل اصلاح جنس الروم فقط. فاعملوا انتم بحسبما تنظروا، لكن ينبغي لكم بان تحرصوا في اتحاد الكنايس وبالاكثر لكي نرجع الى اوطاننا متحدين بالكرامة وليس منفصلين بالخجل. ثم قال الملك للمجمع ايضًا بان البابا اتفاوض معي بان نخرج بالضرورة من هاهنا الى فارارا لنذهب الى فيورندزا وهناك نكمل المجمع، فكيف ظهر لكم هذا هل هو جيدًا بان نذهب ام لا؟، فاجابوه روسا الكهنة قايلين نحن ايها الملك عزمنا اولًا بان لا نخرج من فارارا البتة فاذا كان قد صار الحكم بان نكمل المجمع هناك وليس في غير موضع فلكن يحتاج مع مرسوم ملككم بان نعرف لاجل اي علّة نريد بان نذهب الى هناك لانه ليس ينبغي لنا بان نخرج من هاهنا ونتبع غيرنا الى مكانٍ اخر، فاجابهم الملك ومنمن نريد نطلب لنا مواكب ونفقة من هولاي اذا كنا لم نريد ان نتبعهم لاننا متضايقين كثيرًا لاجل النفقة لانّكم تعرفون جيدًا بان البابا قال لكم بان ليس عندي هاهنا في فارارا شيًا اعطيكم بالجملة [A 253r] واذا كان موضع فونونياس ليس نستولي عليه نحن لكي ناخذ منه كلما نومل لان الفيورتيني يعطونا اربعين الف ذهب لكي نخرج المجمع من فارارا ونذهب الى فيورندزا، فاسمعوا مني واتبعوني لنذهب الى فيورندزا، ويريدوا ايضًا بان يعطوا المدينة القسطنطينية معونة اثنا عشر الف ذهب ومركبين كبار، ويوهبوكم كل الذهب الذي استقرضتموه ويمنحوكم عاداتكم وتاخذوا كل شهر ذلك المرتب لكم، ومعكم اجل الى مدةٍ ثلثة اشهر وأربعة، وبعده فمعكم اجازة بان تعاودوا الى بلادكم ان صار ايتحاد واذا لم يصير. وان روسا الكهنة لما سمعوا ذلك اضطربوا وبالاكثر لانه لم يكن معهم نفقة، وانهم اتفقوا بان يمضوا. وهكذا اتفاوض الملك مع البطرك هناك لانه كان مطروح على الفراش مريضًا وعرّفه بعزم روسا الكهنة ووكّدوا هذا بان يذهبوا الى فيورندزا ...

... ثم جا احد العنصرة فتضرع البابا الى الملك بان يمضي لصلاة المسا ويحضر افاشين فذهب الملك مع كل المجمع وتفاوض البابا معه كثيرًا لكي يرضوا وروسا الكهنة الروم ويتفقوا مع الافرنج ويتحدوا. فلما سمع الملك مع رفقته هذا القول ذهب يوم خميس العنصرة مع روسا الكهنة فقال لهم بالسرّ

انتم ايها السادات روسا الكهنة لما تغربتم الى هذا الجانب الا لكي تعملوا [A 256r] ايتحاد في الكنايس ولنا الان في هاهنا بلاد الافرنج خمسة عشر شهرًا ولم تعملوا شيًا من ذلك بالجملة، ونحن فتقدمة اكرام فليس لنا ومتغربين كل هذه المدة عن يوتنا، فاعملوا انتم مشورة فيما بينكم واتولي بالجواب عنها. فاجابوه روسا الكهنة قايلين كلمن لا يجيب ويريد ايتحاد الكنايس فيكون ملعونًا، لكن بحسن العبادة. ثم قال لهم مطران الروس هلمّوا يا اخوتي لنقرا كتب الاباء القديسين المشارقة والمغاربة ونعمل اتفاق فيما بيننا، فاجابوه روسا الكهنة ونحن هكذا نقول. ثم قال لهم مطران نيقية ان اردتم ان تستفحصوا وتتفقوا على القول القديسين فلماذا لا تومنوا بان الروح القدس منبثق من الاب والابن؟. فلما سمعوا قول مطران نيقية تورعوا وصمتوا لانه حكيمًا جدًا ولم يعرفوا ضميره بانه منحرفًا مع الافرنج. حينيذٍ ابتدوا بقراة كتاب كيرللس في تفسيره لانجيل يوحنا، وكتاب القديس ابيفانيوس المدعو اكاروطس، وقروا كثيرًا من كنوز القديس كيرللس، مطران ميتيلني قدم اقوال الابا المغاربة هذه الوجه وقراها وكانوا كلهم صامتين، وبعد قراتهم هتفوا كلهم معًا نحن فقط ما نظرنا قديسين المغرب ولا قرينا في اقوالهم. فحينيذٍ قال لهم مطران نيقية الذي جذبهم كلهم الى [A 256v] اعتقاد الافرنج وقال لروسا الكهنة الروم فماذا تقولوا الان وبماذا تجاوبوا عن هذا؟، وانهم هتفوا كلهم معًا وقالوا يا ابينا، الان نظرنا وقرينا ونرضا به ونعترف بذلك. حينيذٍ قال لهم الملك فان رضيتم بالحقيقة فقولوا، وانهم رضيوا كلهم مع البطرك وقبلوا قول قديسين المغرب وكتبهم، ثم انحل المجمع ومضا كل واحد منهم الى قلايته ...

... وايضًا كل روسا كهنة الروم اتفقوا معا ما خلا مرقص مطران افسس واقتبلوا ساير اعتقاداة الافرنج، فاولًا اعترفوا بان البابا هو المتقدم على كل البطاركة ووكيل المسيح والراعي المستقيم والمعلم لساير المسيحين والمدبر لكنيسة الله الحي، واما بطرك القسطنطينية فانه الثاني بعده والثالث فهو بطرك الاسكندرية والرابع فهو بطرك انطاكية والخامس فهو بطرك اورشليم، ورضيوا بان الروح القدس منبثق من الاب والابن، وفي الفطير وفي المطهر بالنار، وكتبوا خطوطهم بكل هولاي، ورضي بذلك الملك ووكلا الثلثة بطاركة وباقي روسا الكهنة وكل الكهنة والاكليرس ما خلا مطران افسس لانه لم يرضا بذلك. ويوم السبت سحر ذهبوا كل روسا الكهنة الروم والاكليرس الى كنيسة السيدة التي قبروا فيها البطرك وعملوا له تذكار ولما خرجوا من هناك ذهب مطران الروس [A 261v] مع مطران ميتيلني الى البابا وقالوا له بان هوذا الملك الحسن العبادة وكل مجمعه تنازلوا ورضيوا الجميع ما طلبه قدسكم، ومثلما اردة عملوا بان رسمتم حتى نتكلم ونطلب من غبطتكم بان تسمح لنا حتى نسافر لان المراكب مزمعة سريعًا ان تذهب الى البندقية، وكثيرًا من مسايلك صارت ولكن ايتحاد فيما بيننا في شركة القداس معكم لم يصير، والان فقد بلغنا الى عيد الرسولين بطرس وبولص وانت بما انك خليفتهم ففي ذلك اليوم الذي نالا فيه التاج الغير ذابل فكذلك غبطتك بان تتوج في هذا اليوم وتقدس مركب جميعنا ويصير ايتحاد ونقرا امانة الايتحاد. فلما سمع البابا ذلك امتلا كله فرحًا وشكر كثيرًا من الملك والمجمع، وان المطارنة ذهبوا واخبروا الملك والمجمع بما قاله البابا. والمسا اتى من قبل البابا الثلثة علما وهم الديكريتس ورووس وكورونيس وقالوا للملك ان رسمت غدا ليصير طومس الامانة بالافرنجي واليوناني ولكي يكتبوا الكل وان بلغنا الى ثاني عيد الرسل ليصير القداس والايتحاد. وجلسوا ايضًا في المجمع البابا والملك والفريقين واوردوا الافرنج ايضًا غير مسايل لكي يكتبوها الروم في الطومس من اجل البابا والملك، وصار بينهم [A 262r] سجسًا عظيم يومًا بعد يوم الى ان يتفقوا، وفي الاخر اتفقوا. وفي يوم السبت وهو الرابع من تموز رسم الملك وانتدبوا الافرنج منهم ستة علما وكذلك الروم ستة علما لكي يكتبوا الامانة في طومس الايتحاد، فجلسوا الافرنج من الجانب اليمين ليكتبوا بالافرنجي، اعني البابا وكل مجمعه ولكي يعلقوا ختم البابا، من الجانب الشمال جلسوا الروم الستة ليكتبوا باليوناني ولكي يعلّقوا في الطومس الختم الذهب. وجلسوا نهار السبت يوم الرابع من تموز في كنيسة فرانجاسكو وكتبوا الطومس بحسب مرسوم الملك باليوناني والافرنجي. ويوم الاحد كتب الملك ووضع ختمه ويوم الاثنين كمل المجمع وانتها وصار الايتحاد في الكنايس ...

... واما البابا افجانيوس المذكور فانه توفي وصار مكانه بابا اخر اسمه نيكولاوس، فلما سمع هذا البابا بان اهل [A 264v] الكنيسة البطركية الكبيرة بمدينة القسطنطينية لم يرضوا بقبول المجمع الثامن انحدر في مركب واتى الى مدينة القسطنطينية ووقف مقابل اسكدار وارسل يعلم الملك والاكليرس لكي يعطوه اجازة حتى يدخل الى المدينة والى الكنيسة الكبيرة لكي يفاوضهم من اجل هذه الاشيا، واما اولايك فلم يريدوا بالكلية ان يفاوضوه او ينظروه. فلما نظر البابا هذا الاحتقار العظيم الذي عملوه به افرزهم ونهض في المركب وعاود الى خلف. فلما علموا بذلك الاكليرس والموجودين هناك من روسا الكهنة بان البابا قد افزرهم افزروه ايضًا. وان البابا ذهب الى الجبل المقدس ودخل الى دير فاطوبادي، وان الريس لم يريد ان يقبله ولا منحه الاكرام الواجب، وانه ربط كثيرًا من الرهبان وعاقبهم كثيرًا وقتل كثيرين منهم وهدم ذلك الدير، وقام من هناك وذهب الى دير لافرا وقدس فيه فاكرمهم كثيرًا، وكذلك عمل مع كل الديارة التي قبلوه وكل الديارة التي لم تقبله هناك اوقع بهم مساوي عظيمة وبالرهبان ايضًا. ومن الجبل المقدس قام ومضا الى رومية وكل المواهب والمعوناة المذكورة أعلاه، التي كانت قد صارت من البابا افجانيوس وحاشيته بان يدفعوها [A 268r] في كل سنة للملك والكنيسة الكبيرة، قطعها هذا البابا ولم يريد يرسلها لاجل انه لم يقبلوه. ولما كانت القسطنطينية بغير بطرك وكان هناك انسانًا فاضلًا يدعى بابا اغريغوريوس، وكان اشبين الدوكس الكبير، وانه الزمه غصبًا وعمله بطركًا على القسطنطينية. وبعد عبور ايامًا يسيرة تزايدت شرور الاكليرس في كل يوم، فلاجل هذا اراد بان يعمل تفرغ وتقدم متنبيًا وقال للدوكس الكبير اشبينه بان بعد ايام يسيرة يريدوا الترك بان ياخذوا هذه المدينة ويذبحوا ابنك قدامك وانت بعده. واما الملك فكان ملقًا مريضًا من وجع يديه ورجليه وفي هذا المرض الثقيل مات.

فرغ خبر المجمع الثامن بيد الفقير ماكاريوس الانطاكي في اليوم الثاني والعشرون من كانون الثاني سنة سبعة الاف ومائة وخمسة وستون للعالم.

B. The *Dhayl*

[A 268r, E 134v, F 41v, G 61v] (اعلم بانّنا وجدنا في النسخ الرومية)[1] (بان الافرنج في القديم لمّا انشقّوا من الكنيسة الجامعة[2])[3] كان في (سنة ستة الاف ومايتين وتسعة عشر للعالم)[4]

(ولاجل قوة عضدهم الشرعية[5] وكثرتهم)[6] استحوذوا على كرسي مدينة[7] رومية وصاروا يحكموا على كافّة الجزاير وساير البلاد الغربية. وصار يقوم فيهم بابا بعد بابا[8] على رومية الى سنة ستة الاف وتسعماية وخمسة وثلاثين للعالم، الموافق [A 268v] الف واربعماية (وثمانية وثلثين)[9] لتجسّد المسيح. وكان وقتيذٍ على رومية بابا اسمه افجانيوس، فهجس في قلبه فكر صالح هو ومن طابقه على ذلك بان يرسل الى ملك الروم والبطاركة ويعمل معهم محبّة ويصير ايتحاد في الكنايس. وكان وقتيذٍ يوحنا البالاولوغس ملك الروم في القسطنطينية، وكان عليها بطركا يدعا[10] يواصف المذكور،[11] وكان على الاسكندريّة فيلوثاوس بطركًا، وعلى انطاكية فكان ضوروثاوس بطركاً، وكان على اورشليم يواكيم بطريركا. وان هذا البابا المذكور ارسل الى[12] القسطنطينية الى الملك والبطاركة وباقي روسا الكهنة وعمل ما تقدم شرحه. واخيرًا في حين اجتماعهم كلهم في مدينة فلورنصا كان مع هذا البابا المذكور من روسا كهنة الافرنج وعلمايهم[13] [F 42r] اربعماية وثمانين نفر وعدة كثيرة من عامّة[14] الافرنج واكابرهم، وكانت مدّة مقامهم ومجادلتهم الى ان عاودوا الى بلادهم قريب من سنتين. ورسم هذا المجمع بان[E 135r] يكون قربان القداس الالهي من خالص القمح النقي[15] (ويكون خمير)[16] الذي منه كان جسد سيدنا يسوع المسيح المدفوع الى رسله في وقت العشا السري من[17] يديه الطاهرتين. وامروا كهنة (المشرق والمغرب)[18] بان يقدّموا القدّاسات [A 269r] والقرابين في كل كنائس الله بحسب عاداتها القديمة الّتي تسلمتها من الابا القدّيسين قديمًا. ولم يغيّر هذا المجمع للروم ولا للافرنج عادة ولا سنّة ولا صلاة ولا طقس، لكن الفريقين يعملوا حسبما قد تسلّموه من القديم من محاسن الصلوات والتهليل وتراتيبها،[19] لان مهما صلّوا بمحبة واتفاق كان مقبولًا عند الله تعالى، والاصل والاعتماد فهو على الاعتقاد القويم في الدين. وقد اتفقوا في الاعتقاد على امانة واحدة وكلمة واحدة وراي واحد. وكانوا قد كتبوا طومارين الواحد بالرومي والاخر بالافرنجي، وكانا متساويان في القبول[20] واللفظ، ووضعوا فيهما كل[21] خطوطهما، اعني البابا والملك والبطرك [F 42v] ووكلا[22] الثلثة بطاركة وساير روسا الكهنة والكهنة[23] والاكليرس من الفريقين. وكان مضمونها كما اوضحناه سابقًا من اجل انبثاق الروح القدس ومن اجل الخمير والفطير والمطهر وما شابه ذلك، ومن اجل ترتيب البابا والبطاركة وان البابا يكون الاوّل فيهم ابدًا دايمًا الى انقضا الدهر والثاني فهو بطرك القسطنطينية والثالث بطرك الاسكندرية والرابع [E 135v] بطرك انطاكية والخامس بطرك اورشليم، وان يكون لكل واحدٍ منهم حقوقه القديمة اسوةً بمن تقدمهم من البطاركة [A 269v] السالفين حسبما

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1 E: وجدنا في النسخ الرومية على افتراق الروم من الافرنج
2 G: + وذلك
3 E: -
4 A: Damaged folio: the year is not present.
5 F, G: -
6 E: -
7 G: -
8 E: + بعد
9 G: -
10 E, F, G: اسمه
11 F: -
12 G: Ends here.
13 F: + واكابرهم
14 E, F: عام
15 F: + حسب العادتين
16 F: -
17 F: -
18 F: الغرب والشرق
19 E: وتراتيلها
F: وترابيبها
20 E, F: القول
21 F: -
22 F: وكل
23 E, F: -

شهدت به السبعة مجامع المقدّسة. واتّفق المجمع المذكور بان يكون هذا الملك يوحنا المذكور وذريته من بعده بان يكون حاكمًا على ساير بلاد الافرنج والروم وما يتبعهم وتدوم المملكة في القسطنطينية ابدًا دايمًا الى انقضا الدهر. وهكذا رجع كل واحدٍ منهم الى مكانه شاكرين[24] لله لان الانجيل الطاهر[25] يقول اين ما كان[26] منكم[27] اثنين او ثلاثة على اسمي فانا اكون فيما بينهم، فكيف اذا[28] التحم الاتفاق والمحبّة بين هولاي الربوات والالوف وشكروا السيد المسيح على ذلك، الذي[29] اطلع [F 43r] وافتقد شعبه وافاض بينهم المحبّة والالفة. ووصل خبر هذا الاتفاق بمكاتبه من يوحنا الملك المذكور ومن افجانيوس البابا المذكور[30] الى الثلثه بطاركة، واحضر هذه الرسايل ناتانائييل مطران رودس الى مدينة دمشق المحروسة واوصلها ليد البطرك كير دوروثاوس[31] الانطاكي لانّه كان وقتيذٍ موجودًا هناك، وكان ذلك في الثامن من شهر ايّار سنة ستة الاف وتسعماية وثمانية واربعين للعالم، الموافق لسنة الف واربعماية وثمانية واربعين للتجسّد الإلهي،[32] [E 136r] وفي الخامس من شهر ذي الحجّة سنة ثمانماية وثلاثة وثلثين[33] للهجرة. وفسر هذه الرسايل المذكورة مطران بيروت في دمشق [A 270r] المحروسة وانبثت هذه الرسايل في دمشق وما يليها. ومن هناك ذهب مطران رودس الى اورشليم ومنها الى الاسكندرية وهكذا تممّ خدمته. فلكن الشيطان الباغض الخيرات دايمًا والحاسد للمومنين سرمدًا اجتهد وقتيذٍ بذاته وبكل شياطينه وهدم هذا الاتّفاق والمحبّة كما هو مكتوب في اخر الشرح أعلاه، الّذي نحن نسال الهنا بان يخلصنا ولساير[34] المسيحيين من حيله وفخاخه.

(نجز خبر هذا المجمع الثامن بالتمام ولله المجد والشكر على الدوام).[35]

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24 F: شاكرًا
25 F: المقدس
26 F: + واحد
27 F: + او
28 F: + اتفق
29 A: -
30 F: -
31 F: ثاوودرس
32 E: وفي الخامس من شهر ايّار سنة ستة الاف وتسعماية وثمانية واربعين للعالم الموافق لسنة +الف واربعماية وثمانية واربعين للتجسّد الإلهي, then was cancelled since it is a repetition.
F: في الخامس من شهر ايار
33 A, E: +اربعين
F: واربعين
34 E: + المومنين
35 E: امين
F: تم شرحه [F 43v] ولله تعالى الحمد دايمًا

Appendix 2. Edition of the *Khabar* Transmitted in *al-Durr al-Manẓūm* and the *Ḥāshiya*

A. The *Khabar*

[B 170v, C 200r, D 133v, H 190r, I 190v] خبر المجمع الثامن الذي صار في مدينة فلورنصا التي هى بقرب رومية ومن كان فيه من روسا الكهنة والكهنة والملك والبطريرك، وفي اي زمانٍ كان (ذلك وماذا صارت عاقبة امرهم[1])[2]

ولما كان في سنة الف[3] واربعماية وسبعة واربعين لتجسد المسيح ارسل الملك يوحنا (المقدم ذكره)[4] رسالة الى البابا افجانيوس مضمونها يشمل على المحبة والاتفاق وان تصير كنيسة الشرق وكنيسة الغرب شيًا واحدًا في الأمانة، وان يستعينوا ببعضهم بعض ويخلصوا المسيحيين[5] من العبودية. [I 191r] فقبل البابا قول الملك بغاية الفرح والسرور ثم ارسل للملك نفقة للطريق ومراكب للسفر لانه [C 200v] كان في شوقٍ عظيمٍ لهذا الامر، ثم ارسل الملك لروسا[6] كهنة الشرق والغرب مع العلما والفلاسفة للحضور (الى عنده)[7] الى[8] مدينة القسطنطينية. فحضروا الى عنده، وهم مطران درابزون الفيلسوف الكبير نسيب ملك درابزون، بيساريون مطران نيقية، ومطران الرووس الممتلي فلسفة وحكمة، وجرجس السخولاريون، [D 134r] وغيرهم كثيرين من روسا الكهنة[9] مع يواصف بطريرك القسطنطينية. [B 171r] وكان الملك[10] قد استحضر[11] الست مريم ابنة رييس الاجناد من مدينة درابزون، وكانت فايقة في الحسن والحكمة على ساير النسا في عصرها، فتزوجها وجعلها ملكة واحبها كثيرًا. ثم[12] اجتمعوا كل روسا الكهنة في القسطنطينية وعملوا كلهم قداس في كنيسة اجيا صوفيا، وكان عددهم ثلاثماية من روسا الكهنة والاكليرس، وشرطنوا في ذلك اليوم مرقص النبيل[13] نسيب الملك مطران على افسس وصيروه اكسرخس هذا المجمع المزمع ان يصير، واخذوا معهم ديمتريوس [H 190v] الردي العزم اخو الملك ليلا يعمل في غيابهم امرًا رديًا كعادته سابقًا. ثم دخلت المراكب الى مينا القسطنطينية ونزل بها الملك والبطريرك وروسا الكهنة والاكليرس وساروا في البحر وكان ذلك في اوان الشتا فثارت عليهم رياح عاصفة، وبمعونة الله[14] وصلوا الى بارنطزو التي هي مقابل البندقية (مسيرة ماية ميل. وان مركب الملك سبق باقي المراكب ووصل الى البندقية)[15] خارج كنيسة مار نقولا نهار الاثنين عاشر[16] شهر اشباط، [D 134v] ووصلت [I 191v] مراكب البطريرك وروسا الكهنة يوم الاربعا. فلما سمعوا اهل المدينة [C 201r] [17] بوصول الملك الى عند الكنيسة المذكورة خرج رهطًا لا يحصا لاستقبال الملك والسجود له في مراكب كبار وصغار حتى غطوا اللجة[18] من كثرتهم، ثم ان الدوكا واكابر الدولة ارسلوا يتضرعوا الى الملك ان يمكث هناك الى الغد حتى يخرج الدوكا وحاشيته[19] الى حيث كان الملك وسجدوا له وهم

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1 D: + وهو منقول من الكتاب المكنى بتاريخ ملوك الروم
2 I: -
3 H: ستة الاف
4 D: البالاولوغوس
5 D: المومنين
6 C, D, H: ليستدعي روسا
7 C, D, H: -
8 C, D, H: في
9 C, D, I: + والكهنة
10 C, D, H: + وقتيذٍ
11 C, D, H: ارسل واستحضر
12 C, D: -
13 I: -
14 H: -
15 H: -
16 C, D, H, I: ثامن
17 C, D, H: البندقية
I: + أعني البندقية
18 H: البحر
19 C, D, H: وكل حاشيته

مكشوفين الرووس. ثم وقفوا في مكان واطي على[20] يمين كرسي الملك وبعد ذلك جلس الملك[21] واخيه ديمتريوس وامر الملك ان يجلس الدوكا عن شماله وتفاوضا بمحبة وسلام واطمانية وامثال ذلك. ولما ازمع الدوكا ان ينصرف سجد للملك وقال غدا سحر ناتي الى ملكك ونعمل ما يليق من الاكرام لسلطانك ونستقبلك باكرامٍ جزيل. وهكذا رجع الدوكا مع حاشيته وكان الدوكا وقتيذٍ توما الموتزونيقوس. ولما كان[22] الغد خرج الدوكا مع حواشيه[23] الى استقبال الملك موشحين ساير المراكب الصغار والكبار والمراكبتية[24] بافضل زينة [D 135r] وزينوا المدينة باسرها مع ساير اهلها باجمل[25] ما يكون من الاشيا الثمينة [B 171v] واظهروا قدام الملك اشرف ما عندهم من عجايب الدنيا ومحاسنها التي ليس لها نظير في الدنيا كلها، صنايع وحكم وامور تفوق على الوصف، وبمثل هذا الاكرام الجليل[26] ادخلوا الملك الى المدينة. وثاني يوم ذهب الدوكا مع كل[27] حاشيته الى عند [H 191r] الملك وجلسوا، واذ[28] علموا من الملك بانه قد حضر لاجل المحبة والاتحاد بين المسيحيين فرحوا فرحًا عظيمًا[29] وتضرعوا الى الملك بان يعمل المجمع في البندقية، (وكل المصروف)[30] والخرج والمعونة تكون منهم. فلم يرضى الملك بذلك لكن قال بانه[31] لا بد [C 201v] عن دهوبه الى عند البابا لامله[32] بانه[33] مزمع ان ينال منه جوايزًا عظيمة [I 192r] ومعونة قوية. وان الدوكا وحاشيته اغتموا لاجل ان الملك لم[34] يوثر ان يعمل المجمع عندهم، ثم تضرعوا اليهم بان يعملوا عندهم قداس. (وان البطريرك عمل قداس)[35] مع الاكليروس وروسا الكهنة والاكليرس والشمامسة في[36] يوم الاحد في السادس[37] عشر من اشباط، وكان حاضراً في هذا القداس الملك والدوكا والاراخنة وساير الشعب من الكهنة والعلمانيين. [D 135v] ومن يقدر ان يصف (او ينعت)[38] حسن ذلك الترتيب والمجد والبهجة والزينة التي صارت في هذا القداس الشريف، وذلك انهم وشوا الكراسي بالاثواب المذهبة وكذلك الهيكل والكنيسة زينوها باشيا تفوق العقل[39] والوصف. فجلس البطريرك على كرسي ثمين في وسط الكنيسة واتوا اليه روسا الكهنة اثنين اثنين ساجدين له لياخذوا منه كارون[40] ويلبسوا بدلاتهم، وبعدهم روسا الديورة برتبتهم[41] مع الاكليرس والشمامسة، وبعد ذلك ابتدا البطريرك يلبس البدلة (الجزيلة القيمة)[42] وخرجوا ساير روسا الكهنة من الهيكل لابسين بدلاتهم مع الروسا والاكليرس ووقفوا عن يمينه وشماله بترتيبهم. وابتدوا المصليين يرتلوا (بنغمة ملايكية، فمن هو كفوًا ان يصف غزارة الدموع التي سكبوها والعبرات التي اهملوها الناس[43])[44] وخرجوا من القداس في الساعة التاسعة من النهار واخذهم الدوكا الى بلاطه لانه كان قد اعد لهم مايدة ملوكية (فاتوا واكلوا وشربوا وسروا)[45]، وبعد المايدة ذهب كل واحدٍ[46] الى بيته. واقام الملك والبطريرك في البندقية عشرين يومًا وخرج الملك مع رفقته من البندقية في اخر[47] اشباط. واقام البطريرك [D 136r] في البندقية والملك

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20 H: عن
21 D: -
22 C, D: + في
23 C, H: كل حواشيه
24 H: -
25 H: + زينة
26 H: الجزيل
27 H: -
28 C, D, H: ولما
29 H: كثيره
30 H: والمصروف
31 H: -
32 H: -
33 H: لانه
34 C, D, H: لا
35 H: -
36 C, D, H: -
37 H: سادس
38 H: -
39 C, D, H: -
40 H: كيريه كارون
41 C, D: بترتيبهم
42 C, D, H: -
43 C, D: + في ذلك اليوم
44 H: -
45 C, D, H: -
46 C, D, H: + منهم
47 D, H: + شهر

D: لاستقباله كما يليق وللسجود له وهكذا صار ثم بعد + ساعة خرج الدوكا مع حاشيته

مضي الى [H 191v] كاستولي حيث تخرج هناك [I 192v] المراكب[48] الصاعدة من البندقية ليذهب [B 172r] من [C 202r] هناك الى البر في مدينة فاران.[49] وحضر هناك الى عنده خمسين رجل ركاب خيل وسجدوا للملك[50] مع لاغاطس البابا الذي كان قد مضي من رومية بمركب ليحضر الملك من هناك لكي ينظر عزم الملك في امر المجمع ويحث الملك ان ياتي الى بلاد الافرنج. وعند السحر احضروا للملك ماية وخمسين فرسًا فركب الملك مع رفقته واتوا الى مدينة فارارا بدالة واكرام عظيم. وكان البابا قد خرج لاستقباله مع ساير حاشيته وخرج لاستقبال الملك ايضًا كثيرين من مطارنة البابا واساقفته وحاكم المدينة وكهنة الملك[51] ومعلم اعترافه[52] اول السناقلة بابا غريغوريوس وغيرهم، نحو مايتين رجل[53]، بالطبول والزمور واحضروه الى مدينة فارارا. وكل شعب المدينة استقبلوه بمجدٍ عظيمٍ وصنوف البهجة والزينة، وكان البابا وحاشيته المطارنة والاساقفة والاكليرس مع كثيرًا من الروسا والولاة والامرا راكبين قدام الملك مع دمتريوس[54] اخو الملك (ودخلوا من الباب الكبير [D 136v] الذي هو[55] وسط بلاط البابا. وان البابا عرف الملك) [56] فقام من كرسيه لاستقباله، فلما نزل الملك عن فرسه وصعد الى البلاط وجد البابا واقفًا فاراد ان يسجد له،[57] فلم يتركه البابا بل احتضنه واعطاه يده فقبلها ثم جلس البابا وجلس الملك عن يساره والكردناليه جلسوا عند قدميهما وقبلوا بعضهم بعضًا تقبيلًا بالمسيح. واما البابا فتكلم مع الملك بالسر والسلامة، ثم قاموا ولبث البابا في بلاطه، وخرج الملك راكبًا يتبعوه حاشيته بالات الطرب والبوقات وذهب الى البلاط وكانوا يخدموه كما يليق به. واما البطريرك فانه خرج من البندقية مع روسا الكهنة واللابسين[C 202v] الصلبان وكافة الاكليرس [H 192r] وساروا في مركب واتوا الى فارارا. وقبل وصولهم استقبلهم جماعة البابا [I 193r] بمركب عجيب جدًا متوشح بصنوف الصنايع. وان البطريرك ارسل من البندقية اثنين من روسا الكهنة يتقدمونه في المسير الى البابا ويسجدون له من قبله وهم مطران ايراكلية ومطران مونوفاسيه، ثم ان البابا ارسل من الكردنالية[58] خمسة وعشرين اسقفًا مع حاكم المدينة وروسايها [D 137r] لاستقبال البطريرك ومعهم خيل وبغال. فلما خرج البطريرك من المركب ركب هو[B 172v] وكل روسا كهنته والذين كانوا[59] معه ودخل باكرام عظيم وحضر البابا ومعه اثنين من الكردنالية لاستقبال البطريرك. (فلما دنا البطريرك)[60] الى البلاط نزل ماشيًا مع جماعته حتى طلع الى عند البابا فوجدوه واقفًا فعانق احدهما الاخر (وقبلا بعضهما بعض)[61] ثم جلسا، وكذلك روسا الكهنة سجدوا للبابا. وبعد ذلك خرج البطريرك وجماعته وذهبوا الى البلاط الذي اعد لهم البابا. ويوم الاحد سحر اجتمعوا كل روسا الكهنة والاكليرس الى بلاط البطريرك ورسم البطريرك بان يقدسوا الكهنة والشمامسة في بلاطه، فقدسوا وكانوا نحو خمسة عشر من كهنة وشمامسه، ووقفوا روسا الكهنة في ترتيبهم وكذلك اللابسين الصلبان والمصليين وحاكم المدينة وروسايها وشعبًا لا يحصى كانوا وقوفًا بكل ورع. وبعد كمال القداس فرق البطريرك الانديدارا، ثم حلوا الصلاة وذهب كل واحدٍ[62] الى مكانه. وبعد ايامًا يسيرة طلب الملك من البابا ان يصلح مجمع مسكوني بحضور[63] ساير الاساقفة وليس هولاي فقط، بل ويحضر فيه [D 137v] جميع الامرا والدواق والروسا، ومن تعذر مجيه منهم يبعث عنه وكيلًا. [C 203r] فالتمس البابا من الملك مهلة اربعة اشهر الى ان[64] يجمعهم [H 192v] ثم بعث يستحضرهم.

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48 H: -
49 C, D, H: قاراران
50 I: له
51 C, D H: الروم
52 H: اعتراف
53 H: جبل
54 C, D, H: -
55 C, D, H: + في
56 I: -
57 C, D, H: + على ركبتيه
58 C, D, H: + اربعة
59 C, D, I: -
60 H: -
61 H: -
62 D, I: + منهم
63 H: -
64 C, D, I: + يرسل

وعند عبور الاجل المرسوم ولم [I 193v] يحضروا اتفق راي الملك والبابا ان يرسل يعلم البلاد بخصوص المجمع المزمع ان يصير وانه مجمع مسكوني وان يحضروا قبل ختمه وتمامه. وهكذا ارسل البابا وانذر بان يكون المجمع في فارارا، وكان ذلك في تسعة من نيسان يوم الاربعا العظيم. واتفقوا بان تكون المحاورة بينهم لمجد الله. وصارت مجادلة فيما بينهم قبل جلوسهم في المجمع من اجل ترتيب الكراسي التي للملك والبابا والبطريرك وروسا كهنة المشرق والمغرب وكيف يكون جلوسهم في المجمع، فطلب البابا ان يجلس (في جانب الكنيسة الواحد هو واتباعه)[65] وان يجلس الملك والبطريرك وساير اتباعهم في الجانب الاخر ويكون وقوف البابا مايلًا الى الوسط فيما بين الجانبين بما انه الراس، فقال الملك ان للملك يجب الوقوف في الوسط وليس للبابا. وصار بينهم لاجل هذا جدال كثير، وبعده استحضروا كتاب المجامع ليعرفوا منه [D 138r] كيف يكون جلوس الملك والبابا والبطريرك واتباعهم، فقروه [B 173r] واتفقوا ان يقف البابا واتباعه من جانب الهيكل الشمالي والملك والبطريرك واتباعهم من جانب الهيكل اليمين. وعملوا بحسب هذا الاتفاق ووضعوا كرسي البابا من ناحية الشمال[66] تحت المايدة اربع باعات، ووضعوا كرسي قيصر ملك الامانية اوطى من كرسي البابا بباع واحد، ولم يكن الملك المذكور حاضر بل كرسيه فقط، ودونه كراسي الكردنالية ودونهم المطارنة والاساقفة على ترتيبهم وعدتهم ماية وخمسين، واما الكهنة والشمامسة وما يتبعهم مع الروسا واكابر بلاد الافرنج فكانوا لا يحصون لكثرتهم. ومثل ذلك عملوا في الجانب اليمين، اعدوا كرسي الملك [C 203v] متوشح [H 193r] بثوب مذهب احمر وتحته كرسي البطريرك ووكلا البطاركة الثلاثة وغيرهم [I 194r] من روسا الكهنة والاكليرس. وعلى هذا الرسم اتفقوا ان يكون الجلوس هكذا وتحالفوا على ذلك لتوكيد الراي وكان ذلك في يوم اربعة العظيمة، كما قلنا. ثم اجتمعوا في كنيسة القديس الشاهد الكبير جاوارجيوس واتا البابا وجلس في مكانه مع اتباعه حسب الرسم المقدس وجلس الملك في [D 138v] كرسيه، ودونه نحو اربعة اشبار اخيه ديمتريوس وجلس البطريرك على كرسي عالي، وكذلك كير انطونيوس مطران ايراكلية وكيل فيلوثاوس بطريرك الإسكندرية، وبابا[67] غريغورريغوس المكرم معلم اعتراف الملك وكيل دوروثاوس بطريرك انطاكية، ويواكيم مطران مونوفاسيه وكيل يواكيم بطريرك اورشليم، ومرقص مطران افسس، وايسيدروس مطران الروس، ودوسيثاوس مطران خلكيدونية، وديونسيوس مطران سرده، فهولاي جلسوا في ترتيبهم، ثم دوروثاوس مطران درابزون، وكاصاريوس مطران كيزيكو وكيل مطران انكره، وفيسيارون مطران نيقوميدية، ومكاريوس مطران لكومانداياس،وكيل مطران نيقية، ومتوديوس مطران طرنوف، واغناتيوس مطران ميتيلني وكيل مطران سيديس، ودوروثاوس مطران اماسيا، ويواصف مطران مولدوفلاشيا اعني البغدان، ووكيل مطران سبسطية داميانوس مطران[68] الصليب شعيا، ومطران رودوس ناثانايل، ومطران مالانيكو افستراثيوس، ومطران شالو، وكان معهم مطران من الكرج اسمه كير صفرونيوس، [B 173v, D 139r] وواحد اسقف.[69] وكانوا الاكابر والشمامسة حول البطريرك وتحتهم روسا ديارة[70] الجبل المقدس وباقي روسا الديارة وما يتبعهم [H 193v] من [C 204r] الاكليرس على ترتيبهم. وكانوا جماعة البابا الكردناليه اكليمنضس[71] اخو البابا، [I 194v] وايوردانس وكيل القديس مرقص، وصافينينوس الاسقف، والكردنال اورسينوس ويوليانوس واتباعهم من روسا الاساقفة والاساقفة نحو مايتين خلا عن الروسا وروسا الديارة والرعاة والاكليرس، فهم[72] كثيرين. وان البطريرك كان مريضًا لم يقدر ان يجلس، وكذلك مطران سردة فارسل البطريرك وكيله ليقرا قدام المايدة بين الجانبين[73]

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65 C, D, H: هو واتباعه في جانب الكنيسة الواحد

66 H: + تحت اليمين

67 H: -

68 C: + مدينة

69 I: -

70 H: -

71 C, D, H: + ابن

72 C, D, H: -

73 I: + صورة ايمان

اهل المشرق والمغرب. وكان هناك كرسي عظيم موشح بافضل ما يكون من الزينة على اسم سيدنا يسوع المسيح ريس الكهنة العظيم وعلى جانب الكرسي الانجيل الطاهر وعلى الجانب الاخر هامتي الرسولين بطرس وبولص وشمعًا كثيرًا يقد امامهم. وكان ذلك النهار يومًا عظيمًا مستغربًا لان الكنيسة صارت سما ارضية وكانوا روسا الكهنة والكهنة لابسين بدلاتهم[74] الكهنوتية نظير ما صار في التيام المجامع السبعة الكبار، (لان اولايك (لم [D 139v] يجلسوا)[75] في المجمع الا بحلل كهنوتية).[76] وعند جلوس اهل هذا[77] المجمع كلهم اعني الروم اهل المشرق والافرنج اهل المغرب صار وقتيذٍ هدو عظيم فنهض البابا قايمًا، وكذلك الحاضرين جميعهم، واعلن قايلًا تبارك الله[78] بكمالها[79]، وعند ذلك مجدوا الله روسا الكهنة والكهنة والشمامسة والمصليين والعلمانيين وتضرعوا مبتهلين ان يجمع ويضم اتحاد الكنايس. ثم امر الملك والبابا بان يقرا على الانبلن ويوضحوا[80] سبب المجمع وعلته. وعلى هذه الجهة صعد وكيل البطريرك[81] وصوت هكذا نحو الجمع[82] قايلاً[83] بسم الثالوث القدوس عنصر الحياة الاب والابن والروح القدس اعلموا جميعكم باننا اليوم قد اتفقنا منذرين بالمجمع الطاهر المسكوني [C 204v] المزمع ان يصير[84] بحضور روسا كهنة [I 195r] كنيسة المشرق [H 194r] والملك الحسن العبادة كير يوحنا البالاولوغس والبطريرك يواصف وما يتبعهم من الاكليرس. وهكذا فعلوا الافرنج من الجانب الاخر، اعني كل روسا كهنة[85] المغرب وما يتبعهم. وان البابا حينيذٍ قال بهذا [B 174r] نرضا كلنا ونعترف بهذا المجمع المقدس الذي هو مزمع ان يصير في هذه[86] مدينة [D 140r] فارارا في هيكل مار جرجس وبحسب ما ارسلنا واعلمنا بهذا الامر. والان اعلموا ان في مدة ثلاثة شهور لا يتخلف احدًا من روسا الكهنة والعلما والروسا والملوك والدوكات الا ويحضروا هذا المجمع ويرضوا به، ومن لم يحضر هذا[87] من غير علة مرض واحتقارًا به فليكن مفروزًا، ومن لم يقدر على الحضور من الريغات[88] فليرسل وكيل من قبله ويعترف بانه راضي بما يعملوه اصحاب هذا المجمع، ومن لم يكتب هكذا ويرسل[89] بهذا الامر مع وكيله فليكن مفروزًا. وبعد ذلك كتبوا منشورًا بالرومي والافرنجي وامر البطريرك يواصف لدوروثاوس مطران ميتيليني ليقراه في الانبلن على اهل المشرق والبابا اعطاها لرييس اساقفة غرادانيس ليقراه بالافرنجي على اهل[90] المغرب، وهذا فهو[91] مضمونه افجانيوس الاسقف عبد عبيد الاله البابا[92]، الغرض الحاضر المكتوب بان تقف دايمًا بقوة الاله العظيم القادر على كل شي الذي يجب له علينا بان نشكره على الحقيقة الذي لاجل راافته لا ينسا كنيسته بل يوثرها ناجحة ان تنمي بالنعمة، والان فنعمًا اتوا الى هذه المدينة في هذا الشتا العظيم [D 140v] والامواج والتجارب المخوفة، وهذا الفعل الالهي فهو من ولدنا الروحاني المشوق كير يوحنا البالالوغس ملك مدينة القسطنطينية مع اخينا الحسن العبادة يواصف [C 205r] بطريرك مدينة القسطنطينية ونظرايه [H 194v] الثلاثة البطاركة وما يتبعهم [I 195v] من روسا الكهنة والكهنة والاكليرس والروسا، وقد وافوا بارشاد الله لهداية الكنايس وايتحادها ولكي[93] يصير اتفاق فيما[94] بيننا، وكان مجيهم في اليوم[95] الثامن من اشباط الماضي ودخولهم الى مدينة البندقية،

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74 C, D, H: الحلل
+ I: اعني الحلل
75 D: ما كانوا بجلسون
76 H: -
77 H: -
78 I: + الاهنا
79 C, D, H: بتمامها
80 D: ايضاح
81 C, D, H: + والشماس
82 C, D, H: الجانبين
+ I: الكثير
83 I: + للجانبين
84 D: يكون
85 I: كنيسة
86 C, H: -
87 C, D, I: + المجمع
88 I: المرض وغيره
89 C, D, H: + ويعترف
90 I: -
91 H: -
92 I: -
93 H: ولكيما
94 H: -
95 C, D, I: -

واكابرها تضرعوا الى الملك بان يعمل هذا المجمع هناك فلكن لم يوثر الملك ذلك بل قال يكون في فارارا، وعلى هذه الجهة اتى الملك واخبرنا بهذا الامر ونحن ثبتنا غرضه ورضينا[96] بان يكون هذا المجمع في مدينة فارارا، وكتبنا الى ساير الدوكات وغيرهم من الاكابر العظما بان يجتمعوا وياتوا لان هكذا صار الاتفاق والايتحاد خلوًا من البحث والسجس بل بغاية المحبة. والان فنبتدي بهداية الله في[97] المجمع الطاهر لكي تتحد الكنايس، ونحن نرجو من الله ان يهدينا وينيرنا لاكمال هذا الاتفاق والمحبة لنسبحه [D 141r] ونمجده الذي اهلنا ان نبتدي بذلك [B 174v] في اليوم[98] التاسع من نيسان[99] سنة الف واربعماية وثمانية وثلاثين لتجسد المسيح. فلما قروا هذه الرسالة وغيرها نهض واحد من[100] الافرنج وسال الكردنالية وروسا الكهنة والاكليرس قايلًا لهم قد رضيتم بما قريناه عليكم اليوم؟ فقالوا الافرنج كلهم كمن فمٍ واحدٍ قد رضينا بذلك ونعترف به ونكتب خطوطنا. ثم ان الجانبين كتبوا خطوطهم ونهضوا جميعهم وشكروا لله وعملوا حلاً. لكن من يقدر ان يخبر بحسن ذلك الطقس والترتيب الذي كان للملك والبطريرك وروسا كهنة المشرق (وهية جلوسهم ولباسهم الحلل الكهنوتية؟)[101] ثمّ نهضوا جميعهم وانحل المجمع ومضى كل واحدٍ منهم الى[102] منزله. وبعد ان عبر عيد الفصح فكانوا علما الافرنج والروم ياتون الى [C 205v] عند الملك كل وقت ويتحاوروا كي لا يجيزوا الايام بغير فايدة، وكانوا يستفحصوا [I 196r] عن [H 195r] الاعتقادات ومسايلًا كثيرة فيما بينهم. ولما عبرت ايامًا كثيرة هكذا عزموا بان يعملوا دوا لهذا المرض[103] ويستريحوا، ورسموا بان يفتشوا على علة المطهر، الذي يسموه الافرنج بورغاطوريون، ومن اجل انبثاق الروح القدس، ومن اجل الفطير وغير ذلك من المسايل. [D 141v] وهكذا تقوم[104] راي الفريقين وانتخبوا رجال علما وحكما لكي يستفحصوا عن هذه الاشيا. فانتدبوا الافرنج اثنين من الكردنالية واثنين من المطارنة واثنين من[105] الاساقفة واثنين من روسا الديارة واثنين نوطارية[106]، وكذلك الروم اثنين من المطارنة واثنين من الاسافة واثنين من روسا الديارة واثنين من حمال الصليب واثنين نوطارية.[107] وجلس هولا كلهم وجودهم حتى يتجادلوا[108] وكانوا يمضوا في كل ايام جمعة الى كنيسة فرنسيسكو ويتجادلوا. وفي الرابع من حزيران جلسوا اقوام من اهل المجمع، فابتدوا الافرنج وقالوا للروم عن مسايل كثيرة. فقال[109] مرقص مطران افسس[110] هلموا نحن لنكتب اعتقاداتنا ونعملها روس ونجاوب على كل راس منها. (فلما سمعوا الافرنج ذلك فرحوا ومجدوا الله وهكذا قاموا من المجمع)[111] وكتبوا ايضًا[112] الافرنج المسايل والروس. وفي[113] الرابع عشر[114] من[115] حزيران اجتمع ايضًا هذا المجمع واغلقوا ابواب الكنيسة لكي لا يستجسوا من كثرة الشعب واحضروا الافرنج تلك المسايل والروس التي كتبوها، فاجابهم عنها مطران نيقية وبرهن لهم عن[116] كل راس منها. وابتدوا بالمحاورة [B 175r] عن نار المطهر بانها ليس تطهر نفوس [D 142r] الخطاة في هذا العالم، لان نفوس الخطاة الذين ماتوا وعليهم هفوات لم يعترفوا بها او نسيوها او ماتوا ولم يعلموا[117] قانونها [C 206r]

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96 H: -
97 C, D, H: هذا +
98 C, D, I: -
99 C, D, I: في +
100 C, D, I: جانب +
101 I: -
102 H: حال +
103 I: الغرض
104 C, D, H: اتفق
105 H: -
106 I: بوطارية
107 I: بوطارية
108 H: وهكذا +
109 D: فاجاب
H: فقام
110 C, D, H: قايلًا +
I: بصوت +
111 H, I: -
112 C: -
113 H: اليوم +
114 H: -
115 H: شهر +
116 I: -
117 I: يعلموا

فهذه تذهب الى [I 196v] مكان مظلم وتكون هناك، واخيرًا الاهنا الرحوم لاجل تضرع روسا الكهنة والكهنة[118] الصايرة بوساطة القداسات والطلبات والصدقات ينقذهم من ذلك[119] [H 195v] المكان المظلم ويرسلهم الى الفردوس، فلكن ليس يتطهرون بالنار ولا نعترف نحن مثلكم ان النار تفعل هذا. ثم اجابهم عن انبثاق الروح القدس وعن[120] الفطير وغير ذلك من المسايل. وصار بينهم لاجل ذلك مجادلات[121] كثيرة، واخيرًا انحل المجمع وذهب كل واحدٍ منهم الى مكانه. وفي[122] السادس عشر من[123] تموز رسم الملك فذهبوا كل روسا الكهنة واتباعهم الى بلاط البطريرك وذهب الملك معهم راكب وجلسوا في الكراسي وتخاطبا من الصبح الى الساعة السادسة، وان الملك عرف عزم روسا الكهنة والاكليرس وقال لهم بان يكتبوا للافرنج بخطوطهم ورسم بان في الغد يجتمعوا الافرنج معهم، وهكذا اجتمعوا الفريقين في السابع عشر من تموز وتفاوضوا كثيرًا بخصوص تلك المسايل، وكانوا يستنظروا السعاة الذين ارسلوهم واعطوهم مهلة بان[124] الى[125] اربعة اشهر [D 142v] يكون ورود الامرا والريغات والدوكات والكونديدس والروسا والاشراف ووكلاتهم. فلما عبرت الاربعة اشهر ولم يجي احد منهم ولا ارسلوا وكالاتهم حزنوا روسا الكهنة جدًا لاجل نفاد الايام وتعويق المجمع، وبخاصة لان الطاعون كان قد ابتدا فخافوا جدًا لما مرض مطران سردة، وتنيح ودفنوه باكرام، وبمعونة الله لم يمرض احد منهم غيره ولا توفي احد لكن ذلك وحده. وان البابا لما راى انه لم ياتي احد من الامرا المذكورين وان روسا الكهنة وجماعة الروم في حزن وهم[126] فسلاهم قايلاً لا تحزنوا يا اخوتي لاني انا هاهنا مع الملك والبطريرك وبخاصة هاهنا [C 206v] وكل[127] البطاركة [I 197r] والكردنالية فنحن نكمل المجمع ونجتمع به من الغد موردين شهادة الكنيسة والمعلمين. وكان ذلك في اليوم الثامن [H 196r] من تشرين الأول. ولم يجلسوا في مكان الاسقفية (حسبما ارتووا)[128] لكن في بلاط البابا لان البابا كان مريضًا بوجع الرجلين [B 175v] ولم يكن يقدر ان يمضي الى دار الأسقفية. فنصبوا الكراسي في بلاط البابا كما نصبوها هناك سالفًا،[129] فمن الشمال كان (كرسي البابا)[130] وملك الالمانية والكردنالية واهل المغرب، وفوق كرسي البابا جلسوا اول النوطارية والبرميكرية وباقي [D 143r] الاكليرس ليس على كراسي مفردة لكن على دفوف عالية مفروشة بالطنافس، امام البابا وعند اقدامه وقدام كرسي ملك الالمانية وكذلك المركازية والدوكات (امام البابا)[131] والكونديدس الذين كانوا موجودين من الاول، واما الذين كانت بلادهم بعيدة ما امكنهم الحضور. واما من جهة اليمين فجلس الملك في كرسيه والبطريرك دونه بمقدار اربعة اشبار وكرسيه اصغر من كرسي البابا قليلًا[132] لكن كرسي الملك والبابا كانا متقابلين وكان[133] كرسي البطريرك موشحا بقماش احمر مثل كرسي البابا وجلسوا وكلا البطاركة الثلاثة في كراسيهم وكراسي المطارنة نظيرهم وروسا الديارة وكرسي الواحد مقابل الاخر من جوانب كرسي البطريرك، وجلسوا اللابسي الصلبان ومعهم المتقدمين في الاكابر وفوق كرسي الملك فكانت رتبة السكافوفيلكس اي حافظين الاواني، كل[134] هولاي حتى واخو الملك كير ديمتريوس والاكابر جلسوا على دفوف ومعهم وكلات المشرق. وفي وسط[135] الهيكل جلسوا ستة من الروم انتدبوهم لمجادلة الافرنج وجلسوا مقابلهم الستة

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118 C, D, I: + عنها
119 I: -
120 C, D, H: -
121 C, H: مسايلات
D: مسايل
122 H: + اليوم
123 H: + شهر
124 I: -
125 C, D, H, I: + مدة
126 H: -
127 C: وكلاء
128 H: بالمحاورت
C, D, I: + ذلك
129 I: سابقًا
130 B, I: -
131 C, D, H: -
132 H: -
133 C, D, H: -
134 H: لكن
135 I: -

الاخرين من الافرنج لمحاورة [I 197v] الروم ووضعوا الانجيل الطاهر على [C 207r] المايدة المقدسة، ومن جانب اليمين وضعوا هامة [D 143v] بطرس الرسول ومن جانب اليسار هامة بولص الرسول، وكان امامهم شمعًا[136] مشعولاً. والذين انتدبوهم الروم للمجادلة هم هولاي: [H 196v] مرقص مطران افسس، ايسيدرس مطران الروس، كسانتوبولس حافظ الاواني العظيم،[137] بيساريون مطران نيقية، فلصامون حافظ الكتب، جاورجيوس الجاميسطس. والذين اختارهم البابا والافرنج فهم اثنين من الكردنالية وهم يوليانوس وفرمانس، وروسا الاساقفة الاثنين فكانا[138] اندراوس رودس وفوروليفتسيس، واثنين من المعلمين وروسا ديارة، رجال حكما وعلما. ولما جلسوا للمناظرة الفريقين كليهما نهض بيساريون مطران نيقية [B 176r] قايمًا متكتفًا بورع ثم استاذن الملك والبابا والبطريرك[139] مادحًا اياهم ولكل المجمع، فعند سماعهم كلامه بهتوا جدًا وتعجبوا من وفور علمه وحكمته، ثم ابتدا بكلام يشتمل على صلاة وابتهال نحو الثالوث القدوس ذو الثلاثة اقانيم الاب والابن والروح القدس وجمعهم الى[140] شي واحد بالجوهر، فزاد تعجبهم ودمعت عيونهم وبعد ان اكمل ذلك عبر النهار وانحل المجمع، واوعدهم بالاجتماع نهار السبت. واتوا [D 144r] فيه الى المجمع في بلاط كنيسة البابا، وان اندراوس ماثل مطران نيقية في مديحه للملك والبابا والبطريرك والمجمع وامتد في ذلك الى المسا وانحل المجمع واوعدهم بالحضور في[141] يوم الثلاثا (وهكذا صار. واجتمعوا يوم الثلاثا)[142] الرابع عشر من تشرين الاول في بلاط البابا، وجلسوا حسب مراتبهم بترتيبهم[143] وببدلاتهم، وابتدا مرقص مطران [I 198r] افسس قايلاً اذ كنا بنعمة الله القادر على كل شي ومشيته اجتمعنا في هذا المجمع فيجب ان نحرص بشوق ومحبة في هذا الامر الالهي لكي تتحد الكنيستين وتصير شيًا واحدًا، وبما اننا [C 207v] موثرين ان نتكلم من اجل المطالب التي طلبتموها منا انتم يا اخوتنا الافرنج، نحتاج الى المحبة الخالصة النقية، واذا[144] اتفق في ايراد المجادلة لفظًا ثقيلًا فلا يكون ذلك علة سجس وشك بل تقبلوا ذلك بمحبة ووداعة ونحن كذلك نقبل [H 197r] كلامكم. اجابه اندراوس رودس[145] من قبل الافرنج ولاجل هذا الامر نحن نطلب منكم هذه[146] المحبة، لان المسيح محبّة هو، ومن اقتنا المحبة فهو من حزب المسيح القايل انا هو الحق والسلامة، ونحتسب ما يصدر من الكلام الثقيل في ايراد الحجج والمناضلات بمنزلة لا شي وجميع ما [D 144v] تسالونا عنه نجاوبكم في شانه جوابا كاملًا[147] نقيًا، ولا يورد احدًا كلامًا[148] فارغًا. اجابه مطران افسس اننا نوثر ان نتشاور مع اخوتنا الشرقيين ثم نجاوب عن تلك المقاصد كما قلنا، وعلى هذه الحجة[149] انحل المجمع. ثم اجتمعوا ثاني يوم وتكلموا كثيرًا ولم[150] يتفقوا على شي، ثم نهضوا وقروا نومن بالاه واحد التي وضعها الابا في المجمع (الأول، وتفوض المجمع)[151] وكانت محاوراتهم كلها من اجل انبثاق الروح القدس. ثم اجتمعوا ثالث يوم وابتدا[152] مطران افسس يخاطب [B 176v] البابا واهل المجمع بان يقروا الحدود التي وضعوها[153] القديسين في المجامع المسكونية بخصوص الطقوس والعوايد وبخاصة المجمع الاول والثاني اللذان هما اساس الكنيسة والامانة، فبهذه الجهة يتضح لنا حكم المجمع ونستمد صلوات اولايك الابا الالهيين، ويتم بهذا الفعل الايتحاد الذي لاجله اجتمعنا. وانهم رضيوا واحضروا كتابين

136 C, D, I: + كثيرًا
137 H: -
138 I: -
139 H: + وابتدا يتكلم
140 H: في
141 C, D, H, I: -
142 H: -
143 C, D, H: -
144 C, D, H: وان
145 I: -
146 H: -
147 D: كلامًا
148 C, D, I: قولًا
149 C, D, I: الجهة
150 H: ولا
151 I: -
152 H: + مرقص
153 C, I: + الابا

المجمعين[154] الاول والثاني وامروا بقراتهما، فاجاب الكردينال يوليانوس قايلاً [I 198v] ايها الابا[155] المكرمين اقول هكذا بمرسوم البابا [D 145r] الكلي الغبطة والابا الحسنين العبادة انه من اللايق [C 208r] والواجب ان نحتفظ خاص الايتحاد الذي اتفقوا عليه المجامع الماضية. فاستعد رودس وقال للمجمع اتريدوا بان نقرا لكم الكل او الغرض (فقط. اجابه مطران افسس اقرى الغرض)[156] المحتاج اليه الان في هذا المجمع لاجل الاختصار. وانه قري امانة الثلثماية وثمانية عشر وثبتها المجمع الثاني والثالث، ولما قرى [H 197v] نومن بالهٍ واحدٍ الى عند وبروح القدس الرب المحيي المنبثق من الاب، كان راي هذا المجمع الثامن ان يرسم غير هذا وهو ان الروح القدس منبثق من الاب والابن، فلاجل ذلك[157] حدثت مناظرات كثيرة عن انبثاق الروح القدس، فالافرنج قالوا انه منبثق من الاب والابن والروم قالوا انه[158] منبثق من الاب فقط وليس من الابن. وصار بينهم محاورة عظيمة، وان معلمي الافرنج اوردوا رسالة كيرلس الاسكندراني التي ارسلها ليوحنا بطريرك انطاكية قبل ان يصير المجمع الثالث وقروها، وكان مكتوب فيها ان نحفظ الامانة التي وضعوها الابا غير متقلقلة، فاجابهم مطران افسس اسمعتم ما قال القديس؟ [D 145v] ان نحفظ الامانة غير متقلقلة ولا ننحرف عن حرف منها، ثم ارغب اليكم ايها الابا المكرمين ان تقروا الحد الذي وضعه اصحاب المجمع الرابع (من الاول الى عند الامانة. وهكذا ابتدوا بقراته المجمع الرابع المقدس)[159] المسكوني الصاير[160] في ايام الملك المحب للمسيح مركيانوس المجتمع في مدينة خلكيدونية مطرنية الفيتينية في هيكل القديسة الحسنة[161] اوفيميه الى تمام القول، وفيه يثبت مجمع نيقية الاول والمجمع الثاني والثالث وان نحفظ الامانة التي وضعها المجمع [I 199r] الاول وهي نومن بالاه واحد ثابتة غير متزعزعة. وكذلك قروا امانة الابا اصحاب المجمع الخامس بان اساس الامانة المستقيمة هو تقليدات [C 208v] الابا الالهيين ويجب ان نحفظها [B 177r] بقوة ربنا يسوع المسيح غير منتلمة ولا منصدعة.[162] وكذلك باقي الابا الذين في المجامع كلهم ثبتوا ووكدوا الامانة الكبيرة ولعنوا كل[163] من ينحرف عنها. [H 198r] وهي نومن بالاه واحد بكمالها، وهذا فانها[164] تشمل على اثني عشر قسم. الاول نومن بالاهٍ واحد اب ضابط الكل خالق السماوات والارض كلما يرى وما لا يرى، [D 146r] وهذه هي[165] المعرفة بان الله هو الاب السماوي وهكذا فهو ايماننا به. الثاني وبربٍ واحد يسوع المسيح ابن الله الوحيد المولود من الاب قبل كل الدهور نور من نور الهًا حق من الاه حق مولود غير مخلوق مساوي للاب في الجوهر الذي به كان كل شي، فيعني بهذا اللاهوت الابن الوحيد وولادته الازلية وانه غير مخلوق وخاصة انه مساوي للاب في الجوهر ومبدع معه كافة الاشيا. الثالث الذي من اجلنا نحن البشر ومن اجل خلاصنا نزل من السما وتجسد من الروح القدس ومن مريم العذرا،[166] فيعني بهذا ان الابن الوحيد تجسد من الروح القدس بغير زرع. الرابع وصلب عنا على عهد بيلاطس البنطي وتالم وقبر، فيعني بهذا عن الامه المحيية وصلبه الصاير في ايام بيلاطس البنطي. الخامس وقام في اليوم الثالث كما[167] في الكتب، فيعني بهذا عن سر قيامته. السادس وصعد الى السما وجلس عن يمين الاب، فيعني بهذا عن صعود الرب المجيد وجلوسه عن يمين الله الاب. السابع وايضًا ياتي بمجدٍ عظيم ليدين الاحيا والاموات الذي لا فنا لملكه، فيعني [D 146v] بهذا عن مجي الرب الثاني

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154 H: المجمع
155 D: + الالهيون
156 H: -
157 H: هذا
158 I: -
159 H: -
160 C, D, H: + بنعمة الله
161 C, D, H: + الجهاد
162 H: مضمون
163 C, D, H: -
164 C, D, H: -
165 H: -
166 I: تانس
167 H: + هو

[I 199v] المزمع[168] ان يدين[169] الاحيا والاموات. الثامن وبروح القدس الرب[170] المحيي المنبثق من الاب الذي هو مع الاب والابن مسجودًا له وممجد الناطق بالانبيا، فندل [C 209r] بهذا التفسير بان اذا كانوا الابا الالهيين اعلاه تكلموا باللاهوت من اجل اقانيم الاب والابن (وان ابن الله الوحيد اقنوم واحد بطبيعتين والان نطقوا باللاهوت من اجل تساوي اقانيم الاب [H 198v] والابن)[171] والروح القدس. التاسع وبكنيسة واحدة جامعة مقدسة رسولية، فيعني بهذا على[172] ايتحاد الكنايس التي[173] في اربعة اقطار العالم. العاشر ونعترف بمعمودية واحدة لمغفرة الخطايا، بهذا الوجه يوضح [B 177v] ان المعمودية واحدة وليست هي معموديات وهي الصايرة بثلاثة غطسات على اسم الاب والابن والروح القدس على حسب قول الرب برهان دفن المسيح ثلاثة ايام وقيامته حسب قول بولص الرسول[174] كل الذين اعتمدتم بالمسيح فبموته اعتمدتم لان المعمودية[175] لاجل دفنه لكي كما قام المسيح من الموتى كذلك[176] ونحن نسلك في تجديد الحياة، ويدل ايضًا على قوّة ونعمة المعمودية [D 147r] المقدسة لان المعتمد ينال اولًا الروح القدس[177] وبعده[178] مغفرة خطاياه. الحادي عشر ونترجا قيامة الموتى، فها هنا[179] الابا القديسين يهذبونا اذ يوضحوا لنا مجد القيامة بتحقيق. الثاني عشر والحياة في الدهر العتيد امين، اي بان الحياة المزمعة لا نهاية لها ولا انقضا. وقروا ايضًا الحد الذي وضعوه الابا الالهيون الماية وسبعون الملتيمين في المجمع السادس بمدينة القسطنطينية الذي مبداه هكذا المجمع السادس المقدس المسكوني الكاين في ايام الملك الحسن العبادة قسطنطين اللحياني المجتمع في المدينة المحفوظة من الله مدينة القسطنطينية المتملكة رومية الجديدة في البلاط المدعو طرللو الذي رسم بان نخضع لله الاب ولابنه الوحيد ربنا والاهنا ومخلصنا[180] يسوع المسيح الحقيقي الصاير انسان [I 200r] بغير خطية، [C 209v] وما يتبع ذلك من[181] القول.[182] وهذا المجمع[183] ايضًا يثبت ويحقق المجمع الاول[184] والثاني والثالث والرابع والخامس ويكرز بنومن بالاهٍ واحدٍ ويختم بها. وكذلك [H 199r] اغاثون بابا رومية لما كتب الى ملك الروم عندما ازمع ان يصير المجمع السادس [D 147v] ارسل يوكد عليه ان يحفظ حد الامانة المستقيمة غير متزعزعة اعني نومن بالاهٍ واحدٍ. وكذلك اصحاب المجمع السابع المجتمع في نيقية ثانيًا القايلين المجمع السابع[185] الكبير المسكوني الصاير بنعمة الله في ايام الملوك الحسنين[186] المحبين للمسيح قسطنطين الملك وامه[187] ايريني في كنيسة[188] اجيا صوفيا تابعين تقليدات كنيسة المسيح الاهنا الذي انعم علينا بنور معرفته وخلصنا من قتام عبادة الاصنام، وما يتبع ذلك، وختموا هولا[189] الابا الالهيين وقالوا ان لا نخرج ولا نحيد عما وضعوه وكتبوه القديسين في المجامع الستة المسكونية بل نتمسك به ثابتًا غير متقلقل الى ابد الدهور. ولما سمعوا الروم الذين في المجمع المقدس هذا القول صرخوا قايلين (كمن فم واحد)[190] بهذا نومن ونعترف كلنا وكافتنا [B 178r] باتفاق راي، نكتب خطوطنا، هذه امانة الرسل، هذه امانة الابا، هذه امانة الارثوذكسيين، بهذه الامانة توطدت المسكونة، نومن بالاهٍ واحدٍ ونسجد بالتثليث، ونقبل الايقونات المقدّسة والصلبان، ونبعد ما ابعدوه الابا ونبارك ما باركوه ونلعن ما لعنوه اصحاب [D 148r] المجامع

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168 D: العتيد فيه
169 C, D, H: + كل احد من
170 H: -
171 I: -
172 C, D: عن
173 D: -
174 H: -
175 H: + ايضًا
176 H: هكذا
177 I: -
178 C, D, H: ثم
179 H: نحن
180 C, D, H: -
181 D: -
182 I: القبول
183 H: + الأول
184 B: -
185 C, D H, I: + المقدس
186 C, D, H: + العبادة
187 H: ووالدته
188 C, D, H: الكنيسة المقدسة
189 I: -
190 C, D, H: -

السبعة. ولما صار هكذا احضروا الافرنج كتابًا قديمًا جدًا كان[191] مكتوبًا فيه امانة هذا المجمع السابع موجودًا فيه بان الروح القدس منبثق من الاب والابن، وصار لاجل هذا الامر محاورة طويلة فيما بينهم، وكانوا يتباهون كثيرًا بذلك الكتاب القديم، ثم صار المساء وانحل المجمع. ثم اجتمعوا [I 200v] يوم الاثنين العشرين [C 210r] من شهر[192] تشرين الاول في كنيسة القديس فرنسيسكوس وقالوا [H 199v] الروم اسمعوا ايها الابا المكرمين بان اباينا القديسين اصحاب المجامع المسكونية ما قد حتموا به لاجل الامانة واكرزوا فيه نكرمه نحن ونحفظ حد الامانة ونرهبه ولايمكن ان نقبل قولًا غريبًا. اجابوهم الافرنج ايها الملك الحسن العبادة الكتاب الذي احضرناه المتضمن المجمع السابع اليس انه كتابًا قديمًا جدًا ليس يقدر احدًا ان يصنع فيه غشًا وقد صنفه واحد من المورخين القدما حكيمًا وكتب فيه امورًا كثيرة وكتب فيه من اجل هذا ايضًا. ثم ابتديا الفريقين كليهما يجادلا بعضهما بعضًا من اجل انبثاق الروح القدس، واوردوا قول [D 148v] غريغوريوس الثاولوغس الى كليدونيوس ورسالة كيرلس في تفسيره لانجيل يوحنا حيث يقول سالت الاب بان يرسل لكم معزيًا اخر وذكروا ما قاله باسيليوس الكبير وغريغوريوس الثاولوغس وغريغوريوس البالاماس في كتابه، وتفاوضوا اقوالًا كثيرة وانحل المجمع. ثم اجتمعوا في[193] يوم السبت الخامس وعشرين من الشهر المذكور وتكلموا عن انبثاق الروح القدس واوردوا قول القديس اغوستينوس الفيلسوف وامفروسيوس اسقف ماديولانن وايلاريون،[194] فاما الروم واوردوا لهم قول الجليل اثاناسيوس والكبير باسيليوس ويوحنا فم الذهب وانسطاسيوس السينياني بطريرك انطاكية وابيفانيوس اسقف قبرص وغيرهم كثيرين، وتجادلوا وجاوب احدهم الاخر كثيرًا.[195] ثم اجتمعوا يوم السبت اول تشرين الثاني، وفي[196] الرابع منه يوم الثلاثا، (وفي الثامن منه)،[197] وفي اليوم[198] الثامن عشر منه. واجتمعوا مرارًا كثيرة وكل محاوراتهم كانت من اجل انبثاق الروح القدس. ثم اتوا وكلات [B 178v] الدوكات والدوفورغونتياس الى المجمع وسجدوا [I 201r] للبابا فقط، حسب [C 210v] عادتهم، وقبلوا يده [D 149r] اليمين وجلسوا [H 200r] هناك، واما الملك فما سجدوا له ولا سلموا عليه لكن ذهبوا وجلسوا في ناحية الافرنج، ودفعوا الرسالات التي جابوها من امراهم للافرنج حتى يقروهم، وكانوا مكتوبين بلغتهم فلم يفهم ما فيهم لا الملك ولا جماعة الروم. فقام (الملك واغتاظ جدًا فللوقت)[199] انحل المجمع. واما الملك فانه غضب جدًا لاجل اهانتهم اياه وقلة[200] اكرامهم له وقال (بصوت عظيم)[201] من الان (لا بقي يصير مجمع)[202] ولم بقيت اذهب الى المجمع اصلًا[203] لاجل امتهان وكلات الدوكات ايانا.[204] واذ عرف البابا ذلك ارسل يسلي الملك، زعم ان الذي لم يعملوه الوكلا وقتيذٍ يفعلوه ايضًا، فانعطف الملك لاجل تعزية البابا له وذهب الى المجمع في اليوم الرابع من كانون الاول وجلس في كرسيه وكذلك بقية المجمع، واتوا وكلات الدوكات وسجدوا للملك لكن ليس كما يجب، فصبر الملك ولم ينطق شيًا، ورسم بان يتكلموا ايضًا من اجل انبثاق الروح القدس، فتكلموا الى المسا وانحل المجمع. ثم اجتمعوا في[205] الثامن من كانون الاول وتفاوضوا كثيرًا وابتدوا الروم يتدمرون، وهم روسا الكهنة والاكليرس وبقية المجمع وقالوا فيما بينهم الى متى هذا الجدال[206] ولم نقدر [D 149v] ان نغلبهم ولا هم يغلبونا فيجب ان نرجع الى القسطنطينية. واما الملك فكان ذو صبر وطول روح يدبر الامور بمعرفة وحزم. وبعد يومين وقع في مرض والبطريرك فكان مريضًا وبعد عبور ستة عشر يومًا تعافا البطريرك يسيرًا وقام

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191 I: -
192 C, D, H: -
193 C, D, H: -
194 H: ثم
195 C, D, H: -
196 H: اليوم +
197 H: -
198 C, D, I: -
199 C, D, H: -
200 C, D, H: وعدم
201 C, D, H: -
202 C, D, H: -
203 C, D, H: بالجملة ولا بقا يصير مجمع
204 I: لنا
205 H: اليوم +
206 C, D, I: والكلام +

ومضى الى المجمع مع الملك وساير الروم وتشاوروا هناك مع الملك في بلاطه واقاموا هناك مدة[207] يومين، فاحتد الملك وقال نحن تركنا مواطننا واتينا الى [I 201v] هاهنا بنصب[208] شديد طالبين المحبة واتحاد الكنايس وكف الانشقاق وحسم الفتن [H 200v] وكلكم تعنيتم[209] [C 211r] واتيتم الى هاهنا فروسا الكهنة لاجل استقامة امور كنايسهم والولاة والمسلطين لاجل تهذيب الامانة ولرجا ملكوت السموات، فانا لاجل رجا واحد تعبت[210] واتيت الى هاهنا حتى انال غفران خطاياي لان ليس لي ولد ولا اريد غير ذلك من الكرامات بل لاجل اصلاح[211] جنس الروم فقط، فاعملوا انتم حسبما تريدون[212] والاولى ان تحرصوا في ايتحاد الكنايس ولكي نرجع الى اوطاننا متحدين بالكرامة لا منفصلين بخزي، وان البابا كلمني ان نخرج [B 179r] من هاهنا (الى فارارا) [213] لنذهب إلى فيورنتزا وهناك نكمل المجمع، فكيف ترون هذا الراي جيدًا ان نذهب؟[214] [D 150r] اجابوه روسا الكهنة نحن ايها الملك كان[215] عزمنا ان لا نخرج من فارارا البتة فاذا كان صار الحكم ان نكمل المجمع هناك نريد مع مرسوم ملككم ان نعرف علة ذلك، لانه ليس واجب ان نخرج من هاهنا ونتبع غيرنا الى مكان اخر. اجابهم الملك وكيف ننال مقصودنا من المراكب والنفقة اذا لم نتبعهم؟ اذ كنا متضايقين كثيرًا للنفقة، لانكم تعرفون ان البابا قال لكم ان ليس عندي في فارارا شيًا اعطيكم بالجملة واذا كان موضع فونوتياس ليس تحت ولايتنا حتى ناخذ منه ما نحتاج، والفيورنتيني يعطونا اربعين الفًا من الذهب لكي نخرج المجمع من فارارا ونذهب الى فيورنزا، فاسمعوا مني وطيعوني بالذهاب الى فيورنتزا، لانهم جعلوا معونة لمدينة القسطنطينية اثني عشر الفًا من الذهب ومركبين كبار ويدفعوا لكم كلما استقرضتموه من الذهب ويوهبكم عوايدكم وتاخذوا كل شهر ما رتب لكم، ومعكم مهلة [I 202r] (الى هذا[216])[217] ثلاثة اشهر او اربعة [H 201r] ثم ترجعوا الى بلادكم ان صار اتفاقًا وان لم يصير. وان روسا الكهنة لما سمعوا ذلك اضطربوا جدًا[218] وبالاكثر لانه لم يكون معهم [D 150v] نفقة وانهم اتفقوا ان يمضوا. [C 211v] وهكذا تفاوض الملك مع البطريرك، وكان طريح الفراش، وعرفه بعزم روسا الكهنة ووكدوا[219] هذا الراي، اعني[220] ان يذهبوا الى فيورنتزا، وكان حينيذٍ نهار الجمعة ثاني كانون الثاني. ولما عبر السبت والاحد عزم الملك مع البابا المضي الى فيورنتزا واذا ادركهم عيد الانوار يعيدوه في فارارا،[221] وهكذا صار. ولما عبر عيد الانوار التام ايضًا المجمع وقال لهم البابا فان اردتم نفقة فلنذهب الى فيورنتزا، فقال له الملك بان للافرنج (عادة، ليس)[222] كما يتفق بان يعملوا مجمع مسكوني بغير عمل تام مع امانة المجامع، ما خلا بان لا يكون في ذلك الموضع شيًا من هذه الثلاثة فالواحدة الوبا والثانية الغلا والثالثة حروب الاعدا، لاننا نحن نريد بهذه العلل ان نخرج من فارارا وننقل هذا المجمع الى غير مكان.[223] وان الملك مع البابا والمجمع مضوا الى هناك والتاموا في الاسقفية وجلس البابا والملك ومجمع الروم والافرنج [B 179v] وتخلف عنهم البطريرك لانه كان مريضًا، وان ريس اساقفة المدينة الجديدة قدس ذلك اليوم وعمل باعوث وباراكليسي وصلى كالعادة، [D 151r] ثم جا البابا لابسًا حلّة رياسة الكهنوت ومعه الكردنالية وروسا الاساقفة والاساقفة[224] لابسين حلل الكهنوت. وامر البابا لريس الاساقفة غرادنسي والملك امر مطران ميتيلني ان يصعدا الى الانبلن

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207 D: -
208 H: بتعب
209 H, I: تعبتم
210 H: + وشقيت
211 I: -
212 C, I: ترون
213 I: -
214 C, D, H: + ام لا
215 H: -
216 I: -
217 H: -
C, D: الى مدة
218 C, D, H: -
219 I: وذكروا
220 C, D, H: -
221 H: -
222 H: ليس لهم عادة
223 H: + ثم
224 D: + كلهم

وينياديا كل واحد بلغته بان المجمع قد انتقل الى فيورنتزا، قايلا بصوتٍ عظيم افجانيوس عبد عبيد الاله [I 202v] انذارًا بالمجمع المقدس المسكوني الذي كان مزمع ان يصير في فارارا، فلاجل[225] الوبا هناك في الشتا وخوفنا [H 201v] لا يدوم الى الصيف فعلى موجب النواميس والقوانين نقلنا هذا المجمع من فارارا إلى فيورنتزا. وبعد قراة روسا الكهنة هذا انحل المجمع. وفي اليوم[226] [C 212r] الحادي عشر من كانون الثاني اعطا البابا للروم المصرف والخرج وبعث الى مدينة القسطنطينية تسعة عشر الفًا من الذهب يستعينوا بها واستعد للمضي الى فيورنتزا، وخرج في السادس عشر من كانون الثاني من بلاطه بشرف عظيم باثني باثنا عشر فرسًا بيضا موشحات بالبياض وعلى احدهن صندوق معظم وموضوع فيه السراير الالاهية،[227] وكان حول ذلك الفرس خمسين رجل ماشين وماسكين [D 151v] باياديهم مصابيح وشمع كبار يقد وعلى الفرس الثاني[228] البابا راكبًا، وحاكم المدينة وابنه ماشيان امامه ماسكان لجام فرسه، وبقية الخيل فارغة، ويتبعوه الكردنالية والاساقفة راكبين، ويتبعهم رهط عظيم حتى انتهوا الى دير القديس انطونيوس، (فنزلوا هناك وكان ليلة عيد القديس انطونيوس).[229] وهذا الدير كان فيه راهبات متوحدات ورعات،[230] وفيه بلاطًا وقصرًا واسره[231] وامثال ذلك مما يوافق للقوم المشرفين من النياح والاكرام، وهو بقرب النهر. وعمل[232] البابا[233] صلاة غروب، ثم دخل في مركبٍ وعبر نهر مادونان التي هي[234] مدينة بين فارارا وفيورنتزا، (ثم ذهبوا)[235] ووصلوا وقت الغدا إلى فيورنتزا، واجتمعوا مع رفقتهم الافرنج. ثم ذهبوا روسا كهنة الروم لاستقبال البطريرك، وكان ذلك في الثالث عشر من اشباط، وعند دخول البطريرك الى فيورنتزا خرج لاستقباله اثنين من الكردنالية وعشرة من روسا الأساقفة [I 203r] وثلاثين من الاساقفة ورهطًا [B 180r] جزيل من الناس وادخلوه الى المدينة. وبعد عبور ثلثة ايام اتى الملك ايضًا الى المدينة وخرج [D 152r] لاستقباله حاكم المدينة ماشيًا والكردنالية جميعهم وساير ما يتبعهم وساير [H 202r] الاكابر والاراخنة واهل المدينة قاطبة. وصار في استقباله من [C 212v] الاكرام والاحتفال ما لا يعبر[236] بلسان وكان دخوله[237] يوم الاحد، ويوم الاثنين طلبوا اليه ان يذهب الى البلاط الجليل لكي يتنزه ويشاهد الملاهي والطرب ومشهد سباق الخيل. ولما عبرت جمعة البياض ودخل الصوم الكبير استدعاهم الملك الى قصره وتفاوضوا كالعادة، ثم ان البابا اعد لهم[238] في بلاطه كراسي ومجالس على ترتيبهم. وبعد ان عبرت الجمعة الاولى من الصوم الكبير اشتد مرض البطريرك وتقرمت[239] رجليه ولم يستطع المشي، فدعوه روسا الكهنة الى اول مجمع (فلم يقدر ان يحضر. وفي سادس وعشرون من اشباط في الجمعة الثانية من الصوم صار اول مجمع)[240] في فيورنتزا، واجتمع الملك وروسا الكهنة مع البابا في بلاطه وجلسوا في[241] ترتيبهم وابتدوا بالمحاورة البليغة عن انبثاق الروح القدس. فقالوا الافرنج انه منبثق من الاب والابن، والروم قالوا كلا بل من الاب فقط، واوردوا شهادات قديمة مكتوبة من قديسين معظمين وتكلموا كثيرًا [D 152v] وانحل المجمع. وفي الخامس من اذار عملوا ايضًا مجمعًا، وفي الحادي عشر، وفي السابع عشر،[242] وفي الرابع والعشرون[243]، وناضلوا الافرنج كثيرًا عن انبثاق الروح القدس فقط. وكذلك في التاسع وعشرون من هذا[244] اذار. وفي

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225 C, D, H, I: + حدوث
226 I: -
227 I: المقدسة
228 H: + جالس
229 H: -
230 H: -
231 H: -
232 H: هناك
233 C, D: + هناك
234 I: في
235 C, D, H, I: وساروا في سابع عشر من كانون الثاني
236 H: يصير
237 I: حوله
238 C: -
239 C, D, H: تورمت
240 H, I: -
241 H: حسب
242 C, D, H, I: + وفي العشرون
243 C, D, H: + وفي السابع والعشرون
244 C, D, H, I: -

الحادي والثلاثون اجتمعوا واوردوا شهادات كثيرة من الابا الالهيين المشرقيين والمغاربة، والمشرقيين باسيليوس الكبير وغريغوريوس الثاولوغس ويوحنا[245] فم الذهب واثاناسيوس وكيرللس ومكسيمس واضرابهم، [I 203v] والمغاربة اغوستينوس وجارونيموس وامفروسيوس وايلاريون ولاون ودماسس، وتفاوضوا كثيرًا عن الروح الإلهي. وان جاورجيوس السخولاريون اورد ثلاثة مفاوضات تخص على السلامة والمحبة والاتفاق،[C 213r] وحث الروم على الاتفاق [H 202v] مع الافرنج، وعبر الوقت. ثم قال الملك سرًا لمجمع الروم ان يوافقوا الافرنج وكذلك البابا فاوض جماعته بخصوص الاتحاد وانحل المجمع. ثم جلسوا وتفاوضوا ولم يتفقوا اصلًا وفي احد العنصرة طلب البابا الى الملك ان يمضي الى صلاة [D 153r] المسا ويحضر افاشين السجدة فذهب الملك وجماعته، وخاطبه البابا كثيرًا [B 180v] في باب الاتحاد وان يقنع روسا الكهنة[246] (بالاتفاق معهم. وانه مضى يوم خميس العنصرة مع)[247] روسا الكهنة بعد ان كلمهم سرّا، وقال لهم ايها السادة روسا الكهنة لماذا تغربتم[248] الى هاهنا؟ اليس لاجل اتحاد الكنايس؟ ولنا الان في هذه البلاد خمسة عشر شهرًا ولم تعملوا شيًا ونحن فليس لنا هاهنا استعداد ومتغربين كل هذه المدة عن بيوتنا، فاستشيروا بعضكم بعضًا واتوني بالجواب. اجابوه قايلين كل من لا يريد اتحاد الكنايس فليكون محرومًا ملعونًا. (فقال مطران الروس الحسن العبادة)[249] هلموا يا اخوتي لنقرا كتب الابا القديسين المشارقة والمغاربة ونتفق فيما بيننا، اجابوه وهذا راينا ايضًا. ثم قال لهم مطران نيقية ان اردتم ان تستفحصوا وتتفقوا على قول القديسين فلماذا لا تومنون ان الروح القدس منبثق من الاب والابن؟. فعندما سمعوا قول مطران نيقية صمتوا واحتشموه لانه كان حكيمًا جدًا[250] ولم يعرفوا ضميره وانه كان مايلًا الى ناحيتهم. [D 153v] ثم ابتدوا بقراةٍ كتاب كيرللس في تفسيره لانجيل يوحنا وكتاب ابيفانيوس المدعو كاروطس وكنوز القديس كيرللس. ومطران ميتيليني قدم كتب الابا المغاربة[251] في هذا المعنى وقراها وهم ناصتين، وبعد قراتهم [I 204r] هتفوا اولايك معًا نحن ما عرفنا قط قديسين الغرب ولا قرينا كتبهم، اجابهم مطران [H 203r] نيقية ماذا تقولون [C 213v] الان وماذا تجاوبون عن هذا؟، وانهم هتفوا جميعهم وقالوا الان نظرنا وقرينا ورضينا ونحن نعترف بذلك. (وكذلك مطران[252] قال انا اعترف هكذا وكذلك وكلات البطاركة قالوا)[253]. حينيذٍ قال لهم الملك وان كنتم رضيتم بالحقيقة فقولوا، وانهم رضيوا كلهم مع البطريرك وقبلوا قول[254] قديسي الغرب وكتبهم، ثم انحل المجمع ومضى كل واحد منهم[255] الى قلايته. وغربلهم مطران نيقية مثل الحنطة وكانوا[256] يصدقوا قوله بما انه عظيمًا في علمه وما يعلمون بمكنون ضميره. ويوم السبت سحر اجتمعوا كل روسا كهنة الروم مع الملك في قلاية البطريرك، لانه كان مريضًا، واتى جاورجيوس المدرس وتقدم لعند الملك واظهر له عزمه وذهب سال روسا الكهنة وعرف عزمهم وعزم البطريرك، فرااهم كلهم قد [D 154r] اتحدوا ووافقوا الافرنج. (ثم سال المطران ايسيدرس وكيل بطريرك انطاكية)[257] فقال هكذا اعترف امام الله والناس[258]، وكذلك زعم كل واحد من روسا الكهنة (ووكلات [B 181r] البطاركة).[259] واما انطونيوس مطران ايراكلية ومرقص مطران افسس ودوسيتاوس مطران مونوفاسيه وصفرونيوس مطران اشالو لم يرضوا بمشاركة الافرنج ولا الاتحاد معهم، لكن دورثاوس مطران ميتيليني رضي بمشاركهم. ثم سالوا باقي روسا الكهنة

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245 C, H: -
246 C, D, H: كهنة الروم
247 B, I: -
248 C, D, I: + واتيتم
249 C, D, H: لكن بحسن العبادة ثم قال مطران الروس
250 D: -
251 H: الغربيين
252 B: Another hand added the word "افسس". I: + نيقية
253 I: -
254 C, D, H: -
255 H: + الى حال سبيله
256 D, H: وصاروا
257 H: -
258 C, D, H: وكذلك قالوا وكلا البطاركة ومطران نيقية + قال انا اعترف هكذا ماية ضعف
259 C, D, H: -

فكثيرين منهم[260] رضيوا من كل قلوبهم وبعضهم رضيوا بذلك غشًا. فالذين اتفقوا مع الافرنج عشرة مطارنة، مطران الروس ونيقية ولاكادامونيه وميتيليني ورودس ونيقوميدية وديسطوس وغان ودراما ولانيقر، واول السناقلة غريغوريوس وكيل بطريرك الإسكندرية، ومن روسا الديارة بخوميوس، ثم اتى مطران كيزيكو ومطران درابزون ومونوفاسيه وكيل [I 204v] بطريرك اورشليم. [C 214r] ولما راى الملك ان اتحاد الكنايس (قد كمل)[261] واهل القسطنطينية قد اتفقوا[262] مع الافرنج، انتخب البوق [D 154v] المنطيقي مطران الروس قبل ان يصير الطومس ويكتبوها (مع الافرنج)[263] روسا الكهنة [H 203v] خطوطهم، وارسله من قبله الى البابا لاجل اموره الضرورية. فذهب وقال للبابا ان قدسكم رسم[264] ان تجعلوا معونة للمسيحين (واوعدتم بذلك سرًا فاعلنوه للجميع بانه معونة للمسيحيين)،[265] وان البابا بعد مفاوضته اياه اصرفه ببشاشة وجواب مرضي.[266] ويوم الاثنين ثاني احد جميع القديسين ارسل البابا الى الملك ثلاثة من الكردنالية من قبله وامرهم بان مهما عملوه من المعونة للملك وللمسيحين يكون ذلك ثابتًا موبدًا. فقال لهم الملك اذ كنتم اتيتم الينا من قبل البابا لاجل هذا الغرض فبينوا لنا ما هو الذي تجعلوه لنا عونة في كل سنة لاجل جنس المسيحيين، فقالوا الكردنالية حسب ما رسم البابا الكلي قدسه: اولًا، نعطيكم جانبًا من النفقة والمراكب لتسيروا بها جميعكم وكل روسا كهنة المشرق الى مدينة القسطنطينية. (وثانياً، نعطيكم ثلثماية جندي يقفون[267] خارج القسطنطينية)[268] يحرسونها. وثالثًا، يكون مع نفقتهم مركبين كبار [D 155r] بساير عدتهم وسلاحهم لحفظ المدينة. ورابعًا، بان الزيارة التي كانت برسم اورشليم تصير لمدينة القسطنطينية والمراكب الكبار التي كانت[269] تمضي بها الشعوب[270] لزيارة قبر المسيح يكونون للذين يذهبون لزيارة[271] القسطنطينية. وخامسًا، اذا احتاج الملك مراكبًا لمعونته يعطوه عشرين مركبًا مع ساير ما يحتاجوه ركابها ويمكثوا لمحاربة اعدا الروم ستة اشهر، وان كانت سنة كاملة تكون عشرة مراكب كبار [B 181v] وساير تكلفاتها. وسادسًا، اذا اراد الملك عسكرًا في البرّ يرسلوا له [I 205r] ذلك ويساعدوا جنس المسيحيين. فلما قالوا [C 214v] الكردنالية ذلك فرح الملك جدًا في ضميره ثم قال لهم نريد ان يكون ذلك بكتابة وختوم وتثبيت ويكون ذلك معنا استيثاقًا[272] ويتصلنا [H 204r] من جانب البابا من الثلاثة باغلوس اي من (ثلاثة مدن)[273] من البندقية ومن جانوا ومن فلورنتزا من فايدة الاموال الموجودة هناك يرسلوها لملك القسطنطينية في كل سنة. ولما تفاوضوا هكذا ذهبوا وكان وقتيذٍ ثاني شهر حزيران. وثاني يوم التاموا روسا الكهنة مع الملك في منزل [D 155v] البطريرك لانه كان مريضًا جدًا وكانوا كل اللابسين الصلبان والروسا الفلاسفة معًا وعملوا مجمعًا فيما بينهم فقال لهم الملك اني انا من اول ما اجتمعنا عرفت عزمهم وبالاكثر عرفت عزمكم وايضًا ماذا تقولون؟، اجابوه نوثر ان نعرف عزم البطريرك. فحينيذٍ لما نظر البطريرك عزمهم اظهر لهم ما في ضميره وقال لهم اتحدوا مع الافرنج وشاركوهم وصيروا معهم شي[274] واحد. فلما سمعوا روسا الكهنة قول البطريرك وضميره اتفقوا كلهم وصاروا قول واحد[275] ما خلا اربعة مطارنة وهم[276] ايراكلية[277] وافسس وصطفروبولي واشالو، وطابق الملك قول البطريرك واتفق مع[278] روسا كهنته في الاتحاد معهم وانحل المجمع. وفي الخامس من

260 C, D, I: -
261 H: -
262 H: اتحدوا
263 C, D, H: -
264 B, I: -
265 H: -
266 H: ومضى
267 C, I: + دايمًا
268 H: -
269 H: -
270 H: + الى القدس
271 I: الى
272 H: + وتعطونا
273 I: -
274 C, H: -
275 I: -
276 H: + مطران
277 H: + ومطران
278 H: -

حزيران اجتمعوا مع الملك في منزل البطريرك واتفقوا على الاتحاد البعض باختيارهم والبعض بتدبير البطريرك والملك وروسا الكهنة ما خلا مرقص مطران افسس فانه لم يشا بالجملة مشاركة الافرنج، فالزموه كثيرًا والتمسوا ان يميتوه بكل صنف وانهم كلهم كتبوا خطوطهم في الطومس الملك والبطريرك وكل روسا الكهنة، [D 156r] وكتبوا ايضًا في كونديكا كنيسة رومية، ثم [I 205v] كتبوا ثلاثة طوموسات فالواحد جعله البابا عنده في رومية والثاني اخذه الملك والثالث اخذه البطريرك. [C 215r] وبعد[279] ما كتبوا الفريقين هكذا انحل المجمع واخذ البابا الطومس [H 204v] ثاني يوم وقراه فاعجب كثيرًا واعجب الكردنالية جدًا. وثاني يوم ايضًا سحر السبت انتخبوا الفريقين من كل جانب عشرة لكي يكملوا كتابة الطومس ويكتبوا باقي اعتقادات الافرنج، اعني المطهر بالنار (اي برغاطوريون)[280] ومن اجل الفطير وتقدمة البابا على بقية الكراسي وغير ذلك. ويوم الاثنين سحر دخلوا الروم الى المكان الذي رتبه البابا وقروا [B 182r] الطومس وارتضوا به كلهم وقاموا قبلوا بعضهم بعضًا وصار فرحًا عظيم، ومضوا وقت الغدا الى بيوتهم اعني العشرة من الروم بعد ان[281] اوصاهم البابا ان يرجعوا اليه في الساعة العشرين[282] حتى يكتب الطومس بالافرنجي ويقروه بمجاهرة في المجمع وينهوا الامر، وهكذا صار وقروا الامانة باليوناني والافرنجي وارتضوا الفريقين (وقبل بعضهم بعضًا).[283] ثم (ارسل البابا الى الملك القاضي فالاراصون والكوزونيس خريسطوفورس وتوما المعلمين)[284] واخبروا [D 156v] الملك بالاتحاد الكاين وفرحوا فرحًا عظيمًا. ويوم الثلاثا خاطب البابا قومًا (من روسا الكهنة[285])[286] من اجل نهاية امر المجمع، فانتخبوا مطران الروس ونيقية ودرابزون وميتيليني ومضوا وسجدوا للبابا فقال لهم[287] نحن بنعمة الله قد اتحدنا واتفقنا من اجل انبثاق الروح القدس، والان بقي علينا (ان نتفق للباقي اعني)[288] تقديم الكرسي الرسولي برومية القديمة[289] والفطير والمطهر، فاذهبوا وكلموا الملك ومجمعكم من اجل ذلك واتونا بالجواب. وانهم[290] اخبروا الملك والبطريرك وبقية المجمع، وفي المسا يوم الاربعا اتاهم خبر [I 206r] بغتة ان البطريرك قد توفي[291] واضطربوا[292] وذهبوا لينظروا سجية موته، فاعلموهم خدامه انه بعد المسا دخل الى مرقده كحسب عادته واخذ ورقة وقلم وكتب وكانت يده [C 215v] ترتعد من مرضه وبعد تكميله خرجت روحه. ووجدوا القرطاس الذي كتبه (وكان فيه)[293] هكذا يواصف برحمة الله تعالى[294] ريس اساقفة القسطنطينية رومية الجديدة وبطريرك المسكونة [H 205r] باني[295] انتهيت الى اخر حياتي لاوفي الدين العام الذي على الطبيعة كتبت وبرهنت عزمي [D 157r] وضميري باني اومن واعترف بكلما تعتقده الكنيسة المقدسة الجامعة الرسولية التي برومية القديمة بربنا يسوع المسيح ،اعتقده انا واتحد بها واعترف بان الكلي الغبطة المتقدم في الابا والموقر في روسا الكهنة البابا برومية القديمة وكيل ربنا يسوع المسيح انه هو المتقدم في الكراسي بما انه خليفة[296] بطرس الرسول،[297] فلاجل هذا حققت وثبتت وكتبت في اليوم السابع[298] من حزيران سنة الف واربعماية وتسعة وثلثين (لتجسد

279 H: ومن بعد
C: -
280 H: -
281 H, D: ما
282 H: -
283 H: -
284 H: -
285 C: D, I: كهنة الروم
286 H: -
287 H: البابا +
288 H: -
289 C, D, I: -
290 D, I: رجعوا +
291 C, D, H: فقلقوا +
292 H: -
293 C, D, H: -
294 C, H: -
295 C, I: لما +
296 H: ماري +
297 H: -
298 D, H: التاسع

المسيح).[299] (وان المجمع)[300] (على موجب هذا الاعتراف)[301] رضيوا روسا كهنة الروم وثبتوا اعتقادات الافرنج. ثم اجتمع[302] روسا الكهنة يوم الخميس لدفن البطريرك [B 182v] وطلب الملك من البابا ان يعطيهم كنيسة لدفن البطريرك حتى يدفنوه[303] (بفقر ومسكنة خلوًا من تشريف ونجنزه باختصار ونرد التراب على التراب[304]).[305] وفي الساعة التاسعة حملوا الجسد المايت وكل روسا الكهنة معه لابسين بدلاتهم حتى انتهوا[306] الى كنيسة مريم نوفالاس، وصلوا عليه كالعادة[307] وقبلوه ودفنوه بقرب اواني الهيكل في الجانب الشمالي وعملوا [I 206v] له اكرام عظيم، الكردنالية [D 157v] وروسا الاساقفة والاساقفة والاكليرس وساير اكابر مدينة فيورنتزا (والشعب، وبخاصة لاجل اكرام[308] الملك وروسا كهنة الشرق).[309] وكان نياح هذا البطريرك في العاشر من حزيران في التاريخ الثاني وبعد ما دفنوه (بثلاثة ايام)[310] خاطبوا البابا في امر اتمام المجمع لانهم لا يمكنهم الصبر ايضًا وبالخاصة لانهم صاروا بغير [C 216r] بطرك. ولما ذهب مطران الروس ونيقية وميتيلني وذهبوا[311] في الغد الى عند البابا واوردوا له نياح البطريرك، حزن كثيرًا[312] وبخاصة لاجل تتميم الاتحاد ثم امرهم ان يجتهدوا في اتمام الاتحاد وما هو مكتوب وغير مكتوب، فقالوا له نحن نخاطب مجمعنا، فمضوا واخبروا الملك والمجمع. وتشتت اراوهم ولم يتفقوا على شي، والتاموا مرتين ثلاثة وتفاوضوا عن المسالات الأخيرة، حينيذٍ قال الملك للبابا نحن لم نتكلم شيًا والوقت قد قرب ونحن مستعدون للسفر، فاجابه البابا ونحن كذلك قلقين وقد ارسلنا الى القبطانية الذين في البندقية حتى يعدوا لكم مراكب وملككم ايضًا ارسلوا قومًا من اكابركم يتقدموكم ونحن نرسل مكاتيب الى القبطانية، لكن نتضرع الى ملككم بان تمكثوا هاهنا اياما يسيرة الى ان يعطي الله ونكمل [D 158r] هذا المجمع ونعطي نحن نفقة وخرج الى البندقية ومعونة لكم[313] الى ان تمضوا الى القسطنطينية، ولا يفتكر ملكك في شيءٍ من هذا. ثم انفصلوا وتشاوروا الفريقين[314] عن مسايل الافرنج حتى انهم اخيرًا ارتضوا بها، (لانهم كلوا من مجادلة الافرنج)،[315] ثم قالوا[316] انها حسنة واجبة. وفي اليوم التاسع من نياح[317] البطريرك مضوا وصلوا عليه ثم ارسل الملك واستحضر اربعة من المطارنة [I 207r] ايراكلية ونيقية وافسس والروس ليستعلم عزم ايراكلية وافسس وباقيهم، هل يرضون بمطلوبات الافرنج، فاما ايراكلية فرضي واما مطران افسس فلم يرضى. وفي خمسة وعشرين من حزيران كان[318] يوم عيد يوحنا المعمدان الذي يعيد له [B 183r] اهل فلورنزا باحتفال عظيم، ذهب مطران الروس ونيقية وميتيلني وغيرهم كثيرين الى عند البابا وكانوا يوملون منه احسان، ومن عند البابا الى عند الملك يتشاوروا، واخيرًا اجتمعا الفريقين معًا وتجادلا كثيرًا وبعد ذلك وضع لهم [C 216v] البابا مايدة لطيفة وحلاوات وشراب، فاكلوا وشربوا ومضوا، وان روسا كهنة الروم كلهم اتفقوا معا ما خلا مرقص مطران [D 158v] افسس واعترفوا مقرين ان البابا هو المتقدم على البطاركة كلهم ووكيل المسيح والراعي المستقيم والمعلم لساير المسيحيين والمدبر بيعة الله الحي، والقسطنطيني هو الثاني بعده و الاسكندري الثالث والانطاكي هو الرابع والاورشليمي هو[319] الخامس، وان الروح القدس المنبثق من

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299 H: -
C, D: لتجسد سيدنا يسوع المسيح
300 C, D, H: -
301 H: على هذا الموجب
C, D, I: + والرضا
302 C, D, H: + الملك و
303 C, D: + بها
304 From here the section in H is replaced with one sentence, see below.
305 H: بها وباختصار دفنه بكل احتقار
306 C: + به
307 C, D: في الكنيسة
308 I: + خاطر
309 C, D: -
310 C, D: -
311 D, I: -
312 D, I: جدًا
313 D: -
314 C, D: -
315 C, D: -
316 I: + الروم
317 C, D: موت
318 C, D: ثاني
319 C, D: -

الاب والابن، وفي الفطير وفي المطهر بالنار، وكتبوا خطوطهم بذلك برضا الملك ووكلا الثلاثة بطاركة وباقي روسا كهنة الروم.[320] ثم[321] مضوا[322] الى كنيسة السيدة حيث دفنوا البطريرك وعملوا له تذكارًا، ثم مضى مطران الروس وميتيلني الى البابا وقالوا له هوذا قد تنازل ملكنا الحسن العبادة وكل مجمعه ورضيوا بجميع ما طلبه قدسكم وان رسمتم حتى نتكلم ونستاذن غبطتكم في السفر لان المراكب قريبة المسير الى البندقية وكثيرًا من مسايلك صارت، ولكن اتحاد فيما بيننا في شركة القداس لم يصير، والان فقد بلغنا الى عيد الرسولين بطرس وبولس وقدسكم بما انكم [I 207v] خليفتهم فاللايق في[323] اليوم الذي بمثله نالا الاكاليل الغير بالية[324] كذلك[325] تتوج هامة غبطتكم[D 159r] (في هذا اليوم)[326] ونقدس معك جميعنا ويصير اتحاد كامل ونقرا امانة الاتحاد. فلما سمع البابا ذلك امتلا كله فرحًا وشكر كثيرًا من الملك والمجمع ورجعوا المطارنة الى الملك واخبروه بالامر. وعند المسا اتى من قبل البابا ثلاثة علما[327]، وهم الديكريتس ورودس وكوزونيس، وقالوا للملك ان رسمت غدًا ليصير طومس الامانة بالافرنجي واليوناني ولكي يكتبوا الكل، واذا كان ثاني عيد [C 217r] الرسل يصير القداس والاتحاد. وجلسوا ايضًا في المجمع البابا والملك والفريقين واوردوا الافرنج مسايل اخرى ليكتبوها الروم في الطومس من اجل البابا والملك، فحدث بينهم سجس ايام عدة الى ان اتفقوا. ويوم السبت الرابع من تموز امر الملك وانتدبوا الافرنج[328] ستة علما والروم ستة [B 183v] (علما ايضًا)[329] ليكتبوا الطومس، وجلس ستة من الافرنج في جانب اليمين ليكتبوا بالافرنجي وكان البابا ومجمعه من (حيث هم)،[330] ومن الجانب اليسار ستة من الروم يكتبوا باليوناني ويعلقوا[331] الطومس ختم الذهب، وكان ذلك في كنيسة فرانسيسكو، وكتبوا الطومس حسب امر الملك باليوناني والافرنجي. ويوم الاحد كتب الملك ووضع ختمه، [D 159v] ويوم الاثنين كان نهاية المجمع وصار الاتحاد في الكنايس. وذهب البابا والملك وكل روسا الكهنة واللابسين الصلبان والاكليرس والروسا والكهنة والمصليين والاناغنسطية وغيرهم من الاراخنة والحكام والاكابر وساير الشعب الى هيكل الست السيدة وقدّسوا، ولبسوا كلهم مع بعضهم بعض الروم والافرنج، وصار احتفال عظيم وفرح وبهجة، وكان الشعب الذي اجتمع في ذلك اليوم لا يمكن احصاه حتى يسمعوا [I 208r] قراءة الطومسين ويشاهدوا الاتحاد الذي صار بين الكنيستين. وبعد القداس امر البابا بقراءة الطومس، وان الكردنال يوليانوس قرى الافرنجي ومطران نيقية قرى اليوناني، مضمونه بخصوص المجمع[332] الصاير في فيورنتزا وهذا اوله افجانيوس الاسقف عبد عبيد الاله، تذكارًا الى الدهر مع الكاتبين والكلي الاشتياق ولدنا الروحاني كير يوحنا البالاولوغس ملك الروم ووكلا اخوتنا البطاركة الموقرين مع باقي روسا الكهنة الحافظين كنيسة المشرق، فلتفرح السماوات وتبتهج الارض لان قد هدم حايط العداوة [C 217v] الذي كان قايمًا[333] [D 160r] بين الكنيستين الشرقية والغربية، وارتفع شانها بالسلامة والاتفاق بالحجر المزاوي الذي هو المسيح الفاعل الان فيما بيننا المحبة[334] مشدّدها بالمودة الدايمة باتحادنا، وازال تلك العداوة القديمة والانفصال، وطرد الظلام المقتم الذي كان منذ سنين كثيرة والتي كانت بالحزن عادمة الفرح والسلامة اشرقت بالشعاع المشوق بالاتحاد الثابت، فلتفرح الان ام الكنايس باولادها لان الى الان كان فيها الانفصال والافتراق. والان بالسلامة والاتحاد ارتفعت والذين كانوا يبكون الى الان بكاء مرًا لاجل الانفصال الان لاجل عجيب الاتحاد يفرحون فرحًا[335] لا يوصف. فلتشكر الكنيسة لله والكافة معًا

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320 D: + والكهنة والاكليروس خلا مطران افسس
321 D: وسحر السبت
322 D: + كل روسا الكهنة الروم
323 D: + هذا
324 C, D: دابل
325 D: -
326 D: -
327 I: غلمان
328 D: + منهم
329 C, D: -
330 C, D: من ناحيتهم
331 D: + في
332 C, D: + المقدس المسكوني
333 D: قديمًا
334 C, D: السلامة والمحبة
335 I: + عظيمًا

يفرحون لاجل الاتحاد بالامانة الذي صار في كل المسكونة،[336] وكما [B 184r] دعيت بعد المسيح باسم المسيح الكنيسة الجامعة المقدسة، فلتفرح الان وتبتهج، وما يتبع القول ويناسبه كلامًا كثيرًا مكتوبًا في الطومس، وكان في اخره [I 208v] هكذا اعطي في فيورنتزا للعالم مجمعًا فلتعيد الكنيسة العظما لتمامه الذي كان في سنة الف واربعماية وتسعة وثلاثين لتجسد ربنا والاهنا يسوع المسيح نهار الاثنين [D 160v] في السادس عشر من تموز في سنة ستة الاف وسبعة واربعين للعالم وفي السنة التاسعة من رياسة هذا البابا. وهذا ما كتبه الملك وروسا الكهنة المشرقيين وما يتبعهم من الكهنة والاكليرس لتثبيت الاتحاد الصاير في الكنايس يوحنا الملك المومن بالمسيح الاله (الضابط الكل)[337] والضابط بذاته كافة مملكة الروم البالاولوغس. الحقير انطونيوس مطران ايراكلية وريس كهنة ساير تراكيس ومكدونية ووكيل الكرسي الرسولي الذي لبطريك الإسكندرية فيلوثاوس، [C 218r] بابا غريغوريوس الكاهن في الرهبان البنفماتيكون واول السناقلة كتب، الحقير ايسيدوروس مطران كيوفو وساير بلد الروس ووكيل الكرسي الرسولي الذي لبطريرك مدينة انطاكية[338] العظما دوروثاوس، الحقير دوروثاوس مطران مونوفاسيه ووكيل الكرسي الرسولي الذي لبطريك اورشليم يواكيم، الحقير دوسيثاوس مطران كيزيكو ووكيل مطران انكرة، كتب الحقير مطروفانوس مطران درابزون ووكيل مطران [D 161r] قيسارية دوروثاوس، كتب فيساريون برحمة الله تعالى[339] ريس اساقفة نيقية ووكيل مطران صرداون، كتب الحقير ماكاريوس مطران نيقوميدية، ايضًا[340] مطران طرنوفو وكيل مطران نيقوميدية، كتب الحقير اغناتيوس مطران ميتيلني ووكيل مطران سيديس، كتب الحقير دوروثاوس مطران مولدوفلاشياس اعني البغدان ووكيل داميانوس مطران سبسطية،[341] الحقير يواصف مطران افاسية، كتب الحقير [I 209r] (ناثانييل مطران رودس والجزاير المحيطة بها، كتب الحقير جناديوس مطران غانو، كتب الحقير دوسيتاوس مطران دراما، كتب الحقير كاليسطس مطران سيسيطرا، كتب الحقير متثى مطران مالانيكو، كتب الحقير)[342] صفرونيوس[343] مطران اشالو، كتب فيساريون نيقية، كتب بالوكالة عن الصاكالاريون الكبير مانوييل الشماس [C 218v] نجريصوكولي اللذان كانا [B 184v] متساويان في الاسرار والكرامة والعقل وكان كانه[344] [D 161v] حاضر معه فلاجل هذا كتب عنه الشماس ثاودورس الكبير حافظ اواني الكنيسة الكندثيوبولس، كتب ريس الشمامسة ميخاييل حافظ الكتب، كتب سلفسترس الشماس الكليسيارشيس الكبير والحافظ الواجب، كتب الشماس جرجس الكبادوكي اوبروديكتيكوس قسطنطين اول القسوس، كتب الاكليسيارشيس في دير السيدة في الجبل المقدس السيق الكبير ووكيل هذا الدير اثاناسيوس ريس دير اثاناسيوس، كتب جاروندیوس الراهب في الكهنة ريس دير الضابط الكل، كتب جرمانوس ريس دير القديس فلاسيوس، كتب بخوميوس الكاهن في الرهبان ريس دير مار بولص، انتهوا الكاتبين.[345] فهذا الطومس قري في الانبلن وكذلك[346] الذي بالافرنجي قراه[347] الكردينال يوليانوس والرومي قراه فيساريون مطران نيقية، وبعد قرااته قبلوا ركبة البابا ويده[348] وقبل احدهم الاخر، وكانوا كلهم لابسين حلل رياسة الكهنوت والكهنة والشمامسة بدلاتهم والمصليين ابتدوا يرتلوا بالرومي فلتفرح السماوات بتمامها، ذكصا وعادوها،[349] ايضًا كانين، (هي ايضًا، ثم)[350] هتفوا بالمجد [D 162r] العظيم، وايضًا

336 D: + جميعها
337 C, D: -
338 I: -
339 C, D: -
340 C, D: -
D: + كتب الحقير
341 D: + كتب
342 I: -
343 I: دوستيانوس
344 I: -
345 H: All this section is replaced by the sentence ثم بعد يومين ختموا جميعهم ما عدا مطران افسس.
346 C, D, H: والطومس
347 H: + المطران
348 H: -
349 C, D, H: وهي
350 C, D, H: -

اليوم نعمة روح القدس جمعتنا بتمامها، واكملوا القداس ومضوا الى منازلهم. وبعد[351] ما كملت هذه الامور وتمت المحبة والسلامة والاتحاد بين الفريقين، واستدعا البابا روسا [C 219r] كهنة المشرق[352] الى بلاطه، فذهب قوامًا منهم وقومًا لم يذهبون فاعطا الذين ذهبوا [H 205v] كل واحد جزا واحداً[353] وخاطبهم سرًّا قايلاً [I 209v] نحن[354] بنعمة الله اخوان وقد اتحدنا في الامانة، والان لاحكام يعرفها الله قد تنيّح اخينا يواصاف[355] الجزيل قدسه بطريرك[356] القسطنطينية ومضى الى الحياة الدايمة، وبالاتحاد الصاير قد[357] (وقفت انا)[358] الراس لاعضايكم ويجب علي ان ارفعكم[359] في القيام بحسن العبادة (واصلاح الكنيسة)،[360] والان كنيسة بطركية[361] القسطنطينية متضرعة بان يصير لها بطركًا ولاسيما هاهنا بحضوري، ليس كما اربح شيًا جسدانيًا ذهبًا او فضة وامثال ذلك، بل انا اعطيه واوطده واثبته اذا شرطنته واساعد كنيسته، فلماذا تحزنوا وما هو[362] الذي يعيقكم؟ لان الملك هاهنا والمجمع المسكوني وكل روسا كهنتكم، فالواجب واللايق ان يصير [B 184r] هاهنا وتمضوا معه جميعكم [D 162v] ولا تمضوا من هاهنا بغير راس. اجابوه روسا الكهنة كلما ترسمه غبطتكم فهو واجبًا لكن نحن لا نقدر نجاوبكم عن هذا حتى نشاور الملك وباقي مجمعنا[363] ونرد لكم الجواب، وانهم اتوا واخبروا الملك والمجمع[364] بما قاله البابا، اجابهم الملك اذهبوا وقولوا له ان عادة كنيسة القسطنطينية اذا توفي بطركها يجتمعوا روسا كهنة الابرشية وينتدبوا منهم واحدًا ويصلوا عليه الشرطونية في كنيسة البطركية، والملك ليس يمكنه ان يغير هذه العادة لانه عارف بعادة كنيسة القسطنطينية. فمضوا واخبروا البابا بذلك، وفي العشرين من[365] تموز ذهب مطران ايراكلية وكيزيكو ودرابزون ومونوفاسيه ونيقوميدية ودراما وغيرهم من الاكليرس والعوام، نحو خمسين رجلًا، واخذوا ثلاثة اوراق كبار ليرسلوا الواحدة [C 219v] الى بطريرك الإسكندرية والاخرى الى بطريرك انطاكية والثالثة الى بطرك اورشليم ويكتبوا [H 206r] فيهم جميع ما جرى في هذا المجمع وصورة الاعتقاد وما يتبع ذلك. والطومسين الاولين، اخذ الملك الواحد الذي باليوناني [I 210r] وضع فيه خاتمه الذهب، (والطومس الاخر الذي[366] بالافرنجي اخذه [D 163r] البابا ووضع فيه ختمه، وهولاي)[367] الثلاثة المذكورين[368] ارسلوهم لكل بطرك من البطاركة (كما ذكرنا مع واحد من المطارنة)،[369] وعلى هذه الجهة صار اتحاد الروم والافرنج. وان الملك وروسا الكهنة وبقية المجمع خرجوا من فلورنتزا واتوا الى البندقية، وان الدوكا والروسا استقبلوهم بكل تشريف وصنعوا معهم احسانات عظيمة واوهبوهم هبات جزيلة. واما مطران نيقية فلم يرجع معهم بل اختفا في فيورنتزا ولم يكشف لهم عزمه، وكان من اول امره[370] مايلًا بكليته الى جهة الافرنج ويظهر انه محاميًا لكنيسة الشرق، وامال كل روسا كهنة الروم الى رايه. ولما مكث عند البابا عمله كردينال وانعم عليه بالعطايا الجسيمة وشرطنه بطركًا على القسطنطينية، لا ليذهب الى هناك بل ليكون عنده في كنيسته التي برومية ويكون له الجلوس مع البابا في المجمع مكان بطريرك القسطنطينية، لانه ان[371] ذهب الى القسطنطينية مشرطنًا عليهم بطركًا (من البابا)[372] وليس من روسا كهنة الابرشية لكانوا يرجموه

351 H: ومن بعد
352 B, H: -
353 I: -
354 C, D: الان
355 H: -
356 H: + مدينة
357 H: يذهبوا
358 H: انا وقفت
359 C, D, H: + وايدكم
360 H: والصلاح
361 C, H: + مدينة
362 D, H: -
363 H: -
364 H, I: -
365 H: -
366 C, D, H: -
367 I: -
368 H: -
369 H: -
370 H: -
371 C, D, H: لو
372 I: -

[B 184v] ولم يقبلوه. واما مرقص مطران افسس فلم[373] يطابق[374] هذا الراي [D 163v] واضطروه الافرنج كثير خاف وقبل ما يعمل البابا القداس مع روسا كهنة الروم في فلورنزا ويقروا الطومس، هرب واتى الى مدينة القسطنطينية. واما البابا افجانيوس المذكور فانه توفي [C 220r] وصار مكانه بابا اخر اسمه نيقولاوس، فلما سمع بان اهل كنيسة مدينة القسطنطينية لم يرضوا بقبول المجمع الثامن، وكان ذلك [H 206v] بعد مجي الملك وروسا الكهنة وبقية المجمع كما سياتي بيانه فيما بعد، انحدر في مركب واتى الى مدينة القسطنطينية ومكث مقابل اسكدار، وارسل يعلم الملك والاكليرس لكي يعطوه اذن بالدخول الى المدينة والى الكنيسة العظما حتى يخاطبهم بخصوص هذه الامور، فلم يردوا لهم جوابًا [I 210v] ولا اثروا مخاطبته والنظر اليه. فلما راى البابا احتقارهم اياه احرمهم وافرزهم، وعاد من هناك وذهب الى الجبل المقدس ودخل الى دير فاطوبادي، وان الريس لم يقبله ولا اكرمه فربط كثيرًا من الرهبان وعاقبهم (وقتل منهم كثيرين)[375] وهدم ذلك الدير، ثم مضى الى دير لافرا وقدس هناك فاكرمهم كثيرًا واكرم كل الديارة التي قبلته والذين [D 164r] لم يقبلوه اوقع بهم مساوي كثيرة. ومن هناك رجع الى رومية ومنع عن مدينة القسطنطينية جميع ما كان رتبه لها البابا افجانيوس من العطايا والمعونات التي كانت قد رتبت ان يرسلوها في كل سنة للملك والكنيسة العظما.

B. The *Ḥāshiya*

حاشية لكير ماكاريوس بطريرك انطاكية الحلبي مما وجده مكتوبًا في نسخة باللسان الرومي

ان الافرنج انفصلوا منا في سنة ستة الاف ومايتين[376] وتسعة عشر للعالم وبقوتهم استحوذوا[377] على كرسي رومية وحكموا على ساير الجزاير الغربية وبلادها، وصار يقوم بابا بعد بابا الى سنة ستة الاف وتسعماية خمسة وثلاثين للعالم. وكان وقتيذٍ على رومية بابا اسمه افجانيوس، فهجس في قلبه فكر صالح وهو ان يرسل الى ملك الروم والبطاركة ويعمل معهم محبّة ويضم الكنايس الى راي واحد. وكان وقتيذٍ [C 220v] ملك القسطنطينية يوحنا البالاولوغس وبطركها يواصف وبطرك الاسكندريّة فيلوثاوس وانطاكية دوروثاوس واورشليم يواكيم، فارسل للملك والمذكورين رسالة وعمل ما تقدم [B 185r] شرحه. [D 164v] واجتمعوا في مدينة فلورنتزا وكان مع البابا المذكور من روسا كهنة الافرنج وعلمايهم اربعماية وثمانين نفرًا، وعدة كثيرة من عامّة الافرنج واكابرهم. ورسم هذا المجمع ان يكون قربان القداس الالهي من خاص القمح خميرًا. ولم يغيّر هذا المجمع للروم ولا للافرنج عادة ولا سنّة لكن يعملوا الفريقين تقليداتهم من الصلاة [I 211r] والتراتيل[378] كما تسلّموه قديمًا، لان مهما كان من الصلاة وامثالها بمحبة واتفاق فهو مقبول عند الله. وكتبوا طومارين ووضعوا فيهم خطوطهم، الملك والبابا والفريقين، من اجل انبثاق الروح القدس والخمير والفطير والمطهر وما شابه ذلك، وان البابا يكون له التقدم على غيره من البطاركه الى انقضا العالم، وبعده هولاي[379] القسطنطيني والاسكندراني[380] والانطاكي والاورشليمي، حسبما رتبته السبع مجامع المقدسة. وان الملك يوحنا وذريته يكون حاكمًا على ساير بلاد الافرنج والروم وتدوم السلطنة في القسطنطينية الى انقضاء الدهر. ووصل خبر هذا الاتفاق بمكاتبه من الملك يوحنا ومن البابا افجانيوس الى الثلاثه بطاركة، واحضر [D 165r] هذه الرسايل ناثانابيل مطران رودس الى مدينة دمشق المحروسة للبطريرك دوروثاوس الانطاكي في الثامن من

373 C, H: فانه لما لم
D: فانه
374 H: + الافرنج
375 I: -
376 D: -
377 D: + اى الافرنج
378 C, D: والتراتيب
379 C, D: -
380 D: والاسكندري

شهر ايّار سنة الف واربعماية ثمانية واربعين للتجسّد، وفسرها مطران بيروت في دمشق، وانبثت في ذلك الصقع كله. ومن هناك ذهب مطران رودس الى اورشليم ومنها الى الاسكندرية وتمم خدمته. لكن الشيطان عدو الصالحات دايمًا الباغض الخيرات سرمدًا والحاسد للمومنين اجتهد بذاته وبكل شياطينه وهدم هذا الاتّفاق والمحبّة كما سنذكر.

[C 221r] **(ومن هنا نرجع الى ما كنا فيه)**[381] وان الملك يوحنا رجع من المجمع الى كرسي مدينة القسطنطينية فوجد مريم زوجته ابنة الكاطاكوزينس قد توفيت قبل مجيه بزمان قليل،[382] فاشتمله عليها حزن عظيم.[383] واما جماعة الاكليرس الذين بالقسطنطينية الكهنة الرهبان (والكهنة العوام)[384] وروسا الديارة وامثالهم لم يوثروا مشاركة احد من روسا الكهنة الذين رجعوا من ايطاليا، ولا كانوا يذكروهم بل كانوا يهربون منهم بمنزلة الكفار، وكثيرون من اوليك[385] عزلوا ذواتهم من الكهنوت. [D 165v] وعوض [I 211v] الاتحاد صار افتراق وانفصال. [H 207r] فعلى [B 185v] هذه الجهة كانت امور الكنيسة مبلبلة وما كان لها بطركًا، لان بعد موت البطرك يواصاف[386] في فلورنتزا لم يقبل احدًا ان يصير بطركًا لاجل كثرة[387] الشرور والانشقاقات، وبقيت الامور خلوًا من ترتيب ولا تهذيب. وان بيساريون مطران نيقية ومطران الروس لبثا في رومية كما ذكرنا. وكان في ذلك الوقت كاهنًا فاضلًا بمدينة القسطنطينية بليغًا في القداسة اسمه غريغوريوس، هذا كان شبين الدوكس الكبير فاخذوه بغير مراده وانتدبوه بطركًا. هذا لما راى زيادة الشرور وتفاقم الشكوك[388] تقدم فانبا عما[389] يصير من سبي مدينة القسطنطينية وما هو مزمع[390] ان يحل بها من الخراب والسبي والتشتت،[391] ثم عزل ذاته من كرسي[392] البطركية، وقال متنبيًا لشبينه الدوكس الكبيران الهاجريين سوف يذبحون ولديك تجاه عينيك، وهكذا صار فيما بعد حسب نبوة رجل الله. واما[393] الملك فانه وقع في مرض صعب من وجع رجليه[394] ومات في هذا المرض.

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381 H: تم المجمع الثامن
382 C, D, H: يسير
383 D: لا يوصف
384 H: -
C, D: والكهنة والعوام والرهبان
385 I: -
386 C, D, H: -
387 I: + النفاق
388 I: السلوك
389 H: مزمع ان
390 D: عتيد
391 C, D, H: -
392 C, D, H: -
393 C, D, H: وان
394 H: يديه ورجليه

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Simon Mills

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge's Arabic Bibles

King George I of Great Britain was no more versed in Arabic than he was in the native tongue of the kingdom he inherited in 1714.[1] Nonetheless, when, in 1724, he was presented with manuscripts of the Arabic Psalter and New Testament, he at least appeared to be "very well pleased with the sight of them".[2] Indeed, the king was sufficiently impressed that he agreed to confer a royal bounty of five hundred pounds through his minister, Sir Robert Walpole, on the men behind this presentation to aid them in their pious endeavors.[3] The men in question were the members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK). A London-based association of predominantly lay Anglicans, the SPCK had been founded at the end of the 17th century as a reforming society concerned with the promotion of charity schools and the printing and distribution of religious literature. It became involved in missions overseas in the 1710s, through its support for the Danish–Halle mission to Tranquebar in India.[4] In the early 1720s, the Society embarked on a project for printing Arabic books for the use of Christians in the Ottoman Levant. The fruits of

1 For a recent assessment of the king's ignorance of English, see T. Blanning, *George I: The Lucky King*, London, 2019, p. 26.

2 Cambridge University Library (CUL), Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) MS A32/1, "Extracts of the Minutes relating to the Arabick Impressions, 1722–1730", p. 15.

3 CUL, SPCK MS C14/1, November 1, 1726.

4 For the early history of the SPCK, see W. O. B. Allen, E. McClure, *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698–1898*, London, 1898, p. 13–25; W. K. L. Clarke, *A History of the S.P.C.K.*, London, 1959, p. 1–18; E. Duffy, "The Society of Promoting Christian Knowledge and Europe: The Background to the Founding of the Christentumsgesellschaft", *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 7, 1981, p. 28–42; C. Rose, "The Origins and Ideals of the SPCK, 1699–1716", in J. Walsh, C. Haydon, S. Taylor (eds.), *The Church of England, c. 1689–c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism*, Cambridge, 1993, p. 172–190; D. L. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England: Anthony William Boehm and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, Göttingen, 1993; A. F. Walls, "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Missionary Movement in Britain", in A. Gross, Y. V. Kumaradoss, H. Liebau (eds.), *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India. Vol. 1: The Danish-Halle and the English-Halle Mission*, Halle an der Saale, 2006, p. 107–128; B. S. Sirota,

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its labors included an Arabic Psalter, the *Kitāb Zabūr Dā'ūd*, published in London in 1725, and an Arabic New Testament, *al-'Ahd al-Jadīd li-Rabbinā Yasū' al-Masīḥ*, which appeared two years later, in 1727.[5]

Most library catalogs attribute both works to the editorship of Sulaymān ibn Ya'qūb al-Shāmī al-Ṣāliḥānī. Sulaymān (or Solomon) Negri (bap. 1665, d. 1727) was a Melkite Christian from Damascus, Syria. His career as a teacher and a translator in Europe is fairly well known.[6] He was, indeed, involved in the preparation of the SPCK's Bibles. However, the attribution to him alone glosses over a deeper and more complex history of the books' production. Behind this early episode in Christian Arabic printing lay a century of connections between England and Ottoman Aleppo, connections forged by overseas trade and by the early global adventures of

The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680–1730, New Haven, 2014, esp. p. 110–148.

5 *Kitāb Zabūr Dā'ūd al-malik wa-l-nabī: wa-ayḍan maḍmūnātu-hā ma'a al-shahādāt al-mutaqābi-la min al-'Ahd al-'atīq wa-l-Jadīd thumma waṣāyā Allāh al-'ashar kamā fī al-iṣḥāḥ al-'ishrīn min sifr al-khurūj wa-l-ṣalāt al-rabbānīya kamā fī al-iṣḥāḥ al-sādis li-l-qiddīs Mattá*, [London], 1725; *al-'Ahd al-Jadīd li-Rabbinā Yasū' al-Masīḥ: wa-ayḍan waṣāyā Allāh al-'ashar kamā fī al-iṣḥāḥ al-'ishrīn min sifr al-khurūj*, [London], 1727. On the books, see C. F. von Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, Halle an der Saale, 1811, p. 376–379; *GCAL* I, p. 118, 140–141; G. Roper, "Arabic Printing and Publishing in England before 1820", *BRISMES Bulletin*, 12, 1985, 1, p. 21. For the history of the Bibles' production, see G. Roper, "The Export of Arabic Books from Europe to the Middle East in the 18th Century", in *BRISMES, British Society for Middle Eastern Studies, Proceedings of the 1989 International Conference on Europe and the Middle East Held at the University of Durham, 9–12 July 1989*, Oxford, 1989, p. 226–233, esp. p. 228–232; G. Roper, "England and the Printing of Texts for Orthodox Christians in Greek and Arabic, 17th-19th Centuries", in *Travaux du Symposium International Le Livre. La Roumanie. L'Europe. Troisième édition – 20 à 24 septembre 2010*, vol. 1, Bucharest, 2011, p. 430–443, esp. p. 437–438; Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, p. 154–165; S. Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge: Trade, Religion, and Scholarship between England and the Ottoman Empire, c. 1600–1760*, Oxford, 2020, p. 224–248.

6 On Negri, see D. Weston, "Negri, Solomon (bap. 1665, d. 1727)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed. (henceforth, ODNB), 2013; J.-P. A. Ghobrial, "The Life and Hard Times of Solomon Negri: An Arabic Teacher in Early Modern Europe", in J. Loop, A. Hamilton, C. Burnett (eds.), *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, Leiden, 2017, p. 310–331; P. Manstetten, "Solomon Negri: The Self-Fashioning of an Arab Christian in Early Modern Europe", in C. Zwierlein (ed.), *The Power of the Dispersed: Early Modern Global Travelers beyond Integration*, Leiden, 2021, p. 240–282; F. Lucchetta, "Un progetto per una scuola di lingue orientali a Venezia nel Settecento", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 1, 1983, p. 1–28; C. Bochinger, "Abenteuer Islam. Zur Wahrnehmung fremder Religion im Hallenser Pietismus des 18. Jahrhunderts", Habilitation thesis, University of Munich, 1996, p. 19, 66–71, 78–82, 102; S. Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge*, p. 224–235, as well as Negri's autobiography, *Memoria Negriana hoc est Salomonis Negri Damasceni vita olim ab ipsomet conscripta*, ed. G. A. Freylinghausen, Halle an der Saale, 1764, p. 1–6 (first published in J. H. Callenberg, *Spicilegium instituti Muhammedici monumentis subserviens*, Halle an der Saale, 1743, p. 3–9).

the Church of England. The story of the SPCK's Arabic Bibles is also bound up with a prior history of Arabic printing in the Ottoman Empire, specifically the work of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch Athanasios III Dabbās (1647–1724). The project brought together Negri and Dabbās, as well as other Eastern Christians in London and Aleppo; scholars, clerics, and lay Orientalists in England; and a little-known Levant merchant.

1 A Proposal for an Arabic Bible

The idea of printing an Arabic Bible originated in the spring of 1720. At the SPCK's meeting on March 24, the German chaplain at St James's Palace, Anton Wilhelm Böhme (1673–1722), presented the Society with a letter from Solomon Negri.[7] Negri had arrived in England some time in 1717.[8] His letter recommended a proposal for a New Testament in Arabic, as a charity for those Eastern Christians deprived of the Scriptures for want of the printing press. Receptive to the scheme, the Society solicited the opinions of the English clergy and of men with some experience of the East as to the feasibility and desirability of the undertaking.

Negri's proposal, published the following year with a series of testimonials intended to encourage patrons for the project, was the most detailed and the best-informed justification.[9] He began with a (rather polemical) survey of the then-extant printed Arabic New Testaments. None of these was satisfactory, on account of the books' cost, scarcity, or linguistic deficiency. He then set out a three-fold plan, which in its outlines mapped out the course of action that the SPCK would eventually follow. First, Negri directed the SPCK's efforts towards the Melkites – the Greek Orthodox Church – who were "superior in number" to the other denominations of Eastern Christians. Secondly, he recommended that the Bibles be sent to Aleppo in Syria, where the English consul and, even more so, the Anglican chaplain could oversee the task of distribution. Finally, Negri advised that the Society work with the hierarchies of the Eastern Christian churches. The respective patriarchs and

7 CUL, SPCK MS A1/9, "Minute Book Volume 9, 1719–1721", p. 92.

8 Negri first appears in the SPCK's records in January 1720, when he was granted five shillings from the charitable fund collected at the Society's anniversary meeting (CUL, SPCK MS A1/9, p. 77).

9 *An Extract of Several Letters relating to the Great Charity and Usefulness of Printing the New Testament and Psalter in the Arabick Language; for the Benefit of the Poor Christians in Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Egypt, and other Eastern Countries: with a Proposal for Executing so Good an Undertaking*, London, 1721, p. 3–9; S. Negri [to H. Newman], [1720], CUL, SPCK MS D1/N/13 (another copy at CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 1–6).

senior clergy of the churches in Syria, Palestine, Iraq, and Egypt would be best placed to disperse the Bibles most effectively.

Other responses were encouraging. William Wake, archbishop of Canterbury, William Talbot, bishop of Salisbury, and Edward Chandler, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, all expressed their approval.[10] Sir Robert Sutton, who for more than fifteen years had served as English ambassador in Constantinople, gave his opinion through his chaplain William Ayerst that the Bibles would do "a great deal of Good" in the East.[11] Archimandrite Gennadios, abbot of St Sabbas Monastery in Alexandria, who in 1720 was in London as chaplain to Peter the Great's Russian subjects, confirmed that the work would be a "noble Benefaction" to all Christians living under Muslim rule.[12] The Society also received advice based on the first-hand experience of several men who had served as chaplains to the merchants of the Levant Company and the East India Company. Samuel Lisle (1683–1749), who had spent nearly a decade in Izmir (Smyrna) and Aleppo, assured the Society that all Ottoman subjects south of Mount Amanus, "of whatever Religion or Rite they are", were Arabic-speakers. Most of the Greek clergy in Syria and Palestine were monolingual and read the Scriptures and the offices of the church in Arabic. Lisle estimated that there were 15,000 Greek Orthodox Christians in Aleppo.[13] George Lewis (c. 1663–1729), chaplain at Fort St George, Madras, between 1692 and 1714, could add that the Christians of Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra all spoke Arabic.[14] One potential objection to the plan was the low level of literacy.[15] To allay this concern, Henry Brydges (1674–1728), who had been in Aleppo, recalled that there were public schools at Aleppo, Antioch, Damascus, Tripoli, Sidon, Jerusalem, and all the surrounding villages, where children learned to read and write Arabic.[16] Lisle confirmed from his own testimony that the Christian clergy taught children to read, and

10 W. Wake to H. Newman, April 19, 1720, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 7; W. Talbot to H. Newman, May 9, 1720, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 8; E. Chandler to H. Newman, May 9, 1720, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 9.

11 W. Ayerst to J. Chamberlayne, April 27, 1720, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 8; *An Extract of Several Letters*, p. 9.

12 Archim. Gennadios to A. W. Böhme, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 36–38; *An Extract of Several Letters*, p. 18.

13 S. Lisle to H. Newman, May 26, 1720, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 15, 18; *An Extract of Several Letters*, p. 12–13.

14 G. Lewis to H. Newman, July 18, 1720, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 15, 26; *An Extract of Several Letters*, p. 16. On Lewis, see C. Ansorge, "The Revd George Lewis: His Life and Collection", *Journal of the History of Collections*, 32, 2020, 1, p. 143–156.

15 CUL, SPCK MS A1/9, p. 124.

16 H. Brydges to H. Newman, November 28, 1720, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 42; *An Extract of Several Letters*, p. 21.

that there were "vastly greater Numbers of Christians in the East" able to benefit from the Society's printed Arabic Bibles.[17]

By October 1720, the scope of the project had expanded to include both the New Testament and an Arabic Psalter. The Society made enquiries at Oxford, Cambridge, and London, and in the Netherlands, about the availability of type for printing in Arabic. By 1722, it had settled on the London engraver William Caslon, who was commissioned to make a new font of Arabic type, modeled on the Medici Press's 1593 edition of Avicenna's works.[18] This had used a smaller letter than both Thomas Erpenius's 1616 New Testament – printed on his own press at Leiden – and the Arabic texts printed in the London Polyglot Bible (1657), the Society calculating that the initial expense of a new font would be offset by savings in the cost of paper and binding.

The SPCK also began to investigate manuscripts in British libraries that might be used in preparing the new editions. Oxford, in particular, was a treasury of Eastern Christian literature, thanks to several large collections that came into the Bodleian Library between the 1690s and the 1710s.[19] The French émigré scholar Jean Gagnier (ca. 1670–1740) could report on a number of Arabic versions of the Psalms. Among the collection bequeathed by the archbishop of Armagh, Narcissus Marsh, was an Arabic Psalter with twenty *kathismata* (prayers recited after each of the twenty sections into which the Psalter was divided for liturgical use) and ten canticles.[20] A manuscript among those bought for the Bodleian from the scholar and collector Robert Huntington contained an Arabic translation of the Psalms made from the Greek, different from the texts in the Polyglot Bibles printed in Paris (1645) and London.[21] Two further Huntington manuscripts contained the Psalms in

17 S. Lisle to H. Newman, November 29, 1720, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 43; *An Extract of Several Letters*, p. 23–24; CUL, SPCK MS A1/9, p. 127, 129.

18 J. Ball, *William Caslon 1693–1766: The Ancestry, Life and Connections of England's Foremost Letter-Engraver and Type-Founder*, Kineton, 1973, p. 322–333.

19 See C. Wakefield, "Arabic Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library: The Seventeenth-Century Collections", in G. A. Russell (ed.), *The 'Arabick' Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England*, Leiden, 1994, p. 128–146, esp. p. 134–138.

20 J. Gagnier to H. Newman, April 30, 1721, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 71. Gagnier was referring to Oxford, Bodleian Library (Oxf. Bodl.), MS Marsh 687, described at J. Uri, *Bibliothecae Bodleianae codicum manuscriptorum orientalium, videlicet Hebraicorum, Chaldaicorum, Syriacorum, Æthiopicorum, Arabicorum, Persicorum, Turcicorum, Copticorumque catalogus... pars prima*, Oxford, 1787, "Codices Christiani", no. 20. On Marsh's collection, see C. Wakefield, "Archbishop Marsh's Oriental Collections in the Bodleian Library", in M. McCarthy, A. Simmons (eds.), *The Making of Marsh's Library: Learning, Politics and Religion in Ireland, 1650–1750*, Dublin, 2004, p. 76–84.

21 J. Gagnier to H. Newman, April 30, 1721, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 71; Oxf. Bodl., MS Huntington 369, described at Uri, *Bibliothecae Bodleianae codicum manuscriptorum orientalium... catalogus*,

Garshuni (Arabic written in Syriac letters), alongside the Syriac version.[22] Gagnier also promised to search in Oxford for Arabic translations of the New Testament. The Cambridge Orientalist David Wilkins (1685–1745) was commissioned to search the catalog of British and Irish manuscripts drawn up at the end of the 17th century and to inform the Society of any copies of the Arabic Psalter or New Testament that it might consult.[23] He was able to supply the SPCK with a list of fifty manuscripts in London, Oxford, and Cambridge.[24]

Other scholars consulted by the SPCK proposed a simpler course of action. Rather than basing the new editions on Eastern manuscripts, the best plan, thought Humphrey Prideaux (1648–1724), dean of Norwich and author of a popular work on Islam, was to reprint the version of the Arabic New Testament from the London Polyglot Bible.[25] Edmund Chishull (1671–1733), who had been a chaplain at Izmir, thought the same: the New Testament should "be done from the Version of the London Polyglott".[26] Others, however, foresaw that a reprint of a Bible known to have been the work of Protestants was likely to encounter resistance, both from Eastern Christians, and from the many Roman Catholic missionaries active in the Ottoman Levant. A better solution was therefore to use an Arabic version that the Eastern Churches deemed authoritative. As Anton Wilhelm Böhme put it, printing "the most approv'd Copy" of the Arabic New Testament would be the surest way of countering "all manner of Exceptions" that might be raised against a Bible based on either the London Polyglot or Thomas Erpenius's edition.[27] This is – to some extent – what the SPCK did. The manuscripts it ultimately used came not from Oxford but from the place to which Solomon Negri had first advised the Society to turn – the Ottoman emporium of Aleppo.

"Codices Christiani", no. 18. On Huntington and his manuscripts, see Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge*, p. 96–136.

22 Oxf. Bodl., MS Huntington 109, described at Uri, *Bibliothecae Bodleianae codicum manuscriptorum orientalium... catalogus*, "Codices Syriaci", no. 4; Oxf. Bodl., MS Huntington 250, described at Uri, *Bibliothecae Bodleianae codicum manuscriptorum orientalium... catalogus*, "Codices Syriaci", no. 5.

23 CUL, SPCK MS A1/9, p. 182.

24 CUL, SPCK MS A1/9, p. 186.

25 H. Prideaux to W. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, May 20, 1720, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 11; *An Extract of Several* Letters, p. 11.

26 E. Chishull to H. Newman, 28 May 1720, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 13. Chishull possibly changed his mind about this: in the printed extract from his letter, "the London Polyglott" is replaced with "the most approv'd Version" (*An Extract of Several Letters*, p. 15).

27 A. W. Böhme to H. Newman, July 4, 1720, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 14.

2 Books and Manuscripts from Aleppo

Several of the scholars and clerics consulted by the SPCK had cited the absence of printing presses in the Ottoman Empire as a further reason necessitating the Society's charity. As Humphrey Prideaux put it: "there being no Printing in those Parts, all the Copies that they have there of the Bible are in Manuscript". Such manuscripts were expensive; given the heavy taxes borne by Christians living under Islamic rule, they could hardly afford to buy them. Christians were thus bereft of the Scriptures, save what they heard read publicly in their churches.[28] Others with first-hand experience of Syria knew that this was not, strictly speaking, true. Samuel Lisle had informed the SPCK that "the present Patriarch at Aleppo" had brought a printing press from Europe, installed it "in his own House", and had begun to print "Copies of their Liturgy". The expense of the undertaking, however, had soon put a stop to it. The press had "lain still for some years" and seemed unlikely ever "to be set on Work again".[29]

In fact, the patriarch – Athanasios III Dabbās – had printed at Aleppo at least ten books between 1706 and 1711. The much-discussed question of the relationship between Athanasios's press – housed in Aleppo's metropolitan residence – and the presses of Wallachia, where the patriarch had collaborated on the printing of two books in the early years of the 18th century, has recently been the subject of reinvestigation.[30] The first fruits of Athanasios's work in Aleppo were an Arabic Psalter and an Arabic version of the Gospels (both in 1706). The former is generally held to be the first Arabic book produced in the Ottoman Empire.[31] It is a corrected version of an Arabic translation from the Greek, revised in the 11th century by the Melkite theologian 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl

28 H. Prideaux to W. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, May 20, 1720, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 11; *An Extract of Several Letters*, p. 10; see also *An Extract of Several Letters*, p. 4.

29 *An Extract of Several Letters*, p. 14.

30 I. Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands* (*EAPE-1*), Berlin–Boston, 2023, p. 162–186. See also I. Feodorov, "Beginnings of Arabic Printing in Ottoman Syria (1706–1711): The Romanians' Part in Athanasius Dabbās's Achievements", *ARAM*, 25, 2013, 1–2, 2013, p. 231–260. For earlier accounts, see *HMLÉM* IV.1, p. 132–146; W. Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie: évolution de l'environnement culturel (1706–1787)*, Tunis, 1985, p. 132–153; H. Kilpatrick, "From Venice to Aleppo: Early Printing of Scripture in the Orthodox World", *Chronos*, 30, 2014, p. 33–61, esp. p. 46–48; C. A. Panchenko, *Arab Orthodox Christians under the Ottomans, 1516–1831*, trans. B. Pheiffer Noble, S. Noble, Jordanville, NY, 2016, p. 244, 350–351, 486.

31 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 263–285. See also Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe*, p. 139, 133, 273.

al-Anṭākī.[32] Lisle had known Athanasios personally, was familiar with his efforts to print Arabic books, and recommended the SPCK to seek his approval and patronage for its plans.[33] However, he also put the Society in touch with another Englishman in Syria, who was even better acquainted with the patriarch, and who would henceforth bind the Society's project to a prior history of Eastern Christian scholarship and printing.

Rowland Sherman (d. 1748) – the said Englishman – was a long-serving Aleppo "factor". But he was also a man with an unusually wide range of cultural and scholarly interests.[34] Having traveled to Aleppo in 1688, he studied Arabic with the Maronite priest, teacher, and philosophical writer Buṭrus al-Tūlāwī (1657–1746).[35] He apparently knew Greek and Italian, and he also learned some Turkish.[36] By 1720, Sherman had attained an exceptional level of proficiency in the first of these languages. According to Lisle, he possessed "a perfect Knowledge of the Arabick Tongue", which he spoke and wrote with "great Elegance and Purity".[37] These philological skills, Sherman put to use in correcting the Arabic translations of the New Testament and the Psalms. He had also improved the Arabic versions of the homilies of Saint John Chrysostom, and had composed an "index" to the New Testament, with explanatory notes on Jewish rites and customs and on scriptural history and geography. These, and several other works, Sherman had undertaken in collaboration with Athanasios Dabbās, and with others of the learned clergy with whom he had become acquainted in Syria.

Over the course of several years during the early 1720s, Sherman sent from Aleppo a number of manuscripts and books produced at Athanasios Dabbās's press, subsequently used by the SPCK to prepare fair copies for its Arabic impressions. The Psalter was essentially a revision of the Arabic Psalms printed by Dabbās in 1706. The printed text had been corrected – either by Sherman, or by Athanasios

32 On Ibn al-Faḍl, see A. Treiger, "Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī", in *CMR* 3, p. 89–113; A. M. Roberts, *Reason and Revelation in Byzantine Antioch: The Christian Translation Program of Abdallah ibn al-Fadl*, Oakland, 2020.

33 S. Lisle to H. Newman, May 26, 1720, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 18.

34 Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge*, 238–247. On Sherman's musical interests and connections, see B. White, "'Brothers of the String': Henry Purcell and the Letter-Books of Rowland Sherman", *Music & Letters*, 92, 2011, 4, p. 519–581, esp. p. 521–525.

35 R. Sherman to H. Newman, April 20, 1725, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 86; R. Sherman to H. Newman, April 29, 1725, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 87. On Buṭrus b. 'Abdallāh b. Ishāq ibn Zaytūn al-Tūlāwī, see *GCAL* III, p. 394–400; N. Hage, "Boutros al-Tūlāwī et l'école maronite d'Alep à la fin du 17ᵉ et au début du 18ᵉ siècle", *Parole de l'Orient*, 16, 1990–1991, 1, p. 271–277.

36 R. Sherman to P. Wheak, September 29, 1699, TNA, SP 110/21, f. 24v, quoted in White, "'Brothers of the String'", p. 547.

37 S. Lisle to H. Newman, May 26, 1720, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 16.

himself – by comparing it with the versions in the English Polyglot Bible.[38] To this, Sherman added the citations for scriptural quotations in the margin, following the in-4° editions of the English Bible, and the 1607 Italian translation by the Calvinist theologian Giovanni Diodati (1576–1649). He also included a short foreword and the "argument" prefacing each Psalm, both translated into Arabic from Diodati's Italian. The New Testament was based for the most part on the Arabic version in the English Polyglot. Dabbās had compared the Arabic against the Greek and corrected it where necessary, and a Maronite priest (possibly Buṭrus al-Tūlāwī) had done the same against the Vulgate. *Acts* and *1 Peter* had been newly translated by Athanasios Dabbās himself, and the same Maronite priest who had compared the Arabic and Latin versions prepared a new translation of *Revelation*. Sherman then compared the whole against the Polyglot version, correcting anything that savored of novelty. To the New Testament, Sherman had added his own marginal annotations, taken both from Eastern authors (John Chrysostom and the 13th-century Copt al-As'ad ibn al-'Assāl), and from Protestant commentators (among others, Hugo Grotius). He took care to ensure that these notes were "short and clear", and that they added nothing to the plain sense of Scripture. They were justified, Sherman thought, by the need to counter Catholic claims that the Bible was beyond the capacities of lay readers.[39]

Sherman's account of these manuscripts in his letters to England tells a rather different story to the commonly accepted opinion on the background to the SPCK's Bibles. It is certainly true that the Pietists in Halle were a "driving force" behind the SPCK's work.[40] Böhme and Negri had Halle connections, and the Pietists had inspired the SPCK by the example of their mission to Tranquebar and by their support for a New Testament in modern Greek. However, Athanasios's earlier efforts in Arabic publishing, and Sherman's concern for the patriarch Athanasios III Dabbās and his Church, arguably had more direct influence over the course the SPCK's venture would take. Moreover, there is no evidence – at least in Sherman's letters – to support the claim that Solomon Negri had worked on the Psalter

38 Sherman told Henry Newman that Athanasios Dabbās "revis'd his whole Edition by the Polyglott and corrected several places, which the first Editor had render'd not over accurately" (R. Sherman to H. Newman, December 29, 1721, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 78–81). In Lisle's letter to Newman, however, he mentioned only Sherman's editorial work (S. Lisle to H. Newman, May 26, 1720, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 16: "he has likewise employ'd the same diligence in revising the Book of Psalms, the Translation of which he has fully corrected").

39 R. Sherman to S. Lisle, February 24, 1721, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 64–65; R. Sherman to H. Newman, December 29, 1721, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 78–81.

40 Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, p. 162.

under Athanasios's supervision before he arrived in Western Europe.[41] Certainly, the manuscripts used by the SPCK were the product of a collaboration between Western and Eastern scholars in Syria: Rowland Sherman; Athanasios Dabbās; the Maronite priest who translated *Revelation* and compared the New Testament with the Vulgate (possibly Buṭrus al-Tūlāwī); and Paolo Abdelnour – a Syrian priest who had been in Rome and whom Sherman tasked with reading his Arabic notes on the New Testament.[42] However, it seems unlikely that Solomon Negri had seen the manuscripts produced in Aleppo before they arrived in London. By then, he was part of the team of theologians and scholars with knowledge of Arabic that the SPCK had assembled to oversee the production of its printed editions. The group included Englishmen and another Christian from Syria, with whom Negri worked on the translations as they went to press – though not always entirely happily.

3 A Team of Correctors

Among the men drawn into the SPCK's work was the Church of England clergyman Arthur Bedford (bap. 1668, d. 1745).[43] Bedford was a keen defender of a 17th-century tradition of Oriental scholarship, in which Arabic was valued primarily for its use in elucidating biblical Hebrew – part of a broader defense of Trinitarian orthodoxy.[44] Bedford was recruited by the Society as a "supervisor" of the Arabic impressions, correcting the printed sheets as they came from the press. Also among the team was George Sale (d. 1736), better known as the English translator of the Qur'ān.[45] Sale's own motivations for learning Arabic remain somewhat mysterious.[46] A practicing solicitor, his scholarly interests were unusual for their time, insofar as he was neither a university graduate, nor in clerical orders, and had never – unlike

41 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 176.

42 R. Sherman to S. Lisle, February 24, 1721, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 64. Paolo Abdelnour was in Rome in 1707, where he was granted a request to the Propaganda Fide for several books – including an Arabic Bible, cf. Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide, Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Siri (Soriani) 1, 1631–1773, f. 405.

43 S. Mandelbrote, "Bedford, Arthur (bap. 1668, d. 1745)", *ODNB*, online ed., 2009.

44 A. Bedford, *A Defence of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and the Incarnation of the Son of God, from the Testimony of the Most Ancient Jews. In Eight Sermons, preached at the Lady Moyer's Lecture, in the Cathedral-Church of St. Paul, 1739, and 1740. And since greatly Enlarged, with Useful Notes and Appendixes*, London, 1741, p. 292–293.

45 A. Vrolijk, "Sale, George (b. in or after 1696?, d. 1736)", *ODNB*, online ed., 2015; A. Bevilacqua, "The Qur'an Translations of Marracci and Sale", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 76, 2013, 93–130.

46 Bevilacqua, "The Qur'an Translations of Marracci and Sale", p. 101–102.

Sherman – spent any time in the Arabic-speaking world. Nonetheless, in 1726 he was brought on board as a corrector for the New Testament. Others were enlisted as additional proofreaders: among them, Jean Gagnier at Oxford and Leonard Chappelow (1683–1768) at Cambridge. The SPCK also sought the advice of senior clerics. It was guided by the archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake (1657–1737), for instance, in its eventual decision not to print the annotations to the New Testament supplied by Sherman.[47]

Of the two Eastern Christian collaborators working in England, Solomon Negri was particularly well qualified for the work of preparing new editions. At the Pietist foundations in Halle, where Negri taught Arabic during 1701–1702, and again during 1715–1716, he had guided his students through the Arabic texts of the Scriptures – using both the London Polyglot Bible and the Pentateuch (1622) and New Testament (1616) published by Erpenius.[48] In Rome, in 1703, Negri transcribed an Arabic Psalter, which he found in the library of the Franciscan monastery at San Pietro in Montorio.[49] His copy, he sent to August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), the Pietist theologian and Negri's former employer in Halle, whom he also provided with a brief account of the manuscript and its author. The text was the Arabic version derived from the Septuagint, corrected by 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī. The work was significant, Negri claimed, firstly, because it had not previously been printed, and, secondly, on account of the author's skill and immense knowledge of Greek and Arabic. The Arabic-speaking Greek Orthodox Church favored Ibn al-Faḍl's translations, the style of which appealed alike to both learned and unlearned Christians.[50] In 1720, before the SPCK had recei-

47 "A Memorial to his Grace the Lord Bp of Canterbury about Printing the Annotations on the Arabic New Testament as Transmitted from Aleppo", December 23, 1725, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 18–19; H. Newman to R. Sherman, July 30, 1726, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 25.

48 A method for learning Arabic, set out in J. H. Michaelis, *Dissertatio philologica de historia linguae arabicae... praeside Ioanne Heinrico Michaelis... pro privilegiis & honoribus magistri philosophiae & artium rite impetrandis, eruditorum examini sistet Christianus Benedictus Michaelis*, Halle an der Saale, 1706, p. 35–37, provides an overview of the course of studies followed by Negri's students and recommends specifically the Arabic texts in the Polyglot Bibles, and the Pentateuch and New Testament edited by Erpenius.

49 S. Negri to A. H. Francke, March 10, 1703, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Nachlass Francke, 16,1/6: 2.

50 S. Negri to A. H. Francke, May 25, 1703, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Nachlass Francke, 16,1/6: 4: "Je remets aussi entre les mains de Monsieur Pommer un Psautier en feuilles, que j'ay coppié à Rome, qui est une piece fort considerable, d'autant qu'il n'a jamais été imprimé & à cause de l'habileté de l'autheur de la version elle est fait sur le Grec des septante; c'est comme cela qu'on les recite en Orient; Tous les livres d'Eglises qui se lisent parmi les Grecs Orientaux sont de la version de cet autheur, il avoit une prodigieuse connoissance de la langue Greque & de la langue Arabe il s'appelle Ebn El fadl; son stile est admiré de toutes les nations chretiennes d'orient, il étoit fort heureux

ved the copies of the Psalter from Aleppo, Negri transcribed another version of the Arabic Psalms from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library.[51] For his services during the early years of the Society's work on the Arabic Bibles, Negri was paid a guinea a week.[52] By January 1723, however, he had secured a position with the British government as the King's Interpreter for Oriental Languages. Thereafter, he was less active on behalf of the SPCK.[53]

A greater share of the work on the Arabic Bibles fell to another Syrian Christian. Theocharis Dadichi (1693/4–1734) – as he styled himself in England – had also taught Arabic at Halle in 1717–1718.[54] In July 1723, Dadichi appeared before a meeting of the SPCK in London.[55] Over the course of the following two years, he prepared fair

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en ses traductions & sçavoit trouver un stile à contenter egalement les sçavans & les ignorans". The manuscript is now in Halle, Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen, H Q 67. Negri was wrong in claiming that Ibn al-Faḍl's Arabic translation of the Psalms had never been published; scholarly consensus holds that the *Kitāb ṣalāt al-sawāʿī*, the first Arabic book printed using movable type (Fano, 1514), incorporated Ibn al-Faḍl's Psalm translations; see *GCAL* I, p. 636; M. Krek, "The Enigma of the First Arabic Book Printed from Movable Type", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 38, 1979, 3, p. 203–212, p. 206. Moreover, the Arabic Psalms printed in volume II of the Propaganda Fide's *Biblia sacra Arabica* (1671) were based on a Vatican manuscript (Vat. ar. 468) which contained Ibn al-Faḍl's version; see *GCAL* I, p. 117; A. Vaccari, S. J., "Una Bibbia araba per il primo Gesuita venuto al Libano", *MUSJ*, 10, 1925, 4, p. 91.

51 CUL, SPCK MS A32/1, p. 2. Negri's transcription is now MS BL, Harley MS 5476. Negri was also sent to inspect the Arabic manuscripts in Sion College Library in London but was unable to find a Psalter; cf. CUL, SPCK MS A1/9, p. 175, 179, 182.

52 CUL, SPCK MS A32/1, p. 2–3.

53 Negri was paid a further twenty guineas in October 1723 for supervising the production of the Arabic type; cf. CUL, SPCK MS A32/1, p. 6 (also CUL, SPCK A1/10, p. 198). This appears to have been the last payment he received from the SPCK.

54 On Dadichi, see W. Suchier, *C. R. Dadichi oder wie sich deutsche Orientalisten von einem Schwindler düpieren ließen. Ein Kapitel aus der deutschen Gelehrtenrepublik der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Halle an der Saale, 1919; C. F. Seybold, "Der gelehrte Syrer Carolus Dadichi († 1734 in London), Nachfolger Salomo Negri's († 1729)", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 64, 1910, 3, p. 591–601; W. Hage, "Carolus Dadichi in Marburg (1718): Bittgesuch eines rum-orthodoxen Studenten im Universitäts-Archiv", *Oriens Christianus*, 95, 2011, p. 16–31; D. A. Morozov, E. Gerasimova, "Каролус Рали Дадихи и 'Восточная библиотека' Ассемани: Восточный взгляд на популяризацию сирийской литературы в Европе", *Символ: Syriaca, Arabica, Iranica*, 61, 2012, p. 357–370; Bochinger, "Abenteuer Islam", p. 72–89; Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge*, p. 233–235, 242; Mills, "Johann Heinrich Callenberg's Orient", in *The Power of the Dispersed*, p. 209–239, esp. p. 226–232; Mills, "Missionary Philologist: Johann Heinrich Callenberg between the Catholic and Protestant Orients", in M. Friedrich, H. Zaunstöck (eds.), *Jesuit and Pietist Missions in the Eighteenth Century: Cross-Confessional Perspectives*, Halle an der Saale, 2022, p. 105–130, esp. p. 120–123.

55 CUL, SPCK MS A32/1, p. 5.

copies for the printer of the Psalms and the Arabic New Testament, negotiating a fee of six guineas for the former, and fifty guineas for the latter.[56] He was also paid by the SPCK to translate from Arabic into Latin Sherman's annotations and a treatise on Catholic teaching sent by Sherman from Aleppo, and to prepare Arabic versions of the Swiss pastor Jean-Frédéric Ostervald's *Abrégé de l'histoire sainte* and a catechism.[57] Dadichi served the Society, too, as a corrector.[58]

These were men of strong opinions, and were all, in different ways, deeply invested in the SPCK's Arabic editions. It is thus hardly surprising that disagreements arose. One disputed question was that of whether to print the diacritical markings indicating short vowels and gemination (*tashkīl*, in Arabic). The Psalter was printed without any of these markings, following Erpenius's method in his Pentateuch and New Testament. Some of the Society's members, however, felt that it was proper to include them in the New Testament. Arthur Bedford argued that given the SPCK's aim of producing an Arabic Bible "plain and easy to the Vulgar", the markings ought to be printed in full. Moreover, the "best and finest" Qur'ānic manuscripts always reproduced the *tashkīl* fully and accurately; Christians would expose themselves to the charge of "negligence", were the SPCK's Bibles to appear without any diacritical markings.[59] Dadichi thought otherwise. The parallel with the Qur'ān was misguided. The practice of fully vocalizing the Qur'ānic text was linked to the Muslim custom or "religious obligation" of reciting, or rather of "singing" the Qur'ān. This, in turn, had arisen from the Qur'ān's essentially poetic nature. The Scriptures, conversely, consisted of plain and simple language, and ought to be read publicly in a corresponding manner. Nonetheless, Dadichi conceded that the less learned required some aid in reading and understanding. The best solution was therefore to include the *tashkīl* selectively, in instances where the markings would elucidate difficult words, or resolve potential ambiguities.[60] The SPCK took these differences of opinion seriously. Sherman in Aleppo was asked to give his views, and to seek those of his "learned neighbours".[61] Buṭrus al-Tūlāwī set out an

56 For the Psalter: CUL, SPCK MS A32/1, p. 6, 7, 9–10; for the New Testament: CUL, SPCK MS A32/1, p. 12, 15 (also CUL, SPCK MS A32/1, p. 14, 17, 19, 21, 22); Dadichi presented the Society with the final part of his copy of the New Testament on May 11, 1725; cf. CUL, SPCK MS A32/1, p. 26.

57 CUL, SPCK MS A32/1, p. 7, 30, 42. For the translation of Ostervald's *Abrégé* and the catechism, CUL, SPCK MS A32/1, p. 70, 72; Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge*, p. 242.

58 CUL, SPCK MS A32/1, p. 8, 19.

59 A. Bedford to R. Sherman, January 5, 1725, CUL, SPCK, MS D5/4, p. 7–11.

60 T. Dadichi to R. Sherman, January 12, 1725, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 12–13.

61 H. Newman to R. Sherman, December 23, 1724, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 5.

approach similar to Dadichi's.[62] Guided by his advice, the Society added limited diacritical markings to the New Testament.

Aspects of the translation supplied by Sherman were also contentious. Opinions differed, for instance, on the question of how best to render proper names in Arabic. "Barnabas" was given in Sherman's manuscript as "Bārnābās" (بارناباس), a version closer to the Greek nominative form (Βαρνάβας), but different from the Arabic in Erpenius's New Testament and the Polyglot, where the name was spelled "Barnābā" (برنابا). Likewise, Sherman's rendition of "Andrew", "Andrīyās" (اندرياس), approximated the Greek (Ἀνδρέας), but differed from the version of the name found in Erpenius and the Polyglot, where the spelling was "Andrāwus" (اندراوس). George Sale queried Sherman's renditions, prompting the latter to defend his decisions. "Exotick words, & especially Compounds", Sherman argued, were exempted from "the common Rules of the Arabick Language". Instead, "great care ought to be used to preserve the Etymology". The Jewish "sorcerer" and "false prophet" named at *Acts* 13:6 as "Barjesus" (Βαριησοῦς) appears in the Arabic text of the Polyglot as "Bār Yasū'" (بار يسوع), which Sherman thought justified his spelling "Bārnābās".[63] More than three years after ceasing his more formal engagement with the SPCK, Solomon Negri was evidently still willing to serve as a corrector for the New Testament. However, he appears to have lost faith in the project after seeing what he clearly thought of as bad Arabic in the printed text based on Sherman's manuscript. The translator, he lamented, was a "mere scribler" ("il s'est barbouille"). His "too scruplous care in following the Greek Text" had meant that, among other infelicities, he had "confounded the proper Names" by imitating the Greek case endings.[64]

62 P. Oliva [B. al-Tūlāwī] to A. Bedford and T. Dadichi, April 22, 1725, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 88–89 (translation at p. 89–90).

63 R. Sherman to H. Newman, December 22, 1729, CUL, SPCK MS D5/3, p. 210–211. Although the comparison might account for why Sherman added the long vowel to the first part of the name ("Bār"), it does not quite work as an explanation of why he chose to follow the Greek nominative form in the second part ("nābās").

64 S. Negri to H. Newman, July 8, 1726, CUL MS D5/4, p. 97 ("Plus l'autheur a voulu paroitre sçavant dans la langue Arabe & plus il s'est barbouille. Son soin trop scrupuleux de s'attacher au Texte Grec lui a fait changer les Nombres malgré l'exigence & la proprieté de la Langue, et de renverser les noms Propres, qui ne sont plus entendues dans la terminaison Greque, comme Simon pour Somaan, Andreas pour Endrawous, & une infinité d'autres"). I have quoted the translation at CUL MS D5/4, p. 97–98 (French spelling cf. the quotation).

4 The Printed Books

Notwithstanding these disagreements, the SPCK succeeded at least in seeing through to publication the Psalter, the New Testament, and several shorter Arabic tracts. But what exactly did it print? The Psalter was prefaced by an introduction (*fātiḥat al-kitāb*) supplied by Athanasios Dabbās through Sherman from Aleppo (sig. a1r–v). This set out a brief history of the translation that sits rather oddly with the more detailed account found in Sherman's letters. It is conceded that there were some "imperfect expressions" that "needed correcting" ("*'ibārāt mukhtalla wājibat al-iṣlāḥ*") in the Psalter printed at Aleppo by Athanasios. The Arabic text was therefore collated against the Greek version ("*fa-qūbila ḥadith*^{an} *'alā al-nuskha al-yūnānīya*"), and "all accretions and omissions" ("*kull ziyāda wa-nuqṣān*") in the Arabic translation remedied. This task is credited to "his [Athanasios's] student, the priest Solomon" ("*tilmīdhu-hu al-qass Sulaymān*"), said to have "practiced the grammatical sciences and the subtleties of the Arabic language" ("*mārasa al-'ulūm al-naḥwīya wa-laṭā'if al-lugha al-'arabīya*"). This has generally been understood as a reference to Solomon Negri.[65] However, there is no other evidence that Negri was a pupil (or "disciple", *tilmīdh*) of Athanasios, nor that he had been ordained. Given Sherman's account of the revision of the Psalter in his letter to Newman, it is just as likely that Athanasios was assisted in his work by a priest called "Solomon" in Syria (Negri had left his homeland and was in Paris by 1685, some twenty years before Dabbās's Psalter was printed in Aleppo).[66] If the reference is to Solomon Negri, then Athanasios could only have heard about his work on the Psalter in England at second hand, presumably through Sherman.[67]

This introduction was followed by a "general summary of the Psalms" (*talkhīṣ 'āmm li-l-mazāmīr*) (sig. a2r–v). This is a translation of the introduction to the Psalms from Giovanni Diodati's *La Bibbia, cioè, i libri del Vecchio e del Nuovo Testamento* (1607).[68] The printed version omitted any reference to Diodati, in order to avoid

65 Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 376; *GCAL* I, p. 118; *HMLÉM* IV.1, p. 146, 217; S. Di Pietrantonio, "Le *Kitāb fī ṣinā'at al-faṣāḥa* du patriarche Athanase III Dabbās: Enjeux littéraires et linguistiques d'un texte de rhétorique gréco-arabe inédit", in I. Feodorov, B. Heyberger, S. Noble (eds.), *Arabic Christianity between the Ottoman Levant and Eastern Europe*, Leiden/Boston, 2021, p. 139; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 176.

66 Ghobrial, "The Life and Hard Times of Solomon Negri", p. 317.

67 In the printed version, the introduction is undated; however, a manuscript copy that came to England through Sherman (CUL Add. MS 257) records that it was written in Aleppo in 1718. If the reference is to Negri, then he must have completed most of his work in revising the Psalter at least two years before the plan for an Arabic Bible came to the attention of the SPCK.

68 G. Diodati, *La Bibbia, cioè, I libri del Vecchio e del Nuovo Testamento*, [Geneva], 1607, p. 484.

explicitly linking the Arabic Psalter with Protestants.[69] A manuscript copy sent by Sherman from Aleppo, however, attributes the summary to "Yuḥannā 'Aṭā' Allāh" (the Arabicized version of the Italian name).[70] There follow 150 Psalms, each preceded by a short summary of the content (*maḍmūn*), also translated from Diodati's Italian. The references to biblical citations are printed at the bottom of each page. The Society also produced copies without the summaries and references.[71] The printed version thus omitted the 'supernumerary' Psalm, on David's slaying of Goliath, found in the Septuagint and in most Eastern Christian Psalters. Instead, the volume concluded with the Ten Commandments from *Exodus* 20 (p. 227–229), to which are added *Deuteronomy* 4:2 and 12:32, *Matthew* 5:19 (p. 229), and the Lord's prayer (p. 229–230).

The text of the Psalms is clearly a revision of Dabbās's 1706 Psalter. The Arabic was brought into closer conformity with the Greek. In Psalm 1, for instance, the 1706 printed edition renders at verses 1 and 5 the Greek plural noun ἀσεβεῖς ("ungodly") with "*al-kafara*" ("unbelievers"), whereas the same word at verses 4 and 6 is given as "*al-munāfiqūn*" ("hypocrites"). In the SPCK's edition, ἀσεβεῖς is consistently translated "*al-munāfiqūn*". There is also some evidence to support Sherman's comment in his letter to Newman that Dabbās made use of the Polyglot Bible. At Psalm 150, verse 4 ("Praise him with timbrel and dance: praise him with stringed instruments, the organ", "αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν τυμπάνῳ καὶ χορῷ, αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν χορδαῖς καὶ ὀργάνῳ"), Dabbās's 1706 edition renders the nouns *al-ṭabl* ("drum"), *al-dufūf* ("tambourines"), *al-awthār* ("strings"), and *ālat al-ṭarab* ("musical instrument"). The SPCK's edition has *al-duff* ("tambourine"), *al-ṣanj* ("cymbal"), *al-awthār* ("strings"), and *al-urġun* ("organ"), which matches the Arabic text in the Polyglot almost exactly.[72]

The New Testament was adorned with a woodcut made from a design by George Sale.[73] It was prefaced by the Ten Commandments and the same texts from *Deuteronomy* and *Matthew* (p. 4–5), followed by a table of contents and a motto from *2 Timothy* 3:16–17 (p. 6). There are no references to parallel texts, nor any of the marginal annotations, prefaces, or indices prepared by Sherman. The text is divided into chapters (*fuṣūl*) and verses following the Western Bibles, but also retains the divisions into pericopes (*iṣḥāḥ*) for reading in the Eastern churches.

69 SPCK MS A32/1, p. 18.

70 CUL, Add. MS 257.

71 H. Newman to R. Sherman, June 9, 1724, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 3. A copy of this version survives at Cambridge University Library (13.8.32). Some printed sheets containing the summaries but omitting the references survive at CUL, SPCK MS E9/3.

72 The Polyglot has *al-awtār*.

73 CUL, SPCK MS D1/S/64.

In general, the SPCK and its correctors were pleased with the work. However, the finished product was not entirely free from errors. One unlucky mishap led to the negative particle *lā* being omitted from *Galatians* 3:10, so that the text misquotes *Deuteronomy* 27:26: "Cursed is every one that continueth in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them" ("*malʿūn kull man yathbutu fī jamīʿ al-farāʾiḍ al-maktūba fī muṣḥaf al-sharīʿa li-yaʿmala-hā*"). This was considered by the SPCK to be "so material a fault" that the Bibles not dispatched to Aleppo were returned to the printer to be corrected.[74] The New Testaments already sent as presentation copies, however, retain the misprint.

Early readers of the SPCK's New Testament recognized that the Arabic did not straightforwardly reproduce the text of the Polyglot Bible. Johann Jacob Reiske (1716–1774), like Negri, questioned the editor's decision to place in parenthesis Arabic words with no direct equivalent in the Greek. Tellingly, given Sherman's statement that Dabbās had translated *Acts* "anew", Reiske took *Acts* 28 as a specimen to illustrate variations between the Polyglot translation and the SPCK's New Testament. The latter was certainly closer to the Greek. Whereas the Polyglot rendered θηρίον, the "venomous beast" seen hanging from Paul's hand at *Acts* 28:4, with *al-afʿā* ("the viper"), the SPCK's edition translated the word more accurately as *al-waḥsh* ("the wild beast"). Reiske was less certain that such changes were always improvements. The Polyglot's rendition of "οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν" ("no little kindness") at *Acts* 28:2 with *taʿaṭṭuf*^{an} *kathīr*^{an} ("great kindness") was less literal than the SPCK's *taʿaṭṭuf*^{an} *laysa bi-l-yasīr* ("kindness not small"); the former, however, was better Arabic.[75] Those parts of the New Testament, too, which were derived from the Polyglot version, were also notably closer to the Greek text. Christian Benedict Michaelis (1680–1764) identified six places in *Matthew* 1 where the SPCK edition adhered more closely to the Greek than either the Polyglot or Erpenius's New Testament.[76]

* * *

Whatever the SPCK might have achieved in the history of Arabic publishing, its project was less effective as a Protestant mission to the Christian East. Two factors above all hindered its success. Firstly, the Society underestimated the strength of

74 H. Newman to R. Sherman, September 29, 1729, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 47.

75 *Siegm. Jac. Baumgartens Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern*, 3, 1753, 16, p. 289–290.

76 C. B. Michaelis, *Tractatio critica de variis lectionibus Novi Testamenti*, Halle an der Saale, 1749, p. 37.

opposition to its work on the part of Catholic missionaries. At least one former Aleppo chaplain, who had experienced at first hand the Catholic missions in Syria, had warned about the missionaries' inevitable resistance. The SPCK had taken steps to mitigate this. As well as avoiding any mention of Protestants in the prefatory materials, it had gone so far as omitting the place of publication from the Bibles' title pages. Nonetheless, the more numerous and better organized Catholic clerics in Syria and Palestine set themselves vociferously against the books' distribution, and it is likely that large numbers of them were destroyed. Secondly, through Rowland Sherman, the SPCK's Arabic Bibles became inextricably linked to the authority of Patriarch Athanasios III Dabbās within the Greek Orthodox Church. However, the Society's members in London were unaware of just how precarious Athanasios's standing was, as the Catholic movement within the Patriarchate of Antioch gained ground in the years leading up to the schism of 1724. Dabbās's successor, Sylvester of Antioch, fared even worse. Sylvester was barely able to establish himself in Aleppo, and Sherman's plans for a large-scale distribution of the SPCK's books ground to a halt.[77]

In the end, it is not unlikely that the Psalter and the New Testament produced by the SPCK proved more effective as a resource for Western students of Arabic than as an aid to the spiritual renewal of the Eastern Churches. In other respects, too, the SPCK's Arabic Bibles were typical of the fruits of Arabic scholarship in the West between the late 16th and the late 18th centuries. They were the product of a history of textual transmission between Western Europe and the Arabic-speaking world, and they emerged from a confluence of Eastern and Western traditions of sacred philology and printing. The project drew in peripatetic scholars, whose careers carried them between Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

Nearly all previous accounts have overstated Solomon Negri's contribution. Negri set the project in motion, then oversaw the production of the new Arabic type. During the early stages of the SPCK's work, he transcribed and collated various manuscripts of the Psalter, but these were not, ultimately, the versions used for the printed Psalms. More central to the realization of the printed editions was his younger countryman, Theocharis Dadichi, and the English supervisors, George Sale and Arthur Bedford. Most of the editorial work, however, was carried out in Aleppo by Athanasios Dabbās, his Eastern collaborators, and Rowland Sherman. It was undoubtedly the last who did the most to bring together the Eastern and Western contributors to the project. Yet, Sherman's contribution has remained in the shadows, owing in large part to his own desire to preserve his anonymity.[78] It is

77 Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge*, p. 238–247.
78 Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge*, p. 247.

a curious twist to the tale that whereas Protestants in England and Germany knew almost nothing about Sherman, Roman Catholics were all too familiar with him. The reports filed back to Rome by missionaries in the field not infrequently invoked a troublesome English merchant, spreading the heresy of Protestantism among the Eastern Christians – even if only garbled versions of Sherman's name appeared in their letters.[79] When in the 1740s the Maronite cleric and librarian Stefano Evodio Assemani (1711–1782) cited the SPCK's New Testament in his entry for a manuscript of the Arabic Gospels in the Medici Palatine Library, he attributed the work not to Negri but to a certain "Mercator Anglicanus" called "Charmel".[80] The name would have meant little to any of his readers. But "Charmel" was none other than Rowland Sherman – an Englishman with an unusually encompassing range of literary obsessions and religious sympathies.

Appendix

Books and Manuscripts in British Libraries connected to the SPCK's Arabic Bibles

1. Cambridge, University Library, 7828.c.5

The Arabic Psalter printed by Athanasios Dabbās at Aleppo in 1706 (Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 263–265). This is quite possibly the same copy sent from Aleppo by Sherman, which was presented to the SPCK along with two manuscript Psalters by Samuel Lisle in July 1723 (CUL, SPCK MS A32/1, p. 4).

2. Cambridge, University Library, Add. MS 257

The 150 Psalms in Arabic and Greek. The manuscript contains the introduction in Arabic (*fātiḥat al-kitāb*) and the "general summary of the Psalms" (*talkhīṣ ʿāmm li-l-mazāmīr*), including the note about Diodati omitted from the printed version. It concludes with the Apostles' Creed (p. 222), the Nicene Creed (p. 222–224), and a version of the Athanasian Creed (p. 224–225), only the first of which has been translated into Arabic. This is almost certainly one of the manuscripts sent by Sherman from Aleppo. In February 1721, Sherman told Samuel Lisle: "With the Psalter which I send by the ships in the Arabick, I will also send you one which I caus'd at first

79 Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge*, p. 244–245.

80 S. E. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum mss. orientalium catalogus*, Florence, 1742, p. 65.

to be wrote out in two columns Greek and Arabick, as I intended to send one to the Church of the Greeks here for their daily Use, but I desisted on the Patriarch Athanasios's telling me that so few of his own Clergy understood Greek, that it would be a needless Expence and of no use to them or any else of His People; So it can now only serve to shew how Carefull I was in what I undertook for the Good of others and Honour of our Nation and you may keep or present the Book to any one from your self as you please".[81] In December the same year, Sherman wrote to Newman: "I caus'd a Copy to be drawn out with the Septuagint in one column, and his [Dabbās's] corrected Edition of the Arabick in the other, intending to have presented one so in Folio for the use of the Greek Church here, but the Patriarch diswading me from it, I intend to send you that which I have by me".[82] The manuscript was given to the Cambridge University Library by Gilbert Bouchery, who had been domestic chaplain to Lisle. It is therefore likely that it had been sent by Sherman to Lisle.

See also E. G. Browne, *A Hand-List of the Muḥammadan Manuscripts... Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1900, p. 203–204; *GCAL* I, p. 118–119.

3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. Or. 29

Theocharis Dadichi's copy of the Arabic Psalter. A note pasted at the end of the manuscript reads: "Mr. Dadichi's Transcript of the Arabic Psalter, from whence that of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was printed", and details various omissions in the manuscript. The manuscript includes the introduction by Dabbās (*fātiḥat al-kitāb*) and the "general summary of the Psalms" (*talkhīṣ ʿāmm li-l-mazāmīr*), translated from Diodati. The text of the Psalms contains the parallel texts in the margin, page references to the manuscripts sent from Aleppo, and several notes to the printer. Following the Psalms is a Latin description by Dadichi of the manuscript New Testament sent by Sherman from Aleppo. In October 1723, Dadichi was tasked by the SPCK with preparing Latin translations of Sherman's Arabic annotations to the New Testament.[83] There follow Dadichi's translations of the notes from *Matthew* 1 up to *Matthew* 14; a separate insertion contains further translations of Sherman's notes, described as "Mr Dadichi's Translation of the Arabick annotations, on several controverted Texts of the New Testament and annotations sent from Aleppo". At the end of the manuscript there is a letter from

81 R. Sherman to S. Lisle, February 24, 1721, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 67.
82 R. Sherman to H. Newman, December 29, 1721, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 79.
83 SPCK MS A32/1, p. 7.

Dadichi in French, dated July 2, 1724, noting differences between the in-folio and the in-8° manuscripts of the Psalms sent from Aleppo.

See also A. Nicoll, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum orientalium Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars secunda Arabicos complectens. Confecit Alexander Nicoll... Editionem absolvit... E. B. Pusey*, Oxford, 1835, "Codices Christiani", no. IX.

4. London, British Library (BL), Harley MS 5476

Solomon Negri's transcription of the Psalter. A note on the verso of the flyleaf reads:

> Arabicus hic Codex continet CL. Psalmos Davidis & unum extra numerum, de cæde Gigantis Goliath, & præterea decem sacros canticos è diversis scripturæ libris. Descriptus ab exemplari quodam quod ex Ægypto allatum erat, emendatus & commatibus distinctus juxta exemplar Græcu<m> Complutense, deinde cum duobus Codicibus Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ Oxonii Laud 306.7.A & 776.9.D accurate fuit collatus. Manu Salomonis Negri Damasceni. an. 1720.

In April 1721, Negri informed the SPCK that he had obtained "a pretty correct Copy of the Psalms in Arabick as they are now used in the Greek churches and schools". This was possibly the version he had transcribed in Rome in 1703. He recommended, however, "for the greater certainty of its being a good copy", that the Society "procure a search to be made in the Bodleian library".[84] Negri subsequently visited the Bodleian, where he transcribed the entire Psalter from a Bodleian manuscript; this he presented to the SPCK in November 1721.[85]

The BL manuscript is therefore likely to be Negri's transcription of an (unidentified) Bodleian manuscript, probably Oxf. Bodl., MS Marsh 687. It might also, however, be a copy of Oxf. Bodl., MS Bodl. Or. 468, which certainly originated in Egypt. The two Laudian MSS against which Negri has collated this copy are now Oxf. Bodl., MS Laud Or. 22 (Uri, *Bibliothecae Bodleianae codicum manuscriptorum orientalium... catalogus*, "Codices Christiani", no. 17) and Oxf. Bodl., MS Laud Or. 197 (Uri, *Bibliothecae Bodleianae codicum manuscriptorum orientalium... catalogus*, "Codices Christiani", no. 15).

5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vet. Or. c. Arab. I [formerly MS Sale 81]

The Gospels in Arabic as printed by Athanasios Dabbās in Aleppo in 1706 (Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 266–267). The copy is lacking a title page and preface. The printed text breaks off at *Matthew* 17 (the 74th pericope) and has been added by hand, resuming at *Matthew* 19 (the 84th pericope). The text is followed by a table indicating the pericopes to be read during the course of the liturgical year. This is possibly the copy which Sherman told Newman in December

84 CUL, MS A1/9, p. 169.
85 CUL, MS A1/9, p. 210.

1721 that he had, "ready to send".[86] Given Sale's involvement in the project, it is not inconceivable that an exemplar sent from Aleppo for the use of the SPCK later came into his personal collection.

6. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Sale 84

A manuscript containing the Arabic New Testament sent by Sherman from Aleppo. A note pasted to the inside cover reads:

> Novum Testamentum, Arabicè, ad fidem Graeci Textûs recognitum, et cum antiquis optimæ notæ Versionibus collatum.
> Cui præmittuntur contenta Librorum Veteris Testamenti, secundùm ordinem Alphabeti Hebraici digesta: nec non Decalogus.
> Post Novum Testamentum sequitur ordine Alphabetici, Index copiosissimus Nominum eorumq<ue> præsertim Propriorum, quæ in hoc ipso Testamento usurpantur unà cum eorundem Expositione.
> In margine totius codicis <an>notantur loca parallela.
> Exaratus est hic Codex Halebi An. Dom. 1718.

The Arabic title page (f. 6) identifies the work as the New Testament, collated against the Greek version and the best copies in other languages. The manuscript was completed in Aleppo in 1718. At f. 6v, there is a table of contents and the motto from *2 Timothy* 3:16–17. Folios 7r–19v contain a summary of the books of the Old Testament (*maḍmūnāt asfār al-ʿAhd al-ʿatīq*), identified as a translation from Giovanni Diodati's 1607 Italian Bible. Folio 20r is a table of the 22 books of the Old Testament, corresponding to the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet, as given by Athanasios of Alexandria. To this is added the text of *Romans* 3:2. Folios 20v–21r contain the Ten Commandments from Exodus 20, identified as the text of the Arabic-Latin edition printed at Rome in 1671 by the Propaganda Fide. There follow the texts of *Deuteronomy* 4:2 and 12:32 and *Matthew* 5:19. Folios 21v–22r contain the introduction (*muqaddima*) to the Gospels, translated from Diodati. The *Four Gospels* (f. 22v–158r) include references to parallel texts, and extensive annotations in the margins. *Acts* (f. 159r–201v) is also prefaced by the introduction from Diodati (f. 158v–159r), as is each of the subsequent books (f. 202r–349r). A separate title page (f. 350r) precedes an index of names mentioned in the New Testament, with definitions taken from the best commentators and historians, also completed in Aleppo in 1718. There is a motto from *Galatians* 6:10. The index is ordered alphabetically, beginning at "Abaddon" (*Revelation* 9:11) (f. 350v), and ending with "Joel" (*Acts* 2:16) (f. 433v).

86 CUL, SPCK MS D5/4, p. 80.

[Samuel Palmer], *The X. Commandments and XXIII. Psalm in Arabick... a Specimen of the New Cast Letter, to be us'd in the Printing of the Psalter and New Testament; design'd by the Society at London for Promoting Christian Knowledge to be distributed gratis among the Poor Christians in Arabia, Syria, Palestine, &c.* [London, 1721]
At least three copies of this single printed sheet survive: Cambridge, CUL, SPCK MS E9/11; London, British Library, C.123.ff.13; Oxford, Christ Church Library, Hyp D. 31 (9). In the early stages of the project, the SPCK planned to use Arabic type cast from the matrices used for the Polyglot Bible by the printer Samuel Palmer. Negri found fault with several of these, leading the Society to contract with the type founder Thomas James to make around thirty new matrices and punches (CUL, SPCK MS, A1/9, p. 184). By 1722, however, William Caslon had been commissioned to make a whole new set of smaller typefaces. This document is a specimen of the original larger type made from the Polyglot matrices. The SPCK eventually used Caslon's new smaller type for the text, and the type made from the Polyglot matrices for the headings.

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Aurélien Girard

Des moines et des livres : une imprimerie arabe chez les basiliens shuwayrites (melkites grecs-catholiques) au XVIIIe siècle

1 Introduction : une nouvelle technique et le monde des shuwayrites

> J'ai dit que les Druzes avaient accueilli chez eux des Chrétiens Grecs et Maronites, et leur avaient concédé des terrains pour y bâtir des couvens. Les Grecs-Catholiques usant de cette permission, en ont fondé douze depuis soixante-dix ans. Le chef-lieu est *Mar-Hanna* : ce monastère est situé en face du village de *Chouair*, sur une pente escarpée, au pied de laquelle coule en hiver un torrent qui va au *Nahr-el-Kelb*. La maison, bâtie au milieu des rochers et de blocs écroulés, n'est rien moins que magnifique. C'est un dortoir à deux rangs de petites cellules, sur lesquelles règne une terrasse solidement voûtée : l'on y compte quarante religieux. Son principal mérite est une imprimerie arabe, la seule qui ait réussi dans l'empire turk. Il y a environ cinquante ans qu'elle est établie : le lecteur ne trouvera peut-être pas mauvais d'en apprendre en peu de mots l'histoire.[1]

Lors de son voyage en Syrie, Constantin-François Volney (1757–1820), en enfant des Lumières, accorda la plus grande attention à l'existence d'une imprimerie dotée de caractères arabes au couvent de Saint-Jean de Shuwayr (Dayr Mār Yūḥannā al-Ṣābigh), au Mont-Liban. Après l'entreprise alépine de l'archevêque Athanasios Dabbās,[2] la typographie de ce monastère basilien, qui publia son premier livre en 1734, était la seconde imprimerie dotée de ces capacités dans l'histoire du Proche-Orient.

La congrégation shuwayrite trouvait son origine à Alep : ses fondateurs étaient souvent originaires de familles chrétiennes aisées et nourris de l'enseignement des missionnaires ainsi que des maronites formés à Rome. Leur appétence pour la vie

1 C.-F. Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte*, in *Œuvres. Tome troisième*, Paris, 1998, p. 417–418.
2 I. Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands. The East-European Connection*, Berlin/Boston, 2023, p. 162–186.

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monastique ne fut pas satisfaite par une première expérience au couvent orthodoxe de Balamand (au nord de la montagne libanaise), dans le monachisme traditionnel, auquel ils reprochaient les « abus » déjà dénoncés par les missionnaires latins. Le couvent de Saint-Jean de Shuwayr (à Khinshāra, dans le Matn), où s'installèrent ces moines, prit son véritable essor avec l'abbatiat de l'alépin Niqūlā Ṣā'igh (1692–1756). Un autre alépin de la même famille, ʿAbdallāh Zākhir (1680–1748), fils d'un orfèvre et artisan doué lui-même, qui n'embrassa jamais la vie monastique, devint le maître d'œuvre de cette typographie au couvent tout en s'illustrant par ses talents d'écrivain, de théologien et de polémiste au service de la cause catholique.[3]

Depuis les premières notes bibliographiques de l'orientaliste français Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy, l'historiographie n'a pas cessé d'interroger les origines de cette imprimerie en balançant entre deux hypothèses.[4] D'abord, ʿAbdallāh Zākhir fut érigé en un « Gutenberg » de l'Orient qui aurait bâti seul son imprimerie et surtout aurait préparé ses caractères mobiles grâce à son seul talent. Cette version quasi hagiographique fut élaborée au couvent Saint-Jean de Shuwayr, comme le révèlent les *Annales* du monastère[5] ou encore la biographie que le moine basilien shuwayrite Yūwākīm Muṭrān (1696-1766) consacra à son maître ʿAbdallāh Zākhir : « Il fonda une imprimerie dans la ville d'Alep avec l'aide de son frère, il grava les matrices, les caractères et tous ses instruments. Ils imprimèrent de nombreux livres, sans avoir observé d'autres imprimeries et sans que personne ne les guidât dans ce travail ».[6] Le voyageur Volney, lorsqu'il présentait Zākhir en héros de la typographie libanaise, relayait certainement le récit qui lui avait été narré

3 C.- M. Walbiner, « Die Protagonisten des frühen Buchdrucks in der arabischen Welt », in U. Marzolph (éd.), *Das gedruckte Buch im Vorderen Orient*, Dortmund, 2002, p. 132–138 ; R. el Gemayel, « ʿAbd Allāh Zākhir », in D. Thomas, J. Chesworth et al. (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol. 12. *Asia, Africa and the Americas (1700–1800)*, Leyde/Boston, 2018, p. 101–107. L'autobiographie de Zākhir, souvent mentionnée par l'historiographie depuis le travail de Bacel, n'a probablement jamais existé. Voir A. Shakkūr, « Hal kataba al-shammās ʿAbdallāh al-Zākhir tarjamat ḥayāti-hi », *Ḥayāt wa-ʿamal*, 9–10, 1948, p. 13–25.

4 A.-I. Silvestre de Sacy, *Bibliothèque de M. Le Baron Silvestre de Sacy*, t. 1. *Imprimés. Philosophie, théologie, sciences naturelles*, Paris, 1842, p. 412–413.

5 Voir les extraits traduits et publiés par B. Aggoula, « Le livre libanais de 1585 à 1900 », in C. Aboussouan (dir.), *Le livre et le Liban jusqu'à 1900*, Paris, 1982, p. 317.

6 [Yuwākīm Muṭrān], « Tarjamat ḥayāt al-faylasūf al-shammās ʿAbdallāh al-Zākhir », éd. Y. al-Ṣā'igh, *Al-Masarra*, 4, 1913, p. 201–209. L'article a été réédité dans un numéro consacré à Zākhir : *Al-Masarra*, 34, 1948, p. 385–397; ici, p. 387. Le manuscrit se trouve à la Bibliothèque de Saint Paul à Ḥarīṣā (n° 209–3). Cette biographie de Yuwākīm Muṭrān a été traduite de l'arabe en français dans J. E. Kahale, *Abdallah Zakher. Philosophe, théologien et fondateur de l'imprimerie arabe en Orient. Son époque. Sa vie. Ses œuvres*, Alep, 2000, p. 39–54.

au monastère.[7] Chez l'historien syrien de confession grecque-catholique Joseph Nasrallah (1911–1993), ʿAbdallāh Zākhir devient même le véritable « créateur de la première imprimerie d'Orient », celle d'Alep, en minorant le rôle d'Athanasios Dabbās et l'apport de Bucarest.[8] Plus récemment, l'historien libanais Joseph Abou Nohra insiste aussi sur « le génie de Zākhir [...], son mérite d'avoir réalisé la première imprimerie à caractères arabes du Liban, et la première peut-être, de tout l'Orient, à être fabriquée localement ».[9] Enfin, la biographie récente de Zākhir par Joseph Élie Kahale s'inscrit encore dans ce sillage de l'héroïsation de cette figure isolée de son environnement.[10] Certes, les premières éditions de Shuwayr révèlent l'étendue des talents de Zākhir pour créer ses caractères typographiques et graver ses poinçons. La presse d'Alep avait même peut-être déjà bénéficié de son travail pour renouveler les caractères mobiles.[11] Mais l'approche survalorisant le rôle de ʿAbdallāh Zākhir n'est pas recevable : elle ne permet pas d'apprécier les dimensions collectives de l'innovation, les modalités des transferts technologiques, ainsi que les problèmes économiques.

En opposition à la thèse précédente, toute une veine historiographique a montré que les missionnaires jésuites, voire les milieux francs, avaient joué un rôle déterminant dans la création de cette imprimerie. La controverse naquit du vivant même de ʿAbdallāh Zākhir : après une collaboration avec le jésuite français Pierre Fromage, supérieur général de la Compagnie en Syrie, les deux hommes se brouillèrent et se disputèrent, dans une correspondance au ton acerbe, notamment au sujet de la paternité de la presse.[12] Le voyageur orientaliste Jean de La Roque, dans une lettre publiée dans le *Mercure de France* en 1736, attribuait tout le mérite à Pierre Fromage : « L'Auteur [Pierre Fromage] ne pouvoit pas se déplacer, et passer en

7 « Il connaissait les avantages de l'imprimerie : il eut le courage de former le triple projet d'écrire, de fondre et d'imprimer ; et il parvint à l'exécuter par son esprit, sa fortune et son talent de graveur, qu'il avait déjà exercé dans la profession de joaillier » ; cf. Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte*, p. 419.

8 J. Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban*, Harissa, 1948, p. 20 ; J. Nasrallah, « Les imprimeries melchites au XVIII[e] siècle », *Proche-Orient chrétien*, 35, 1985, p. 230–259.

9 J. Abou Nohra, « La première imprimerie à caractères arabes au Liban (1733) : les origines et le rayonnement culturel », *Parole de l'Orient*, 28, 2003, p. 714 ; J. Abou Nohra, *Les moines et l'histoire rurale du Liban. Les archives du couvent de Saint-Jean de Khinchara et de cinq couvents maronites et melkites (1710-1960)*, Beyrouth, 2021, p. 590–606.

10 J. E. Kahale, *Abdallah Zakher. Philosophe, théologien et fondateur de l'imprimerie arabe en Orient*. Le livre a également été publié en arabe : *ʿAbd Allāh Zākhir, mubtakir al-maṭbaʿa al-ʿarabīya*, Alep, 2002.

11 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 181–182.

12 T. Jock, *Jésuites et Chouérites ou la fondation des religieuses chouérites de Notre-Dame de l'Annonciation à Zouq-Mikail (Liban) (1730-1746)*, Central Falls, 1936.

Europe, pour diriger cette Impression. Faire venir des Ouvriers et des Caractères, l'entreprise étoit grande, et avoit des difficultés particulières ».[13] Toujours d'après cette missive, un négociant français résidant à Sidon, M. Truilhier de Marseille, contribua au financement de cette presse : ʿAbdallāh Zākhir lui-même reconnut par la suite avoir reçu une somme d'argent (60 piastres) de ce marchand, si bien qu'il lui adressa un exemplaire de son *Mīzān al-zamān* (le premier ouvrage publié à Shuwayr) et envoya d'autres exemplaires aux consuls français de Tripoli et de Sidon ainsi qu'à leur entourage.[14] La Roque indiquait la provenance des caractères :

> Cependant on trouva heureusement à Rome ce que Paris ne pouvoit plus fournir, beaux Caractères Arabes, habiles Ouvriers en ce genre, qui passerent en Syrie. L'Imprimerie s'établie dans le Monastère de S. Jean Baptiste, surnommé *Alchouir* [...]. On auroit bien placé cette Imprimerie dans la maison même des Jesuites d'Antoura, si les Lieux trop resserrés avoient pû le permettre : mais c'est presque la même chose à cause de la grande proximité.[15]

L'arrivée de l'édition du *Mīzān al-zamān* avait suscité, à Paris, des interrogations sur sa provenance : Jean de La Roque expliquait avoir reçu toutes ces informations de Truilhier, qui lui-même avait été instruit de l'histoire de cette imprimerie (d'ailleurs significativement dite « d'Antoura ») par le Père Fromage.[16] Cette filière jésuite, âprement défendue par Pierre Fromage dans sa correspondance avec Zākhir, fit l'objet de développements par la suite, chez des auteurs comme le jésuite Louis Cheikho.[17] Basile Aggoula est allé le plus loin dans cette direction.[18] Nasser Gemayel, puis Bernard Heyberger ont émis l'hypothèse que du matériel typographique financé par des maronites en Italie, puis utilisé à Malte, avant d'être rapporté à Rome, aurait pu être envoyé aux jésuites du Mont-Liban et contribuer à la création de la presse du couvent Saint-Jean de Shuwayr.[19] Mais jusqu'à présent

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13 « Lettre de Jean de La Roque à M. Maillart » (21 décembre 1735), in *Mercure de France*, mai 1736, p. 836–837.

14 « Lettre de Jean de La Roque, » p. 837 ; Jock, *Jésuites et Chouérites*, p. 435–436. Hyacinthe (ou Pierre Hyacinthe) Truilhier (son nom a souvent été écorché par l'historiographie) était un négociant marseillais (1699–1759) qui résida de 1722 à 1732 à Sidon et sans doute au-delà. Je remercie Anne Mézin de ces renseignements tirés des sources consulaires françaises.

15 « Lettre de Jean de La Roque », p. 838.

16 « Lettre de Jean de La Roque », p. 839–840.

17 En 1900, il y eut une controverse entre Louis Cheikho et les moines shuwayrites, chacun essayant d'attribuer à son ordre le mérite d'avoir créé cette presse. Voir les articles de Cheikho dans la revue *al-Mashriq*, vol. 3, 1900, p. 360–361, 574, 670, 718–719. Voir aussi Jock, *Jésuites et Chouérites*, p. 437–440.

18 B. Aggoula, « Le livre libanais de 1585 à 1900 ».

19 N. Gemayel, *Les échanges culturels entre les maronites et l'Europe. Du Collège maronite de Rome (1584) au collège de ʿAyn Warqa (1789)*, Beyrouth, 1984, vol. 2, p. 652–656 ; B. Heyberger, « Réseaux de collaboration et enjeux de pouvoir autour de la production de livres imprimés en arabe chez

les sources manquent pour confirmer ce transfert de Rome au Mont-Liban. Quant au récit de Jean de La Roque, il repose entièrement sur le témoignage de Pierre Fromage, qui essayait sans arrêt de revendiquer la paternité de la presse.

Pour expliquer la naissance de la typographie de Shuwayr, une troisième voie a également été dessinée, celle d'une filiation avec les presses des Principautés roumaines où le voïvode Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688–1714) aida Athanasios Dabbās à imprimer des livres en arabe pour les melkites d'abord en Valachie (Snagov et Bucarest), avec le concours du typographe Anthime l'Ibère, puis à Alep. L'apport du matériel et le transfert des compétences se réalisaient à travers l'expérience alépine puisque Zākhir aurait travaillé à la presse de Dabbās. La récente synthèse de Ioana Feodorov réunit les éléments qui pointent dans cette direction.[20] En outre, si une partie des livres étaient vendus « en blanc » (c'est-à-dire en feuilles, sans reliure), le couvent avait, dès l'époque de Zākhir et encore au moment de la visite de Volney, l'outillage et le personnel pour relier les cahiers : John-Paul Ghobrial a montré que ces reliures rappelaient celles des livres produits par Anthime l'Ibère qui, en Valachie, avait travaillé avec Athanasios Dabbās.[21] Cette voie n'est pas nécessairement contradictoire avec la thèse précédente : ʻAbdallāh Zākhir aurait pu apprendre l'art typographique à Alep auprès de Dabbās et d'artisans formés en Roumanie, et bénéficier de matériel venu de Bucarest, tout en profitant de financements européens, voire d'une partie des instruments apportés d'Italie. Ces combinaisons seraient d'autant plus probables que l'imprimerie d'Alep cessa ses activités après 1711, sans doute en raison de difficultés financières ainsi que d'un manque de matériel qu'il fallut nécessairement suppléer à Shuwayr.[22] L'usage des caractères

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les chrétiens (XVII^e – début XVIII^e siècle) », in A. Girard, B. Heyberger, V. Kontouma (éds.), *Livres et confessions chrétiennes orientales. Une histoire connectée entre l'Empire ottoman, le monde slave et l'Occident (XVI^e – XVIII^e siècles)*, Turnhout, 2023, p. 408–409. Sur la typographie maronite, voir aussi Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban*, p. 12–13, et, désormais, M. Farina et J. F. Coakley, « Three Syriac books printed at the Seminary of Montefiascone », *Quaderni storici*, à paraître. Je remercie Margherita Farina (CNRS) de m'avoir fait parvenir cet article.

20 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 209–226.

21 « Lettre de Jean de La Roque », p. 839 ; Jock, *Jésuites et Chouérites*, p. 435 ; Abou Nohra, « La première imprimerie à caractères arabes au Liban », p. 717 ; J.-P. Ghobrial, « The Ottoman World of ʻAbdallāh Zākhir. Shuwayr bindings in the Arcadian Library », in G. Mandelbrote, W. de Bruijn (éds.), *The Arcadian Library : Bindings and Provenance*, Oxford, 2014, p. 193–231. Dans les collections du musée de l'imprimerie du couvent de Saint-Jean de Shuwayr, du matériel de relieur est conservé, tels que des fers à palette et des fers à roulette. Sur les techniques de reliure aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles, voir G. Barber, « La reliure », in H.-J. Martin et R. Chartier (éds.), *Histoire de l'édition française*, t. II. *Le livre triomphant 1660–1830*, Paris, 1984, p. 162–171. Je remercie Yann Sordet pour ses conseils sur ce sujet.

22 Heyberger, « Réseaux de collaboration et enjeux de pouvoir », p. 404.

mobiles du couvent avait donc une origine plurielle, si bien que John-Paul Ghobrial note que la publication de ces livres révèle « a curious combination of European, Orthodox, and local Levantine traditions, a testament to the Ottoman world inhabited by ʻAbdallāh Zakher » : « the origins of the Shuwayr press turn out very much to be an ʻOttoman affair' ».[23]

L'historiographie de l'imprimerie de Saint-Jean de Shuwayr a eu tendance à se focaliser sur la question de l'origine des caractères mobiles, oubliant, jusqu'à récemment, d'autres aspects techniques. En étudiant les gravures des livres imprimés au couvent au XVIII[e] siècle, Charbel Nassif montre que les gravures des basiliens empruntèrent d'abord plusieurs motifs à l'imprimerie alépine. L'un de ceux-ci avait même été créé déjà à Snagov (monastère de Valachie où fut imprimé en 1701 le *Liturgikon* gréco-arabe par le moine Anthime l'Ibère et Athanasios Dabbās). À partir du milieu du siècle, les graveurs du monastère créèrent aussi des ornements originaux. Deux décennies plus tard, ils commencèrent à emprunter des motifs à des ouvrages occidentaux. Alors que l'édition shuwayrite n'avait usé jusqu'alors que de xylographies, l'Évangéliaire (*Al-injīl al-sharīf*) imprimé au couvent en 1776 comprenait quatre planches avec les portraits des Évangélistes, des gravures en taille douce, réalisées sur des supports de cuivre à l'eau-forte. Le tirage papier nécessitait le recours à une presse en taille douce, une technologie entièrement différente de la presse typographique, si bien que, dans l'Occident moderne, le typographe et l'imprimeur en taille douce avaient deux métiers distincts : un imprimeur-libraire sollicitait un atelier taille-doucier pour la réalisation des gravures. Est-ce à dire qu'à Shuwayr la confection de ces planches fut externalisée ? Le problème de l'outillage comme de la formation des ouvriers plaiderait en ce sens, d'autant que la technique ne serait pas réemployée avant le XIX[e] siècle. Le papier utilisé pour tirer ces gravures était différent (les filigranes le montrent) du papier soumis à la presse typographique : l'éditeur (l'atelier de Shuwayr) aurait imprimé les cahiers de texte sur le papier dont il disposait, mais aurait commandé le tirage des gravures sur cuivre à un taille-doucier qui aurait mobilisé ses propres stocks de papier. Les gravures auraient ensuite été montées dans les exemplaires au couvent. Pourtant les inscriptions en arabe, indiquant le nom de l'Évangéliste représenté, et surtout les choix de l'artiste qui s'inspira des gravures (xylographies) utilisées à Alep (Évangéliaire de 1706) indiqueraient un travail local.[24]

23 Ghobrial, « The Ottoman World of ʻAbdallāh Zākhir », p. 195.

24 *Al-injīl al-sharīf al-ṭāhir wa-l-miṣbāḥ al-munīr al-zāhir*, Shuwayr, 1776 ; C. Nassif, « Les gravures des livres imprimés au XVIII[e] siècle au Monastère Saint-Jean Baptiste à Khenchara – Mont Liban », *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia*, 21, 2024, p. 71–96. Je remercie vivement Yann Sordet (Bibliothèque Mazarine) pour ces précisions sur la gravure en taille-douce.

Outre les caractères mobiles, l'un des piliers de l'*ars artificialiter scribendi* était l'encre visqueuse, à base d'huile, pour obtenir une impression propre. Les registres des comptes du couvent listent les ingrédients achetés pour composer une encre (*ḥibr*) destinée à la presse de Khinshāra. Pour les premières publications, la seule encre utilisée était de couleur noire, mais l'édition des *Ta'ammulāt rūḥīya li-ayyām al-usbū'* en 1736 introduisait l'utilisation d'une encre rouge.[25] Quant à la presse elle-même, les tenants d'une origine jésuite du matériel ont pu indiquer qu'elle venait d'Europe, voire de France, sans que les sources invoquées ne soient aujourd'hui accessibles.[26] Alors que Volney écrivait que le papier était importé d'Europe, les filigranes confirment que le papier provenait, au moins pour une partie, de la France méridionale et du nord de l'Italie.[27]

Sur ces aspects techniques, le chantier de la recherche reste donc considérable. Mais, ici, je souhaiterais d'abord replacer cette aventure éditoriale dans

25 *Ta'ammulāt rūḥīya li-ayyām al-usbū'*, Shuwayr, 1736 ; J. Abū Nuhrā, « Arshīf al-adyār ka-maṣdar li-kitābat ta'rīkh Lubnān al-iqtiṣādī wa-l-ijtimā'ī. Dafātir ḥisābāt al-rahbānīyatayn al-shuwayrīya wa-l-ḥalabīya (1723–1796) », in *al-Iklīrūs wa-l-mulkīya wa-l-suḷṭa. Abḥāth fī ta'rīkh Lubnān al-ijtimā'ī wa-l-iqtiṣādī*, Beyrouth, 2007, p. 92 ; Ghobrial, « The Ottoman World of 'Abdallāh Zākhir », p. 204, 226. En 1712 probablement, alors que son imprimerie connaissait des difficultés de fonctionnement à Alep, Athanasios Dabbās écrivait à Rome pour demander non seulement des caractères mobiles, mais aussi un mortier en porphyre avec un pilon de taille moyenne : cet instrument aurait peut-être pu servir à la préparation de certaines encres (ACPF, SC Greci melchiti, vol. 1, f. 139r–140v; traduction de la lettre de Dabbās en italien publiée par V. Tchentsova, « Les documents grecs du XVII[e] siècle : pièces authentiques et pièces fausses. 4. Le Patriarche d'Antioche Athanase IV Dabbās et Moscou : en quête de subventions pour l'imprimerie arabe d'Alep », *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 1, 2013, p. 194–195 ; Heyberger, « Réseaux de collaboration et enjeux de pouvoir », p. 404). Dabbās utilisa de l'encre rouge dans plusieurs ouvrages édités à Alep.

26 P. Bacel, « Abdallah Zakher et son imprimerie arabe », *Échos d'Orient*, 72, 1908, p. 284–285 ; Jock, *Jésuites et Chouérites*, p. 437–440 ; W. Gdoura, *Les débuts de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie : évolution de l'environnement culturel (1706–1787)*, Tunis, 1985, p. 161.

27 Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte*, p. 420. Pour l'édition du *Mīzān al-zamān*, Joseph Moukarzel (dans sa contribution au présent volume) note l'utilisation d'un papier fabriqué dans le sud de la France. Dans l'Évangéliaire de 1776, le papier vergé à filigranes *tre lune* avec les initiales VG provenait des moulins de Valentino Galvani à Cordenons (près d'Udine). Le filigrane de son petit-fils Andrea Galvani est repéré dans le *Kitāb al-nubuwwāt* publié en 1813. Sur la présence de ces papiers au Proche-Orient, voir U. Zanetti, « Filigranes vénitiens en Égypte », *Studi albanologici, balcanici, bizantini e orientali in onore di Giuseppe Valentini*, Florence, 1986, p. 437–499 ; T. Walz, « The Paper Trade of Egypt and the Sudan in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries and its Re-export to the Bilād as-Sūdān », in G. Krätli, G. Lydon (éds.), *The Trans-Saharan Book Trade: Manuscript Culture, Arabic Literacy and Intellectual History in Muslim Africa*, Leyde/Boston, 2012, p. 73–107 ; É. Franssen, « aṣ-Ṣafadī's taḏkira and its Holograph in Princeton University Library », in D. Durand-Guédy, J. Paul (éds.), *Personal Manuscripts: Copying, Drafting, Taking Notes*, Berlin/Boston, 2023, p. 228–229.

son contexte monastique. La démarche ne s'impose pas nécessairement puisque ʻAbdallāh Zākhir n'était lui-même pas moine et il collabora, dans un premier temps du moins, avec un jésuite, Pierre Fromage. La typographie, qui était sa propriété privée, avait en outre été installée dans un bâtiment particulier : si le laïc en assurait la direction technique, les finances de l'imprimerie se trouvaient dans les registres des comptes du couvent.[28] Bien plus, Zākhir et surtout son successeur Sulaymān Qaṭṭān († 1779), qui prit la direction de la presse à la mort de Zākhir en 1748, eurent parfois des relations conflictuelles avec la communauté monastique au motif que l'activité typographique perturbait la vie cénobitique.[29] En 1775, Sulaymān Qaṭṭān, âgé, remit à la congrégation le matériel qu'il avait fabriqué (comme Zākhir l'avait fait, pour son propre outillage, par testament) et la direction de l'imprimerie revint désormais à un religieux : trois moines se consacraient au maniement de la presse, deux religieux travaillaient à la composition, alors qu'un autre devait apprendre, avec le neveu de Qaṭṭān, à fondre les caractères.[30] En dépit de cette forme d'autonomie, les supérieurs de la congrégation jouèrent, d'après les introductions des ouvrages publiés, un rôle croissant dans l'octroi de permission pour l'édition des livres.[31] Malgré les relations complexes entre les moines et la typographie, l'activité de la presse comme les choix éditoriaux peuvent être éclairés par l'histoire de la congrégation de Saint-Jean de Shuwayr, sa situation au sein de la nouvelle Église melkite, ainsi que sa culture confessionnelle.[32]

28 Abū Nuhrā, « Arshīf al-adyār » ; Abou Nohra, *Les moines et l'histoire rurale du Liban*, p. 597.

29 Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban*, p. 146–147 ; *HMLÉM* IV.2, p. 142–144 ; A. Ḥājj, *Al-rahbānīya al-bāsīlīya al-shuwayrīya fī ta'rīkh al-kanīsa wa-l-bilād*, Jounie, 1974, t. 1, p. 632–636, 646–651.

30 Voir les documents publiés par Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban*, p. 145, 147–152. Sulaymān Qaṭṭān avait été rémunéré par le couvent (100, puis 200 piastres par an), alors que les moines ne percevaient pas de traitement.

31 P. Arnoudie, *Kitāb tafsīr sabʻat mazmūrāt min mazāmīr Dāwūd al-nabī*, Shuwayr, 1753, p. 5 ; Gdoura, *Les débuts de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie*, p. 166.

32 J'emprunte la notion de culture confessionnelle (*Konfessionskultur*) à l'historien allemand Thomas Kaufmann, *Dreißigjähriger Krieg und Westfälischer Friede. Kirchengeschichtliche Studien zur lutherischen Konfessionskultur*, Tübingen, 1998. Constatant les limites du paradigme de la confessionnalisation, qui analyse de manière fonctionnelle les trois confessions religieuses, il entend ajouter la « perspective interne », au sens de leur interprétation de la foi chrétienne, leur compréhension d'elle-même et leurs « processus existentiels d'acculturation ».

2 L'imprimerie, la congrégation monastique et le catholicisme au Proche-Orient

La fondation de la congrégation shuwayrite fut une entreprise collective : des moines originaires d'Alep, marqués par la formation auprès de missionnaires et de maronites anciens élèves de Rome, furent déçus d'une première expérience au couvent orthodoxe Notre Dame de Balamand, au nord de la montagne, et s'installèrent au couvent de Saint-Jean de Shuwayr au centre du Mont-Liban. Le cadre géographique mais aussi politico-religieux libanais offrait la possibilité de l'essor de cette vie cénobitique catholique d'un genre nouveau. La congrégation profitait des migrations des chrétiens du nord vers les régions centrales de la montagne, attirés par des autorités locales désireuses de développer l'agriculture grâce à ces établissements monastiques. L'émir druze ʻAbdallāh Abī al-Lamaʻ favorisa l'implantation puis l'expansion de la congrégation shuwayrite, qui acquit et fit édifier plusieurs couvents. Malgré cela, son essor fut entravé par les conflits avec les orthodoxes, si bien que, au cours des premières décennies, elle se préoccupa d'abord de sa sécurité. Les frères de Khinshāra furent chassés deux fois par les orthodoxes de la région, d'abord en 1728, puis de 1729 à 1731, ce qui explique la chronologie de l'installation de la presse au couvent : en 1722, après le synode de Constantinople qui signait une réaction forte de l'orthodoxie soutenue par le patriarche Athanasios Dabbās, ʻAbdallāh Zākhir fuit Alep pour se réfugier à Saint-Jean de Shuwayr, où il engagea immédiatement la polémique contre ce synode. Puis il passa la décennie entre le monastère de Saint-Jean de Shuwayr, le couvent des jésuites à ʻAynṭūrā et la demeure de la famille Qaṭṭān à Zūq Mikāyīl, où il commença à assembler la presse, qu'il établit définitivement à Khinshāra en 1731. La congrégation se dota également d'une branche féminine, fondée par un groupe de « dévotes » alépines, dirigées par le jésuite Pierre Fromage, qui s'installèrent à Zūq Mikāyīl. Elles firent l'objet d'une longue dispute pour leur tutelle, mettant aux prises jésuites et shuwayrites, en la faveur desquels Rome arbitra finalement. Ainsi, entre la Compagnie et l'ordre basilien, à des liens initiaux de proximité, filiation, voire collaboration succéda un conflit parfois virulent autour de l'encadrement des fidèles. La controverse entre Fromage et Zākhir sur la paternité de la presse et des traductions n'était qu'un épiphénomène dans le conflit qui opposait les deux hommes autour de la direction spirituelle et temporelle des dévotes.[33]

33 Voir les *Annales shuwayrites* à l'année 1731, citées par Aggoula, « Le livre libanais de 1585 à 1900 », p. 317 ; Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban*, p. 27 ; B. Heyberger, *Hindiyya. Mystique et criminelle. 1720–1798*, Paris, 2001, p. 38, 77–82, 99–107 ; S. Mohasseb-Saliba, « Les ordres salvatorien et chouérite au cœur de la naissance et du développement de l'Église grecque-catholique

Les ressources de l'ordre shuwayrite provenaient d'abord de l'exploitation agricole de domaines importants, mais les moines tiraient aussi des revenus de leur activité de banque de dépôt et de crédit, de la pratique de la médecine ou encore de quêtes auprès de leurs coreligionnaires dans les villes, notamment Alep, auprès des communautés de la diaspora et en Europe occidentale.[34] Quant à l'imprimerie, elle aurait davantage coûté qu'elle n'aurait rapporté de l'argent. Dans la controverse entre Fromage et Zākhir, le financement de la presse constituait l'un des objets de la discorde : le jésuite affirmait que la Compagnie avait remis des sommes importantes et promettait une collecte d'aumônes auprès de bienfaiteurs en Europe, alors que le melkite se plaignait que les montants effectivement versés étaient bien inférieurs aux chiffres allégués par Fromage et surtout représentaient une contribution quasiment négligeable au regard de l'argent qu'il avait investi. L'imprimeur alépin reprochait à la Compagnie de collecter pour la cause de la presse et de détourner cet argent à son profit. En revanche, il n'indiquait pas d'où provenait l'argent dépensé pour la création de cette imprimerie : il est probable que les familles aisées alépines d'où était issue cette première génération de moines avaient abondé.[35] Les registres des comptes de l'ordre révèlent un réseau de distribution des livres avec des agents commerciaux en Syrie, en Palestine et en Égypte, qui collectaient aussi localement des manuscrits pour la bibliothèque du couvent. Une partie des publications était également donnée à des bienfaiteurs : le livre le plus offert était *A'māl al-rusul wa-l-rasā'il* (les Actes des Apôtres et les Épitres) publié en 1756 et réédité en 1770 et en 1792, puis encore quatre fois au siècle suivant.[36] Assurément les finances de la presse n'étaient pas à l'équilibre et les moines semblaient rechigner à apporter les fonds nécessaires. Lors de son voyage, Volney, qui expliquait que la complexité de l'écriture arabe causait un surcoût et une perte de temps pour le compositeur, constatait :

> L'établissement est languissant et menace de finir. Les livres se vendent peu, à l'exception des psaumes, dont les chrétiens ont fait le livre classique de leurs enfants, et qu'il faut, par cette raison, renouveler sans cesse. Les frais sont considérables, attendu que le papier vient d'Europe et que la main-d'œuvre est très lente.[37]

(XVIII^e^–XIX^e^ siècle) », in B. Heyberger, Ž. Paša, R. el Gemayel (dir.), *La division de l'Église rūm d'Antioche en 1724 et la construction des identités confessionnelles orthodoxe et catholique*, Rome, 2024, p. 275–328.

34 S. Abou el-Rousse Slim, *Le métayage et l'impôt au Mont Liban (XVIII^e^ et XIX^e^ siècle)*, Beyrouth, 1987 ; C. Walbiner, « Monastic Medicine in Eighteenth-Century Bilād al-Shām : some preliminary observations », *Parole de l'Orient*, 42, 2016, p. 495.

35 Jock, *Jésuites et Chouérites*, p. 357–369, 370–493.

36 Nasrallah, « Les imprimeries melchites au XVIII^e^ siècle », p. 255–257 ; Abou Nohra, « La première imprimerie à caractères arabes au Liban », p. 715–717 ; Abū Nuhrā, « Arshīf al-adyār », p. 92.

37 Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte*, p. 420.

Dans la communauté grecque-catholique marquée par une forte dispersion autour de la Méditerranée, les moines de Shuwayr jouèrent un rôle majeur dans l'encadrement spirituel de cette diaspora, d'autant que les réseaux marchands melkites finançaient la congrégation. C'est pourquoi les moines se tournèrent vers Acre et la Galilée, mais aussi vers l'Égypte, en particulier Damiette et Le Caire. Certains moines devaient écouler la soie produite par le couvent de même que les livres. Les marchés les plus importants pour la vente de ces derniers étaient Alep, Rome et l'Égypte, où cinquante-quatre livres furent vendus en 1742, d'après les registres des comptes du couvent. Dans la jeune Église melkite en diaspora, qui devait inventer son identité face à l'orthodoxie et faire face aussi au catholicisme latin, les livres édités par le couvent servirent à maintenir un lien et à construire une communauté malgré la dispersion des membres.[38]

Les shuwayrites durent trouver, ou plutôt se faire une place dans le catholicisme oriental. Si les relations se dégradèrent avec les jésuites, elles virèrent souvent au conflit aussi avec les franciscains de la Custodie de Terre Sainte autour de l'encadrement des ouailles en Palestine et en Égypte. Malgré les conflits et la compétition entre les missionnaires et les catholiques orientaux et entre les Églises catholiques orientales, un catholicisme oriental se forma avec une culture confessionnelle commune[39] et des liens, parfois très étroits, entre les différentes dénominations. Les imprimés shuwayrites circulèrent parmi les catholiques arabophones de différentes obédiences, et notamment les maronites. Depuis le berceau alépin, où les fondateurs furent proches des élites maronites de la ville, les relations entre la congrégation de Saint-Jean et l'Église maronite étaient marquées par de nombreuses collaborations, alors que la passe d'armes entre ʿAbdallāh Zākhir et Mgr ʿAbdallāh Qar'alī (1672-1742), alors évêque maronite de Beyrouth, encore dans le cadre de l'affaire des moniales

38 Abou Nohra, « La première imprimerie à caractères arabes au Liban », p. 716–717 ; A. Girard, « Introduction. Livres et confessions chrétiennes orientales (XVI^{e}-XVIII^{e} siècles). Proposition pour une histoire comparée et connectée », in Girard, Heyberger, Kontouma (éds.), *Livres et confessions chrétiennes orientales*, p. 9–84 ; A. Girard, « La Méditerranée des basiliens melkites au XVIII^{e} siècle : Jalons pour l'étude des mobilités des moines catholiques orientaux », in M. Garzaniti, V. Kontouma, V. Makrides (éds.), *Cristiani orientali e Repubblica delle Lettere, 16°–18° secolo*, Florence, 2024 (à paraître). Les tirages des livres du couvent ne semblent pas négligeables (800 exemplaires pour le *Mīzān al-zamān* d'après les *Annales shuwayrites*, OBA 1167, f. 48v, en ligne : https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/view/506183, consulté le 5 août 2024), mais très peu d'exemplaires sont aujourd'hui connus. Sur les tirages en France au XVIII^{e} siècle, voir H.-J. Martin, « Les tirages au XVIII^{e} siècle », in H.-J. Martin, R. Chartier (éds.), *Histoire de l'édition française*, t. II. *Le livre triomphant 1660–1830*, Paris, 1984, p. 102.

39 B. Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la Réforme catholique*, Rome, 1994, 3^{e} partie.

shuwayrites, restait un épiphénomène.[40] En 1788, les shuwayrites publiaient *Al-majmaʿ al-lubnānī*, livre consacré au Synode libanais tenu par les maronites en 1736 pour réformer l'Église (suppression des monastères doubles etc.), sur le modèle du concile de Trente. Le légat de Rome Joseph Assemani avait joué un rôle essentiel dans sa tenue, puis le pape Benoît XIV l'avait approuvé en 1741 et les autorités romaines ne cessaient d'en réclamer l'application. En 1768, au synode de Ghūsṭā, le patriarche maronite Yūsif Isṭifān (né en 1729, patriarche de 1766 à 1793) et les pères avaient demandé, en vain, à la congrégation de Propaganda Fide l'édition du *Synode libanais*. Finalement, en 1788, il fut édité par les moines basiliens sur l'ordre du même patriarche, en suivant, à peu de choses près, le manuscrit n° 119 des archives de Bkerké, tenu pour la copie authentique issue du synode. Les différences entre la version arabe et la version latine publiée par le dicastère romain en 1820 suscitèrent une longue polémique. En 1788, le patriarcat d'Isṭifān avait été marqué par deux décennies d'affrontements avec les autorités romaines sur la question de la répartition des pouvoirs entre le patriarche et les évêques, puis sur l'affaire Hindiyya.[41] Il avait été suspendu par la congrégation de la Propagande en 1779, puis restauré cinq ans plus tard, alors que les élites de sa communauté partageaient son sentiment antiromain. Cette publication, sans l'accord des autorités pontificales, traduisait une volonté du patriarche de réaffirmer son autorité sur son Église, mais aussi de la doter d'un texte juridique de référence : dans les controverses qui avaient précédé, Yūsif Isṭifān avait montré un fort intérêt pour le droit canonique, afin de soutenir ses revendications.[42]

Au sein même de leur Église grecque-catholique, les shuwayrites se trouvaient dans une situation fragile, se méfiant du patriarche Kīrillus Ṭānās élu en 1724 et reconnu par Rome en 1729. Ils s'opposaient aussi à l'autre puissante congrégation basilienne, les salvatoriens, fondés par l'oncle du patriarche. À la mort de Ṭānās en 1760, une vive rivalité mettait aux prises les deux congrégations désireuses de placer l'un de leurs moines sur le siège d'Antioche. Elles se disputaient aussi les nouvelles éparchies. Dans cette configuration intra-ecclésiale, la capacité à publier des livres contribuait à renforcer la congrégation de Saint-Jean de Shuwayr. Toutefois, dans cette situation, le patriarche restait l'homme d'un parti, contraint par exemple de résider dans un monastère de sa congrégation, faute d'une résidence patriarcale indépendante. Le shuwayrite Theodosios Dahhān, patriarche de 1764 à 1788, aspirait,

40 Jock, *Jésuites et Chouérites*, p. 495–609.

41 Heyberger, *Hindiyya. Mystique et criminelle.*

42 É. Atallah, *Le Synode Libanais de 1736*, Antélias/Paris, 2001 ; A. Girard, *Le christianisme oriental (XVI^e^–XVIII^e^ siècles). Essor de l'orientalisme catholique en Europe et construction des identités confessionnelles au Proche-Orient*, thèse non publiée, Paris, 2011, vol. 2, p. 598–603.

en vain, à disposer non seulement de sa propre résidence, mais aussi d'une imprimerie qui lui aurait permis d'assurer l'indépendance et le prestige de son siège en éditant des livres portant sa marque.[43]

Ce fut dans ce contexte difficile que les shuwayrites élaborèrent leurs règles et constitutions, désireux d'obtenir une approbation du pape, qui aurait rimé avec une plus grande autonomie dans leur Église. Le *Grand Askétikon* attribué à Basile de Césarée, traduit en arabe par un moine shuwayrite, puis les constitutions de l'ordre furent publiées par la Typographie polyglotte de la congrégation de la Propagande et non par les presses du couvent. Ces éditions marquées du sceau romain conféraient une légitimité à l'ordre basilien face au patriarche Ṭānās, qui désirait fusionner les shuwayrites aux salvatoriens.[44]

3 Des moines, des fidèles et des livres

Quoique la congrégation de Saint-Jean choisît une orientation plutôt contemplative dans un premier temps, ces moines s'engagèrent rapidement dans l'encadrement pastoral de la communauté grecque-catholique, en particulier à Alep. Ils bâtirent même des églises, comme à Beyrouth et à Zahlé. Les moines procédèrent aussi à l'imitation des missionnaires latins, se livrant à des tournées. Le moine Mikhā'īl ibn Būlus al-Ḥakīm (le futur patriarche Maximos) se rendit en Égypte et en Palestine, mais aussi à Rās Baʿalbak, Homs et Baalbek en 1721, prêchant le catholicisme dans des régions qui n'avaient pas connu de missionnaires occidentaux.[45]

Dans ce contexte, les moines étaient convaincus que le livre devait jouer un rôle majeur dans la diffusion du catholicisme. Cette conviction trouvait son origine dans le creuset alépin où, comme dans d'autres villes arabes, une culture du livre était en plein essor. Chez les chrétiens, l'engouement pour le livre avait notamment été suscité par l'activité éditoriale occidentale, romaine surtout. Au début du XVII^{e} siècle,

43 Sur la concurrence des deux ordres au sein de l'Église, voir A. Girard, « Une Église aux mains des moines ? Shuwayrites et salvatoriens dans l'Église melkite grecque-catholique au XVIII^{e} siècle », in Heyberger et al. (éds.), *La division de l'Église rūm d'Antioche en 1724 et la construction des identités confessionnelles orthodoxe et catholique*. Sur les relations entre le livre et l'autorité ecclésiastique, voir Girard, « Introduction. Livres et confessions chrétiennes orientales (XVI^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles) ».

44 A. Girard, S. Mohasseb-Saliba, « Les ordres basiliens au Proche-Orient arabe : une identité monastique grecque-catholique (première moitié du XVIII^{e} siècle) », in O. Delouis, A. Peters-Custot (éds.), *De Basile aux Basiliens. La postérité monastique d'un Père grec en Orient et en Occident (du Moyen Âge à l'époque contemporaine*, Paris, 2025 (à paraître).

45 Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 442 ; Mohasseb-Saliba « Les ordres salvatorien et chouérite ».

Meletios Karma (archevêque melkite d'Alep à partir de 1612, puis patriarche d'Antioche en 1634, mort en 1635) sollicitait de la Congrégation de Propaganda Fide l'édition d'ouvrages liturgiques et d'une Bible en langue arabe. Le livre imprimé constituait pour lui une arme pour combattre l'ignorance, éliminer les corruptions des manuscrits et homogénéiser les pratiques de son clergé. De manière générale, la conviction qu'il fallait, par le livre, « responsabiliser le fidèle afin d'en faire l'artisan actif de son salut »[46] se répandit à partir du début du XVII[e] siècle dans toutes les Églises orientales. À défaut de susciter la création de presses locales, ce vif intérêt pour le livre conduisait à revivifier la copie de manuscrits. Ces élites chrétiennes alépines de la génération du tournant 1700 partageaient encore un goût prononcé pour la langue arabe, maîtrisant par exemple les formes poétiques traditionnelles. La bibliothèque du monastère de Saint-Jean de Shuwayr reflétait cette appétence pour la philologie arabe.[47] Un intérêt spécifique pour l'imprimerie se maintint, certainement fortement attisé par l'expérience d'Athanasios Dabbās qui fit fonctionner une presse à Alep de 1706 à 1711. Avant même cela, la jeune génération alépine se montrait attentive à cette technologie et même très désireuse de se procurer une presse et du matériel typographique. En 1701, le maronite Jibrā'īl Ḥawwā (1668–1752), l'un des fondateurs de l'Ordre libanais maronite, après s'être brouillé avec les autres moines sur les orientations à donner à sa congrégation, se tourna vers le patriarche pour lui demander l'autorisation de quitter le Liban, au motif de se rendre à Malte pour rapporter l'imprimerie arabe qui s'y trouvait.[48]

Formé dans cet environnement, 'Abdallāh Zākhir liait le développement du livre imprimé avec la nécessité d'éduquer les chrétiens orientaux. Dans la préface du Psautier édité en 1735, il écrivait :

> Il [le Psautier] a été imprimé récemment pour le rendre accessible à tous. De cette manière, personne ne pourra échapper à l'obligation d'éduquer ses enfants en disant : « Je ne peux pas ». […] De même étant donné que ce Psautier divin est utilisé par les croyants pour apprendre à leurs enfants la langue arabe, nous n'avons pas supprimé les lettres faibles (*aḥruf*

46 J'emprunte l'expression à Ph. Martin, « L'appropriation des formes de dévotion. Le cas des études françaises », in Ph. Büttgen, Ch. Duhamelle (éds.), *Religion ou confession. Un bilan franco-allemand sur l'époque moderne (XVI[e]–XVIII[e] siècles)*, Paris, 2010, p. 171.

47 B. Heyberger, « Livres et pratique de la lecture chez les chrétiens (Syrie, Liban) XVII[e] – XVIII[e] siècles », *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 87-88, 1999, p. 209–223 ; C.-M. Walbiner, « Monastic Reading and Learning in Eighteenth-Century Bilâd al-Shâm: Some Evidence from the Monastery of al-Shuwayr (Mount Lebanon) », *Arabica*, 51, 2004, 4, p. 462–477 ; H. Kilpatrick, « From *Literatur* to *Adab*: The Literary Renaissance in Aleppo around 1700 », *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, 58, 2006, p. 195–220 ; Girard, « Introduction. Livres et confessions chrétiennes orientales (XVI[e]-XVIII[e] siècles) ».

48 'Abdallāh Qar'alī, *Mudhakkarāt*, Jounieh, 2007, p. 79. Il s'agit de l'imprimerie maronite déjà évoquée. Le projet de Ḥawwā n'eut pas de suite.

> *al-ʿilla*) […]. Nous avons gardé les lettres dans ce cas conformément à l'usage des copistes qui ne comprennent pas les règles de la langue arabe, afin que la lecture de ces verbes ne soit pas difficile pour les jeunes élèves et pour ceux qui ne savent pas bien les prononcer […]. Ceci n'est pas fait par ignorance mais pour aider ceux qui ne savent pas lire les lettres sans ces signes.[49]

En milieu chrétien, le Psautier, édité à sept reprises à Shuwayr au XVIII[e] siècle et « best-seller » des ventes du couvent,[50] constituait traditionnellement un support pour l'apprentissage de la lecture. Dans son traité *Al-burhān al-ṣarīḥ*, Zākhir allait plus loin en expliquant l'impérieuse nécessité d'éduquer les chrétiens orientaux.

> La connaissance de ces deux mystères [Trinité et Incarnation] est d'une grande utilité car la vie éternelle consiste à « reconnaitre en Vous le vrai Dieu » et le fait de les ignorer mène à la perdition. Il est sûr que toutes les hérésies n'avaient existé que parce que leurs partisans ou bien avaient ignoré ces deux mystères ou bien ne croyaient pas comme il le fallait. […] La plupart des chrétiens contemporains ignoraient cette vérité [sur ces mystères] à cause de la pauvreté de la langue arabe chez eux et de l'absence d'écoles théologiques. Ils sont certes chrétiens mais par transmission et non par connaissance [des vérités théologiques]. Ils ne peuvent donc pas exprimer la vérité de leur foi sans danger d'hérésies et d'erreurs.[51]

Le défaut d'instruction des chrétiens melkites risquait donc de les mener à des « abus », au schisme ou encore à l'hérésie, mettant en cause leur salut même. Ces lignes du théologien grec-catholique faisaient écho au discours des missionnaires latins sur l'ignorance des chrétiens orientaux comme mère de tous les maux. Le catholicisme occidental, loin de se cantonner à une religion de l'image et de la parole,

49 *Kitāb al-zabūr*, Shuwayr, 1735, préface non paginée. L'édition de 1735, la première, se trouve notamment à la BULAC (Paris), sous la cote RES MON 8 227, à la BnF (Paris) sous la cote A-13016 et à la British Library sous la cote 14500.aa.6. Zākhir évoque ici l'élision des *aḥruf al-ʿilla* dans certaines formes du verbe à l'impératif, au subjonctif ou au jussif, une des difficultés dans l'apprentissage de la langue arabe. Dans l'édition du Psautier, ces lettres ne sont pas élidées. Dans la seule édition de 1740 (la seconde) du Psautier que j'ai pu consulter (exemplaire de la Österreichische Nationalbibliothek [Vienne], coté 46.E.44 et numérisé https://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ160202202, consulté en ligne le 18 juillet 2024), un bon nombre de pages sont presque entièrement vocalisées de manière manuscrite (par exemple, tout le début jusqu'à la page 68). Je remercie vivement Joseph Moukarzel (USEK) et Charbel Nassif (CEDRAC, Beyrouth) pour nos échanges sur ces sujets. Sur les préfaces des livres publiés par Saint Jean de Shuwayr, voir Gdoura, *Les débuts de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie*, p. 172, et la contribution de Yulia Petrova à ce volume.

50 Abou Nohra, « La première imprimerie à caractères arabes au Liban », p. 717.

51 ʿAbdallāh Zākhir, *Kitāb al-burhān al-ṣarīḥ fī ḥaqīqat sirray dīn al-Masīḥ*, Shuwayr, 1764. Cet ouvrage a été écrit en 1721 par Zākhir, puis publié de manière posthume. Voir Gdoura, *Les débuts de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie*, p. 173–174.

enjoignait le fidèle à lire de bons livres de dévotion pour préparer son salut.[52] Alors que le premier livre sortait des presses en 1734, le synode de l'ordre basilien, réuni en mars 1735, décidait d'ouvrir au couvent « une école pour éduquer les enfants et les initier aux enseignements de la doctrine catholique » afin d'« enraciner la doctrine chez les générations futures ».[53] Le projet intellectuel et pastoral des basiliens shuwayrites liait l'éducation, en particulier l'alphabétisation, avec l'édition de livres et la formation de bons chrétiens, capables de lire des ouvrages de dévotion et donc de s'approprier les croyances catholiques nécessaires au salut de l'âme.

Toutefois, la formation destinée aux moines était autrement plus ambitieuse que celle destinée aux simples fidèles, de même que toute une littérature spécifique était dédiée au clergé. Dans le sillage d'une Réforme catholique qui avait beaucoup insisté sur le niveau de formation des clercs, l'instruction des moines devenait essentielle alors que leur rôle pastoral gagnait en importance, qu'ils devaient renforcer une communauté précaire dans un environnement difficile et qu'ils étaient appelés aux plus hautes charges dans la hiérarchie ecclésiale. Les basiliens avaient ainsi mis en place un noviciat, comme un parcours de discernement, de disciplinement et d'instruction avant les vœux. Outre la formation locale, certains moines pouvaient bénéficier d'une éducation à Rome puisque le pape Clément XII avait cédé en 1734 le couvent de S. Maria in Domnica (la Navicella) à l'ordre shuwayrite, qui devait sélectionner comme étudiants des moines jeunes, en bonne santé et intelligents. Dans la capitale pontificale, ils étudieraient la logique, la philosophie, la théologie, mais aussi le grec et l'arabe, voire le latin pour les plus capables. À l'issue de cette formation, cette élite monastique était tenue de revenir au Proche-Orient, pour se mettre à la disposition du supérieur général. En réalité, le couvent de la Navicella ne devint jamais un lieu d'étude, servant plutôt de procure à la congrégation monastique pour l'instruction, les moines sollicitèrent des places au Collège grec et au Collège Urbain. Un seul moine shuwayrite, Yūsif ʿAjlūnī (1736–1818), bénéficia d'une formation au Collège grec de Rome, où il séjourna de 1764 à 1770. Il publia entre 1783 et 1795, à la Typographie Polyglotte de la Congrégation de la Propagande, la traduction arabe en cinq volumes de la *Theologia moralis universa* du jésuite Paul Gabriel Antoine (1678–1743), qui fut rééditée plusieurs fois car elle devint le manuel de référence en théologie morale pour le clergé oriental. Certes, ʿAjlūnī demeura dans la capitale pontificale, où il fit carrière au sein des dicastères et au service des catholiques orientaux, ce qui suffit à expliquer l'édition de son

52 Heyberger, « Livres et pratique de la lecture » ; Ph. Martin, *Une religion des livres (1640–1850)*, Paris, 2003.

53 Ḥājj, *Al-rahbānīya al-bāsīlīya al-shuwayrīya*, t. 1, p. 275 ; Abou Nohra, *Les moines et l'histoire rurale du Liban*, p. 608.

ouvrage par la Typographie Polyglotte. Mais la presse de Shuwayr n'aurait certainement pas été en mesure de publier un ouvrage d'une telle ampleur. La bibliothèque du couvent de Saint-Jean de Shuwayr renfermait aussi tout un fonds de manuscrits de théologie, de morale et de droit canon, qui étaient des traductions d'ouvrages occidentaux réalisées par des maronites ou des missionnaires : ce corpus qui était destiné à un usage clérical s'imposa durablement dans l'Église melkite.[54]

La typographie de Shuwayr destina également certains de ses livres à une lecture cléricale. C'était le cas des livres liturgiques, mais aussi du *Kitāb tafsīr sab'at mazmūrāt min mazāmīr Dāwūd al-nabī* (1753), une traduction, par 'Abdallāh Zākhir (il se présentait dans la préface comme *muhadhdhib*, « maître »), d'un commentaire sur les psaumes de pénitence préparé par le jésuite français Pierre Arnoudie (1671–1719), un proche du Père Fromage que le typographe melkite avait connu à Alep (où le jésuite trouva la mort lors de la peste de 1719). En bon Père de la Compagnie, Arnoudie faisait reposer l'essentiel de son commentaire sur l'*Explanatio in Psalmos* de Robert Bellarmin. À la fin figuraient des tables alphabétiques des différents dogmes mentionnés, ainsi qu'un index des citations extraites de l'Ancien Testament.[55] Quelques années plus tard, en 1764, le *Kitāb al-burhān al-ṣarīḥ fī ḥaqīqat sirray dīn al-Masīḥ* (*La preuve claire pour la vérité des deux mystères sur la croyance en Christ*), composé par Zākhir à la demande du patriarche Athanasios Dabbās, se présentait comme une défense des dogmes de la Trinité et de l'Incarnation adressée à un interlocuteur musulman. L'ouvrage comprenait à la fin un index des travaux sur ces deux « mystères ». L'introduction de ce type d'outils dans les livres imprimés autorisait de nouvelles formes de consultation du livre et d'appropriation, notamment par les clercs chargés d'enseigner et de prêcher.[56]

Loin d'ambitionner de croiser le fer avec des musulmans, *Al-burhān al-ṣarīḥ* se destinait à instruire les chrétiens des deux principaux dogmes qui les distinguaient des musulmans. Il s'agissait finalement d'une sorte de catéchisme savant. Quelques

54 D. Julia, « Lectures et Contre-Réforme », in G. Cavallo, R. Chartier (éds.), *Histoire de la lecture dans le monde occidental*, Paris, 2001, p. 312-320 ; Girard, *Le christianisme oriental*, chapitres 7 et 12 ; Girard, « La Méditerranée des basiliens melkites au XVIII[e] siècle ».

55 P. Arnoudie, *Kitāb tafsīr sab'at mazmūrāt min mazāmīr Dāwūd al-nabī*, Shuwayr, 1753 ; C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Bruxelles/Paris, 1890, vol. 1, col. 563 ; *GCAL* IV, p. 232 ; *HMLÉM* IV.2, p. 133-134. Sur les ouvrages de liturgie, voir Gdoura, *Les débuts de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie*, p. 168-174 ; S. A. Frantsouzoff, « Паремийник 1775 г. как образец книгопечатной продукции Шувейра », *Вестник Православного Свято-Тихоновского гуманитарного университета, серия III: Филология*, 73, 2022, p. 119–132.

56 Zākhir, *Kitāb al-burhān al-ṣarīḥ* ; Ghobrial, « The Ottoman World of 'Abdallāh Zākhir », p. 204 ; el Gemayel, « 'Abd Allāh Zākhir » ; A. Blair, *Tant de choses à savoir. Comment maîtriser l'information à l'époque moderne*, Paris, 2020.

années plus tôt, en 1756, les presses sortaient un *Mukhtaṣar al-ta'līm al-masīḥī* (un résumé de l'enseignement chrétien), un catéchisme de petit format (quarante-deux pages) suivi des prières essentielles (*Credo*, *Pater noster* etc.), destiné aux fidèles. En adoptant la forme dialogique (questions suivies de réponses), traditionnelle en Occident, il exposait succinctement les définitions essentielles : la foi chrétienne, l'Église, les vertus, les péchés, les sacrements etc.[57]

Destinée explicitement à un public dépassant les simples élites cléricales, plus de la moitié des ouvrages publiés relevait d'une littérature de dévotion, déjà largement en circulation sous forme manuscrite grâce aux traductions des missionnaires qui, eux-mêmes, transmettaient les « classiques », notamment jésuites, de la Réforme catholique. Ainsi le premier livre publié, le *Mīzān al-zamān wa-qisṭās abadīyat al-insān* (*L'échelle du temps et la mesure de l'éternité de l'homme*), était la traduction du best-seller *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno* du jésuite espagnol Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595–1658), déjà diffusé dans de nombreuses langues et caractéristique de cet ascétisme ibérique que la Compagnie répandait dans les territoires de mission.[58] Il circulait déjà sous une forme manuscrite grâce à la traduction d'un auteur maronite, mais Pierre Fromage et ʿAbdallāh Zākhir avaient commis une nouvelle version arabe, dont ils se disputeraient âprement la paternité. Grâce à ces livres de dévotion, les fidèles s'appropriaient les croyances catholiques. En même temps, cette lecture contribuait à la formation de l'individualisme, car cette « religion des livres » (Philippe Martin) promouvait une piété centrée sur la "réforme" (les traducteurs de Nieremberg employaient le terme *islāḥ*) de l'individu.[59]

Ces livres de piété accompagnaient les nouvelles pratiques et les nouvelles dévotions venues du catholicisme latin, prêchées par les missionnaires et désormais par les moines grecs-catholiques, et souvent organisées par les confréries. En 1736, les *Ta'ammulāt rūḥīya li-ayyām al-usbūʿ* se présentaient comme des méditations pour chaque jour de la semaine, de sorte à discipliner le fidèle dans la pratique de la prière. En 1772, les moines de Saint-Jean sollicitaient du salvatorien Mīkhā'īl Mizrāq (mort en 1774), ancien élève du Collège Saint Athanase, la traduction arabe du *Cibo dell'anima*

57 *Mukhtaṣar al-ta'līm al-masīḥī*, Shuwayr, 1756.

58 Voir aussi sur la traduction du traité de Nieremberg en guarani Th. Brignon, « Du copiste invisible à l'auteur du premier ordre. La traduction collaborative de textes religieux en guarani dans les réductions jésuites du Paraguay », *Sociocriticism*, 33, 2018, p. 299–338.

59 J. E. Nieremberg, *Mīzān al-zamān wa-qisṭās abadīyat al-insān*, Shuwayr, 1734 ; Heyberger, *Hindiyya*, p. 53-68 ; Martin, *Une religion des livres* ; C. Walbiner, « The appearance of Nieremberg's *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno* in Arabic (1734). A turning point in the history of printing and publication in the Arab World ? », in Girard, Heyberger, Kontouma (éds.), *Livres et confessions chrétiennes orientales*, p. 427–442. Voir aussi la contribution de Joseph Moukarzel au présent volume.

(Rome, 1654) écrit par le jésuite Rainaldi (1600–1679). *Qūt al-nafs* (*La nourriture de l'âme*) consistait en un traité sur l'oraison mentale menée autour de méditations sur la Passion, surtout destiné aux religieux. Dans le catholicisme occidental, les prescriptions sur la pratique de l'oraison mentale, au sens d'un « temps commun de méditation et de prière silencieuse au chœur », avaient « envahi » les constitutions des réguliers à l'époque des Réformes, d'après Bernard Dompnier.[60]

Alors que l'existence du Purgatoire constituait l'un des lieux de la controverse confessionnelle articulée, chez les catholiques, à de nouvelles pratiques comme l'octroi d'indulgences et les fondations de messes, l'imprimerie de Shuwayr évitait la pomme de discorde tout en préparant les fidèles à la mort et au Jugement, en attisant l'angoisse pour le salut individuel. *L'inferno aperto al Cristiano perchè non v'entri* (1689) du jésuite italien Giovanni Pietro Pinamonti (1632–1703) fut publié en arabe en 1769 sous le titre *Ta'ammulāt jahannam*, grâce à la traduction de Yūsuf bin Jirjis al-Bānī (Giuseppe Banese), un maronite alépin, professeur de syriaque et d'arabe au Collège Urbain.[61]

La crainte du Jugement s'accompagnait d'un besoin d'être rassuré. Dans ce contexte, la confession auriculaire, permettant d'obtenir la rémission de ses péchés et participant à une économie de l'au-delà autour du Purgatoire et des indulgences, était le « principal outil du prosélytisme catholique en Syrie » (Bernard Heyberger) et avait déjà contribué à transformer les pratiques orthodoxes.[62] Ainsi, en 1711, Athanasios Dabbās avait publié un manuel de confession qui suivait le modèle latin dans l'usage des concepts comme dans le mode d'administration. L'imprimerie de Shuwayr éditait, grâce aux traductions de Pierre Fromage aidé par la révision de Zakhīr, les deux volumes classiques du jésuite Paolo Segneri (1624–1694), qui constituaient déjà une source majeure ainsi qu'un modèle pour les manuels grecs de confession orthodoxe. *Il Penitente istruito* paraissait en 1747 sous le titre de *Murshid al-khāṭi' fī sirr al-tawba wa-l-i'tirāf*, puis était réédité en 1794 : des enseignements étaient consacrés au péché, à l'attrition et à la contrition, ainsi qu'à l'examen de

60 *Ta'ammulāt rūḥīya li-ayyām al-usbū'*, Shuwayr, 1736 ; G. Rainaldi, *Qūt al-nafs*, Shuwayr, 1772 ; C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. 6, col. 1405-1408 ; *HMLÉM* IV.2, p. 148 ; B. Heyberger, « Confréries, dévotions et société chez les catholiques orientaux », in B. Dompnier, P. Vismara (éds.), *Confréries et dévotions dans la catholicité moderne (mi-XV^e^ – début XIX^e^ siècle)*, Rome, 2008, p. 225–241 ; B. Dompnier, « L'oraison mentale et la réforme des Réguliers après le concile de Trente », in F. Ferrario et al. (éds.), *Riforma/riforme: continuità o discontinuità? Sacramenti, pratiche spirituali e liturgia fra il 1450 e il 1600*, Brescia, 2019, p. 245–264.

61 G. P. Pinamonti, *Ta'ammulāt jahannam*, Shuwayr, 1769 ; *GCAL* III, p. 383–389.

62 B. Heyberger, « La diffusion de la pratique de la confession en Orient (XVII^e^ – XVIII^e^ siècles), entre expansion catholique et confessionnalisation orthodoxe », in Garzaniti, Kontouma, Makrides (éds.), *Cristiani orientali e Repubblica delle Lettere.*

conscience pour préparer le fidèle au sacrement. Son complément indispensable, qui s'adressait aux prêtres, *Il Confessore istruito*, traduit sous le titre *Murshid al-kāhin* dès 1739, paraissait au couvent en 1760. Après une première partie assez générale sur les devoirs du prêtre, la seconde partie se concentrait sur les obligations du confesseur. En paroisse comme lors de leurs missions volantes, les prêtres shuwayrites accordaient une place importante à l'accompagnement spirituel et à la pratique de la confession. Le sacrement mettait l'accent sur l'autorité du prêtre capable de remettre les péchés, renforçant ainsi le prestige du clergé. Il permettait de vérifier les connaissances des pénitents et donc leur rapport au catéchisme. Il contribuait à la surveillance des fidèles et à l'intériorisation des normes, en somme au disciplinement des ouailles catholiques.[63]

À Shuwayr, l'édition fut donc dédiée principalement aux ouvrages de catéchisme et de dévotion, ainsi qu'aux textes indispensables à la formation du clergé et à sa mission pastorale. Alors que les choix éditoriaux du patriarche grec-orthodoxe Sylvestre le Chypriote à Iaşi en Moldavie puis à Beyrouth s'orientaient vers les textes liturgiques, mais aussi la polémique anti-catholique,[64] la violente diatribe de Zākhir et des moines grecs-catholiques contre l'orthodoxie n'accéda pas, quant à elle, aux caractères mobiles et ne mobilisa que les calames des copistes.[65] L'absence de la controverse anti-orthodoxe déchargeait la presse d'une réputation trop prosélyte et ménageait, pour les livres, la possibilité de circuler au-delà des cercles melkites et même catholiques, prolongeant la stratégie missionnaire de réforme sans rupture.

4 Conclusion

Malgré les questions qui demeurent sur l'histoire des techniques mises en œuvre au couvent, l'imprimerie de Saint-Jean de Shuwayr s'inscrit dans une filiation

63 P. Segneri, *Murshid al-khāṭi' fī sirr al-tawba wa-l-i'tirāf*, Shuwayr, 1747 et 1794 ; P. Segneri, *Murshid al-kāhin*, Shuwayr, 1760 ; *GCAL* IV, p. 229 ; V. Tsakiris, *Die gedruckten griechischen Beichtbücher zur Zeit der Türkenherrschaft. Ihr kirchenpolitischer Entstehungszusammenhang und ihre Quellen*, Berlin/New York, 2009 ; Heyberger, « La diffusion de la pratique de la confession en Orient ».

64 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 227–254, 285–308.

65 A. Girard, « Quand les « grecs-catholiques » dénonçaient les « grecs-orthodoxes » : la controverse confessionnelle au Proche-Orient arabe après le schisme de 1724 », in C. Bernat, H. Bost (éds.), *Discours et représentations du différend confessionnel à l'époque moderne*, Turnhout, 2012, p. 157-170. Le pèlerin ukrainien orthodoxe Vassili Grigorovitch-Barski, de passage au couvent en 1727, avait été « aimablement accueilli par les adeptes qui [l']ennuyèrent un peu avec des débats sur la foi » ; cf. V. Grigorovitch-Barski, *Pérégrinations (1723–1747)*, trad. du russe par Myriam Odaysky, Genève, 2019, p. 324.

alépine et roumaine, par l'apport d'une partie des matériels et par la transmission des savoirs techniques. Elle bénéficiait aussi du soutien, financier et matériel, des Francs présents au Levant, marchands, missionnaires voire consuls. Le milieu alépin chrétien joua enfin un rôle déterminant grâce à des familles aisées qui pouvaient apporter des capitaux et à un environnement culturel imprégné par la culture du livre et intéressé, de longue date, par l'imprimerie. ʿAbdallāh Zākhir était un bon représentant de cette génération 1700, avec une solide formation littéraire et un attachement au catholicisme, en plus de ses talents d'artisan.

L'imprimerie apparaissait dans la congrégation basilienne à un moment charnière, peu après la double élection patriarcale, suivie de la reconnaissance d'une hiérarchie catholique par les autorités romaines, alors que les violences interconfessionnelles maintenaient la jeune communauté grecque-catholique dans une certaine fragilité. Sous la coupe d'un patriarche proche des basiliens salvatoriens, les shuwayrites devaient lutter pour conserver une certaine autonomie, en espérant le soutien de Rome. Dans ce contexte doublement difficile, le livre imprimé servait à légitimer l'ordre voire à lui conférer un certain prestige. En outre, dans une communauté marquée par une diaspora, le livre participait à maintenir une identité confessionnelle qui reliait les membres dispersés.

La génération des fondateurs de l'ordre partageait la culture du livre des élites chrétiennes qui considéraient que le salut passait par la lecture de bons livres. Conformément au concile de Trente, la formation du clergé était devenue prioritaire et une partie de la production de Shuwayr lui était expressément destinée ; pour le disciplinement des fidèles, les livres imprimés, qui s'inscrivaient dans le prolongement de la production missionnaire, particulièrement jésuite, accompagnaient l'enseignement de la doctrine, la diffusion des nouvelles dévotions et des nouvelles pratiques par les catholiques. En accordant un soin particulier à éditer les liturgies pour assurer les bonnes pratiques du clergé, l'imprimerie mettait en exergue les spécificités du rite qui maintenait le lien avec les orthodoxes, tout en distinguant cette Église au sein du catholicisme. L'absence de controverse melkite anti-orthodoxe dans la production du couvent permettait aux livres imprimés de circuler bien au-delà des cercles grecs-catholiques dans les autres communautés chrétiennes, comme le révèle peu à peu un catalogage des collections en progrès.[66]

66 Le site HMML (https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/) montre que des livres imprimés à Shuwayr (« Maṭbaʿat Dayr al-Shuwayr ») sont conservés dans les fonds « manuscrits » de communautés variées. Actuellement, trente-neuf exemplaires sont signalés (consulté le 12 août 2024). Je remercie Josh Mugler (HMML) pour ses conseils.

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Part 2. **The Avatars of Printing for a Middle Eastern Readership**

Antonella Ghersetti

Arabic Printing in Italy: Venice as a Case Study

1 Arabic Printing in Italy

In his seminal work on the Arabic book, Johannes Pedersen devotes a few pages to an introduction on printed books and informs us that "a number of Islamic books were printed [...] in Europe, notably in Italy".[1] In this chapter, Pederson gives an overview of the main actors involved in printing books in Arabic characters, and of the audience for whom these books were intended, mostly Arabic-speaking Christian communities connected to the Roman Church. It is not by chance that the first title mentioned by Pedersen is the Horologion (*Kitāb ṣalāt al-sawāʿī*, *Book of the Prayer of the Hours*, commonly known as the *Book of Hours*), the first Arabic text entirely printed with movable type and explicitly designed for distribution among Christians in the Middle East. This book was seemingly printed in 1514 in Fano, a city in Marche (Central Italy), the place mentioned in the colophon; nevertheless, the real place of printing is most probably Venice, as argued by some scholars on solid ground.[2] Beside the books of prayers, Gospels, Bible, etc., the Qur'ān had special prominence. The holy book of the Muslims was printed in Italy as early as the 16th century, along with grammars, such as *al-Ajurrumīya*, scientific books,

1 J. Pedersen, *The Arabic Book*, translated by Geoffrey French, Princeton, 1984 (2nd ed.), p. 131. A classical and pioneering study on Arabic printing in the West is J. Balagna, *L'Imprimerie arabe en Occident: XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Paris, 1995.

2 For a description, see G. Vercellin, *Venezia e l'origine della stampa in caratteri arabi*, Padua, 2001, p. 58–69; S. Fani, M. Farina (eds.), *Le vie delle Lettere. La Tipografia Medicea tra Roma e l'Oriente*, Florence, 2012, p. 196–199. The celebrity of the Horologion is due to its being the first Arabic book entirely printed with movable type, but the place of printing raised an extensive bibliographic debate (summarized by Vercellin, *Venezia e l'origine della stampa*, p. 65–68). An in-depth study is C. Gianni, M. Tagliabracci, "*Kitāb ṣalāt al-sawāʿī*: protagonisti, vicende ed ipotesi attorno al primo libro arabo stampato con caratteri mobili", in *Culture del testo e del documento*, 38, 2012, p. 131–185, which also contains a comparison with the Horologion printed at Bucharest in 1702, in Greek and Arabic (p. 148–149); on the debated issue of the place of printing, see the detailed analysis on p. 175–181. It is reasonable to suppose that the printer Gregorio de Gregori, whose presence in Fano is not proven, printed the Horologion in Venice but declared a fictitious place to validate the patronage of the Roman Church, which ruled central Italy at the time (as stated in Fani, Farina (eds.), *Le vie delle Lettere*, p. 196), or to circumvent the printing privilege held by another printer in Venice (as stated by Gianni, Tagliabracci, "*Kitāb ṣalāt al-sawāʿī*", p. 182).

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such as a treatise by Euclid, the *Canon* of Avicenna, and geographical works such as those of al-Idrīsī and Abū al-Fidā'.

In Italy, three notable printing presses were able to produce books in Arabic type. The best known is the Medici press (Tipografia Medicea), founded in Rome in 1584 by Ferdinando de' Medici, at the suggestion of Pope Gregory XIII, to disseminate the sacred scriptures in the East; it then moved to Pisa and Florence. The others are the printing press of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Congregatio de Propaganda Fide), founded in Rome in 1622, and the Seminary Printing Press (Tipografia del Seminario) founded in Padua in 1680, whose most remarkable product was the Qur'ān in Arabic with a Latin translation by Ludovico Marracci (1612–1700).[3] If these three are the best known, other printing presses also had the expertise and the technical means to produce books in Arabic, and in particular those operating in Venice should not be neglected. The case of Venice is noteworthy because of its role in the production and trade of books, its priority in Arabic printing, and the intriguing case of the Qur'ān entirely printed in Arabic. The only surviving copy of this Arabic printed Qur'ān is still preserved in the city, in the Franciscan Monastery of San Francesco della Vigna.[4]

2 Venice, City of the Book

The role of Venice in the production and trade of books, especially in the period of the late 15th – mid- 16th century, and again in the 18th century, should not be underrated.[5] The centrality of Venetian publishing on the international scene can be better appreciated if we consider Nuovo's comment that:

> From 1546 to 1576, Venice was almost always the principal source of books from abroad presented at Frankfurt: only once, in 1568, was it outstripped, by Antwerp. Venetians presented

3 Pedersen, *The Arabic Book*, p. 131–133. On the Medici press, see Fani, Farina (eds.), *Le vie delle Lettere*; on the Seminary Printing House in Padua, see G. Bellini, *Storia della tipografia del Seminario di Padova, 1684-1938*, Padua, 1938; on Marracci, see M. P. Pedani Fabris, "Ludovico Marracci e la conoscenza dell'Islam in Italia", *Campus Maior*, 16, 2004, p. 7–23.

4 A reference work on Arabic printing in Venice is Vercellin, *Venezia e l'origine della stampa*.

5 For a very brief overview, see the catalog of the exhibition *Venezia città del libro: cinque secoli di editoria veneta e rassegna dell'editoria italiana contemporanea, Venezia, Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore, 2 settembre–7 ottobre 1973*, Venice, 1973. A good introduction to the history of printing in Venice in the 16th century is A. Marzo Magno, *L'alba dei libri. Quando Venezia ha fatto leggere il mondo*, Milan, 2012. Also see S. Pelusi (ed.), *La civiltà del Libro e la stampa a Venezia. Testi ebraici, cristiani, islamici dal Quattrocento al Settecento*, Padua, 2000. For a detailed description of the role of Venice in the book trade, see A. Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance*, Leiden, 2013.

> an average of 52 editions each year, as compared to 32 editions from Antwerp, with Plantin alone sending an average of 14. Paris and Lyon followed at some distance.[6]

As a meaningful hint at this role, we could consider the symbol of Venice: Mark the Evangelist, protector of the city, is represented as a winged lion holding a book (St Mark's Gospel) in his paws. The priority of the printing industry in Venice cannot be understated: it dates to 1469, less than 15 years after the invention of movable type printing in Mainz. The strong interest of the government in the book manufacturing, considered an important source of income (beautiful books were highly rated and could be sold at high prices), was stirred by the Venetian defeat at Agnadello (1509) that forced the Serenissima to look for alternative sources of wealth: an economic policy and the creation of competent government bodies and specific measures, such as privileges[7] and patents, were thus crucial in supporting the book industry. Moreover, Venice had an efficient commercial network, a strategic location at the crossroad of routes going from Aleppo and Constantinople to Southampton in England, to Germany and France, and a cosmopolitan dimension: Albanians, Armenians, Dalmatians, French, Germans, Greeks, Persians, Slavs, and Turks were part of the population, and had their own fraternities and institutions. Other factors that contributed to determining the early success of Venetian publishing were the quality of the books due to the excellent kinds of paper, elegant characters, refined images, superb bindings, easy access to raw materials, and, finally, the attractiveness of the city as a cultural hub. In this connection, it is noteworthy that the first books printed in Venice were the classics, such as Cicero's *Epistles* (1469) and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1470), a sign that the book industry originated in the humanities, contrary to Germany, where the first printed book was the Bible. Only later were religious books commercially produced in Venice.[8]

In the larger context of this thriving publishing activity, printing in non-Latin type is a distinguishing feature of the book industry in Venice. In July 1489, Democrito Terracina obtained from the Venetian Republic the first privilege for printing in non-Latin characters ("in lingua arabica, morescha, soriana, armenicha

6 Nuovo, *The Book Trade*, p. 293.

7 "A privilege protected the privilege holder from competition, allowing him to use a specific novelty for his sole benefit for a specific period, in the sense that potential rivals were prohibited under the threat of various sanctions from 'doing' (fare) anything 'against' (contro) the exclusive rights conceded to the privilege holder. Such a prohibition took the character of an order on the part of the authority that had conceded the privilege" (Nuovo, *The Book Trade*, p. 198).

8 M. Zorzi, "Il libro religioso nella storia della stampa veneziana", in Pelusi (ed.), *La civiltà del Libro e la stampa a Venezia*, p. 18.

et barbarescha"): it was valid for 25 years, and was then extended until 1538. However, Terracina and his heirs never used it.[9]

The first book to contain Greek type, Cicero's *De finibus*, can be dated to 1471, and printing presses owned by Italian and Greek printers produced books of different characters (the classics, religious texts, etc.) for centuries.[10] Books in Armenian were published by the Mechitarist Congregation located on the island of San Lazzaro starting in 1512, and likewise by other printers in the city.[11] Hebrew books had a rather different story, as they were considered a threat to the faith, and the printing activity underwent difficult periods, culminating in the burning of books in St Mark's Square in 1535. However, a printing press for Hebrew books was established as early as 1475 in the suburbs of Venice, and a few months after the set-up of the Ghetto, established by a decree of the Senate of the Most Serene Republic of Venice issued on March 29, 1516, the first Hebrew book (the Pentateuch and Books of the Prophets, with a commentary) was printed in Daniel Bomberg's press.[12] All this is a token of the vibrant typographic activity in Venice during the Renaissance, and the case of Arabic books is a telling example of its diverse intellectual, technical, and economic aspects. Three case studies will now be taken into consideration: the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, the "mysterious" Venetian Qur'ān, and the multilingual calligraphic tables.

3 Case studies

3.1 *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*

The case of *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, a work ascribed to Francesco Colonna, is a good example of the lively intellectual life of Venice and the interaction between humanists and printers that is a peculiar feature of the history of printing there. Published by the famous humanist and printer Aldo Manuzio, the founder of the Aldine Press (b. in Bassiano, Lazio, c. 1449/1452 – d. in Venice, February 6, 1515),

9 On this case see, among others, the detailed analysis of Gianni, Tagliabracci, "*Kitāb ṣalāt al-sawā'ī*", p. 167–173.

10 Zorzi, "Il libro religioso nella storia della stampa veneziana", p. 22–24; for a brief overview of Greek books printed in Venice, see *Venezia città del libro*, p. 89–93.

11 For a brief outline, see Zorzi, "Il libro religioso nella storia della stampa veneziana", p. 24–25; *Venezia città del libro*, p. 97–99.

12 Zorzi, "Il libro religioso nella storia della stampa veneziana", p. 25–26; G. Tamani, "Edizioni ebraiche veneziane dei secoli XVI–XVIII", in Pelusi (ed.), *La civiltà del Libro e la stampa a Venezia*, p. 29–36; *Venezia città del libro*, p. 123–125.

the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* is one of the most famous and admired incunables. The Aldine Press, established in 1494 in Venice, whose first publication was issued in March 1495, became famous for its editions of the Latin and Greek classics, for the aesthetic quality of its type, and its innovations in typographic practices, such as the introduction of italics and the adoption of the small octavo size, an element that enormously enhanced the transportability of books and made them easier to read. Among the splendid books printed by Manuzio, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (litt., *Poliphilus's Amorous Fight in a Dream*) stands out as an amazing textual and iconographic program: defined by some as "the most beautiful printed book of all times and all countries",[13] it is an allegorical work whose authorship remains uncertain.[14] Printed in 1499 and enriched with 169 beautiful woodcuts, it is characterized by its multilingual dimension: it contains, alongside over 70 Latin, Greek, and "hieroglyphic" inscriptions, three in Arabic.[15] Noteworthy are the two epigraphs incorporated in *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*: one is bilingual Greek-Arabic, and the other, much more complex, is quadrilingual, Arabic-Hebrew-Greek-Latin.[16] The first epigraph (B 7r) contains only three words in two different scripts (Fig. 1): the words "pain and intelligence"[17] in Greek letters, placed on three lines (ΠΟΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΦΥΙΑ), and "fatigue and knowledge" in Arabic letters, placed on two lines (*tāʿāb* [*sic*] *wa-maʿrifa*). Peculiar flaws of the Arab script are the wrong position of the dot of *bāʾ*, and the missing dots of the *tāʾ marbūṭa*. More interesting are the two

13 *Venezia città del libro*, p. 9: "Il *Polifilo* è, fuor di dubbio, il più bel libro a stampa di tutti i tempi e di tutti i paesi".

14 A description in Vercellin, *Venezia e l'origine della stampa*, p. 53–57. For an in-depth study of this book in its multicultural and multilingual aspects, see A. M. Piemontese, "Le iscrizioni arabe nella *Poliphili Hypnerotomachia*", in Ch. Burnett, A. Contadini (eds.), *Islam and the Italian Renaissance*, London, 1999, p. 199–220; A. Klimkiewicz, "Cultura sincretica dell'*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* di Francesco Colonna", *Cuadernos de Filología Italiana*, 21, 2014, p. 181–194.

15 Piemontese, "Le iscrizioni arabe", p. 207, qualifies it as the first Arabic text published in print in the world ("Si ha così il primo testo arabo pubblicato a stampa nel mondo"), but this statement should be nuanced: if "Arabic" is referring to the type, the first specimen of Arabic printing in Europe is the alphabet table contained in *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* of Berhnard von Breidenbach, Mainz, 1486 (see below, section 3.3).

16 See Vercellin, *Venezia e l'origine della stampa*, p. 53–57; Piemontese, "Le iscrizioni arabe".

17 The reading of the Greek ΕΥΦΥΙΑ as "intelligence, ability to understand the world" departs from the reading of other scholars (I thank my colleague Bishara Ebeid for pointing this out). They translate "industria" (industriousness), like Piemontese, "Le iscrizioni arabe", p. 208, quoting the Italian translation on H 6r of *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* as "...prossimo al greco, ma non precisamente corrispondente dell'arabo...", and Vercellin, *Venezia e l'origine della stampa*, p. 54, or "operosità" (industriousness), as well as Klimkiewicz, "Cultura sincretica dell'*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*", p. 187. In fact, there is no discrepancy between the Greek ΕΥΦΥΙΑ and the Arabic *maʿrifa*, as the above studies suggest.

*alif*s wrongly inserted in the word *tā'āb*, probably because this was useful to make reading unambiguous by marking the vowels (usually not indicated in Arabic), and to align the word. All this considered, it seems plausible that the epigraphist was an Italian erudite and not a speaker of Arabic.[18]

The second epigraph (H 8r), which conveys a more complex and multifaceted iconographic program, is contained in the representation of three doors ("three doors or choices of the realm of Queen Telosia"),[19] each with multilingual titles written in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic (Fig. 2). The three titles in Arabic are, from right to left, *majd al-dunyā* (corresponding to the Greek ΘΕΟΔΟΞΙΑ and the Latin *Gloria Dei*), *umm al-maḥabba* (corresponding to the Greek ἘΡΩΤΟΤΡΟΦΟΣ and the Latin *Mater Amoris*), and *majd Allāh* (corresponding to the Greek ΚΟΣΜΟΔΟΞΙΑ and the Latin *Gloria Mundi*). The first and third Arabic inscriptions are inverted and do not correspond to the Greek and Latin ones mentioned immediately below. For brevity's sake, we do not intend to discuss the asymmetry of the Arabic inscriptions, but their position and dimensions are worth consideration. As already stressed by scholars, the upper position, the larger dimensions, and the magnificent calligraphic style confer to the Arabic prominence over the other languages; this prominence is echoed in the words of Beltramo Mignanelli (1370-1455), a merchant and humanist from Siena, fluent in Arabic, who stated that *nec est sub celo ydioma majus illo* ("there is no greater language under the sky").[20] This sentence is a token of the superior rank attributed to Arabic due to its circulation across three continents, which confirms the integration of Arabic into the intellectual education in humanistic circles: knowledge of Arabic and the study of Arabic texts were indeed progressively integrated into the foundations of Renaissance culture.

The religious factor was also relevant in this context: Arabic, along with Hebrew, Latin, and Syriac, were the languages shared by Christian communities, and texts such as the Psalter represented a common basis of textual comparison. The literary canon emerging from this integration included classical Latin and Greek texts along with Hebrew, Arabic, and "Chaldean" (biblical Aramaic). The case of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) and his passion for Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean studies represents the culmination of this scholarly tendency. Arabic manuscripts were thus collected and studied throughout the 15th century, notably

18 This is the hypothesis put forward by Piemontese, "Le iscrizioni arabe", p. 209, who also gives a detailed analysis of the two scriptural peculiarities of the epigraph.

19 In an ethical-philosophical context, the right side usually represents virtue, and the left side represents pleasure. The presence of the middle door indicates a third way, pointing to the importance of Venus. For this interpretation of the three doors in *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, see Klimkiewicz, "Cultura sincretica dell'*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*", p. 190–192.

20 Cf. Piemontese, "Le iscrizioni arabe", p. 211.

among the Jewish community in Sicily and the area between Tuscany, Urbino, and Rome.[21]

3.2 The Venetian Qur'ān

The case of the so-called "Venetian Qur'ān", whose rediscovery decades ago thrilled the historians of printing, can be taken as a case in point of the Venetian printers' entrepreneurial audacity and technical expertise. Information about a "mysterious" Qur'ān[22] entirely printed in Arabic in Venice in the 1530s had been circulating for decades, but no one had seen this book for centuries, and many doubted its very existence. The "Venetian Qur'ān", Thomas Erpenius stated, was lost because all the copies were burned (*exemplaria omnia cremata sunt*)[23] shortly after publication. The book thus remained shrouded in mystery until 1987, when Angela Nuovo, an Italian scholar who was carrying out a study on Paganini's typography, discovered the only extant copy of the book, printed by Alessandro Paganini between 1537 and 1538.[24] The discovery had a wide echo outside Italy and the article published by Angela Nuovo was soon translated into English and Arabic.[25]

This unique piece, mentioned in the catalog as *Alcoranus arabicus sine notis*, was at that time kept in the Franciscan Monastery of San Michele in Isola (the cemetery of Venice). Later, to protect it from humidity and secure better conservation conditions, it was moved to the library of the Franciscan Monastery of San Francesco della Vigna in Venice, where it remains to this day. How this copy arrived in Venice remains a mystery: the copy was in fact the property of Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi, an Arabist from Pavia (d. after 1540), and was later owned by Fr Mancasula de Asula, vicar of the Holy Office in Cremona and Inquisitor General of Como.[26]

The nature of the Venetian Qur'ān is debated. The printed copies were probably destroyed before being completed: in the specimen, pagination and collation are missing, and the page margins are wide, probably so conceived to be decorated later, as customary in manuscript copies of the Qur'ān. Moreover, the last

21 See Piemontese, "Le iscrizioni arabe", p. 200–206.

22 "… un mystérieux *Coran*", in Balagna, *L'Imprimerie arabe en Occident*, Paris, 1995, p. 23.

23 Cf. A. Nuovo, "La scoperta del Corano arabo, ventisei anni dopo: un riesame", *Nuovi annali della Scuola speciale per archivisti e bibliotecari*, 27, 2013, p. 13.

24 A. Nuovo, "Il Corano ritrovato" (Venezia P. e A. Paganini, tra l'agosto 1537 e l'agosto 1538)", *La Bibliofilía*, 89, 1987, p. 237–271.

25 Nuovo, "La scoperta del Corano arabo", p. 12, n. 5.

26 See M. Borrmans, "Présentation de la première édition imprimée du Coran à Venise", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 9, 1991, p. 96.

page contains the first four verses of *Sūrat al-Baqara*, without a title.[27] If, as some argue,[28] the extant copy could thus be considered a draft print (and not the Qur'ān printed in Venice in Maghribi style alluded to in the correspondence between Guillaume Postel and Tomaso degli Albonesi),[29] the Venetian Qur'ān printed by Alessandro Paganini remains to be found.[30] The hypothesis that we are dealing with a draft print was nevertheless discarded by Angela Nuovo on the basis of technical elements, such as the excellent quality of the paper, which is unjustified for a draft copy, and historical information about a printed copy of the Qur'ān brought to Constantinople by a Venetian merchant, who was sentenced to death because printing the Qur'ān was forbidden and the text was also full of errors.[31]

The reason for this risky, innovative (and visionary) enterprise seems to be exclusively commercial: the printer, Alessandro Paganini, hoped to sell the book in the Levantine market, aiming to make lavish profits. However, he seriously underestimated the scope of this venture: apart from the technical aspects (like the complexity and peculiarities of Arabic spelling and script), he did not consider the cultural context and miscalculated the commercial risks. His enterprise thus resulted in failure. An extensive examination of the text shows aesthetic, linguistic, and spelling deficiencies which are sufficient to explain why the enterprise failed. We have no information about those who collaborated to produce this Qur'ān printed with movable type, and we do not know what expertise was secured in order to achieve this operation, but is it obvious that the Arabic text cannot be the result of collaboration with a competent Arabic speaker, and that the Paganini were "victim[s] of their Oriental informants or their consultants in Oriental sciences".[32] Leaving aside the inelegant typefaces, the spelling is quite problematic: for instance, *hamza* and *mādda* are totally missing, *dāl* is systematically replaced with *dhāl*, *thā'* with *tā'*, *shadda* is used only for God's name, and *sīn* is topped by a small

27 Borrmans, "Présentation de la première édition", p. 99. Borrmans puts forward the hypothesis of an Italian humanist not entirely familiar with the Arabic script, nor with the attitude of the Muslims towards their Holy Book (p. 124).

28 A. M. Piemontese, "Il Corano latino di Ficino e i Corani arabi di Pico e Monchates", *Rinascimento*, 36, 1996, p. 257–258; Borrmans ("Présentation de la première édition", p. 123) seems to share this opinion.

29 Vercellin, *Venezia e l'origine della stampa*, p. 88; Piemontese, "Il Corano latino di Ficino", p. 257; E. Barbieri, "La tipografia araba a Venezia nel XVI secolo: una testimonianza d'archivio dimenticata", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 9, 1991, p. 130, and references therein.

30 "Quindi, se stampato in caratteri punici o maghrebini, il Corano prodotto dall'officina di Paganini resta da trovare", cf. Piemontese, "Il Corano latino di Ficino", p. 258.

31 Nuovo, "La scoperta del Corano arabo", p. 17–18.

32 Borrmans, "Présentation de la première édition", p. 98.

v or the *tanwīn* of *ḍamma*. The text contains other peculiarities, the worst of all being the total absence of *kasra* and *ḍamma*, so that the only vowel sign in the text is *fatḥa*. Other textual anomalies are also to be noticed – notably, the wrong titles of the *sūra*s, their inaccurate attribution to the Medinan or Meccan periods, and the fanciful rendering of numerals extensively written in letters. Mistakes in the spelling of words, which result in changes in the text, are so numerous and so awful that Muslims could not help but see this as a blasphemous falsification of their Holy Book.[33] The poor quality of the text was even more of a serious hindrance if we consider that forgery (*taḥrīf*) of the sacred text (which in this case would have been distributed in many copies) was considered a serious crime, and the fear of forgery was at the basis of the suspicion with which Muslims viewed printing.[34]

Alessandro Paganini was a skillful typographic technician able to print in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew type. He had developed a new book format and designed various series of typefaces. But why and how exactly did he embark on the risky project of printing the Qur'ān? This was an expensive undertaking implying elements that had to be carefully evaluated, and the risks could not be underrated: it needed over 600 different typefaces, trustworthy typesetters, proofreaders fluent in Arabic, and a reliable text of the Holy Book. The explanation should probably be sought in the Paganini family's network of relations, which included kinship with the Gabiani, wealthy and important book merchants, and the Vuković family, whose trade network extended from Dalmatia, Albania, Hungary and the Romanian Principalities to Constantinople. The printing of the Qur'ān can be explained in the broad context of the interests of a trading company with good relations in the Levant and in relation to the production of liturgical and religious books in

33 See a fine-grained description and analysis of all the mistakes in Borrmans, "Présentation de la première édition", p. 99–104.

34 See, for example, Muhsin Mahdi: "[…] the disturbing manner in which European printers took liberties with the text of the Koran (when compared to the care taken in printing the Gutenberg Bible, for instance) could not but raise doubts among Muslims regarding the virtues of printing when they first encountered the new technology. One look at the title page of the Koran printed in Hamburg in 1694 […] must have made Muslim readers of the Koran think that only the Devil himself could have produced such an ugly and faulty version of their Holy Book; and the same must have been the impression made on them by Alessandro de Paganino's Venice Koran printed in the 1530s, where the printer, perhaps following some contemporary Arabic vernacular, did not distinguish between certain letters of the alphabet, such as the *dāl* and *dhāl*", cf. M. Mahdi, "From the Manuscript Age to the Age of Printed Books", in G. N. Atiyeh (ed.), *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, Washington, DC, 1995, p. 1. See also Borrmans, "Présentation de la première édition", p. 98.

non-Latin type to be exported to the Levant as far as Costantinople.[35] Nevertheless, this solid commercial and technical background was not enough to guarantee the success of the enterprise.

3.3 Multilingual Calligraphic Tables

The case of calligraphic tables containing Arabic letters, perhaps a less-known topic, is a telling example of the relevance of Venice in the intellectual panorama of the Italian Renaissance and of its role in the diffusion of the Arabic alphabet in Italy. Printing in Arabic is not just a technical matter, but, as duly emphasized by Michele Angelo Piemontese, should be considered in the frame of the interconnected activities of travelers, informants, scientists, scholars, publishers, and printers, all creating a "network of orientalist interests".[36] The first example ever of a printed Arabic alphabet table was produced in Mainz in 1486: it is included in the *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (*Pilgrimage in the Holy Land*), the travelogue of Bernhard von Breidenbach (c. 1440–1497) describing his itinerary from Venice to Jerusalem and back (Fig. 3). The title of the table refers to the "Arabic language and letters" used by the Saracens (*Sarraceni lingua et littera utuntur Arabica hic inferius subimpressa*). The woodcut table contains thirty Arabic alphabetic signs altogether, each accompanied by the corresponding name in Latin characters. The last box on the left contains the words *wa-l-salām*, the first instance of a phrase in the Arabic language printed in Europe in Arabic type, thus predating the phrases contained in *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* printed by Aldo Manuzio in 1499.[37]

Although Venetian printers could not claim chronological primacy in this field, they undoubtedly played a crucial part in boosting Arabic printing in Italy. We have already mentioned the case of the first privilege for printing in non-Latin characters granted to Democrito Terracina in 1489: his printing press possessed a wide range of "Oriental" typefaces, which required not only the expertise of calligraphers skilled in non-Latin alphabets, but also the acquisition of manuscripts that could serve as models for designing and producing these typefaces. Between the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th century, the humanist art of

35 For all the issues related to the Qur'ān of Paganini, the context in which it originated, and the reasons for its printing, see Nuovo, "La scoperta del Corano arabo", p. 19–23, and Nuovo, *The Book Trade*, p. 79–80.

36 M. A. Piemontese, "Venezia e la diffusione dell'alfabeto arabo nell'Italia del Cinquecento", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 5–6, 1987–1988, p. 641.

37 A description of the travelogue of Bernhard von Breidenbach in Vercellin, *Venezia e l'origine della stampa*, p. 98–102 (p. 101–102 for the table).

calligraphy, already well practiced for the Latin alphabet, was implemented with "Oriental" letters. Consequently, treatises of calligraphy, both theoretical and practical, started to include the Arabic alphabet in its Oriental and Maghribi variants. The first overt manifestation of this practice is attested in Venice: in 1524, Giovanni Antonio Tagliente (c. 1465/1470 – 1527/1530), a master of writing, printed a calligraphic album entitled *Lo presente libro insegna la vera arte delo excellente scrivere de diverse varie sorti de litere, le quali se fano per geometrica ragione*, which contains a table of the Arabic alphabet (Fig. 4).[38]

Tagliente's treatise, along with others, circulated in Italy and Europe and boosted the wide circulation of Arabic alphabet tables. The table of Arabic type could be considered the first example of the Arabic alphabet not issued from a scholarly orientalist milieu.[39] Though the presence of some drawbacks (the dot of the letter *bā'* is misplaced because of clumsy carving, the *lām-alif* is split into two boxes and, as a consequence, an odd *hā'* is wrongly labelled *alif*, while the correct *hā'* is labelled as *nula*, i.e., a non-alphabetic sign), it depicts in general a faithful rendition of the Arabic letters in their isolated form. The mapping of the diffusion of the Arabic alphabet includes Persians, Arabs, Africans, Tartars (*Questo alphabetto serue a persi harabi aphricani turchi & tartari*), thus covering the "ethnic areas" where Arabic script was in use. It is worth noticing that this "ethnic" description denotes a very different approach from that of Bernhard von Breidenbach, who preferred the overarching term of "Saracens" (*Sarraceni*).[40] The number of editions and reprints testifies to the fortune of Tagliente's treatise: it was published twice in 1524, three times in 1525, and once in 1534, and there are at least thirty reprints in Venice, and at least one outside Italy (Antwerp, 1545).[41] A similar calligraphic table was included by Giovanbattista Palatino (1515–1575?), with the title *Alphabettum Arabum*, in his *Compendio del gran volume del'arte del bene et leggiadramente scriuere*, published in 1540 in Rome.[42] These two tables were useful handbooks for collectors of alphabets and people curious about foreign languages.

Another meaningful case that testifies to the vibrant activity of Venetian printers and their entrepreneurship, though less well known, is the privilege granted to Antonio Brucioli (1495–1566), a Florentine humanist exiled to Venice, where he and his brothers operated a printing press that produced Hebrew books. This

38 See a description of Tagliente's table in Vercellin, *Venezia e l'origine della stampa*, p. 76–80.

39 Piemontese, "Venezia e la diffusione dell'alfabeto arabo", p. 645.

40 As stressed by Vercellin, *Venezia e l'origine della stampa*, p. 80.

41 Piemontese, "Venezia e la diffusione dell'alfabeto arabo", p. 646.

42 See a description in Vercellin, *Venezia e l'origine della stampa*, p. 82–85. See also Piemontese, "Venezia e la diffusione dell'alfabeto arabo", p. 646–647.

privilege, dated January 15, 1544, covers an Arabic alphabet that, it is stated, was invented by Brucioli himself.[43] The document is quite interesting since it refers to a very specific series of Arabic typefaces, including ligatures, which were probably intended to reproduce cursive writing, and the different shapes taken by the letters in context. The nature of these characters remains obscure: we have no information whether Brucioli ever designed or cast type, and in those years the only printing press possessing an entire set of fonts, with all their shortcomings, was that of the Paganino family. At the current state of our knowledge, and in the absence of further information, the privilege granted to Brucioli could be taken as a hint at his desire to use, sell, or grant to other printers, in Italy or even abroad , the hypothetic fonts that he would have created. At that time, the real challenge for the international typographic market was in fact the creation of a complete set of fonts adaptable to the use of the *tashkīl* (i.e., the use of orthographic signs to indicate vowels, which are added to letters to aid pronunciation, as only consonants are usually written in Arabic script). The printer who could have manufactured it would have made a fortune from this. The mystery remains to be solved, but this minor episode adds another piece to the mosaic that depicts the attractiveness of Venice as a cultural hub, the entrepreneurial spirit of its printers, and the breadth of vision of the actors of the Venetian publishing market.

43 See Barbieri, “La tipografia araba a Venezia”.

Fig. 1: *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1499. Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse, B 7r (https://gallica.bnf.fr).

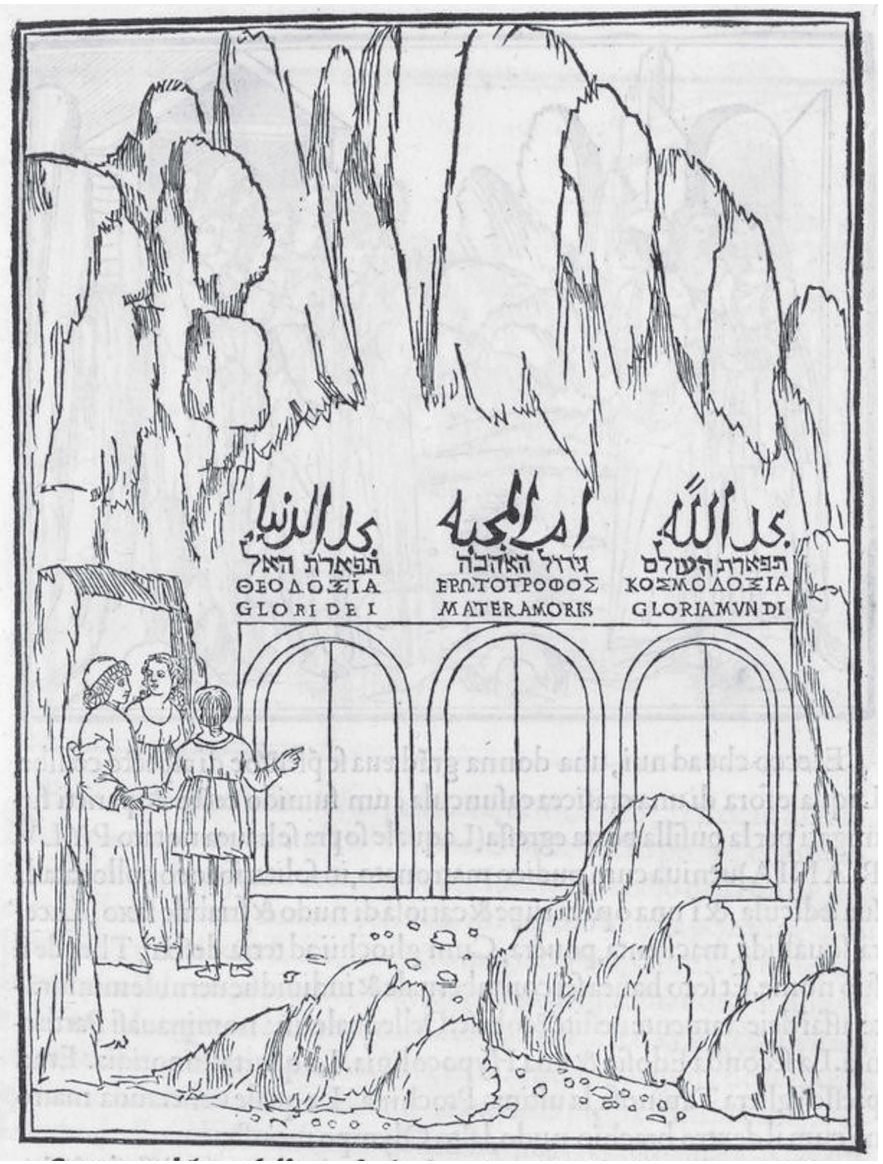

Fig. 2: *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1499. Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse, H 8r (https://gallica.bnf.fr).

Fig. 3: Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, Mainz, Erhard Reuwich, 1486. Bibliothèque municipale de Grenoble, I 3r (https://gallica.bnf.fr).

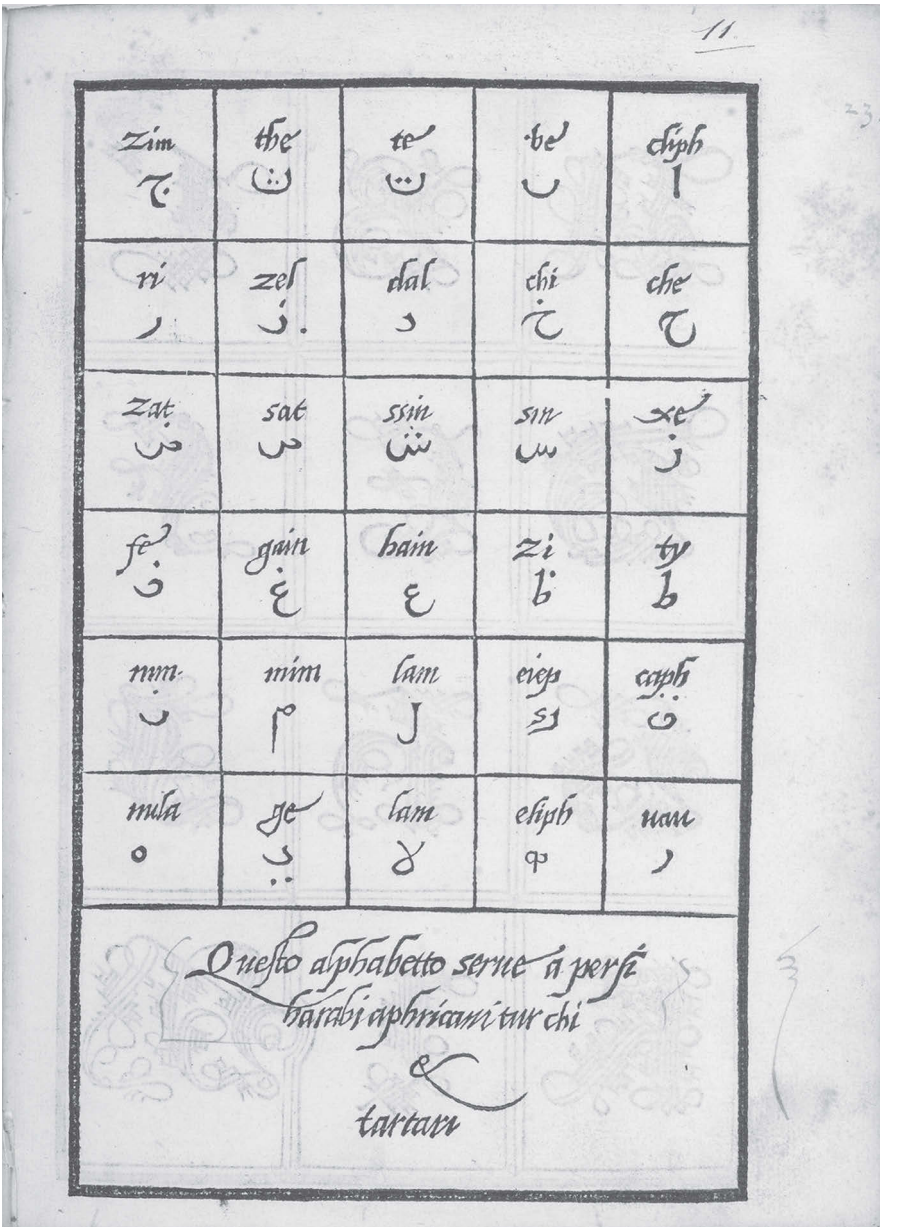

Fig. 4: Giovanni Antonio Tagliente, *Lo Presente libro insegna la vera arte delo excellente scrivere de diverse varie sorti de litere, le quali se fano per geometrica ragione… Opera del Tagliente novamente composta… nel anno…MDXXIIII*, Antwerp, 1545. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Arsenal, 4-S-3924 (1), E 1v (https://gallica.bnf.fr).

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Joseph Moukarzel

The First Arabic Book Printed in Lebanon in 1734: A Codicological and Historical Approach

1 Introduction

This chapter examines the codicological and historical aspects of *Mīzān al-zamān wa qisṭās abadīyat al-insān*, the first Arabic book printed in Lebanon in 1734. Authored by the Spanish Jesuit Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, the book underwent multiple translations before its publication in Arabic. It explores the translations, revisions, and adaptations surrounding Nieremberg's seminal work, shedding light on intersections of religion, culture, and intellectual exchange. Renowned for its contemplation of the eternal and temporal realms, *Mīzān al-zamān* stands as a testament to Jesuit scholarship, shaped by translators, printers, and scholars across centuries and continents. Delving into the nuances of translation and adaptation, the article uncovers the socio-cultural contexts informing each edition. It investigates the historical circumstances of the translation, printing and dissemination of the book, offering insights into the Levant's intellectual landscape in the 18th century. By tracing *Mīzān al-zamān*'s reception and influence in Eastern and Western intellectual circles, this study illuminates its path before becoming part of the Mediterranean basin's cross-cultural exchange.

Numerous studies on the Arab cultural resurgence, often referred to as the Renaissance (*Nahḍa*), place this movement as early as the end of the 18th century. They correlate it with significant events, including the French campaign in Egypt (1798–1801), the arrival of Protestant missionaries in the Levant, the Ottoman *Tanzimat* reforms, and the widespread proliferation and democratization of newspapers, printing presses, schools, and universities, notably in Beirut and other major Ottoman urban centers across the Middle East.[1] Upon closer scrutiny of the history of book production in the Levant, the portrayal of the Arab Renaissance in this timeline seems both incomplete and tendentious.[2] As demonstrated in the following para-

1 A. Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798–1939*, Cambridge, 1983; P. Hill, *Utopia and Civilisation in the Arab Nahda*, Cambridge, 2019.

2 For a comprehensive survey of the history of book production in the Levant, see: W. Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie: Évolution de l'environnement culturel*

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graphs, the Levantine individuals and communities had already embarked on the trajectory of the Renaissance by the 17th century.

Notwithstanding the commencement of Arabic book publication in the West with the release of the Horologion (Book of Hours) of Fano in 1514,[3] a significant advancement unfolded with the Maronites of Mount Lebanon. Concurrently publishing their Syriac and Garshuni liturgical books in the West,[4] they ushered in a pivotal moment by introducing the Syriac-type printing press to the Levant, publishing the Book of Psalms in Qozhaya in 1610.[5] This development marked a transformative shift in the region's printing landscape, which would await nearly a century before experiencing another significant metamorphosis, this time centered in Aleppo and spearheaded by the Orthodox Patriarch Athanasios Dabbās. At the outset, he initiated the printing of liturgical books for his community in Wallachia with the technical and financial backing of the Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu.[6] Subsequently, armed with similar patronage, printing tools, matrices, and Arabic type, he established the first Arabic printing press in Aleppo in 1706.[7]

(1706–1787), Tunis, 1985; C.-M. Walbiner, "The Christians of Bilād al-Shām (Syria): Pioneers of Book-Printing in the Arab World", in K. Kreiser (ed.), *The Beginning of Printing in the Near and Middle East: Jews, Christians and Muslims*, Wiesbaden, 2001, p. 11–29; A. Ayalon, *The Arabic Print Revolution: Cultural Production and Mass Readership*, Cambridge, 2016; I. Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands. The East-European Connection*, Berlin/Boston, 2023.

3 See, for example, P. K. Hitti, "The First Book Printed in Arabic", *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, vol. 4/1, 1942, p. 5–9; M. Krek, "Was the First Arabic Book Really Printed at Fano?", *MELA Notes*, 10, 1977, p. 11–16, 26.

4 For a historical overview of this period, see various articles in C. Aboussouan (dir.), *Le Livre et le Liban jusqu'à 1900*, Paris, 1982; N. Gemayel, *Les échanges culturels entre les Maronites et l'Europe: du Collège Maronite de Rome (1584) au Collège de Ayn Warqa (1789)*, t. I–II, Beirut, 1984. See also P. Dib, *History of the Maronite Church*, transl. by S. Beggiani, Detroit, 1965, p. 207–214, for the edition of liturgical books among the Maronites.

5 The adventure of publishing this book is described in J. Moukarzel, "Le Psautier syriaque-garchouni édité à Qozhaya en 1610. Enjeux historiques et présentation du livre", *MUSJ*, 63, 2010–2011, p. 511–566. Its reception in the West is recounted in C. Walbiner, "The Collection, Perception and Study of Arabic Incunabula from the Near East in Europe (17th – early 19th Centuries)", in R. Dipratu, S. Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond. First Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project*, Berlin/Boston, 2024, p. 191–207 (here, 192–196).

6 H. Kilpatrick, "From Venice to Aleppo: Early Printing of Scripture in the Orthodox World", *Chronos*, 30, 2014, p. 33–61; I. Feodorov, "Beginnings of Arabic Printing in Ottoman Syria (1706–1711): The Romanians' Part in Athanasius Dabbās's Achievements", *ARAM*, 25, 2013, 1&2, p. 231–260; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 143–162, 255–262.

7 J. Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban*, Harissa, 1949, p. 15–25; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 162–186, 263–285. On the ecclesiastical and missionary context in the Levant at the time, especially in Aleppo, see B. Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche Orient au*

This expansion of printing capabilities came about amid heightened tensions caused by the Uniate movement and ongoing frictions between Orthodox and Catholics.[8] Consequently, the Aleppo native ʿAbdallāh Zākhir,[9] a longtime convert and supporter of the Uniates,[10] who had worked with Patriarch Dabbās in the Aleppo press before becoming one of his opponents,[11] fled Aleppo to the monastery of Shuwayr in Mount Lebanon in late 1722.[12]

The arrival of Zākhir in Shuwayr marked the onset of a significant era in the annals of Arabic printing. He was welcomed there by his first cousin and confidant, Fr Nicolas Ṣāyegh, who played a pivotal role in boosting Abdallah's resolve

temps de la réforme catholique, XVII–XVIIIe siècles, Rome, 1994, p. 273–510. On the cultural revival in Aleppo, see H. Kilpatrick, "From *Literatur* to *Adab*. The Literary Renaissance in Aleppo around 1700," *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, 58, 2006, p. 195–220.

8 Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban*, p. 26–27; P. Bacel, "Abdallah Zakher: ses premiers travaux (1680–1722)", *Échos d'Orient*, 11, 1908, p. 225–226; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 218–219.

9 References describing the life and work of Zākhir are uncertain and are either painted under the romantic aspect or under the whip of controversy. In general, sources recounting Zākhir's life belong to three groups, the first of which consists of historical fragments taken from his letters, works, and the *Annals* and archive of the Congregation of the Shuwayr monks. The other two groups appeared in the early 20th century and are suspected of forgery or excessive exaggeration. The first group was probably "created" by Bacel in his articles published in *Échos d'Orient* in 1908. The second is a biography attributed to Yuwākīm Muṭrān, one of Zākhir's disciples, "discovered" in the late 19th century and edited twice, in 1913 and 1948. These later groups were determined to defend Zākhir's Catholicism from the time of his childhood and his sole responsibility in the founding of the Shuwayr press. Thus, the documents and references related to the life and work of Zākhir deserve a new critical approach. Among the studies dealing with Zākhir's life and work, we can mention *GCAL* III, p. 191–201; Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie au Liban,* p. 154–157; *HMLÉM* IV.2, p. 111–138, 322; J. Kahale, *Abdallah Zakher el-Halabi: inventeur de l'imprimerie arabe en Orient,* Arabic and French edition, Alep, 2006; J.-P. Ghobrial, "The Ottoman World of ʿAbdallah Zakher. Shuwayr Bindings in the Arcadian Library", in G. Mandelbrote and W. de Bruijn (eds.), *The Arcadian Library: Bindings and Provenance*, Oxford, 2014, p. 193–231; R. el Gemayel, "Abd Allah Zakhir", in *CMR* 12, p. 101–107; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 209–226.

10 In a letter to Zākhir, Pierre Fromage declares that the latter converted thanks to the Jesuits. T. Jock, *Jésuites et Chouérites ou la fondation des religieuses basiliennes chouérites de Notre-Dame de l'Annonciation à Zouq-Mikaïl (Liban), 1730–1746*, Central Falls, [1936], p. 363.

11 Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban*, p. 21, 27. There is no material evidence of Zākhir working at the Aleppo workshop. If Nasrallah and other writers claim this apprenticeship, the biographies of Zākhir claim his own skillful ability to establish the Shuwayr printing press. The only attested information about this matter is that Zākhir asked someone to bring him some "material" from Aleppo to finish the installation of his printing press. See *Annals of Shuwayr* in the manuscript OBA 1163 of the Aleppo Basilian Order, Ṣarba, Lebanon, f. 30.

12 P. Bacel, "Abdallah Zakher et son imprimerie arabe", *Échos d'Orient*, 11, 1908, p. 281–287 (here, p. 281); Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban*, p. 27.

and provided him with the necessary space and support to establish his printing press.[13] In Mount Lebanon, Zākhir went through several places before settling at the monastery of Shuwayr, where he dedicated himself to diligently preparing for the establishment of an Arabic press.[14] While he was still in Aleppo, Zākhir built a fruitful, longstanding friendship and partnership with the Jesuit Pierre Fromage (d. 1740).[15] Together, they undertook the task of translating spiritual literature from Western languages, with Zākhir taking on the responsibility of refining the Arabic language; this continued in Lebanon and culminated in the successful printing of nine books in Shuwayr[16] before Zākhir's passing in 1748.[17]

Following these collaborative efforts, the pinnacle of the Fromage – Zākhir translation project and the establishment of the new Shuwayr press resulted in the

13 On Nicolas Ṣāyegh, see P. Bacel, "Nicolas Saigh religieux chouérite (1692–1756)", *Échos d'Orient*, 11, 1908, p. 71–76, 154–161; *HMLÉM* IV.2, p. 109–111, 268–270.

14 The origin of the Shuwayr press remains a subject of debate, particularly concerning the involvement of Zākhir and the Jesuits, as well as its connection to Dabbās's project in Aleppo. For further insights, see Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban*, p. 26–45, and Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 209–226. Furthermore, P. Bacel, "La congrégation des basiliens chouérites", *Échos d'Orient*, 6, 1903, p. 174–183, 242–248, and *Échos d'Orient*, 7, 1904, p. 353–358; C.-M. Walbiner, "Monastic Reading and Learning in Eighteenth Century Bilad al Sham: Some Evidence from the Monastery of al Shuwayr (Mount Lebanon)", *Arabica*, 51, 2004, p. 462–477, offer depictions of the religious life of the Shuwayr community. In addition, C.-M. Walbiner, "Die Bibliothek des Dair Mar Yuhanna ash-Shuwair / Libanon", in P. Bruns (ed.), *Sonderdruck aus Orientalia Christiana. Festschrift für Hubert Kaufhold zum 70 Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden, 2013, p. 569–583, provides a detailed description of the library of the Shuwayr monastery.

15 On Fromage and his works, see C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 12 tomes, facsimile reproduction, Louvain, 1960, t. 3, col. 1039–1044; L. Shaykhū, *Kitāb al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya li-katabat al-naṣrānīya*, Beirut, 1924, p. 164–165 (n° 619); *GCAL* IV, p. 223–231.

16 Two letters exchanged between Zākhir and Fromage summarize the entire relationship that wove them together in the translation of Western books and in the operation of the Shuwayr press. Fromage's letter to Zākhir is dated January 22, 1740, and Zākhir's reply is dated October 22 of the same year. See Jock, *Jésuites et Chouérites*, p. 351–356 (summary of Zākhir's relationship with the Jesuits of Aleppo), p. 357–369 (Fromage's letter to Zākhir), and p. 370–493 (Zākhir's response to Fromage). For the list of the books published by Zākhir, see Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban*, p. 37–39; Ghobrial, "The Ottoman World"; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 215–216. A complete detailed list is given in A. Ṣfayr, *Maṭbaʿat al-Shuwayr al-maṭbaʿa al-ʿarabīya al-ūlā (1733–1899): Fihris al-maṭbūʿāt al-mufaṣṣal*, Master thesis, Holy Spirit University of Kaslik, Lebanon, 2019 (not published).

17 On Zākhir last days, see P. Bacel, "Dernières années d'Abdallah Zakher", *Échos d'Orient*, 11, 1908, p. 363–372; Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban*, p. 34–36.

publication of the book *Mīzān al-zamān*, marking a historic milestone as the first Arabic book printed in Lebanon.[18]

In honor of the Shuwayr enterprise and in fulfilment of the objectives of the TYPARABIC project hosted by the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest, this article pays tribute to *Mīzān al-zamān*.

2 History and Purpose of the Original Text, *De la Diferencia entre lo Temporal y Eterno*

Renowned as the "Jesuit polymath of Madrid", Father Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595–1658), a Jesuit priest, theologian and mystic, earned acclaim for his extensive literary oeuvre spanning diverse domains such as philosophy, theology, asceticism, and spirituality. Notably, his seminal work, *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno*,[19] attained widespread recognition as a cornerstone of ascetic literature, emblematic of Nieremberg's profound influence on the Jesuit mission for the redemption of souls.[20] His scholarly reputation among the Spanish Jesuits of the 17th–18th centuries is underscored by the dissemination of his works in multiple languages, paralleling the esteemed legacy of contemporaries such as Alonso Rodriguez, Luis de la Puente and Francisco de Salazar.[21]

Through his treatise, Nieremberg endeavors to imbue readers with a profound and existential understanding of this dichotomy, delving into the contemplation of the ramifications of eternal life, whether in celestial bliss or infernal torment. He underlines the temporal realm's instrumental role in attaining communion with the divine, ultimately culminating in eternal felicity alongside the Creator.

18 For a detailed study of the content and the historical background, see C. Walbiner, "The appearance of Nieremberg's *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno* in Arabic 1734", in A. Girard, B. Heyberger, V. Kontouma (eds.), *Livres et confessions chrétiennes orientales*, Brepols, 2023, p. 427–440; Walbiner, "The Christians of Bilād al-Shām", p. 26–27.

19 *De la diferencìa entre el temporal y eterno: crisol de desengaños con la memoria de la eternidad, postrimerìas humanas y principales misterios divinos*. It was published for the first time in 1640 (Madrid: María de Quiñones).

20 S. Hendrickson, *Jesuit Polymath of Madrid: The Literary Enterprise of Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595–1658)*, Leiden, 2015, p. 131.

21 X. Baró Queralt, "Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595–1658) en la Italia Barroca: Difusión y circulación de su obra *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno: Crisol de desengaños* (1640)", *Revista Catalana de Teologia*, 43/1, 2018, p. 125–141 (here, p. 129–130).

Drawing inspiration from the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola,[22] Nieremberg's treatise reflects Neoplatonic influences, elucidating the struggle between transient materiality and enduring spiritual truth.[23] Moreover, echoes of Neostoic principles are discernible, idealizing the spiritual quest amidst life's illusory trappings.[24] The treatise portrays human existence as a sacred pilgrimage through the ephemeral confines of temporal reality, aspiring towards the boundless realms of eternity. Emphasizing the futility and transience of worldly pursuits, Nieremberg stresses the imperative of transcending temporal attachments, recognizing their propensity to engender spiritual decay and moral ruin.

In his treatise, Nieremberg expounds upon the divine purpose of humanity as ordained by God, positing that mankind's purpose lies in the exaltation, reverence, and service of the Creator, thus securing salvation. Concurrently, Nieremberg asserts that the earthly elements are crafted to aid humanity in fulfilling its divine calling. Consequently, individuals are enjoined to employ worldly possessions to the extent that they facilitate their spiritual journey, while discarding those that hinder it, thereby discerning the dichotomy between the ephemeral and the eternal in the pursuit of life's ultimate meaning.

Here is a summary of the content of *Mīzān al-zamān*, following Baró Queralt's outline.

1. The first treatise or book (*maqāla*) reflects broadly on the concept of eternity and the notion of time, focusing particularly on the profound impact of the passing of time. Nieremberg juxtaposes the miseries of earthly existence and the transience of material possessions with the splendor of eternal life. He advocates for a vigorous deconstruction of the material realm to unveil and construct the ideal image of the spiritual domain.
2. The second treatise portrays a vivid image of the end of temporal life and the apocalypse. Nieremberg asserts that death lies solely in the hands of God, depicting, in the style of the era, the grim realities of human mortality and bodily decay. He contends that humanity is sentenced to death from conception, urging readers to contemplate these ugly truths and recognize the impermanence inherent in all aspects of life.
3. The third treatise emphasizes the mutability and sorrow of temporal existence. Amid reflections on the evils of war and the temporality of human life, Nieremberg presents a positive interpretation of temporal suffering, highlighting its

22 S. Hendrickson, *Jesuit Polymath of Madrid*, p. 42.
23 S. Hendrickson, *Jesuit Polymath of Madrid*, p. 45.
24 S. Hendrickson, *Jesuit Polymath of Madrid*, p. 49.

fleeting and changeable nature. He suggests that temporary afflictions, being subject to change, offer the consolation of hope for improvement.

4. Treatise 4 delves into the magnitude of eternity and juxtaposes it with the eternal damnation of hell. Detailed explanations of the torments and punishments of hell are provided, alongside mentions of the bliss experienced by those who gain paradise.
5. The final book reiterates the distinction between the temporal and the eternal, advocating for the contempt toward temporality. It concludes with a clear reference to the charity of God, urging believers to focus on this divine attribute.

De la diferencia enjoyed immense reception, with over 75 editions in Spanish and numerous translations across Europe from the 17th to the 19th century.[25] It found its way to the Americas alongside missionaries, serving as a catechetical text, and was printed in various indigenous languages, including Guaraní.[26] Nieremberg's work proved to be one of the most potent tools of the Catholic Counter-Reformation in Europe, so much so that the renowned painter Juan de Valdés Leal depicted it around 1671 in his painting *San Ignacio y San Francisco de Borja contemplando la Eucaristía* or *Alegoría de la Eucaristía*. In this painting, positioned at the saints' feet are two books: the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola and Nieremberg's *De la diferencia*.[27]

3 Physical Description of USEK's Copy of *Mīzān al-zamān*

3.1 General Aspect

Our physical description of *Mīzān al-zamān* is based on the copy held at the Library of the Holy Spirit University of Kaslik in Lebanon, identified by shelf number Pat 1049.[28] This volume consists of 375 pages, with the initial thirteen unnumbered (XIII + 362).[29] The format is in-4°, measuring 219 x 161 mm, while the binding, measuring 225 x 171 x 37 mm, is crafted from black goat leather. Adhering to the Euro-

25 S. Hendrickson, *Jesuit Polymath of Madrid*, p. 131.

26 S. Hendrickson, *Jesuit Polymath of Madrid*, p. 126.

27 S. Hendrickson, *Jesuit Polymath of Madrid*, p. 127. The canvas is preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts in Seville.

28 I am grateful to Essine Gemayel for helping in this section.

29 The copy of Kaslik has two end papers, one at the beginning and the other at the end. The unpaged folios contain the prologue, introduction, and table of contents. Pagination begins with the start of the first treatise.

pean aesthetics, the binding decoration employs the blind finishing technique, and the book's sections are sewn with embedded cords in four segments, featuring end bands. The paper bears a watermark of the "grape and crown" variety, indicative of its probable French origin, with the name of the papermaker A. Gailhardon associated with its production in Provence between 1702 and 1740, as documented by Briquet.[30] The prevalence of the "grape" paper type suggests its widespread exportation to the Levant during the 17th–18th centuries, indicative of the commerce and cultural exchange that flourished between European papermakers and Levantine markets during this period.[31]

3.2 Layout of the Book

The layout of the book exudes elegance and uniformity. The text is delicately framed by an oblong rectangle formed by double frames, with the outer frame thicker than the inner one (Fig. 1). Additionally, headers and catchwords adorn the pages, enhancing the overall aesthetics. In the unnumbered sheets [I–XV], the header of each page contains the title word that marks the beginning of the respective section. For instance, the word *al-fātiḥa* ("Preface") graces the headers of pages [I–III], while page [IV], hosting the end of the preface, features the header word *al-muqaddima* ("Introduction"), a section that commences on this page and extends to pages [IV–VIII]. A similar pattern is observed on page [VIII], where the introduction ends and the table of contents begins, with the word *fihris* ("Contents") adorning the header of the page. Furthermore, catchwords are carefully placed at the end of each page, situated on the left and below the frame that encloses the main printed text.

3.3 Punctuation of the Book

As for the punctuation, the text adopts a star as a single sign system (Fig. 2). Additionally, short vowels, including *shadda*, *tanwīn* -an, *tanwīn* -in, *fatḥa*, and *kasra*, are carefully incorporated throughout the text. The text also showcases various calligraphic styles, particularly in marking final letters (Fig. 3). Furthermore, the

30 C. Briquet, *Les filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, t. IV. *P-Z*, Hildesheim, 1991, p. 646.

31 T. Walz, "The Paper Trade of Egypt and the Sudan in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries and its Re-export to the Bilād as-Sūdān", in G. Krätli, G. Lydon (eds.), *The Trans-Saharan Book Trade: Manuscript Culture, Arabic Literacy and Intellectual History in Muslim Africa*, Leiden, 2012, p. 83–84.

typographic style occasionally employs a *yā' maqṣūra* to signify the final *yā'*, and vice-versa (Fig. 4). Notably, the prologue, introduction and table of contents, along with the titles of treaties and chapters, feature a larger, stylized font compared to the rest of the text, adding to their visual distinction.

3.4 The Arabic Type

Zākhir's Arabic type was hailed as a typographic triumph, with even critical observers such as Volney acknowledging its excellence. Volney remarked that the Arabic letters were so impeccable and aesthetically pleasing that even Zākhir's adversaries were tempted to purchase his book.[32] Furthermore, Volney noted that these letters effectively replicated handwriting, faithfully capturing its bold and intricate strokes, unlike the thin and disjointed appearance of the Arabic type commonly seen in books printed in Europe.[33]

3.5 Decoration

The decoration of the book embraces simplicity, drawing inspiration mostly from a unique ornamental motif (Fig. 5). In the table of contents, treatise numbers and chapter titles are flanked by this motif's elegant lines. Similarly, the frontispiece and the beginning of each treatise feature three bands adorning the top and sides, while the bottom is left unembellished. Additionally, the conclusion of the table of contents, as well as several treatises and chapters, are demarcated by centered lines bordered by the same refined motif.[34] Notably, a full-page cross (on p. [XIII]) is meticulously crafted from this fundamental decorative element, with a slightly different motif for the outer rectangle (Fig. 6). An exception to this uniformity is found on p. [XII], where a delicate floral vignette, reminiscent of bouquets seen in the earlier editions of Aleppo, introduces a touch of artistic variation (Fig. 7).[35]

32 C.-F. Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte pendant les années 1783, 1784 et 1785…*, Paris, 1787, vol. 2, p. 177.

33 Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, vol. 2, p. 177.

34 P. [XII], 6, 77, 84, 113, 160, 163, 176, 184, 224, 227, 273, 288, 311, 345, and 362.

35 It is present in the Gospel with commentaries published in Aleppo in 1706, in the *Chosen Pearls of John Chrysostom* (Aleppo, 1707), in the Octoechos and the *Sermons* of Athanasios of Jerusalem (both Aleppo, 1711). I thank Oana Iacubovschi for this valuable information.

3.6 Title Page and Chapters

The absence of a title page in this copy of the book is notable. Instead, the book commences directly with the prologue, which begins with the customary *basmala*. The title, *Mīzān al-zamān wa-qisṭās abadīyat al-insān*, is disclosed within the prologue on p. [II]. The author's name, Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, is prominently displayed at the beginning of the introduction on page [III]. The Shuwayr Monastery, the place of printing, is indicated at the conclusion of the prologue on pages [II-III], accompanied by the pivotal date of 1733, marking the commencement of printing, on page [III]. Concluding the book on page 362, the year 1734 is inscribed, which indicates the completion of the printing.

Mīzān al-zamān comprises several sections, including the prologue spanning p. [I–III], followed by the introduction on p. [III–VII], and the table of contents on p. [VII–XII]. The book announces five treatises (*maqāla*) containing a total of fifty-three chapters (*faṣl*), organized as outlined below.

Treatise 1: Expounds on the distinction between the temporal and eternal across thirteen chapters, covering pages 1–84.

Treatise 2: Discusses the differentiation between the temporal and the eternal concerning the purpose of temporal life and time, in nine chapters spanning pages 85–176.

Treatise 3: Examines the disparity between the temporal and the eternal concerning the alteration of temporal phenomena, its limitations, and associated risks, in ten chapters, on pages 177–231.

Treatise 4: Analyses the contrast between the temporal and the eternal concerning the significance of eternal rewards and eternal punishments, in twelve chapters covering pages 232–311.

Treatise 5: Explores the differentiation between the temporal and the eternal regarding the means bestowed by God upon humanity to attain eternal rewards and answers for disparaging temporal matters, in nine chapters, on pages 312–362.

4 Prologue and Introduction

The prologue of *Mīzān al-zamān* articulates the rationale behind printing the book. It emphasizes the necessity for Christians to possess a potent instrument enabling them to discern between good and evil, to distinguish the earthly matters from the eternal ones, to pursue salvation, and to steer clear of straying from the righteous path. The text draws parallels with the practices of saints, fathers, hermits, and

martyrs who navigated the world with the aim of attaining eternal life. It urges readers to benefit from the contents of the book for similar aspirations.

In the introduction, the narrative shifts towards the biography of the author, Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1590–1658), a Spanish Jesuit of German descent. However, the depiction of Nieremberg's life in the Shuwayr edition reveals several inconsistencies when juxtaposed with conventional biographies of the author.[36] It is conceivable that Pierre Fromage drew upon the account of Nieremberg published in the *Journal de Trévoux* in 1708, as indicated by significant parallels in various aspects of the biography. [37]

5 The Date and Place of Printing

The Shuwayr edition of *Mīzān al-zamān* is marked with two significant dates: one indicating the commencement of printing in 1733 (p. [III]), subtly referenced,[38] and the other denoting the completion of the printing process on February 16, 1734, explicitly stated at the conclusion of the book colophon (p. 362).[39] It is worth noting that the Greek Catholics gradually transitioned to the Gregorian calendar starting in 1857.[40] Consequently, it remains uncertain whether the dates of Shuwayr adhered to the Gregorian or Julian calendar systems, with February 16 potentially corresponding to Saturday, February 27, 1734, in the Gregorian calendar.

The place of publication is explicitly identified on pages [II]–[III] of the prologue as the Saint John the Baptist Monastery, commonly known as the Shuwayr Monastery, situated in the Druze Mountains within the eyalet of Sidon.[41]

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36 On Nieremberg and his works, see C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie*, t. 5, col. 1725–1766; t. 9, col. 720–721; t. 12, col. 1166–1167; H. Didier, *La vie et la pensée de Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595–1658)*, Université de Paris IV, Paris, 1974 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis), t. 1, p. 39–81; Hendrickson, *Jesuit Polymath of Madrid*, p. 9-50.

37 "Article CLXIX. Traité de la différence du Tems et de l'Éternité; composé par le P. Eusèbe Nieremberg de la Compagnie de Jésus, traduit de l'Espagnol par le R. P. Jean Brigon de la même Compagnie, avec des règles pour conduire à la perfection Chrétienne, tirées du même Père Nieremberg", *Journal de Trévoux*, t. 8, décembre 1708, p. 2087–2093.

38 *Sanat alf wa-sab'a māya wa-thalātha wa-thalathīn li-l-tajassud al-ilāhī.*

39 *Wa-qad tamma ṭab'u hadhā al-kitāb fī al-yawm al-sādis 'ashar min shahr ishbāṭ sanat alf wa-sab'a māya wa-arba'a wa-thalathīn li-l-tajassud wa-l-ḥamdu li-l-lāh waḥda-hu.*

40 S. Najm, "The Imposing of the Gregorian Calendar and its Impact on Levantine Christians: Local Dynamics and Foreign Interferences (1857–1864)", *Annals*, 12, 2021–2022, p. 254–292.

41 *Fī jabal al-Drūz min mu'āmalat Ṣaydā*: the eyalet of Sidon, including the territories of Beirut, was created in 1660. Its mountain hinterland is often referred to as the Druze Mountain (*jabal al-Drūz*) and comprised several *nahiyes*, among them Kesrwan, where the monastery of Shuwayr

6 The Italian Antigraph of the Book

As noted in the prologue of *Mīzān al-zamān* (p. [II]), it is stated that the Arabic version printed in Shuwayr was derived from Italian. Notably, Italian publishers displayed considerable interest in Nieremberg's works, particularly *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno*. From 1653 to 1693, over a span of 40 years,[42] at least eleven Italian editions of this work were published. The Italian translation was achieved by the Jesuit Anton Giulio Brignole Sale (1605–1662), who released his translation in Genoa in 1653.[43]

Nevertheless, it is crucial to note that the Italian translation was not a strictly literal or literary rendition, but it was rather more a text adapted to the prevailing Italian mindset of the era. In his prefatory notes, Anton Giulio Brignole Sale acknowledges modifying the text's formulations and condensing lengthy passages deemed unnecessary or incompatible with the tastes of an Italian audience.[44] Mazzocchi's analysis offers numerous examples illustrating instances where the Italian translator omitted, condensed, or even rephrased sections from the original Spanish text.[45]

If the Arabic translation of Shuwayr draws indeed from the Italian version, it would likely involve some degree of adaptation and condensation. To illustrate the nuances of phrasing adjustments, abbreviations, and textual alterations, as content transitions from Spanish to Italian, and eventually to Arabic, we highlight the following examples, which represent significant shifts in the text.

1. The title of Chapter 1 of the first treatise undergoes modifications as it transitions from Spanish to Italian, and finally to Arabic. In the original Spanish version, the title reads "La ignorancia que ay de los bienes verdaderos, y no solo de las cosas eternas, sino de las temporales",[46] which can be translated as "The ignorance of true goods, not only of eternal things, but also of temporal ones." The Italian translation abbreviates this title to "Della differenza trà il

lies, located in the far north. This administrative system ceased in 1841; see A.-R. Abu-Husayn, "Problems in the Ottoman Administration in Syria during the 16th and 17th Centuries: The Case of the Sanjak of Sidon – Beirut", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 24, 1992, p. 666, 673.

42 Baró Queralt, "Juan Eusebio Nieremberg", p. 136–137.

43 Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie*, t. 5, col. 1740; G. Mazzocchi, "Note sulla fortuna italiana e lombarda di Padre Juan Eusebio Nieremberg", *Studia Borromaica*, 13, 1999, p. 59.

44 Baró Queralt, "Juan Eusebio Nieremberg", p. 138.

45 Mazzocchi, "Note sulla fortuna italiana e lombarda di Padre Juan Eusebio Nieremberg", p. 59–64.

46 J. E. Nieremberg, *De la Diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno crisol de desengaños, con la memoria de la Eternidad, prostrimerias humanas, y principales Misterios divinos*, Barcelona, 1643, p. 1.

Temporale, e l'Eterno,"[47] which translates to "On the difference between the Temporal and the Eternal." Finally, the Arabic edition presents it as *Fī al-zamanī w-al-abadī*,[48] which conveys a similar meaning of "On the temporal and the eternal". These variations in the title reflect not only linguistic differences but also potential differences in emphasis or interpretation between the translators. The Spanish title appears to focus on the concept of ignorance regarding true goods, whereas the Italian title emphasizes the distinction between the temporal and the eternal. While aligned with the theme, the Arabic title may render nuances specific to the Arabic language and cultural context.

2. In the title of the Chapter V of the first treatise, the Arabic version appends the epithet "Areopagite"[49] after the name of Denis, potentially for clearer identification. In contrast, both the Spanish and the Italian texts incorporate the epithet within the content of the chapter rather than including it in the title.[50]
3. Similarly, the same observation extends to the Arabic title of Chapter VI of the first treatise. Here, the Arabic version adds in the title the epithet "the Christian philosopher"[51] after the name of Boethius, again for identification purposes. However, both the Spanish and the Italian versions omit this epithet altogether.[52] Furthermore, the Italian text begins with the phrase "Facciamoci ad udire la opinione che Severino Boezio e Polotino filosofi grandi amandue, ed il primiero non minore Teologo, protano intorno all'eternità. *Presso il Boezio l'eternità é una…*"[53] which introduces the philosophical perspectives of Boethius and Plotinus on eternity. This introductory passage is absent in the Arabic text, which commences with "Boethius, the Christian philosopher and theologian, says that eternity…".[54]
4. In Chapter VIII of the first treatise, within a commentary on Habakkuk, "The ancient mountains crumbled, and the age-old hills collapsed" (*Habakuk* 3:6), the Italian text offers the example of Atlantis and Olympus.[55] In contrast, the Arabic version attributes this to the Mountains of Lebanon, presenting a different geographical reference.[56]

47 J. E. Nieremberg, *La Differenza fra il temporale, e l'eterno*, Genoa, 1653, p. 1.
48 *Mīzān al-zamān*, p. 1.
49 *Mīzān al-zamān*, p. 28.
50 Nieremberg, *De la Diferencia*, p. 19; Nieremberg, *La Differenza*, p. 47.
51 *Mīzān al-zamān*, p. 32.
52 Nieremberg, *De la Diferencia*, p. 22; Nieremberg, *La Differenza*, p. 54.
53 Nieremberg, *La Differenza*, p. 54–55.
54 *Mīzān al-zamān*, p. 32: *Qāla Būyisiyūs al-faylasūf al-masīḥī wa-l-thāwulūghus inna abadīyat…*
55 Nieremberg, *La Differenza*, p. 83.
56 *Mīzān al-zamān*, p. 47.

5. Chapters XII and XIII of the first treatise in the Spanish version[57] are condensed and amalgamated into Chapter XII of the Italian version,[58] a structure followed by the Arabic version as well. Additionally, the Arabic version summarizes several passages from the Bible and teachings of the Church Fathers, offering a concise interpretation.
6. Chapter XV of the Spanish version is omitted in the Italian translation, resulting in its absence in the Arabic version as well. This chapter delves into the perspectives of Plato and Plotinus on time and the finite nature of material and temporal things.
7. In Chapter I of the second treatise, the Arabic version condenses some extended paragraphs found in the Italian translation, providing a more succinct rendition.
8. Chapter V of the fourth treatise in the Italian translation deviates from that of the Spanish version. Upon comparison, it becomes apparent that the Italian translator opted not to translate anything in Chapter V, choosing to incorporate instead selected paragraphs from Chapter VI. Consequently, the chapter labelled as V in the Italian translation corresponds to the content of Chapter VI in the Spanish version.[59] This adjustment results in the subsequent chapter being numbered differently, with what is Chapter VII in the Spanish version being numbered as Six in the Italian translation, followed by the Arabic rendition. Additionally, it is noteworthy that the Arabic text summarizes several paragraphs from the Italian text in Chapters Six and Seven.
9. In Chapters VIII to X of the Arabic version, ranking numbers of the eternal torments are introduced, corresponding to the content of each chapter. Specifically, numbers three and four are added to the title of Chapter VIII, while numbers five and six are included in the title of Chapter IX.[60]
10. Furthermore, the Italian version supplements the title of Chapter X with the expression "della morte eterna",[61] which translates to "of eternal death". However, the content of the chapter discusses two types of torments: that of

57 Nieremberg, *De la Diferencia*, p. 57, 63.

58 *Mīzān al-zamān*, p. 69.

59 Chapter titles in Spanish: Ch. 5. *Quan dichosa es la vida eterna de los justos*; Ch. 6. *La excelencia y perfección de los cuerpos de los Santos en la vida eterna*; cf. Nieremberg, *De la Diferencia*, p. 294 and 304. However, in the Italian translation: Ch. V. *La eccellenza e perfezione dei corpi de' Santi nella vita eterna*; cf. Nieremberg, *La Differenza*, p. 482.

60 For example, *Mīzān al-zamān*, p. 264: *al-faṣl al-thāmin fī 'adhābay al-hālikīn al-thālith wa-l-rābi' wa-humā al-nafy min al-samā wa-l-sajn fī al-jaḥīm.*

61 Nieremberg, *La Differenza*, p. 257.

death as a consequence of sin ("la morte della pena")[62] and that of death as a consequence of guilt ("la morte della colpa").[63] Consequently, the Arabic text incorporates these two torments into the title of Chapter X under numbers seven and eight, respectively.[64]

Comparing the various Spanish, Italian, and Arabic versions allows us to deduce that, in general, the Italian translation is less verbose than the Spanish version, and the Arabic translation also summarizes several paragraphs from its Italian model. Additionally, the Arabic translation omits the biblical, philosophical, and scholastic references that are perfectly reproduced in the Italian translation.

Furthermore, the comparison of the translations highlights the complex process of adaptation and interpretation. From alterations in titles to adjustments in content, each translation reflects the historical context and the linguistic, cultural and interpretative choices of its respective translator. These variations provide valuable insights into the complexities of conveying philosophical and theological concepts across different linguistic and cultural contexts.

7 The Translator

Furthermore, the translator of the text is not mentioned in the edition itself. It is Jean de la Roque, who first attributed the translation to the Jesuit Father Pierre Fromage, in a letter dated December 1735. This information is confirmed by Zākhir himself in his letter dated October 22, 1740, where he reminds Fromage that when they were printing *Mīzān al-zamān*, they agreed to mention only the author, omitting the translator, Fromage.[65] Following Jean de la Roque's attribution, various authors designated Pierre Fromage as the translator of the Arabic version before it became widespread, especially in Jesuit literature.[66]

62 Translated into Arabic as *mawt al-asīya*, cf. *Mīzān al-zamān*, p. 289.

63 Translated into Arabic as *mawt al-ʿadhāb*, cf. *Mīzān al-zamān*, p. 289.

64 *Mīzān al-zamān*, p. 289: *Fī ʿadhābay al-hālikīn al-sābiʿ wa-l-thāmin wa-humā al-mawt al-abadī wa-l-ʿadhāb al-muwāzī li-l-dhanb.*

65 Jock, *Jésuites et Chouérites*, p. 461.

66 C. F. von Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, Halae ad Salam, 1811, p. 279–280; L. Shaykhū, *Tārīkh fann al-ṭibāʿa fī al-Mashriq*, 2nd ed., Beirut, 1995, p. 41; *HMLÉM* IV.2, p. 135.

8 Yūsuf al-Bānī, Proto-Antagonistic Translator

In addition to the spiritual impetus outlined in the prologue and possibly supplemented by biographical insights into Nieremberg's work, as provided by the *Journal de Trévoux*,[67] Fromage (or Zākhir) refrains from elucidating the criteria behind the selection of this text, beyond his expressed aim to supplant an existing unpublished translation already in circulation among readers. Conspicuously, the prologue (p. [II]) underscores the recent translation of this book from Italian into Arabic, emphasizing, through collation and revision, the contrast with the Arabic manuscript translation marred by distortion, error, alteration and deviation (p. [III]).[68]

The exploration of manuscript catalogs has revealed the survival of a pre-existing translation of *Mīzān al-zamān*, with the exact same Arabic title given to the Shuwayr edition. This "other" translation of *Mīzān al-zamān* was the work of a Maronite figure named Yūsuf ibn Jirjis al-Bānī from Aleppo,[69] who, following the completion of his philosophical and theological studies in Rome, returned to Aleppo in 1704.[70] Renowned for his intellectual pursuits in translating spiritual and ascetic texts, particularly biblical commentaries, he earned the esteemed title of a distinguished theologian and eminent philosopher.[71]

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67 "Article CLXIX. Traité de la différence du Tems et de l'Eternité", p. 2087–2093.

68 *I'lam anna hādhihi al-nuskha qad ustukhrijat jadīd*^{an} *min al-lugha al-iṭālyānīya ilā hādhihi al-lugha al-'arabīya, istikhrāj*^{an} *maḍbūṭ al-naql bi-l-tadqīq, muṭābiq al-aṣl 'alā al-taḥqīq, fa-lā i'timād 'alā tilka al-nuskha al-ūlā al-muktataba, al-mashḥūna min al-taḥrīf wa-l-ghalaṭ wa-l-tabdīl wa-l-shaṭaṭ.*

69 Details about al-Bānī's life are shrouded in uncertainty and occasional inconsistency, suggesting the possibility of multiple individuals sharing this name. See M. Jabbūr, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt maktabat abrashīyat Ḥalab al-mārūnīya*, Ḥalab, 1918, vol. 1, p. 70–71; P. Sbath, *Al-Fihris: Catalogue de manuscrits arabes*. Deuxième partie: *Ouvrages des auteurs des trois derniers siècles*; Troisième partie: *Ouvrages anonymes*, Cairo, 1939, p. 12–14; *GCAL* III, p. 383–389; J. Nasrallah, *Catalogue des manuscrits du Liban. I: Bibliothèque des missionnaires de Saint Paul (Harissa)*; *Bibliothèque du séminaire de l'Annonciation ('Ain-Traz)*, Harissa, 1958, p. 88, 131, 181; J. Nasrallah, *Catalogue des manuscrits du Liban. III*, Beirut, 1961, p. 129; J. Nasrallah, *Catalogue des manuscrits du Liban. II: Bibliothèque des missionnaires libanais de Dayr al-Kreim*; *Bibliothèque de Dayr Mar 'Abda Harharaya; Bibliothèque des moines libanais de Dayr al-Banāt*, Harissa, 1963, p. 13, 14, 166, 213, 226; Y. Dibs, *Al-Jāmi' al-mufaṣṣal fī tārīkh al-mawārina al-mu'aṣṣal*, 2nd ed. by M. Hayek, Beirut, 1982, p. 299–300; El Gemayel, *Les échanges culturels*, vol. 1, p. 107; M. Breydy, *Jean Maron: exposé de la foi et autres opuscules*, Leuven, 1988, vol. 1, p. 20.

70 I. Ḥarfūsh, in "Talāmidhat al-madrasa al-rūmānīya al-mārūnīya al-qadīma", *Al-Manāra*, 7, 1936, p. 20, edited the list of students from the Maronite College in Rome sourced from MS Vatican Syriac 410.

71 For instance, in the compilation of manuscripts from the Maronite archdiocese of Aleppo, refer to the prefaces of MSS AMA 277, AMA 278, AMA 280. See Jabbūr, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt*, vol. 1, p. 936, 939, 943.

Al-Bānī's translation of *De la diferencia* predates the endeavor at Shuwayr, as indicated by a copy acquired in Aleppo by Nicolas Ṣāyegh in 1716,[72] and was already housed in the library of the monastery during Zākhir's residence. Moreover, multiple manuscripts of the translation, distinctly bearing al-Bānī's signature, including BAV Vat Syr 426 (1719),[73] AMA 280 (1724),[74] and NDU SP 22 (1727),[75] provide additional corroboration of this chronological precedence.[76] Furthermore, al-Bānī's translation surpassed the edition of Shuwayr and remained in circulation, which is evident in his autographed manuscript AMA 278 (1738)[77] and in MS Sbath 95 (1809).[78] It also persists in numerous undated manuscripts, highlighting its enduring significance and continued use over the years.

72 See J. Abū Nuhrā, "Arshīf al-adyār maṣdar li-kitābat tārīkh Lubnān al-iqtiṣādī wa-l-ijtimāʿī. Dafātir ḥisābāt al-rahbānīyatayn al-shuwayrīya wa-l-ḥalabīya (1723–1796)", in J. Abū Nuhrā, *al-Iklīrūs wa-l-mulkīya wa-l-sulṭa. Abḥāth fī tārīkh Lubnān al-ijtimāʿī wa-l-iqtiṣādī*, Beirut, 2007, p. 90. The correlation between the two translations of *Mīzān al-zamān* was first made by Walbiner, "The appearance of Nieremberg's *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno* in Arabic 1734", p.435–436.

73 The translator is identified as the subdeacon Yūsuf ibn Jirjis of Aleppo, who was previously enrolled as a student at the Maronite College in Rome. The manuscript was transcribed in Aleppo in mid-June 1719 by Andreas Scandar, and subsequently presented to the Library of the Maronite College in Rome in 1741. It is written in Garshuni and comprises 282 pages. For details, see A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectione Vaticanis codicibus*, t. V, Rome, 1831, p. 68.

74 The manuscript is part of the collection of the Maronite archdiocese of Aleppo and was transcribed by Jibrāʾīl Ḥawshab of Aleppo at the end of November 1724. It is in Arabic and comprises 172 folios. The translator is identified as Yūsuf Jirjis al-Bānī. For more detailed information, consult Jabbūr, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt*, vol. 1, p. 942–943.

75 The manuscript is housed in the collection of the Maronite Maryamite Order, specifically at the Saint Anthony the Great Monastery in Rome. It is dated June 27, 1727, and is written in Garshuni. The translator is identified as Yūsuf ibn Jirjis of Aleppo, and it consists of 173 folios. A digital copy of the manuscript is accessible at the library of Notre Dame University in Loueizeh, Lebanon.

76 The vHMML holds 7 copies of al-Bānī's translation of this text: two from the Bzummār convent in Lebanon (BzAr 00071, BzAr 00078), two from the Melkite Archdiocese of Aleppo (GCAA 00175, GCAA 00440), two from Maronite collections in Lebanon (LMMO 00336, OLM 00972), and one from Université Saint-Joseph in Beirut (USJ 01821). I thank Dr. Ioana Feodorov who inquired with Dr. Joshua Mugler for the benefit of my research, and Dr. Mugler for kindly providing the data.

77 Contained within the collection of the Maronite archdiocese of Aleppo, AMA 278 stands as an autographed manuscript, meticulously completed at the Monastery of Notre-Dame of Loueizeh in Lebanon, with a date marking its finalization on March 13, 1738. This Arabic manuscript has 159 folios and bears the name of both the translator and copyist, identified as Yūsuf ibn Jirjis al-Bānī. For further reference, see Jabbūr, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt*, vol. 1, p. 938–939.

78 No mention of the scribe, meticulous calligraphy, Arabic, 258 folios. See P. Sbath, *Bibliothèque de manuscrits Paul Sbath*, t. 1, Cairo, 1928, p. 59.

Yūsuf al-Bānī asserted that he translated his book from a foreign language (*mu'ajjama*) without explicitly stating that the original text was Italian. Nonetheless, the structure of his translation impeccably mirrors the Italian version, which also served as the foundation for Fromage's translation.

Furthermore, a noted difference between the two translations is that al-Bānī's version does not contain a biography of Nieremberg. Additionally, al-Bānī's version incorporates the list of pericopes found in the Italian version, meant to be read as meditations in preparation for general confession. For instance, reading Chapter XIII of Treatise IV of *Mīzān al-zamān* helps in contemplating the gravity of mortal sin.

After uncovering these details, one might wonder: Who deemed al-Bānī's translation so inadequate that it required a replacement – Fromage, or Zākhir? And why retain the same Arabic title as given by al-Bānī?[79] Any answer remains speculative without further research. What is certain is that al-Bānī's translation persisted for a time in manuscripts, while the Fromage – Zākhir version would ultimately claim the title of being the first Arabic book published in Lebanon.

Ironically, al-Bānī, whose translation of *De la diferencia* was deemed inadequate, had his translation of the work of the Jesuit Giovanni Pietro Pinamonti (d. 1703), titled in Arabic *Ta'ammulāt jahannam*, published posthumously in 1769 by the same Shuwayr press.[80]

9 Reception of the Shuwayr Edition

At the Shuwayr press, 800 copies of *Mīzān al-zamān* were produced,[81] whereas thirteen were sent by Zākhir to Fromage for distribution. Six copies went to Jesuit convents in the Levant, and one copy was sent to M. Truilhier,[82] a Marseille merchant

79 Walbiner, "The appearance of Nieremberg's *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno* in Arabic 1734", p. 436, wonders how al-Bānī's translation could be so bad when he was well-known for his translations revised by the famous linguist Jirmānūs Farḥāt!

80 The Arabic title *Kitāb ta'ammulāt jahannam al-murī'a wa-ḥamāqat al-khaṭa'a al-faẓī'a* translates to "The Contemplations of the Horrible Hell and the Foolishness of the Terrible Sin". The title of the original Italian version, published in Parma by Pazzoni & Monti in 1693, is *L'inferno aperto a cristiano perché non v'entri*.

81 Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban,* p. 30, citing the *Annals* of the Shuwayrite Basilian Order in the manuscript of Harissa, p. 122, which is the current MS Harissa 5 according to the catalog of Nasrallah, *Catalogue des manuscrits du Liban*, I, p. 42. Also, see another copy of the *Annals* in the manuscript OBA 1163, f. 89.

82 This same copy was then given by Truilhier to Jean de la Roque, who kept it in his cabinet "as a token of his friendship": M. D. L. R. [Jean de La Roque], "Lettre de M.D.L.R. écrite à M. Maillart, ancien Avocat en Parlement, sur quelques Sujets de Littérature", *Mercure de France*, May 1736, p. 839.

residing in Sidon. His copy boasted an elegant binding in Levant ("Morrocan") leather,[83] featuring striking red leather and gilded edges. Notably, this luxurious binding was priced at three piastres in Aleppo at the time.[84] Truilhier had already donated 60 piastres to dispatch copies of the book to the following institutions and individuals: the Jesuit school in Antoura, the French consul in Sidon, his own dragoman, the Jesuit procurator in Sidon, the superior of the Capuchins, and, lastly, the French consul in Tripoli.[85] Zākhir's letter to Fromage in 1740 and the archives of the Basilian Order in Shuwayr reveal that the *Mīzān al-zamān* was sold along with other books printed there.[86]

The recognition of *Mīzān al-zamān* in Europe was very fast due to several factors. Initially, Jean de la Roque's[87] notice dedicated to the work contributed to its early acclaim. Subsequently, orientalists and travelers,[88] including Scholtz,[89] Schultz,[90] Volney,[91] Seetzen,[92] and Schnurrer,[93] played a pivotal role by providing detailed descriptions of the book in their works. Additionally, *Mīzān al-zamān* found a place in the famous library of the baron Sylvestre de Sacy,[94] further enhancing its recognition and importance in intellectual circles.

In the Levant, the reception of *Mīzān al-zamān* is not well documented.[95] Interestingly, the first book printed in Shuwayr was copied by hand, as evidenced

83 M. D. L. R. [Jean de La Roque], "Lettre de M.D.L.R", p. 839.

84 Bacel, "Abdallah Zakher", p. 287.

85 Letter to Pierre Fromage dated 1740; cf. Bacel, "Abdallah Zakher", p. 287.

86 Bacel, "Abdallah Zakher", p. 287; J. Abou Nohra, "La première imprimerie à caractères arabes au Liban (1733): les origines et le rayonnement culturel", *Parole de l'Orient*, 28, 2003, p. 717.

87 M. D. L. R. [Jean de La Roque], "Lettre de M.D.L.R", p. 838–840.

88 The reception of the "incunabula" printed in the Levant is eloquently depicted in Walbiner, "The Collection, Perception and Study of Arabic Incunabula".

89 H. Scholtz, *Specimen I. Bibliothecae Arabicae de Typographiis Arabicis*, Hamburg, 1741, p. 10, falsely claims that the book was printed at the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Aleppo in 1734.

90 He visited the monastery of Shuwayr in 1755. See S. Schultz, *Der Leitungen des Höchsten nach seinem Rath auf den Reisen durch Europa, Asia und Africa*, Vol. 5, Halle im Magdeburgischen, 1775, p. 452.

91 Volney, *Voyage en Syrie*, vol. 2, p. 180: "n° 1. *Mizân el Zamân*, Balance du Temps, ou Différence du Temps et de l'Éternité, par le Père Nieremberg, jésuite."

92 U. J. Seetzen, "Nachricht von den in der Levante befindlichen Buchdrudkereyen von U. J. Seetzen in Haléb", *Intelligenzblatt der Jenaischen Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, n° 76, July 13, 1805, col. 645, titles it "*El misân*" and gives the two dates of printing.

93 C. F. von Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 279–281 (n° 282), provides a detailed description of the book.

94 P. C. F. Daunou (ed.), *Bibliothèque de M. le baron Sylvestre de Sacy*, t. 1, Paris, 1842, p. 413 (n° 1378).

95 For a few examples of the perception of this work, see Walbiner, "The appearance of Nieremberg's *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno* in Arabic 1734".

by the manuscript OLM 791, dated 1863,[96] and a manuscript preserved in Cairo, dated 1873.[97] It is astonishing that despite there being reprints, the editions produced by the Jesuits in Beirut in 1863, 1867, and 1883[98] failed to acknowledge that their source was the Shuwayr edition. This lack of attribution raises ethical concerns surrounding the proper acknowledgment of intellectual property and scholarly contributions. In 1884, a Syriac version made by the Chaldean Bishop Toma Audo (d. 1918) was published in Mosul at the Dominican Fathers' press.[99]

10 Conclusions

The legacy of *Mīzān al-zamān* extends far beyond its immediate textual content. *Mīzān al-zamān* stands among the earliest "incunabula"[100] produced in the Levant and attracted significant interest in Western circles. It is portrayed as an "Ottoman affair",[101] primarily stemming from the post-Tridentine context and the Catholic missionary endeavor: authored in Spanish by a Jesuit, translated into Italian by another Jesuit, and subsequently rendered into Arabic by a third Jesuit.[102]

As one of the earliest printed works produced in the Levant, it serves as a testament to the intellectual vibrancy of the region during the 18th century. Its journey from Spanish to Italian and finally to Arabic reflects not only the linguistic diversity of the era but also the intercultural dialogue that characterized it. The cloud of

96 Collection of the Lebanese Maronite Order kept at the Library of the Holy Spirit University of Kaslik, copied in late January 1863 by the Lebanese monk Niʿmatullāh al-Kafrī for his own use. Arabic copy, occupying f. 4r–191r.

97 Preserved at the Franciscan Centre for Christian Oriental Studies. Additionally, two manuscripts held by the Library of Charfet contain selected excerpts from *Mīzān al-zamān*, but the catalog does not indicate which version is used, that of Shuwayr or that of al-Bānī. For more information, see Walbiner, "The appearance of Nieremberg's *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno* in Arabic 1734", p. 438.

98 See the catalog of the University Library of the Holy Spirit University of Kaslik, the shelfmarks Pat 1049a (1863), Pat 1049b (1867), and Pat 1049c (1883). Shaykhū, *Tārīkh fann al-ṭibāʿa*, p. 41, mentions two editions, 1862 and 1886, information reiterated by Bacel, "Dernières années d'Abdallah Zakher", p. 370. In Shaykhū, *Tārīkh fann al-ṭibāʿa*, p. 72, four other editions are mentioned: 1860, 1867, 1882, and 1889.

99 *Ktobo d-masato d-zabno*. See Shaykhū, *Tārīkh fann al-ṭibāʿa*, p. 182.

100 The term used by Walbiner to designate the first books printed in the Middle East. See Walbiner, "The Collection, Perception and Study of Arabic Incunabula".

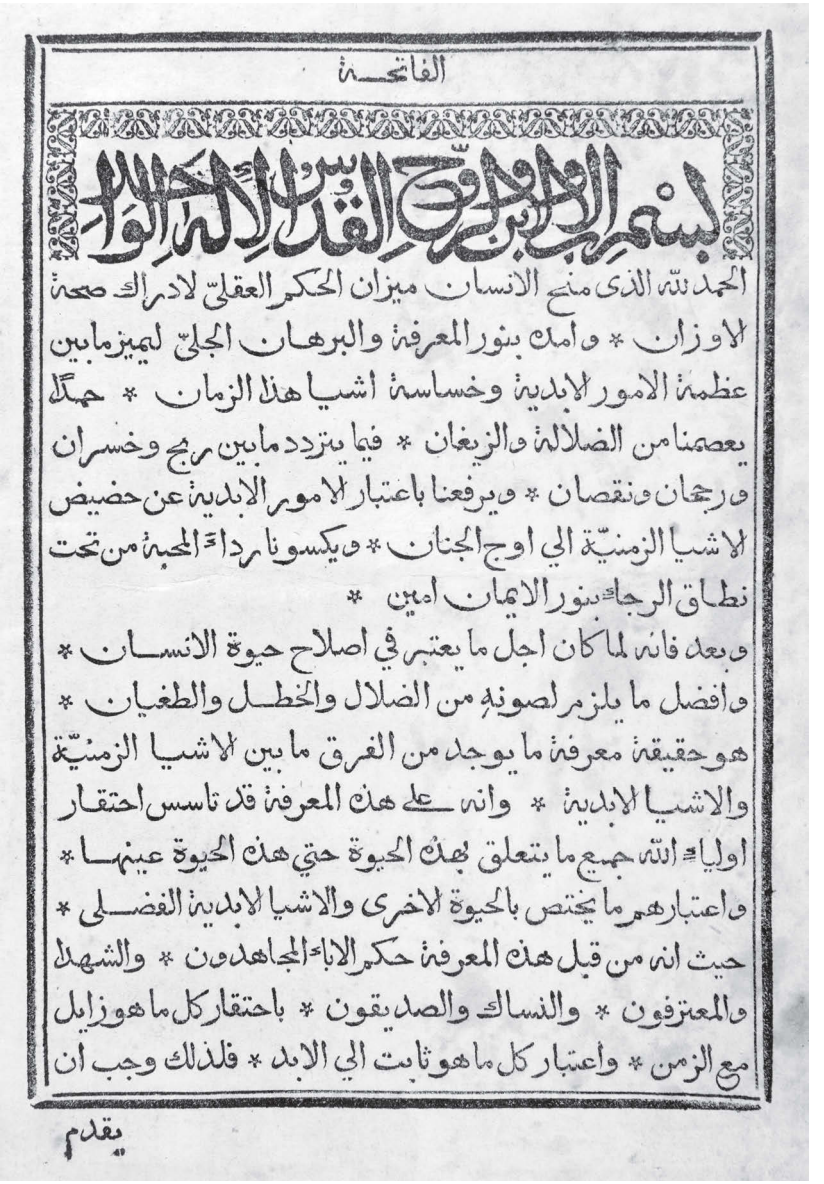
101 Ghobrial, "The Ottoman World", p. 195.

102 On the beginning of the Catholic missionary expansion in the Levant, see Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche Orient au temps de la réforme catholique*, p. 273–382.

uncertainty surrounding the origin of the Arabic translation does not diminish the pivotal role played by Zākhir, Fromage, and the Shuwayr printing press.[103] Their efforts in shepherding the translation process and ensuring scholarly excellence were instrumental in bringing *Mīzān al-zamān* to fruition. Indeed, their contributions paved the way for the emergence of other Arabic presses in Beirut and chief Levantine cities, heralding the Renaissance (*Nahḍa*) in the region.

103 On the life of the Shuwayr press after Zakher, see Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban,* p. 35–45.

Note: All the illustrations belong to the copy of the *Mīzān al-zamān*, Shuwayr, 1733–1734, held by the Library of the Holy Spirit University of Kaslik, Lebanon.


الفاتحة

بسم الاب والابن وروح القدس الاله الواحد

الحمد لله الذى منح الانسان ميزان الحكم العقلى لادراك صحة
الاوزان * وامدّه بنور المعرفة والبرهان الجلى ليميز مابين
عظمة الامور الابدية وخساسة اشيا هذا الزمان * حمدًا
يعصمنا من الضلالة والزيغان * فيما يتردد مابين ربح وخسران
ورجحان ونقصان * ويرفعنا باعتبار الامور الابدية عن حضيض
الاشيا الزمنيّة الي اوج الجنان * ويكسونا ردا المحبة من تحت
نطاق الرجا بنور الايمان امين *

وبعد فانه لما كان اجل ما يعتبر في اصلاح حيوة الانسان *
وافضل ما يلزم لصونه من الضلال والخطل والطغيان *
هو حقيقة معرفة ما يوجد من الفرق مابين الاشيا الزمنيّة
والاشيا الابدية * وانه على هذه المعرفة قد تاسس احتقار
اولياء الله جميع ما يتعلق بهذه الحيوة حتي هذه الحيوة عينها *
واعتبارهم ما يختص بالحيوة الاخرى والاشيا الابدية الفضلى *
حيث انه من قبل هذه المعرفة حكم الاباء المجاهدون * والشهدا
والمعترفون * والنساك والصديقون * باحتقار كل ما هو زايل
مع الزمن * واعتبار كل ما هو ثابت الي الابد * فلذلك وجب ان

يقدم

Fig. 1: The first page of *Mīzān al-zamān*.

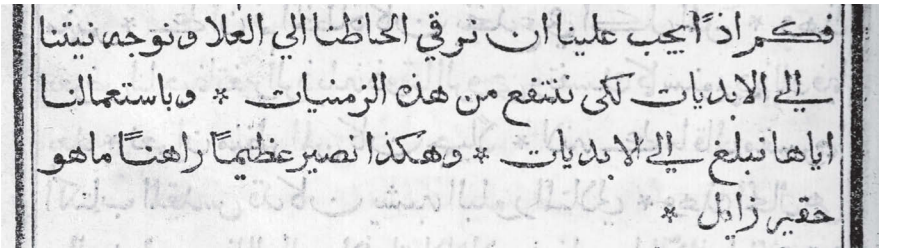

فكم اذاً ايجب علينا ان نرقي الحاظنا الي العلا ونوجه نيتنا
الى الابديات لكي ننتفع من هذ الزمنيات * وباستعمالنا
اياها نبلغ الى الابديات * وهكذا نصير عظيماً راهناً ماهو
حقير زايل *

Fig. 2: P. 4, the star as a punctuation sign.

Fig. 3: Various calligraphic styles, particularly in marking final letters: *ilī(ā)*, *fī*, *in*, *ʻalī(ā)*.

Fig. 4: The use of *alif maqṣūra* to signify the final *yāʾ*, and vice-versa.

Fig. 5: The decorative motif mostly used for all adornments, here, on p. 7.

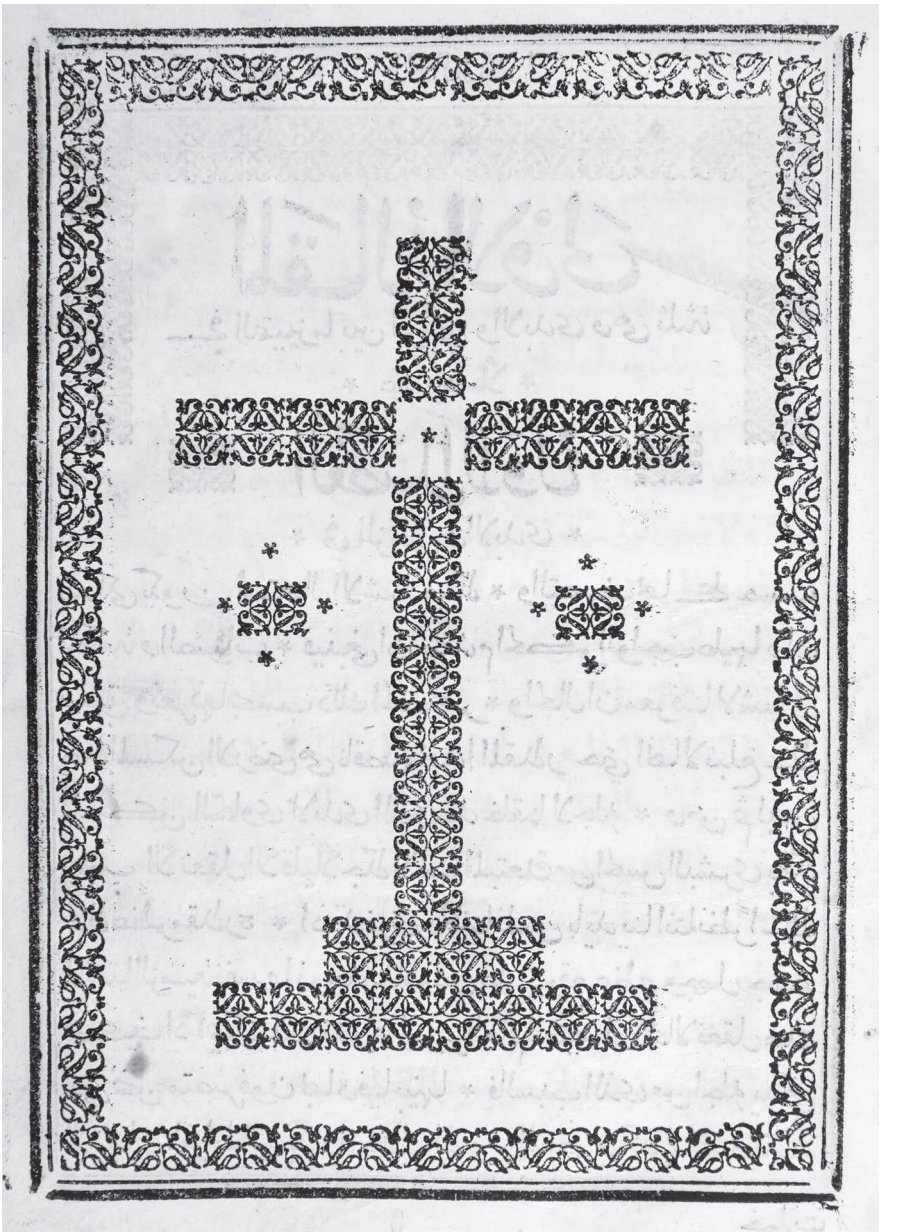


Fig. 6: P. [XIII], a full-page cross artfully crafted from the basic decorative element, with a slightly different motif in the outer rectangle.

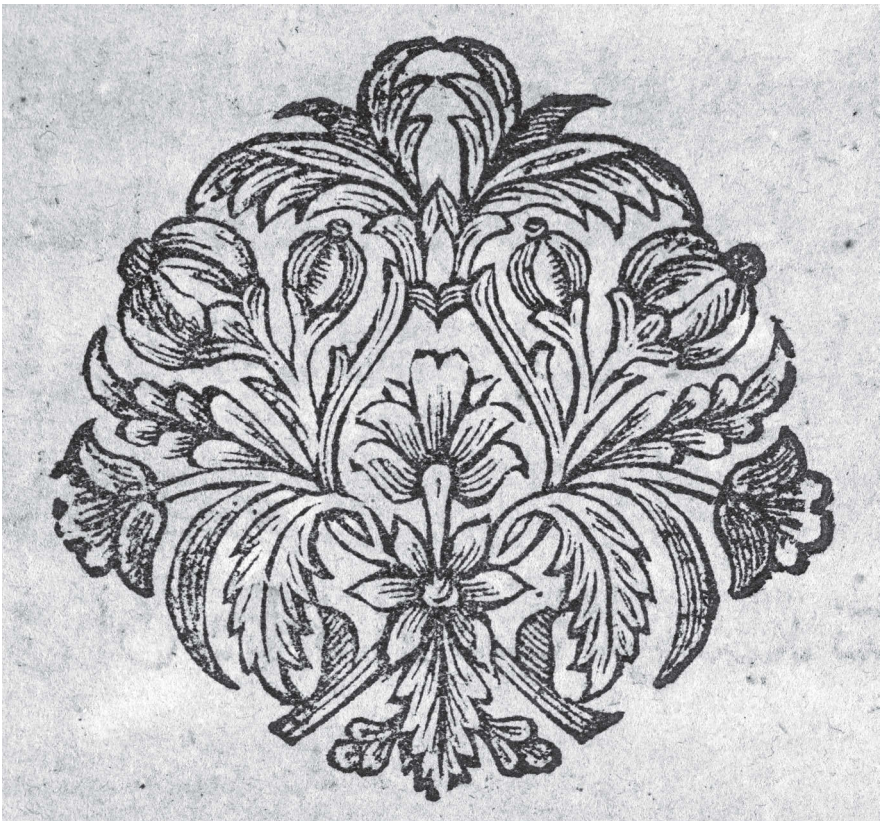


Fig. 7: P. [XII], a floral vignette “reused” from the Aleppo press.

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Yulia Petrova

Prefaces of the 18th-Century Christian Arabic Books Printed in Khinshāra: Structural and Thematic Features

An important stage in the history of Arabic printing in the East is connected to the activities of the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist in the Khinshāra village (Lebanon), widely known as al-Shuwayr Monastery. It was the center of the Shuwayrite order, one of the two monastic Basilian orders of the Greek Catholic community, established between 1705 and 1710. The monasteries on Mount Lebanon, situated outside the control of the Ottoman administration, attracted part of the urban Greek Catholic intellectual elite, allowing them to express themselves freely.[1]

Among these settlers was the talented engraver and typographer ʿAbdallāh Zākhir. When in Aleppo, he presumably directed the work of the first Arabic press founded by Athanasios III Dabbās, the former patriarch of Antioch, where he had an opportunity to learn the technique of printing. The press functioned between 1706 and 1711. Later, ʿAbdallāh Zākhir converted to Catholicism under the influence of the Jesuit missionaries in the East. He left Aleppo in 1722 to start his activities in Lebanon as a pro-Catholic polemicist. Due to his close cooperation with Pierre Fromage, the superior of the Jesuit Order of the East, it became possible to open a press at the monastery in Khinshāra. It required large expenses and six years of preparing the typographic material (1728–1733).[2] Thus, ʿAbdallāh Zākhir became the founder of book printing in Lebanon, and the Greek Catholic Monastery of Saint John the Baptist became widely known for its printing press.[3]

Data on the number of employees of the Khinshāra press is available to us: Zākhir was assisted by his disciple Suleymān Qaṭṭān and several monks; after

1 K. A. Panchenko, *Ближневосточное православие под османским владычеством: первые три столетия. 1516–1831*, Moscow, 2012, p. 457.

2 I. Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands. The East-European Connection*, Berlin/Boston, 2023, p. 226.

3 A. Krymskiĭ, *История новой арабской литературы: XIX – начало XX века*, Moscow, 1971, p. 132.

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his death, three monks were directly involved in the printing of books, two were engaged in the preparation of fonts, one was learning to cast type.[4] Comte de Volney, who was hosted at the Khinshāra monastery while visiting Mount Lebanon, mentions four persons who worked at the press during his visit there (out of the total number of monks, 40–45), while another four persons worked on the binding.[5]

The Arabic printing press founded by ʻAbdallāh Zākhir in 1731 functioned until the end of the 19th century, being thus, according to de Volney, "the only one which has succeeded in the Turkish empire".[6] Indeed, it was the Arabic press with the longest activity in the Middle East, considering that it functioned for 165 years.[7]

1 The Object of this Study

The Khinshāra monastery press produced 33 titles over the entire period of its activity.[8] As a result of the research of the TYPARABIC project team, we know that during the 18th century the press produced 22 book titles. Taking into consideration that the project aims at studying the Arabic books produced in the 18th century, we shall discuss here only the editions produced during that period. The list of their abridged titles can be presented as follows:[9]

1. *Mīzān al-zamān* (*The Balance of Time*), 1733–1734[10]
2. Psalter, 1735, 1740, 1764
3. *Ta'ammulāt rūḥīya* (*Spiritual Meditations*), 1736
4. *al-Murshid al-masīḥī* (*The Christian Guide*), 1738
5. *Iḥtiqār abāṭīl al-ʻālam* (*Contempt for the Vanities of the World*), part I, 1739
6. *Iḥtiqār abāṭīl al-ʻālam* (*Contempt for the Vanities of the World*), part IV, 1740
7. *Murshid al-khāṭi'* (*The Sinner's Guide*), 1747, 1794
8. *Tafsīr sabʻat mazmūrāt* (*Interpretation of Seven Psalms*), 1753

4 J. Nasrallah, *L'imprimerie au Liban*, Harissa, 1949, p. 35–36.

5 M. C.-F. Volney, *Travels through Egypt and Syria, in the Years 1783, 1784, and 1785*, Vol. II, New York, 1798, p. 124.

6 Volney, *Travels through Egypt and Syria*, p. 117.

7 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 218.

8 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 210.

9 In this paper, for the sake of convenience, only the abridged titles of the books are provided. The full titles will be published in the catalog of the Arabic Christian books included in the TYPARABIC project corpus, which is being prepared under the supervision of Archim. Policarp Chițulescu (EAPE-8, forthcoming with De Gruyter).

10 For a detailed discussion of this book, see Joseph Moukarzel's chapter in the present volume.

9. *Mukhtaṣar al-taʿlīm al-masīḥī* (*Brief Catechism*), 1756
10. Acts and Epistles, 1758, 1779
11. *Murshid al-kāhin* (*The Priest's Guide*), 1760
12. Horologion, 1763, 1779
13. *al-Burhān al-ṣarīḥ* (*The Clear Evidence*), 1764
14. Octoechos, 1767
15. *Īḍāḥ al-taʿlīm al-masīḥī* (*Clarification of the Christian Teaching*), 1768
16. *Taʾammulāt jahannam al-murʿa* (*Meditations on the Horrendous Hell*), 1769
17. *Qūt al-nafs* (*Food for the Soul*), 1772
18. *Kitāb al-nubuwwāt al-kanāʾisī* (Prophetologion), 1775
19. Gospel, 1776
20. *Al-majmaʿ al-lubnānī* (*The Lebanese Council*), 1788
21. *Manshūr Aghābiyūs al-baṭriyark* (*Encyclical of the Patriarch Agapios*), 1796
22. *Qaṭf al-azhār* (*Chosen Flowers*), 1797

Of these, six titles were followed by reprints in the 18th and 19th centuries (Psalter, Acts and Epistles, Horologion, *The Sinner's Guide*), or in the 19th century (Gospel Book, Prophetologion). The first seven books were printed in the period when the press was headed by ʿAbdallāh Zākhir himself (1734–1748).

As known, most of the editions of the Khinshāra press are Arabic translations of works by European Catholic authors, namely catechisms, didactic books, and polemical works. This choice reflected the intellectual tastes of the Greek Catholic community in the period following the schism of the Antiochian Church (1724). Among the 18th-century printed books of Khinshāra there were only three works written originally in Arabic: a) *al-Burhān al-ṣarīḥ*, authored by ʿAbdallāh Zākhir; b) *al-Majmaʿ al-lubnānī*, comprising the teachings of the Maronite Church and its canons; c) *Manshūr Aghābiyūs al-baṭriyark*, an encyclical of the Greek Catholic patriarch to his flock. As for the liturgical books, they make up six titles in the list. Unlike the Orthodox books printed by Athanasios Dabbās that were meant to be distributed among the clergy for free, the books produced at Khinshāra were intended for sale.[11]

Due to the great demand for liturgical books, almost all of them were reprinted. The Psalter was especially popular among the Arab Christians of different denominations, as it was used in teaching children Arabic: therefore, it was reprinted in fifteen successive editions by the end of the 19th century.[12] Among the books of a non-liturgical nature, only *The Sinner's Guide* was reprinted (1794, 1836). The lack

11 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 225–226.
12 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 215.

of reprints of translated books of this kind was explained by their low popularity among the population, as witnessed by count de Volney. He was unflattering about the subject of these books, which did not attract the Arabic-speaking Christians.[13] The British traveler William George Browne, who visited the Khinshāra monastery in 1797, noted: "Paper being dear, and no demand for books, the press is stopped".[14] Therefore, the main income of the monastery in the 18th century was not due to the sale of books, as one might suppose, but from land cultivation and pilgrims' donations.[15]

All the above books begin with a preface, except for two (*Brief Catechism* and *Encyclical of the Patriarch Agapios*). Studying the prefaces of the 18th century printed Arabic books as a separate object of research, I noticed a typological similarity of most of these texts. Several features differentiate them both from the prefaces of the books printed by Athanasios Dabbās in Wallachia and Aleppo and from the 1745–1752 books printed by the efforts of Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch and his disciples in Iași, Bucharest, and Beirut. We shall consider in some detail the main structural, thematic, and stylistic features of the prefaces of the Khinshāra press, indicating, where necessary, their characteristic differences from the prefaces of Arabic Orthodox books of the 18th century.

2 Structural Particularities of the Khinshāra Books

The books published at the Khinshāra monastery are characterized by the following features:

1. No dedications are found in them, unlike in Athanasios Dabbās's books, some of which have special dedications to the benefactor, such as the dedication in verse to the hetman Ivan Mazepa in the Gospel of 1706, or the prefaces dedicated to the Wallachian prince Constantin Brâncoveanu: Liturgikon (1701), Horologion (1702), Psalter (1706).[16] Thus, the Khinshāra books do not provide any information on the sponsors. In some of them it is mentioned that the work was done "by the efforts and at the expense of the monks" (*bi-ʿamal al-ruhbān al-madhkūrīn wa-maṣrafī-him*, in *Īḍāḥ al-taʿlīm al-masīḥī*, p. IV).

13 Volney, *Travels through Egypt and Syria*, p. 119–120.

14 W. G. Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the Year 1792 to 1798*, London, 1799, p. 408.

15 Volney, *Travels through Egypt and Syria*, p. 124–125.

16 See Y. Petrova, "The Prefaces of the Christian Arabic Books Printed in Wallachia and Syria in the Early 18th Century", in R. Dipratu, S. Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond. First Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project*, Berlin/Boston, 2024, p. 267–290.

2. A standard editorial note was added to each book, stating that it had been printed *bi-idhn al-ru'asā'*, "with the leave of the Superiors" (Lat. *cum permissu superiorum*), a phrase used in the Latin Church for books issued with authority. In the first four editions, this editorial note is present as a separate afterword, but from 1739 on, the Khinshāra typographers preferred to introduce this phrase as the last paragraph of the preface, as follows (*Īḍāḥ al-taʿlīm al-masīḥī*, p. IV):

وقد كان ذلك اعني طبع هذا الكتاب باذن الروسا وحثهم في دير القديس مار يوحنا النبي الصابغ الملقب بالشوير من معاملة كسروان، بعمل الرهبان المذكورين ومصرفهم، في سنة الف وسبعماية وثمان وستين للتجسد الالهى، ولله تعالي الحمد والمجد الي الابد وفي كل وقتٍ وحين. امين.

The printing of this book was achieved with the Superiors' approval and their encouragement at the monastery of the Holy Prophet John the Baptist named al-Shuwayr, which is in the Kesruwān district, by the efforts and at the expense of the aforementioned monks, in the year one thousand seven hundred sixty-eight of the Incarnation of the Lord. To God the Most-High be praise and glory forever and ever. Amen.

3. Each book has a table of contents (*fihris*), very detailed in most cases, which takes up several pages. For example, the contents of the *Christian Guide* are divided into such units as *maqāla* ("article"), *faṣl* ("section"), then *juz'* ("part"). The *Clarification of the Christian Teaching* presents its contents classified as *juz'* ("part"), *faṣl* ("section"), and *qaḍīya* ("statement"). Such a rubricating became the mandatory element of the Khinshāra editions. In this innovation one can note the influence of the European tradition of compendia, characteristic of Catholic church books. For comparison, among the Orthodox books, a simple *fihris* is found only in *Chosen Pearls from the Homilies of Saint John Chrysostom*[17] (1707) and *The Rule of Justice* (1746). Nevertheless, in the liturgical books of Khinshāra no table of contents is found.
4. An interesting case is the presence of a thematic alphabetical index (*fihris mā taḍammana-hu hādhā al-kitāb min al-maʿānī al-jalīla wa-l-fawā'id al-jazīla*) in the *Interpretation of Seven Psalms* (p. 290–308). It includes 49 lemmata for theological concepts like *Allāh* ("God"), *īmān* ("faith"), *tawba* ("repentance"), *khalāṣ* ("salvation"), *Rūḥ Qudus* ("Holy Spirit"), *maṭhar* ("purgatory"), *niʿma* ("grace"), etc. Clarification is provided with a reference to the relevant pages of the book. There follows (p. 309–311) a list of the biblical quotations that were mentioned

17 It is not excluded that the book of homilies of Patriarch Athanasios of Jerusalem (Aleppo, 1711) had a Contents section as well (unfortunately, only a defective copy missing the initial and final pages was accessible to us so far).

and commented (*fihris al-shahādāt al-mūrada min al-asfār al-muqaddasa al-mufassara*), with a reference to the page number in the book.

5. In several of the Khinshāra editions there is a full-page image of a characteristic cross that was named by some researchers a "trademark" of Zākhir's press;[18] it is placed after the list of contents. However, it was not as frequently used as one might expect, since it is found only in seven books among the 18th century ones, starting from the first (*Mīzān al-zamān*), and it appeared irregularly, with certain differences between its earlier, more simple forms, and the later ones, which were artistically more complex.

3 The Structure and Content of the Prefaces

Most prefaces under discussion have a similar structure. They start with a typical introductory paragraph praising God, composed in non-metric rhyme, following the traditional Christian *basmala*.[19] The incipit is "Praise be to God who…" (*al-ḥamdu li-llāh allādhī…*), followed by the author's contemplation of God's providence, His creation of the world and humankind, His wisdom in ruling the universe, etc., as can be seen in the preface of *Mīzān al-zamān* (p. I):

الحمد لله الذى منح الانسان ميزان الحكم العقلى لادراك صحة الاوزان، وامده بنور المعرفة والبرهان الجلىّ ليميز ما بين عظمة الامور الابدية وخساسة اشيا هذا الزمان، حمدًا يعصمنا من الضلالة والزيغان، فيما يتردد ما بين مربح وخسران ورجحان ونقصان، ويرفعنا باعتبار الامور الابدية عن حضيض الاشيا الزمنيّة الي اوج الجنان، ويكسونا رداءَ المحبة من تحت نطاق الرجاءِ بنور الايمان امين.

> Praise be to God who granted man the scales of mental judgment to comprehend the true meanings, and endowed him with the light of knowledge and clear evidence to discern the greatness of what is eternal and the nothingness of the works of this age. May He keep us from going astray and deviating [from the right path], and from swinging between gain and loss, excess and want, and may He raise us, who seek the eternal, from the abyss of earthly worries to the summit of paradise, and may He clothe us in the garment of love, girded with hope and illuminated by faith. Amen.

As already mentioned, the prefaces we have surveyed do not include dedications addressed to persons. A special case is the prayer to St Anthony of Padua, to whom the translator of part IV of the book *Contempt for the Vanities of the World* dedicated his work: *ṣalwa yuqaddimu bi-hā al-mutarjim hādhā al-kitāb li-l-qiddīs Anṭūniyūs*

18 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 225.

19 "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, one God" *(Bi-smi l-Āb wa-l-Ibn wa-l-Rūḥ al-Qudus al-Ilāh al-wāḥid).*

al-Bāduwānī, "a prayer with which the translator presents this book to Saint Anthony of Padua" (p. V–VI).

In most prefaces, the didactic genre, close to a sermon, dominates. First, the author discusses the usefulness of a particular book, or the virtues that may be acquired through reading it, then he addresses the reader with pious edifications. Thus, in arguing for the importance of the Psalter, the author of the preface lists the themes it contains, which, according to him, summarize the entire content of the Bible, as follows (p. 3–4):

– Events from the past (*al-umūr al-māḍiya*);
– Divine prophecies (*al-nubuwwāt al-ilāhīya*);
– Moral instruction (*al-taʿālīm al-adabīya wa-l-ḥikam al-mufīda*);
– Thanksgiving and supplicatory prayers (*al-tasābīḥ al-shukrīya wa-l-ibtihālāt al-khushūʿīya*).

In the preface to Part I of *Contempt for the Vanities of the World*, the author declares:

ان هذا الكتاب الجليل هو اعظم كتابٍ للمفيد وللمستفيد، فللمفيد لانه يجد به موادًا كثيرة في كل معني يخص الوعظ والتعليم والتهذيب والتقويم، وللمستفيد لانه بهِ يعلم ما يجب عليهِ الزهد به او العمل بهِ للخلاص والسلوك في السبيل المستقيم

> This noble book is the most necessary thing both for the preacher and the reader; for the preacher – because he will find in it many topics relating to preaching, teaching, education, and correction, and for the reader – because it will help him learn what he should renounce or should pursue to attain salvation, and how to walk on the right path.

We have noticed that enumerations, classifications, and summaries of the contents are characteristic features of many prefaces of the Khinshāra editions, which brings them closer to the scholastic tradition. The authors of prefaces make extensive use of logical argumentation methods to present certain aspects of the Christian doctrine and to explain the benefits of a particular book. Efforts of systematizing are evident in many prefaces. Such an approach is not found in the books printed by Athanasios Dabbās and Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch. For example, in the didactic preface to the *Taʾammulāt rūḥīya*, the author details the methodology of meditation, supporting it with quotations from the Bible. He lists the six stages of mental prayer (according to the Catholic tradition) and provides a systematic explanation for each of them, as follows (p. 11):

The first part is preparation (*al-istiʿdād*)
The second part is reading (*al-qirāʾa*)
The third part is contemplation (*al-taʾammul*)
The fourth part is gratitude (*al-shukr*)
The fifth part is offering (*al-taqdima*)
The sixth part is supplication (*al-ṭilba*)

Prefaces do not contain any significant historical information other than data about the authors and translators of the published books and the context of their publication. Thus, the translator of part IV of the *Contempt for the Vanities of the World*, who names himself "the humble *padre* Alinsū Mīkhā'īl Kurjāde,[20] one of the Franciscan friars of the Province of our Lady, the Holy Virgin Mary, in the Kingdom of Spain", informs the readers that the book was translated during the period of "persecution of the believers and missionaries in the East" (*ḍīq wa-iḍṭihādāt 'alā al-mu'minīn wa-l-mursalīn fī bilād al-Sharq*), when, "because of this, missionaries even ceased to fulfill their mission, i.e., to teach and guide the Christians openly in their homes" (p. II–III).[21]

The longest historical text found in the prefaces is the detailed biography of the Spanish Jesuit scholar Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, author of *Mīzān al-zamān*. At the same time, it is surprising to note that 'Abdallāh Zākhir, the founder of the press, is mentioned by name only in two books (the preface of the *Interpretation of Seven Psalms* and the title page of *al-Burhān al-ṣarīḥ*). Similarly, neither specific persons involved in the Khinshāra press nor the authors of the prefaces are mentioned, and the community is always considered as a whole, as those who worked on the preparation of the books.

The names mentioned in the prefaces of the Khinshāra books can be recorded as follows (numbers correspond to the book titles in the list above):

Tab. 1: Names Mentioned in the Prefaces of the Khinshāra Books

Book number	Author's Name	Other Names
1	Juan Eusebio Nieremberg	
5	Diego de Estella	Raphael Wantāyūl (*translator*)[22] Anthony Aṭāyizā (*editor*)[23]

20 The foreign names of the persons whom we have not identified are mentioned here as transliterated in Arabic in the prefaces of the surveyed books.

21 This remark reflects the realities of the 18th century, when the Greek Catholic Church had not yet obtained official recognition in the Ottoman Empire. It may refer to the events of 1726, the peak of Patriarch Sylvester's confrontation with the pro-Catholic residents of Aleppo, when many of them were arrested and exiled by the Ottoman authorities; cf. Panchenko, *Ближневосточное православие под османским владычеством*, p. 448. The Catholic communities in the Ottoman Empire (Armenian Catholics and Melkites) were granted the status of separate *millets* only in the 1830s. See K. A. Panchenko, S. A. Moiseeva, "Мелькитская католическая церковь", *Православная энциклопедия*, 44, Moscow, 2016, p. 650.

22 The bursar (*al-wakīl al-'āmm*) of the Franciscan friars in Jerusalem (p. III).

23 The bursar (*al-wakīl al-'āmm*) of the Franciscan friars in Jerusalem (p. IV).

Tab. 1: Names Mentioned in the Prefaces of the Khinshāra Books (continued).

Book number	Author's Name	Other Names
6	Diego de Estella	Alinsū Mīkhā'īl Kurjāde (*translator*) Anthony Aṭāyizā (*editor*)
7	Paolo Segneri	Pierre Fromage (*translator*)
8	Pierre Arnoudie	'Abdallāh Zākhir (*translator*)
11	Paolo Segneri	Pierre Fromage (*translator*)
13	'Abdallāh Zākhir	
15		Pierre Fromage (*translator*)
16		Yūsuf bin Jirjis al-Ḥalabī al-Mārūnī (*translator*)[24]
17	Francesco Rainaldi	Mīkhā'īl Mizrāq (*translator*)[25]
20		Maronite patriarch Mār Yūsuf (*provider of the original text*) al-Sheikh Ghandūr (*sponsor*)[26]
22		Emanuel Shammā' (*compiler*)[27]

As can be seen from the names mentioned in the prefaces, the translators were either Catholic missionaries in the Middle East (and, apparently, their translations were revised by Christian Arabs), or Arabic-speaking Greek Catholics or Maronites. Some of them knew European languages, since from the early 18th century the best of the missionary school graduates were educated in Italy.[28] On the other hand, concerning the Shuwayrite order, there is proof that a solid knowledge of foreign languages was "a rare thing amongst the members of congregation".[29] As for the authors of the prefaces, their names are not mentioned, and we may suppose that some texts, especially at the initial stage, were composed by the missionaries and revised by native speakers of Arabic (as was the case of Zākhir with the Jesuit missionaries in Aleppo).[30] Other texts, especially those written in a rhymed form, must have been composed by Arab authors.

24 A Maronite subdeacon of Aleppo (p. IV).
25 A priest from the Greek Catholic Monastery of the Savior (*Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ*) in Lebanon (p. *7*).
26 An honorary consul of Beirut (p. V*).*
27 A priest from the Greek Catholic Monastery of the Savior (*Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ*) in Lebanon (p. 3).
28 Panchenko, Moiseeva, "Мелькитская католическая церковь", p. 651.
29 C. Walbiner, "Monastic Reading and Learning in Eighteenth-Century Bilād al-Šām: Some Evidence from the Monastery of al-Šuwayr (Mount Lebanon)", *Arabica*, 51, 2004, 4, p. 469, 474.
30 T. Jock, *Jésuites et Chouéirites ou la fondation des religieuses basiliennes chouéirites de Notre-Dame de l'Annonciation à Zouq-Mikaïl (Liban), 1730–1746*, Central Falls, [1936], p. 351.

Many prefaces of the Khinshāra Monastery books contain panegyric passages that mostly refer to the books themselves, and in some cases to their authors (e.g., biblical characters like the Prophet David, or the author of the original book presented to the reader in Arabic translation, like John Eusebius Nieremberg, or the translators, such as ʻAbdallāh Zākhir). These are typical epithets, like those addressed to the pioneers of the Khinshāra press – Fromage and Zākhir, as follows:

الاب المكرم ورسول بيعة الله المحترم، اعني بهِ البادرى بطرس فرماج سليل الرهبنة اليسوعية، المتلالية بسنا مناقبها في سما بيعة الله الكاثوليكيّة

The venerable father and revered Apostle of the Church of God, namely, *padre* Pierre Fromage, a disciple of the Jesuit Order that shines with the splendor of its dignities on the firmament of the Catholic Church… (*Murshid al-khāṭi'*, p. III).

الاب العالم المحقق والرسول اللاهوتي المدقق البادرى بطرس ارنودى اليسوعى، و… المعلم الفاضل والفيلسوف الكامل الشماس عبد الله زاخر الحلبي

The learned scholarly father, profound theologian and Apostle, the Jesuit *padre* Pierre Arnūdī [Arnoude] and… the virtuous teacher and consummate philosopher, the deacon ʻAbdallāh Zākhir al-Ḥalabī… (*Tafsīr sabʻat mazmūrāt*, p. 3).

Like in the case of the prefaces to books edited by Athanasios Dabbās, some of those in the Khinshāra editions are composed as a panegyric almost entirely dedicated to the glorification of the respective book (Psalter, *al-Murshid al-masīḥī*, *Murshid al-khāṭi'*, *Īḍāḥ al-taʻlīm al-masīḥī*, Gospel, etc.).

Each book includes information on the output, sometimes in the form of an afterword, but mostly as a final paragraph of the preface, including a request for prayers for those who have labored over the book (the brethren of the Khinshāra monastery). In some cases, the date of printing differs: the afterword at the end of the book mentions a later date than the paragraph in the preface (e.g., *Mīzān al-zamān* indicates the years 1733 and 1734, the Epistles – 1756 and 1758). Obviously, the later date should be considered as the one when printing was completed.

It is worth noting that prefaces in the books printed by the Greek Catholics do not contain elements of polemics against the Orthodox. Even the first books published in the 1730s, a few years after the schism in the Antiochian Church (in 1724), do not include such polemics. This should be compared with the prefaces of the books printed by the Greek Orthodox Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch, which have a strong anti-Catholic character. In some of the Khinshāra prefaces, an exposition of the Christian dogmas from a Catholic point of view was included. Nevertheless, according to Bernard Heyberger, in contrast with the prefaces, many texts in these

books reveal a marked militant Catholic character ("un caractère catholique militant marqué").[31]

As a rule, in reprints, the preface coincides with that of the first edition, except for a paragraph about the print run of the new edition. However, the ornamental elements used in the design of the reprint sometimes vary.

4 Language and Style

A high proficiency in Classical Arabic was traditionally a strong point of the Shuwayrite brethren. The bar was set high both by ʿAbdallāh Zākhir and his brother Niqūlā al-Ṣāʾigh, abbot of the monastery, who had learned Classical Arabic with Muslim scholars in Aleppo.[32] The composition of the monastery library surveyed by Carsten Walbiner testifies to the interest of the Shuwayrites in Arabic philology and their "eagerness to master the Arabic language and to use their mother tongue also as a literary means of expression".[33] It is not surprising, therefore, that the Khinshāra books demonstrate a high level of philological abilities.

When we compare the presentation of the main part of the prefaces in the Khinshāra books with the earlier editions of Athanasios Dabbās, a clear difference can be noticed. In the latter, an anonymous author of the prefaces of the books printed in Aleppo, introducing Dabbās's speech, resorted not only to rhyme, but to what is called "a weaving of words", often very complex. The prefaces of the Khinshāra books, on the contrary, were generally written in a narrative style which demonstrates a clear statement of the author's thinking and a well-defined line of reasoning. A significant example of such a text is the detailed biography of Juan Nieremberg in the preface to the *Mīzān al-zamān*, which can be considered an independent text.

At the same time, the authors of prefaces followed the tradition of Arabic literature, comprising the introductory paragraph praising God in rhymed structures and using typical stylistic means such as metaphors, epithets, etc. In part, they resorted to rhyme in the main part of the prefaces as well. A characteristic example are the two prefaces to *al-Burhān al-ṣarīḥ*, a book authored by ʿAbdallāh Zākhir. The first preface, with information on the printed book and the dogmas of the Christian faith, is written as a narrative in prose. The second, praising God and explaining

31 B. Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la Réforme catholique*, Rome, 1994, p. 440.

32 R. el Gemayel, "ʿAbd Allāh Zākhir", in *CMR* 12, p. 101.

33 Walbiner, "Monastic Reading and Learning in Eighteenth-Century Bilād al-Šām", p. 475.

the motives for writing the book, comprises pairs of sentences given with various rhymed endings (p. 8–9):

وبعدُ فلما سالني من اوجبت عليّ المحبة الاذعان لطاعتهِ، وحملني وجوب الشهادة للحق علي امتثال مشورتهِ، بان اكتب شيًا يسيرًا قريبًا للفهم في بيان حقيقة سرى دين المسيح، اعني بهما سر تثليث اقانيم الله وتوحيد جوهرهِ، وسر تجسد ابنهِ الوحيد وايضاح ماثره، فاجبته الي ذلك معتمدًا علي تنوير ابي الانوار الذى رقي الفهم البشرى الي معرفة اسرارهِ الفايقة، واقتاده الي فهم ذاتهِ بشهادتهِ الامينة الصادقة، مستعصمًا بايدهِ عن الزلل، ومستامنًا بارشادهِ عن الخطل، وقد قسمتُ رسالتي هذه الي بحثين تتقدمهما مقدمةٌ وتليهما خاتمة

> When He, Whom one must obey in love and Whose commandments one must follow for the sake of witnessing for the truth, commanded me to write something easy to understand, in order to explain the truth of the two mysteries of the faith of Christ, namely, the mystery of the Trinity of the hypostases of God in the unity of His essence and the mystery of the Incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God and His [redemptive] deed, I responded to His command, hoping to be enlightened by the Father of Lights, Who has raised man's mind to the knowledge of His greatest mysteries and made Himself known to him through His trustworthy testimony, keeping him from mistake with His hand and shielding him from error by His guidance. I have divided my treatise in two parts, which are preceded by a preface and followed by a conclusion [...].

In several prefaces, editorial work on the text and its checking against the Greek original are mentioned, without providing specific names of the persons who accomplished this work. The results of the thorough linguistic work are noticeable, since no misprints are found in the texts of the prefaces (compared to Athanasios Dabbās's books).[34] The orthography in the printed books improved over time: we can notice how during the 18th century, due to the thorough editorial work, there took place a gradual departure from the features of the manuscript tradition, and the orthographic norm was stabilized. For comparison, both Wallachian editions of Athanasios Dabbās (the 1701 Liturgikon and the 1702 Horologion) totally lack vocalizing, *tanwīn*, and *hamza*; from the editor's afterword in the Liturgikon, composed by Antim the Iberian, it results that their addition presented technical difficulties.[35] As for the Aleppo editions, they gradually included *tanwīn*, *shadda*, and some word-final short vowels. For the Khinshāra printers, it seems that vocalization was not a problem from the technical point of view; the short vowels are especially numerous in the Psalter (1740), traditionally used to teach reading. In addition, in the Khinshāra editions the *tā marbūṭa* is most often rendered according to the customary graphic norm (with two dots), and the word "Lord" (*ilāh*) is printed without *alif*, unlike its representation in most Christian Arabic manuscripts.

34 Petrova, "The Prefaces of the Christian Arabic Books Printed in Wallachia and Syria", p. 270.
35 Petrova, "The Prefaces of the Christian Arabic Books Printed in Wallachia and Syria", p. 287.

At the same time, we have noted that the Khinshāra printers deliberately preferred some orthographic features of the manuscript tradition. The preface to the 1740 Psalter (p. 10–11) states that the book retained the weak radical in the jussive form of the deficient verbs, while, according to Arabic grammar, the weak radical is expected to fall out. The editors explained this by the need to facilitate the learning of such forms by children and all those who study Arabic grammar based on the Psalter. We can remark that this approach is consistently present throughout the book. At the same time, the printers accurately omitted the weak third radical in all the cases when a pronoun is attached to the verb. Table 2 reproduces these particularities.

Tab. 2: Weak Radicals in the Jussive Form, Psalter, 1740

Weak radical retained		
Psalm 9, p. 27	ولم ينسي صراخ البايسين	He did not forget the cry of the needy[36]
Psalm 50, p. 118	وامحو كل مأآثمى	And all my lawless acts blot out
Psalm 50, p. 119	ولتبني أسوار اورشليم	And let the walls of Jerusalem be built
Psalm 54, p. 123	ولم يخلو من شوارعها الربا	And usury did not leave its streets
Psalm 63, p. 138	نجى نفسي	Deliver my soul
Weak radical omitted		
Psalm 21, p. 51	فلينجِهِ	Let Him rescue him
Psalm 38, p. 94	من جميع سياتي نجني	From all my acts of lawlessness rescue me
Psalm 43, p. 103	ولم ننسك	And we did not forget You
Kathisma 9, p. 155	واعطني	And give me

The above-mentioned linguistic remark from the preface to the Psalter shows that such orthographic norms, typical for Middle Arabic, were quite acceptable for the Arab Christians at the time. It should be noted that the variation of forms, both with the weak third radical and without it (in both the jussive and the imperative mood), is one of the characteristic features of the Arabic (especially Christian Arabic) manuscript tradition. To this day, writing a weak third radical in these forms is a common orthographic mistake.

36 The English translation of the Psalms fragments follows A. Pietersma, in A. Pietersma, B. Wright, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under that Title*, New York/Oxford, 2007.

An important element in the prefaces of the Khinshāra books is the reference to chapters of the Bible provided along with the biblical quotations. The reference is given only to the chapter, without a verse number, since in the 18th century the Arabic editions of biblical texts did not yet use a verse-by-verse breakdown:

لانه مكتوب (مزمور ١) طوبى للرجل الذى في ناموس الرب هواه وفي سنتهِ يتلو نهارًا وليلًا

For it is written (Psalm 1): "Happy is the man whose will is in the law of the Lord and on His law he will meditate day and night" (*Ta'ammulāt rūḥīya*, p. 4).

فمن ثم كان الرسول الالهى يتوسل الي المومنين ان يقتدوا بهِ قايلًا، اتضرع اليكم ان تصيروا مقتدين بى (قرنتيه اولى ٤)

That is why the divine Apostle urged the faithful to imitate him saying: "I urge you, then, be imitators of me" (*1 Corinthians* 4) (Acts and Epistles, ed. 1779, p. V).

The presence of references to the Bible chapters demonstrates the editors' orientation towards the European scholastic tradition with its rich culture of citation. This method may be compared with the way in which biblical quotations were introduced in the editions of Athanasios Dabbās and Patriarch Sylvester; in the former, they followed expressions like "as the Gospel says" (*ḥasaba dhalik al-qawl al-injīlī*), "the divine Apostle says" (*al-rasūl al-ilāhī yaqūl*), "as it is said" (*kamā yuqāl*). Other times, they were simply inserted into the main text, often as an inaccurate paraphrase: for example, in Sylvester's preface to the 1751 Horologion, for the sake of rhyme, an Islamic expression (*al-Raḥīm al-Raḥmān*) was added to the quotation from the Gospel: *Laysa bi-l-khubzi waḥda-hu yaḥyā al-insān, bal bi-kulli kalimat*^{in} *takhruju min fam Allāh al-Raḥīm al-Raḥmān*, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that comes from the mouth of God the Most Merciful".[37] In the prefaces of the Khinshāra books, on the contrary, one can notice that accurate biblical quotations were inserted in the text.

To summarize, from the time of 'Abdallāh Zākhir onwards, the Khinshāra press followed high standards of book publishing, both in book design and in terms of language. As a result, the late 18th-century books only slightly differ from the modern ones in orthography, and just a few graphic features (in particular, the absence of *hamza*, variations in the form of the final letter *yā'* with and without dots) remind us of the influence of manuscript tradition.

Thus, we may conclude that the activities of the Khinshāra press were an important stage in the development of the art of printing in the Arab world, and the Ottoman Empire in general. The philological work of the Khinshāra monastic community was one of the factors that paved the way for the Arabic literary revival in the 19th century

37 *Matthew* 4:4.

in the Levant, in which Arab Christians played a major role. Nevertheless, the output of the Khinshāra press remained restricted mostly to the Greek Catholic faithful. That is why the press gradually lost its importance in the 19th century, unable to compete with the more "progressive" presses established in Lebanon with foreign contribution, whose activities were aimed at a wider audience.

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David Neagu

Considerations on Oskan Erevants'i's Printing Activity

On October 13, 1668, in Amsterdam, Oskan Erevants'i finished printing the first Armenian Bible, the *Astvatsashunch'*, in the workshop that had recently been founded by Matt'eos Tsarec'i, known as Surb Etchmiadzin ew Surb Sargsi zoravar. Useful information about the process of printing the Bible can be found in its colophon, which was composed by Oskan.[1] This masterpiece is called by Armenians "the queen of all early publications"[2] and it represents a dream come true, since the Armenian catholicoi[3] had strived to print the Bible for a long time. The whole process was very complex in itself, but there were also other factors that Oskan had to consider in order to be able to complete his task, among them the need for funding and suitable type and engravings, the complex and thorny relations with the Catholic authorities, and a certain amount of opposition from the Catholic Armenians. However, in the end, his efforts were rewarded. In 1673, the vicar of the catholicos, Sahak Vardapet, sent Oskan a letter, asking him to print a *Mashtots'*, that is, a book of ordination, but also praising him for having printed the Armenian Bible.

> Let it be known about your magnanimity that [when] we heard about your tribulations and sorrows, my heart burned with great pain, remembering how great an occasion was [printing] that edition [of the Bible] and how many people rejoiced and [that] our people were illuminated, while you remained disconsolate and forsaken.[4]

The aim of this study is not to discuss the whole process of printing the Bible but to focus on two aspects: the cultural and religious context and the illustrations of the Oskanyan Bible.

Oskan couldn't print the Bible in Armenia due to the difficult conditions there, as the country was caught between the Ottomans and the Safavids and suffered greatly from the wars that were raging at the time. His only option was to come

1 "Hishatakaran," in *Astuatsashunch'*, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 834.

2 N. Gharibian, A. Sahakian, *The Iconography of the Oskanian Bible*, Yerevan, 2018, p. 19.

3 Plural of "catholicos", the patriarch of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

4 P. Ananean, "Oskan vardapeti namakanin", *Bazmavep*, 124/11–12, 1966, p. 302.

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to Europe, hoping to receive help from Rome or the Armenian merchants, who were already established in many port cities.[5] However, he had to be careful, as the Catholic Church would not easily approve the printing of the Armenian Bible, and without its approval the books could have been prohibited.[6] If a discussion of the cultural and religious context helps us understand how difficult it was for Oskan to navigate through a complex world marked by confessionalization, and how he succeeded in overcoming the challenges placed before him by the Catholic authorities, an analysis of the illustrations of the Armenian Bible constitutes a case study on the Armenian artistic borrowings from the West and how enduring they proved to be, as the style of the illustrations was copied by later printers.

In 1512, a certain Hakob Meghapart printed in Venice the first Armenian book, *Urbat'agirk'*, which translates as *The Book of Friday.* We do not know much about Hakob and why he chose to print Armenian books. We have only one colophon printed in his second book, *Pataragatetr*, a liturgical book, where we find his name.[7] Hakob's books can be considered a transition from manuscripts to printed books, as they share various characteristics with traditional Armenian manuscripts, and they were not as standardized as the books printed in Europe. For example, every copy of *Urbat'agirk'* is unique.[8] As for their content, they are popular books; therefore, Hakob decided to print works that would be valuable merchandise.[9] As the printing press was a novelty, he decided to copy the design of the manuscripts and use it in his books, so that his printed works would be as prestigious as

5 For the uninterrupted presence of Armenians in Italy from the beginning of the Middle Ages to the 18th century, see C. Mutafian, "Les Arméniens en Italie et les débuts de l'imprimerie", *Bazmavep*, 170, 2012, p. 119–134. According to Sebouh David Aslanian, the Armenian diaspora came into being in the context of the Celali rebellions and especially the wars between the Ottomans and the Safavids. In 1604, Shah Abbas I deported many Armenians to Iran, where some of them founded New Julfa, Isfahan's Armenian neighborhood. As many New Julfa Armenians were merchants, they subsequently moved to important port cities like Amsterdam, Venice, Livorno, Marseille, and Madras. There, they started to accumulate wealth and became involved in the printing of Armenian books, acting as patrons; see S. D. Aslanian, *Early Modernity & Mobility. Port Cities and Printers across the Armenian Diaspora, 1512–1800*, New Haven/London, 2023, p. 1–3.

6 According to the "Decree on the edition and use of sacred books", only the Vulgate edition could be printed in Catholic lands; see Cardinal John Farley, *Dogmatic Canons and Decrees. Authorized Translations of the Dogmatic Decrees of the Council of Trent, the Decree of the Immaculate Conception, the Syllabus of Pope Pius IX, and the Decree of the Vatican Council*, New York, 1912, p. 10–13.

7 *Pataragatetr*, Venice, press of Hakob Meghapart, 1513, p. 83.

8 A. Ouzunian, "Ուրբաթագիրք (Venise, 1512): du manuscrit au premier livre imprimé", *Bazmavep*, 170, 2012, p. 84, 91.

9 M. Pehlivanian, "La révolution typographique en Europe et l'exemple arménien (1512-1800)", *Bazmavep*, 2012, 170, p. 112.

manuscripts.[10] Hakob Meghapart printed five books between 1512 and 1513, when his activity stopped. According to Rafael Ishkhanyan, two Italian brothers, Paulo and Lelio Macsimi, convinced the Venetian authorities to forbid Hakob to continue his printing activities.[11]

A few decades later, another Armenian, Abgar Tokhatets'i, founded a printing press in Venice. This time, there is more information about the printer. According to a letter written in 1562 by his son, Sultanshah, the Catholicos Mkhitar I Sebastats'i sent Abgar to Rome to renew the ancient alliance (*Dashanc' t'ught'*) between Pope Sylvester and the first Armenian Christian king, Trdat III,[12] to find out whether the Europeans would help Armenian immigrants, and to prepare the way for the visit of the catholicoi from Cilicia and Etchmiadzin.[13]

Mkhitar I Sebastats'i was following in the footsteps of another Armenian catholicos, Step'annos V, who had sent in 1550–1551 an embassy to the Holy See that also visited Venice, where the doge was informed that the Armenians were waiting for his arrival to save them: "We know that our salvation and freedom must start with the wisdom of the lords of Venice".[14]

In 1565, after spending some time in Rome, Abgar went to Venice, where he printed two books, a Synaxarion and a Psalter, in order to convince the Ottomans that his embassy to the Holy See did not have political motivations but cultural ones.[15] In 1567, Abgar moved to Constantinople with his printing press, and there he published four books.[16] Mikaēl Nichanian considers that Abgar's embassy

10 R. Ishkhanyan, *Hay girk'ě*, Yerevan, 1981, p. 30.

11 Ishkhanyan, *Hay girk'ě*, p. 27–28.

12 *Dashanc' t'ught'* is a medieval forgery presenting an imaginary alliance between Constantin I and Pope Sylvester, on one hand, and Trdat III and Gregory the Illuminator on the other. According to it, the Christian world was divided between the Christian rulers. In his letter to Pope Pius IV, Catholicos Mkhit'ar explains his view of this alliance: "We expect, strongly hope, and ask that if you renew our decree, which the blessed and worthy of memory pontiff Silvestro and the Holy Constantine, the emperor, granted to our king Trdat and to the Holy Gregory, our first catholicos, in the old times, and if you send us a renewal of the old friendship between us, there we will be one flock and one shepherd. And the time has arrived to do this, so that we shall be freed by you from this captivity"; cf. A. V. Palchean, *Patmwt'yun kat'oghike vardapetut'ean i Hays ew miut'ean ěnd Hṛomeakan ekeghec'woy i P'lorentean syundhodosi*, Vienna, 1878, p. 152.

13 "Sult'anshahi namakě", in V. Zardarean (ed.), *Hishatakaran (1512–1933). Hay erevelineru kensagrut'ywnnerě, lusankarnerě, dzeŕagirnerě, grut'ywnnerě, ewln.*, vol. 5, Cairo, 1939, p. 11–12; K'. Korkotyan, *Hay tpagir girk'ě Kostandnupolsum (1567-1850 t't')*, Erevan, 1964, p. 5.

14 G. Alishan, *Hay Venet*, Venice, Publishing House of the Mxitarist Order, 1896, p. 329.

15 Korkotyan, *Hay tpagir girk'ě Kostandnupolsum*, p. 7.

16 Korkotyan, *Hay tpagir girk'ě Kostandnupolsum*, p. 10, 15.

to Rome also had the purpose of receiving the authorization for printing the Armenian Bible.[17]

In the following century, more and more petitions were sent by Armenian catholicoi and patriarchs to Rome, asking for the permission to print the Armenian Bible, but with no effect.[18] Hovhannes Ankyurats'i, who worked as a translator for the Venetian representative in Smyrna, came to Rome in 1637 and petitioned the pope, hoping to receive the approval to publish the Bible. He threatened that in the case of a negative answer, he would print it in a heretical (i.e., Protestant) country.[19] However, his threats did not produce any result and he moved to Venice, where he printed a Psalter in 1642, and the famous poem written by Nerses Shnorhali *Hisus Ordi* the next year.[20] As the Holy See did not authorize the printing of the Armenian Bible, in 1638, the primate of New Julfa, Khachatur Kesarats'i, decided to establish a press in Isfahan, hoping that one day he would be able to print the Holy Scriptures. Nevertheless, after printing the first book, a Psalter, Khachatur realized that he did not possess the necessary knowledge and tools to print the Bible. Therefore, he sent one of his disciples, Hovhannes Ktrhshents, to Europe, to learn more about printing.[21]

Hovhannes left New Julfa in 1639 and first went to Venice, then to Rome, and in the end to Livorno, where he decided to print a Psalter, since he was away from the censorship of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. However, information about him reached Rome, as the engraver who worked with him, Johannes Hermanchircher, was a spy for the Catholic authorities and, according to his reports, Hovhannes wanted to go back to New Julfa and establish an Arabic printing press there.[22] In May 1644, Hovhannes finished printing the Psalter and left Europe for his hometown, but when he arrived, he discovered that Khachatur Kesarats'i had died, and his efforts to continue the work of his master were not

17 M. Nichanian, "Dialogue et rivalités entre l'Église arménienne et Rome au XVII^{e} siècle: le cas d'Oskan Erevantsi et la Bible arménienne d'Amsterdam", in A. Girard, B. Heyberger, V. Kontouma (eds.), *Livres et confessions chrétiennes orientales. Une histoire conectée entre l'Empire ottoman, le monde slave et l'Occident (XVI^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles)*, Turnhout, 2023, p. 246. The Catholicos Azaria I of Cilicia sent a manuscript of the Bible to Pope Gregory XIII, asking him to print it, as there were very few copies in Armenia; see Aslanian, *Early Modernity & Mobility*, p. 411, n. 22.

18 Ishkhanyan, *Hay girk'ĕ*, p. 48.

19 According to Karabet Amadouni, Hovhannes Ankyurac'i did not threaten the Catholic authorities, but warned them about the possibility of printing the Bible in a Protestant country; K. Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewants'i ew ir zhamanakĕ", Part I, *Bazmavep*, 132, 1974, 3–4, p. 265.

20 *Hisus Ordi* is a poem that retells the Bible. See Ishkhanyan, *Hay girk'ĕ*, p. 49.

21 Aslanian, *Early Modernity & Mobility*, p. 124–130.

22 Aslanian, *Early Modernity & Mobility*, p. 131–132. I am pursuing this investigation, hoping to find more information on this early project of opening an Arabic press in Iran.

welcomed by the local community. He moved to the old town of Julfa, Nakhijevan, in 1650, where he soon died.[23]

A great step towards the printing of the Armenian Bible was represented by the foundation of an Armenian printing press in Amsterdam in 1660 by Matt'eos Tsarets'i. A priest from the province of Tsar in Armenia, Matt'eos went to Venice in July 1657, but he did not find the proper type for the Holy Scriptures and thus had to move to Rome. However, there he met with the opposition of the Catholic authorities. He asked the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide the permission to either use the Armenian type of Hovhannes Ankyurats'i, or to buy a new series of type, but he did not receive any answer. Moreover, the authorities forbade all craftsmen from working with Matt'eos. Thus, seeing that he would not have any success in Rome, in 1658 he moved to Amsterdam, where he met with the engraver Christoffel van Dyke, who created type and matrices that could be used for a common book, as well as for a Bible. In 1660, when van Dyke finished approximately 100 pieces of type, Matt'eos Tsarets'i started to print the poem *Hisus Ordi*, but he did not live long enough to see it completed. When Matt'eos had arrived in Amsterdam, he had not had the necessary money for founding a printing press, so he had taken out loans. Now, when he was on his deathbed, the creditors came to him asking for their money. Salvation came in the person of Avetis Ghlijents'i, an Armenian merchant who paid Tsarets'i's debts and became the administrator of the press after the Armenian priest died. However, Avedis did not know how to operate the press, so, he called his brother, Oskan Erevants'i, to help him.[24]

Between 1974 and 1976, Karapet Amadouni published a series of articles in the journal *Bazmavep* about the life of Oskan Erevants'i based on documents from the Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide and the Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, which had previously attracted little interest from historians, or none at all. From his studies, we can draw a clear picture of Oskan's life and activity.

Oskan Erevants'i was born in 1614 in New Julfa, where he went to school until 1629, when he moved to Etchmiadzin. There, he met in 1633 Paolo Piromalli, a Dominican whose task was to oversee the Catholic missions of Armenia. Thus, Oskan became the (unofficial) apprentice of the Catholic missionary. The close relations between the two were not agreeable to the Armenian clergy, and Oskan was going to suffer from his connections with the Catholic Church.[25] According to one of

23 Aslanian, *Early Modernity & Mobility*, p. 132–135.

24 Rich information is provided by Matt'eos and Avedis in the colophon of the book they printed, *Hisus Ordi*, Amsterdam, 1661, p. 600–614. See also Aslanian, *Early Modernity & Mobility*, p. 154–163; Ishkhanyan, *Hay girk'ě*, p. 58–59.

25 K. Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewantsi'i ew ir zhamanakě", Part II, *Bazmavep*, 133, 1975, 1–2, p. 6–9.

Piromalli's later testimonies, in 1634, Oskan decided to enter the communion with Rome, thus becoming a Catholic.[26]

One of Piromalli's main aims was to open a Catholic school in Armenia. According to the Papal Bull *Sancta Mater Ecclesiae* of 1584, Pope Gregory XIII announced the plan to build a school for Armenians in Rome, which was founded later by Pope Urban VIII as part of the Collegio Urbano. Simeon Lehats'i mentions that he saw the Armenian school when he went to Rome in 1611.[27]

However, it was not enough, and in 1629 the Catholicos Movses III Tat'evac'i, together with other clerics and merchants, sent a letter to the Holy See asking the pope to open an Armenian college in Rome, a matter that the Catholic authorities started to study, to search for the best place to build it, whether in Italy or somewhere else, where it would be easier for Armenians to attend.[28] Paolo Piromalli sent petitions to Rome arguing that the option of opening a college in Armenia should be taken off the table, as the opposition of the Catholicos P'ilipos I was very strong and he could appeal to the Safavid authorities to close it.[29] As Armenia did not prove welcoming to a Catholic school, Oskan Erevants'i went to Poland in 1638, together with other Armenians who were eager to study, as the Armenian bishop there, Nikolas Torrosowicz, had entered into communion with Rome in 1630. They were accompanying Paolo Piromalli, who went there to mediate the conflict between Torrosowicz and his congregation, as the Polish Armenians did not accept the Union with the Catholic Church.[30] According to a letter written by Oskan Erevants'i in 1638 in Constantinople, where he spent some time before departing to Poland, wherever he went, he suffered various persecutions for preaching the Catholic faith. Therefore, he asked for the protection of the Holy See.[31] It was mandatory to move to a place where he would not be persecuted for his Catholic faith.

Oskan converted to Catholicism early in his life, in 1634, when he was 20 years old, and formed a strong friendship with Paolo Piromalli, who had been sent to Armenia to coordinate the missionary efforts there. Piromalli himself did not have an easy life: a short time after he came to Armenia, he was thrown in prison and

26 K. Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewantsi'i ew ir zhamanakě", Part VI, *Bazmavep*, 134, 1976, 1–2, p. 34.

27 Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewantsi'i", Part II, p. 39–40.

28 Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewantsi'i", Part II, p. 40–41.

29 Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewantsi'i", Part II, p. 44.

30 Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewantsi'i", Part II, p. 50. For the question of the Union between the Polish Armenians and Rome and its impact on the relations between the Catholicos See of Etchmiadzin and the Holy See, see Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewantsi'i ew ir zhamanakě", Part III, *Bazmavep*, 133, 1975, 3–4, p. 257–287.

31 Ananean, "Oskan vardapeti namakanin", p. 293–294.

stayed there for 22 months.[32] Most likely after the Catholic missionary was freed, Oskan told him that he wanted to be a Catholic. However, being a Catholic in Armenia at the time was not easy, all the more so since Oskan was interested in studying, while the ecclesiastical hierarchy did not want to let young people spend their time learning instead of working.[33] Of course, Piromalli was too zealous, and it seems that he did not understand the difficult situation of the Armenians. As he wrote in a letter addressed to the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, "Let the Pope know that Armenia is destroyed. The brothers[34] are few: ignorant, without a moral order, and riotous; they sell the sacraments and always complain".[35] This intransigent behavior was not welcomed by the locals. Oskan understood that if he wanted to study he had to go abroad, and he left Armenia for Poland. But when he came back, he faced persecution from the Armenian clergy. However, he stood fast and even continued to preach the true faith.

After several years spent in Poland, Oskan returned to Armenia, where he became in 1641 abbot of the Monastery of Saint Sargis of Ushi, a position that he held until 1662. During this period, his relations with the Armenian clergy worsened, and he was even in danger of losing his title of *vardapet* and his ecclesiastical position.[36] Oskan's relations with the catholicos improved when his nemesis, Simeon Jughayets'i, died in 1658, and Hakob IV decided to reopen the negotiations with the Holy See, also ordaining Oskan as bishop.[37] According to information provided by François Pallu, bishop of Heliopolis and apostolic vicar of Tonkin, who passed through Armenia on his way to Vietnam, Oskan was indeed a Catholic, and the Catholicos Hakob acknowledged the pope as the head of the Church and even wanted to travel to Rome.[38] In this context of an opening towards Rome, when Matt'eos Tsarets'i died in 1661, Oskan was sent by the Catholicos Hakob IV to continue his printing activity and, if possible, to publish the Armenian Bible.[39]

32 Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewants'i", Part II, p. 18–21.

33 Piromalli's letter of 22 April 1632 states that he wanted to gather as many Armenian students as possible and start teaching them, but the archbishop of Nakhijevan considered that money was more important than studying: "Because these Christians are already learned and holy; we need money, not knowledge", cf. Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewants'i", Part II, p. 13.

34 Members of the Armenian Uniate congregation.

35 Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewants'i", Part II, p. 11.

36 K. Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewants'i ew ir zhamanakě", Part V, *Bazmavep*, 134, 1976, 1–2, p. 14–15, 22.

37 Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewants'i", Part V, p. 27–29; Nichanian, "Dialogue et rivalités entre l'Eglise arménienne et Rome au XVII^{e} siècle", p. 259.

38 H. Berberian, "Ējmiatsni vank'ě 1662-in", *Hask*, 1950, 8–10, p. 271–273, *apud* Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewants'i", Part VI, 1976, p. 30.

39 Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewants'i", Part VI, p. 32.

A passage in one of Oskan's letters addressed to the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide explains why he decided to leave Armenia and how important it was to publish the Armenian Bible. Writing on October 29, 1668, two weeks after he finished printing the Holy Scriptures, he presents a grim picture of the cultural life in Armenia.

> [...] Because our people do not possess knowledge and are not wisdom lovers like yours are, and because of that [they] do not ask for books to read, [an activity] that is the mother of knowledge, but they do not need them. Although a few people, one in a thousand, are seekers of knowledge and need books, that too [is] not with passion and in a complete manner, especially that [even if] he has a deep love [of knowledge], because of the absence of anyone to feed the fire within him day after day, it is extinguished and fades away, [so that] darkness and sheer ignorance make it fruitless. Moreover, the books of the *vardapets* of the Church have disappeared from our people, to the end that [they] cannot be found elsewhere, and even if they are found with certain people, they cannot understand the meaning of the words, because some of our *vardapets*, by misguided words, have unsettled the minds of our [people], establishing their words [as the true ones]. Therefore, our ancestors' knowledge was obliterated from [the mind of] our people and the words of the ones at the end endure as the true words, because the words of the old doctors of theology are lost.[40]

Oskan presents his itinerary in the colophon of the Armenian Bible. In September 1662, he left Armenia and traveled to Europe, intending to print the Bible. After a troubled journey, he arrived in Livorno, where he found no one to help him with his task. Hoping to be more successful, he went to Rome, but there too, it was to no avail. Thus, he returned to Livorno,[41] where he finally succeeded in convincing three Armenian merchants to help him: Step'annos, Petros, and T'eodoros. They signed a contract and the first two of them promised to send the profits from the selling of the Bible to Etchmiadzin, while the last one agreed to donate half of its profits to the Armenian church in Jerusalem, and the other half to the Monastery of Saint Sargis of Ushi.

Having received the necessary funds to print the Bible, Oskan went to Amsterdam, where he continued to print the books that had been prepared by his brother, Avetis Ghlijents'i. However, as the type was not suitable to print the Holy Scriptures with it, he ordered a new set and printed a *Sharaknoc'*, a book of hymns, in order to try them. Satisfied with the result, he then started printing the Bible, which was finished on October 13, 1668.[42]

40 S. Chemchemean, "Oskan vardapet Erewants'ii norahayt namaknerě", *Bazmavep*, 147, 1989, 1–4, p. 181.

41 Here, Oskan met with his brother, Avetis Ghlijents'i; cf. Amadouni "Oskan vardapet Erewants'i", Part VI, p. 32–33.

42 "Hishatakaran", in *Astuatsashunch'*, 1666, p. 833–834.

When Oskan arrived at Livorno in 1663, he had in his possession a manuscript of the Bible.[43] He moved to Rome in the autumn of the same year, and after a few months, he sent a request to the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, asking for authorization to print the New Testament. The Propaganda Fide approved his request on one condition, namely, to find someone to examine the printed version, to check for mistakes, but as no one could be found, the project did not materialize.[44]

Oskan remained in Rome, while the Congregatio was unsure about the purpose of his visit. He told them that he wanted to print some books, and on June 21, 1664, he received a letter of recommendation that was to be handed to the apostolic legate in Brussels, who was informed that the Armenian bishop would come there to print some books "for the service of his Catholic people."[45] According to a letter dated 1670, Oskan also received the right to print the Bible.[46] Knowing the Catholic authorities' position towards the printing presses of the Netherlands, Oskan did not tell them that he intended to print the Bible there, when he asked for money to cover his expenses.[47] Although Oskan was a true Catholic,[48] he understood that in the context of confessionalization, he should not disclose his main objective to the Catholic authorities, an attitude that can be considered wise. While the Propaganda Fide believed that Oskan would print books that would benefit the Catholic Armenians, in the colophon of the Bible we read that the Armenian bishop and the three merchants who agreed to support his endeavor would pay the necessary expenses until the printing would be completed, "for the profit of our nation and the benefit of the Holy See".[49] Caught between two worlds, the Armenian and the Catholic, Oskan decided to reconcile them: he was a true Catholic, but he did everything he could to help his people.[50] In the words of Mikaël Nichanian, "De fait, comme Mekhitar [de Sébaste], l'évêque Oskan semblait souhaiter concilier, réconcilier, voire à unir les deux Églises, leurs doctrines, leurs traditions et même leur clergé."[51] He hoped that one day the Armenians would be in communion with Rome, and declared that he

43 Chemchemean, "Hay tpagrut'yuně ew Hṛom", *Bazmavep*, 146, 1988, 1–4, p. 64.

44 Chemchemean, "Hay tpagrut'yuně ew Hṛom", p. 64–65.

45 *SOCG*, vol. 223, fol. 224, *apud* Chemchemean, "Hay tpagrut'yuně ew Hṛom", p. 65.

46 Ananean, "Oskan vardapeti namakanin", p. 299.

47 Chemchemean, "Hay tpagrut'yuně ew Hṛom", p. 67; Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewants'i", Part VI, p. 36.

48 Johannes van Neercassel, the papal vicar in the Netherlands, confirmed the veracity of Oskan's Catholicism; cf. Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewants'i", Part VI, p. 44.

49 "Hishatakaran", in *Astuatsashunch'*, 1666, p. 833.

50 In the letter of 1668 addressed to Pope Clement VIII, Oskan mentioned that his nation was still under the Turkish yoke; Ananean, "Oskan vardapeti namakanin", p. 294–295.

51 Nichanian, "Dialogue et rivalités entre l'Église arménienne et Rome au XVII[e] siècle", p. 245.

had preached the Catholic faith in many places of Armenia: "[...] io, conosciuto la verità Cattolica, subito ho cominciato propagarla in diversi luoghi, anzi nella stessa residenza del nostro Patriarcha, così in publico come in secreto; da che ne ho patito molti disprezzi e supportato persecutio da un luoco all'altro".[52]

In 1668, Oskan sent a copy of the Bible to the pope and the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. In a letter addressed to Clement VIII, the Armenian bishop presented his work as having two objectives: "Ad altissimi Dei gloriam, Fidei Catholicae propagationem et nostrae Armeniacae Nationis emolumentum".[53] However, it was not an easy task for Oskan, as he complained that he was separated from his people to such an extent that they did not accept him at liturgy and even despised him.[54] At the end of the Bible, the Armenian bishop wrote in a message to the reader that he had made certain changes to bring the Armenian Bible as close as possible to the Vulgate and that he did so only where it was possible.[55]

In a letter he sent to the secretary of the Congregatio, we read that he translated from Latin the books of Joshua, the fourth chapter of Ezra, and the preface that Saint Jerome had written for the Vulgate.[56] However, in the letter addressed to Clement VIII in 1668, Oskan informed the pope that he could not modify the Bible too much, otherwise the Armenians would not accept it, and he would have invested so much money and effort to no avail.[57]

The Congregatio de Propaganda Fide had a spy in the Netherlands, Johannes van Neercassel, archbishop of Utrecht, who sent letters informing the Catholic authorities about Oskan's activity there. Except for the first reports, which did not provide reliable information, van Neercassel wrote to his superiors that the Armenian bishop was acting at the orders of the catholicos, that he was an orthodox Catholic, and that he was confronted with many problems. Therefore, he even encouraged the Propaganda Fide to provide him with money. Moreover, he presented Oskan's disciples and proposed them as future candidates for the Collegio Urbano. The Congregatio agreed to send some money to Oskan, on condition that his Bible was checked so that no error would creep inside it.[58]

Although the Catholic authorities were carefully watching Oskan and his activities, as Karapet Amadouni emphasizes, the Propaganda Fide did help the

52 Ananean, "Oskan vardapeti namakanin", p. 299.
53 Ananean, "Oskan vardapeti namakanin", p. 294.
54 Chemchemean, "Oskan vardapet Erewants'ii", p. 183.
55 "Aṛ ĕnt'ercōghsd", in *Astuatsashunch'*, 1666, p. 831.
56 Chemchemean, "Oskan vardapet Erewants'ii", p. 181–182.
57 Chemchemean, "Oskan vardapet Erewants'ii", p. 181.
58 Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewants'i", Part VI, p. 43–45.

Armenians in their process of printing the Bible.[59] Moreover, one of the main obstacles on the path of printing the Bible was the hesitation of the Armenians who arrived in Rome, as they chose to eschew a straight attitude towards the Holy See.[60]

Soon after printing the Bible, Oskan left Amsterdam and went to Paris, where he received a royal decree from Louis XIV granting him the right to establish a press in Lyon or Marseilles. However, he did not head to any of these cities but traveled to Livorno, where he met with his disciple, Karapet Andrianats'i, who had travelled to Italy to bring two copies of the Bibles to the pope and the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. Oskan printed three more books in the Italian city, and in 1672 he moved to Marseilles.[61]

The Armenian bishop offered some explanations regarding his departure from the Netherlands. In 1668, while still in Amsterdam, Oskan asked the Congregation to offer him a place to stay, as he wanted to come to Italy because he suffered more persecution in the Netherlands than in the Ottoman lands and he became suspicious of everyone, whether Armenian or foreign.[62] According to a letter of 1670, afraid that the catholicos could send another vardapet who would print heretical books, he left Amsterdam for a Catholic country.[63] Oskan's mention of a menace of printing heretical Armenian books in Amsterdam seems odd: he came to Europe by order of the catholicos, and it seems they were on good terms. Maybe because of causes unknown to us, Oskan's relations with Hakob IV turned cold. But there is also the possibility that the Armenian bishop used this excuse to convince the Catholic authorities about his commitment to the Holy See. Perhaps he reacted to some criticism that was formulated against him by Armenians in Italy.

Having received the Bible in 1668, the Propaganda Fide asked two Armenian Catholic missionaries, Basilios Barsegh and Hovhannes Holov, to translate the New Testament into Latin. They translated only parts, including the colophon and the dedication to the catholicos, as well as some phrases where Oskan explained why he had decided to print the Bible in Amsterdam and not in Rome.[64]

At the same time, these two missionaries were in conflict with the Armenians in Livorno, as their efforts to convert the community to Catholicism led to a wave of antipathy. The local Armenians had asked the catholicos to excommunicate them.[65] Barsegh and Hovhannes had the support of an Armenian merchant, Gaspar, who

59 Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewants'i", Part I, p. 273.
60 Amadouni, "Oskan vardapet Erewants'i", Part I, p. 274–275, n. 35.
61 Aslanian, *Early Modernity & Mobility*, p. 193–197.
62 Chemchemean, "Oskan vardapet Erewants'ii", p. 182.
63 Ananean, "Oskan vardapeti namakanin", p. 299.
64 Chemchemean, "Hay tpagrut'yuně ew Hṛom", p. 72.
65 Chemchemean, "Hay tpagrut'yuně ew Hṛom", p. 73.

had paid their tuition to the Collegio Urbano and was even involved in the affair of Oskan's Bible. Gaspar sent three letters to the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in which he denigrated the catholicos, defended the two missionaries, and reported that the Armenian press in Amsterdam printed books that were full of mistakes. It was not by chance that Oskan moved to a Protestant country: he wanted to print heretical books, in a heretical country. Oskan himself could not be a trustworthy man since he could be bought with money.[66] Perhaps the Armenian bishop was already informed of these accusations. Therefore, in his letter of 1670, he tried to tone down these accusations by implying that Oskan wanted to move to a Catholic country in order to save his press from printing heretical books.

Oskan Erevants'i could not have printed the Armenian Bible without enough money to cover all expenses. And money was, perhaps, the main reason that led him to leave Amsterdam. According to one of Oskan's assistants, T'eodoros Erēts' Hamazaspean, the three merchants who agreed to support Oskan's mission gave him money only in the beginning. While he was printing the Bible, the Armenian bishop ran out of money and had to take loans from a merchant living in Amsterdam. As the danger of bankruptcy was looming, the Armenian bishop decided to escape his creditors and moved to France.[67]

After he established his printing press in Marseilles, Oskan's activity came under the close watch of the Catholic censors,[68] but his press managed to survive his death, which occurred in 1674, and even continued to print books until 1717.[69]

Oskan Erevants'i had to navigate a complex web of political, cultural, and religious relations to be able to print the first Armenian Bible. As I have discussed above, he was a Catholic but also an Armenian, and he tried to combine both elements of his identity: he obeyed the pope but honored Armenian culture. This combination of elements from Western and Armenian civilizations can also be seen in his masterpiece, the Armenian Bible. Oskan adopted various European artistic elements so that his Bible could be in line with the books that were printed at the time. Thus, he had a strong and long-lasting influence on the subsequent typographers who printed new editions of the Holy Scriptures.

In the colophon of the Bible, Oskan noted that he ordered a new set of typefaces, as the one used by Matt'eos Tsarets'i was not suited for printing the Holy Scriptures, and he used the new type for the first time to publish the *Sharaknots'* (*Collection*

66 Chemchemean, "Hay tpagrut'yunĕ ew Hṛom", p. 74–75.

67 Aslanian, *Early Modernity & Mobility*, p. 169–170.

68 For the activity of the Catholic censorship regarding the "Holy Ējmiatsin and St Sargis Zoravor" press, see Aslanian, *Early Modernity & Mobility*, p. 190–225.

69 Ishkhanyan, *Hay girk'ĕ*, p. 71.

of Armenian Hymns). However, he did not say anything about the engravings that were used to illustrate the Bible. To trace the history of the woodcuts used by Oskan, we must analyze the book that was printed in the same press by Matt'eos Tsarets'i. *Hisus Ordi* was published in 1661, after Matt'eos's death, through the efforts of Avetis Ghlijents'i,[70] and contains 99 illustrations that are signed with the initials C. V. S., which correspond to Christoffel van Sichem.[71] The *Sharaknots'* also contains 49 illustrations marked with the same initials.[72] The fact that the engravings are linked to biblical subjects represents additional proof that the main mission of the press in Amsterdam was to print the Holy Scriptures.[73]

Christoffel van Sichem came from a Dutch family of well-known engravers. Christoffel van Sichem the Elder (1546-1624) was the first member of his family to work as an engraver. His son, Christoffel van Sichem the Younger (1581–1658), followed in his father's footsteps and continued to work as an engraver and illustrator.[74] Most of the illustrations printed in the Oskanyan Bible had been published also in two other previous works, *Bibels tresoor* (1646) and *Biblia sacra* (1657).[75]

Why did Matt'eos Tsarets'i decide to buy the woodcuts from Christoffel van Sichem? Certain Armenian researchers consider that they were affordable and accessible.[76] However, there is also another possible reason, which is related to the complex ties between Europe and the East in the 17th century.

The Armenian community in New Julfa started to build a few churches there soon after the foundation of the colony in 1606. The Cathedral of the Holy Savior (Vank), the Church of Bethlehem, and the Church of Saint Menas were built between 1606 and 1650.[77] The paintings of these churches were most likely executed by European, not local artists. The Safavid shahs of the 17th century hired European artists to work for them, and, undoubtedly, the Armenians encountered them.[78] Otto Meinardus's analysis of the painting of the Last Judgement in the Cathedral

70 See the colophon of the books in N. Shnorhali, *Hisus Ordi*, Amsterdam, 1660-1661, p. 600–614.

71 N. A. Oskanyan, K'. A. Korkotyan, A. M. Savalyan, *Hay girk'ě 1512–1800 t'vakannerin*, vol. 1, Erevan, 1988, p. 36.

72 Oskanyan, Korkotyan, Savalyan, *Hay girk'ě 1512-1800 t'vakannerin*, 1, p. 47.

73 A. Enok'yan, "Oskan Erevants'u tpagir grk'eri patkeragrut'yuně ev dra azdets'ut'yuně hay grk'arvestum", in H. T'amrazyan, V. Devrikyan, K. Matevosyan (eds.), *Oskan Erevants'i champ'ordut'yun hay tpagrut'yan k'aŕughinerov*, Erevan, 2016, p. 77–78.

74 N. Gharibian, A. Sahakian, *The Iconography of the Oskanian Bible*, Erevan, 2018, p. 23.

75 A. Enokyan, "Oskan Erevants'u Astuatsashnch'i patkerazardman hamakargě", in G. Tēr-Vardanean, *Oskanean Astuatsashnch'i hratarakut'ean 350-ameakě*, Etchmiadzin, 2018, p. 51.

76 Enokyan, "Oskan Erevants'u hamakargě", p. 53.

77 O. Meinardus, "The Last Judgement in the Armenian Churches of New Julfa", *Oriens Christianus*, 55, 1971, p. 182.

78 Meinardus, "The Last Judgement in the Armenian Churches of New Julfa", p. 183.

of the Holy Savior reflects a Western influence (Fig. 1). Paradise is depicted as a tower with a gate, while in front of it there are twenty members of the Armenian clergy and four women, a scene that the author considered to be a copy of Stephen Lochner's *Last Judgement*.[79] Among the models that Meinardus considered a source of inspiration for the artists who painted the walls of the churches in New Julfa were also the woodcuts of Christoffel van Sichem.[80] Another scholar, T. S. R. Boase, had formulated the same opinion earlier, in 1950.[81] The woodcuts of the illustrations used by Oskan to print the Bible were already available to the illustrators in New Julfa, who had used them in a manuscript in 1645.[82]

According to some reports of 1638, the Dutch East India Company was ready to send to Persia a certain Barend van Sichem, whose paintings had already arrived at the royal court in Isfahan, and the shah had liked them.[83] Undoubtedly, he was a member of the same family as Christoffel van Sichem. He died in Bandar Abbas in 1639.[84] As the painting of the Cathedral of the Holy Savior was finished no later than 1664,[85] the conclusion is that the Armenians in New Julfa knew about the artistic works of the van Sichem family before the printing of the Bible. Thus, there is the possibility that Matt'eos Tsarec'i knew about Christoffel van Sichem's woodcuts when he bought them. I would go even further and say that maybe, given the popularity of this family in Iran, he wanted to be sure that the Bible that was going to be printed would be appreciated by the Armenians of New Julfa.

Oskan Erevants'i's decision to use Christoffel van Sichem's woodcuts in his Bible had important consequences on Armenian art in general.[86] One of the reasons for his long-lasting legacy is that the Dutch engraver copied works of art by other European artists, such as Albrecht Dürer, Hendrick Goltzius, Maarten van Heemskerck, Virgil Solis, Philip Galle, Marcello Venusti, and Leandro Bassano.

79 Meinardus, "The Last Judgement in the Armenian Churches of New Julfa", p. 186.

80 Meinardus, "The Last Judgement in the Armenian Churches of New Julfa", p. 193–194.

81 T. S. R. Boase, "A Seventeenth-Century Typological Cycle of Paintings in the Armenian Cathedral at Julfa", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 3, 1950, 3–4, p. 323–327.

82 Enokyan, "Oskan Erevants'u hamakargĕ", p. 53–54.

83 Enokyan, "Oskan Erevants'u hamakargĕ", p. 54.

84 M. J. Bok, "European Artists in the Service of the Dutch East India Company," in M. North, T. Kaufmann (eds.), *Mediating Netherlands Art and Material Culture in Asia*, Amsterdam, 2015, p. 198.

85 J. Carswell, *New Julfa. The Armenian Churches and Other Buildings*, Oxford, 1968, p. 30, n. 1, *apud* Meinardus, "The Last Judgement in the Armenian Churches of New Julfa", p. 184.

86 Enokyan, "Oskan Erevants'u hamakargĕ", p. 52.

Some of the woodcuts bear their initials.[87] In this way, many Armenians became acquainted with European art.

Many illustrations from *Hisus Ordi* and *Sharaknots'* are present as well in the Armenian Bible, but there are also cases where Oskan decided to use other woodcuts, which were also made by Christoffel van Sichem. For example, in *Hisus Ordi* there are two illustrations to represent the moment when Noah brings all animals onto the ark, but only one also appears in the Bible.[88] Other illustrations, such as Jacob wrestling with the angel,[89] Moses on Mount Sinai,[90] or Moses breaking the tablets of the Ten Commandments,[91] are not reproduced in the Oskanyan Bible using the same woodcuts.[92] The situation is the same for some illustrations from the book *Sharaknots'*. The episode where God orders Adam not to eat from the forbidden fruit does not appear in Oskan's Bible.[93] Another important difference is related to the portrait of Saint John the Evangelist (Fig. 2): the *Sharaknots'* and the Bible use two different woodcuts.[94] Other illustrations fall into the same category: the Prodigal Son[95] and the Crucifixion.[96] There is also a difference between *Hisus Ordi* and *Sharaknots'*: the latter has an explanation under every illustration. The different uses of the illustrations and the presence of explanations in *Sharaknots'* represent additional proof that these two books also had the purpose of a test, where Oskan could experiment with the type and illustrations.

The illustrations in the Oskanyan Bible are also present in other editions of the Bible, like the one printed in 1705 in Constantinople by Petros Latinats'i. There is no information about him other than what is written in the colophon of the Bible: he printed the book in 1705 and used a copy of Oskan's Bible without changing

87 Enokyan, "Oskan Erevants'u hamakargĕ", p. 51–52; Gharibian, Sahakian, *The Iconography of the Oskanian Bible*, p. 24.

88 Shnorhali, *Hisus Ordi*, p. 20–21. The woodcut on p. 21 was used by Oskan to illustrate this episode in the Bible.

89 Shnorhali, *Hisus Ordi*, p. 37.

90 Shnorhali, *Hisus Ordi*, p. 53.

91 Shnorhali, *Hisus Ordi*, p. 57.

92 See *Astuatsashunch'*, 1666, p. 7, 177. The episode where Jacob wrestles with the angel is not illustrated in the Bible.

93 *Sharaknots'*, Amsterdam, 1664–1665, p. 130.

94 *Sharaknots'*, p. 105; *Astuatsashunch'*, 1666, p. 430. In this case, in the illustration from *Sharaknots'*, besides the initials C. V. S., two other letters appear: *fe*. Maybe this woodcut was made by another member of the van Sichem family.

95 *Sharaknots'*, p. 156. This illustration, which shows the Prodigal Son working as a pig keeper, does not appear in the Bible.

96 *Sharaknots'*, p. 269. See *Astuatsashunch'*, 1666, p. 426.

anything.[97] The book has few illustrations, but they are also marked with the initials C. V. S., meaning that Petros used the same woodcuts as in the case of the Oskanyan Bible, with two exceptions: an illustration that presents the moment when God orders Adam to abstain from eating the forbidden fruit,[98] which he might have taken from the *Sharaknots'*; the other case is represented by the portrait of Saint John the Evangelist, which is different from the illustration of the other Evangelists.[99] It could imply that Petros did not have this woodcut and had to improvise (Fig. 3, 4). Besides these slight differences, Petros Latinats'i's Bible is just a copy of Oskan's.[100] The same illustrations as the ones from the Oskanyan Bible can be seen in the edition printed by Mkhit'ar Sebastats'i, but this time copper plates were used.[101]

As mentioned above, the Oskanyan Bible is considered the queen of Armenian early printing. What Oskan Erevants'i accomplished in such difficult circumstances left a lasting mark on Armenian history. In the first part of this paper, I presented the cultural and religious context of the 17th century and the way Oskan succeeded in navigating a complex web of relationships marked by confessional allegiances. But, perhaps, the tragic part of Oskan's life happened when he came to Europe and the Catholic authorities did not fully trust him. As he declared in his letters, he sought comfort and protection from them, knowing that he had suffered rejection from his people.[102] However, even though he faced many difficulties, he completed his goals. It is important to emphasize that his greatest adversaries were the two Armenian missionaries from Livorno, Basilio Barsegh and Hovhannes Holov: because they were in a conflict with the local Armenians, their scrutiny of Oskan's Bible was not objective at all, and their accusations were entirely false.

The first printed edition of the Bible is a masterpiece from every point of view. Its influence lasted for a long time: the editions of Petros Latinats'i and Mkhitar Sebastats' are considered reprints of the Oskanyan Bible.[103] Oskan spent a fortune to publish it. A major difference between this Bible and the other books that were printed between 1512 and 1800 is represented by their print runs. Usually, Armenian typographers did not print more than 500 to 1,000 copies of one book, except for

97 *Astuatsashunch'*, Istanbul, press of Petros Latinats'i, 1705, p. 407.

98 *Astuatsashunch'*, 1705, p. 6.

99 *Astuatsashunch'*, 1705, p. 416.

100 Vahan vardapet Teryan, "Astvatsashnch'i hayeren tpagrut'yan patmutyunits", *Ējmiatsin*, 9, 1960, p. 13.

101 Enokyan, "Oskan Erevants'u hamakargĕ", p. 52.

102 Ananean, "Oskan vardapeti namakanin", p. 293–294, 296–298.

103 V. Nersesian, *The Bible in the Armenian Tradition*, The Getty Museum, 2001, p. 34, *apud* Enokyan, "Oskan Erevants'u Astuatsashnch'i patkerazardman hamakargĕ", p. 52.

the Oskanyan Bible, which was published in around 3,000 copies.[104] The study of the circulation of cultural products between Europe and the East is useful on the one hand to understand the importance of networks, as Sebouh David Aslanian emphasized,[105] and on the other hand to understand how the first printed edition of the Bible paved the way for Western influences on the Armenian art. As Dickran Kouymjian noted, the process of adopting European artistic influences was not limited to printing but also spread to vestments and religious items.[106] Undoubtedly, Oskan's Bible opened a new era in the history of Armenian art.[107]

104 Pehlivanian, "La révolution typographique en Europe et l'exemple arménien (1512–1800)", p. 99–100.

105 Aslanian, *Early Modernity & Mobility*, p. 148–189.

106 D. Kouymjian, "Between Amsterdam and Constantinople: The Impact of Printing on Armenian Culture", in M. Dimitrieva, B. Kovacs, S. Troebst (eds.), *Die Kunst der Armenier im östlichen Europa*, Köln/Weimar/Vienna, 2014, p. 24.

107 Enokyan, "Oskan Erevants'u hamakargë", p. 57.

Fig. 1: *The Last Judgement*, fresco, 17th century, Cathedral of the Holy Savior, Vank, Isfahan, Iran (Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Catedral_Vank,_Isfah%C3%A1n,_Ir%C3%A1n,_2016-09-20,_DD_106-108_HDR.jpg).

Fig. 2: *John the Evangelist* in the *Sharaknots*, Amsterdam, 1664-1665/1712?, Library of Congress, Washington DC (Public domain, https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedscd.2005554925/?sp=105&r=-0.95,-0.055,2.9,1.508,0).

Fig. 3: John the Evangelist in the *Astuatsashunch'*, Istanbul, 1705, National Library of Armenia (Public domain, http://greenstone.flib.sci.am/gsdl/collect/armenian/import/astvacashunch1705-07/astvacashunch1705.html).

Fig. 4: *The Holy Evangelists* in the *Astuatsashunch'*, Amsterdam, 1666, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, African and Middle Eastern Division, Armenian Rarities (Public domain, https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedscd.2003550072/?sp=1071&r=-0.037,0.29,1.242,0.646,0).

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Radu Dipratu

"Blessings of the Printed Work": Islamic Scholars (*ulemâ*) and the Müteferrika Press in Early 18th-Century Istanbul

1 Introduction: The Tulip Age

The first Arabic-type printing press for Turkish, opened by Ibrahim Müteferrika in Istanbul, was a product of the so-called Tulip Age (*Lale Devri*), which spanned from 1718 to 1730. It was a relatively quiet period for the Ottoman Empire, having secured peace with its European rivals at Passarowitz.[1] The only major military campaigns occurring in this period were in Western Persia, as the Porte sought easy gains from the crumbling Safavid state. Under the reign of Sultan Ahmet III (ruled 1703–1730), his grand vizier and son-in-law (*Damat*) Nevşehirli Ibrahim Pasha, and the progressive grand mufti Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi, this stability provided a suitable environment for the flourishing of arts and culture. The lavish celebrations hosted at the sultan's newly-built Saadabad palace complex in Kağıthane, or "the Sweet Waters of Europe", were sung in the poems of Nedim and depicted in Levnî Abdülcelil Çelebi's miniatures. Topping them all was, of course, the Tulip-mania, which engulfed many levels of Ottoman society. Later analysts have also identified this era with a predisposition to the reception of Western cultural and technological influences, a primary example being Ibrahim Müteferrika's printing press.[2]

However, this period of relative stability came to an abrupt and, for many, dramatic end in the fall of 1730. Conservatives criticized the extravagant lifestyle of the sultan, grand vizier and other high-ranking officials; the new taxes introduced by Ibrahim Pasha to support the ever-increasing expenditure of the State weighed heavily on the population; finally, the announcement of yet another eastern campaign in Persia filled the cup of social unrest.

1 C. Ingrao, N. Samardžić, J. Pešalj (eds.), *The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718*, West Lafayette, 2011.

2 The modern concept of the Tulip Age can be traced back to Ahmet Refik Altınay's early 20th-century works. For a historiographical overview and criticism, see C. Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West? The Origins of the Tulip Age and its Development in Modern Turkey*, London/New York, 2008.

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In late September 1730, disgruntled soldiers and commoners alike took to the streets of Istanbul, under the leadership of one Patrona Halil. In just a few days, they imposed their own administration, paralleling that of the state, and obtained the execution of the grand vizier, the dismissal of the grand mufti and, finally, the destitution of Sultan Ahmet III. The Saadabad palace complex was ransacked, as were the mansions of the nouveaux riches, and many fell victim to the rebels.[3] However, when other social and cultural constructs of the Tulip Age came crashing down along with their supporters, the Istanbul printing press and its manager survived. In a previous paper, published in the first volume of collected works of the TYPARABIC project, I argued that the preventive measures taken by Ibrahim Müteferrika to secure his enterprise from potential religious opposition guaranteed the survival of the printing press even after Patrona Halil's rebellion. Many of the leading Islamic scholars (*ulemâ*) of the Tulip Age who had endorsed the printing press also occupied high-ranking posts in the judicial apparatus of the empire after the upheaval of 1730.[4]

In this essay, I continue my analysis of the sixteen *ulemâ* and their approvals written for the Müteferrika press. The prosopographic research will disclose the roles played by these scholars both before and after Patrona Halil's rebellion, while the textual analysis of their endorsements will reveal their arguments in favor of printing. Although these texts mostly contain generic appraisals, some briefly touch upon one or several benefits of the printing press. The most important feature of the endorsements was the identity of their authors, some of the most reputable religious scholars of their time.

2 The Ottoman *Ulemâ*

Ibrahim Müteferrika aptly laid out the benefits and utility of the printing press in a treatise titled *Vesîletü't-tıbâa* (*The Means of Printing*), which he published in the preface of his first printed volume, Vankulu's dictionary, in early 1729.[5] It was cus-

3 Abdi Efendi, *1730 Patrona İhtilâli Hakkında Bir Eser: Abdi Tarihi*, ed. F. R. Unat, Ankara, 1943; M. Aktepe, *Patrona İsiyanı (1730)*, Istanbul, 1958; R. W. Olson, "The Esnaf and the Patrona Halil Rebelion of 1730: A Realignment in Ottoman Politics?", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 17, 1974, 3, p. 329–344; C. Finkel, *Osman's Dream. The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300–1923*, New York, 2005, p. 353–357.

4 R. Dipratu, "Ottoman Endorsements of Printing in 18th-Century Istanbul", in R. Dipratu, S. Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond. First Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project*, Berlin/Boston, 2024, p. 49–68.

5 *Tercümetü'ş-Şiḥaḥ-ı Cevherî* [*Lugat-ı Vankulu*], Istanbul, 1141 [1729].

tomary for aspiring authors to seek some established scholars' recommendations, to promote their work. Much like today, when the appraisals of reputable writers or influential journals recommend a book and its author on the front or back cover, Ottoman authors would request endorsements (Tk. *takriz*, pl. *takariz*) from senior figures, to be included in the preface of their work. Müteferrika requested for his treatise on the utility of printing sixteen *takariz* from the leading Islamic scholars of the day. They were written in Arabic, not Ottoman-Turkish, as was the usual norm, and they were printed in the preface to Vankulu's dictionary under the title *al-Taqārīḍ ilā al-risāla al-musammāt bi-wasīlat al-ṭibā'a* (*Endorsements for the Treatise Called 'The Means of Printing'*).[6]

The *ulemâ* represented the collective body of scholars who interpreted and executed the provisions of Islamic law, or *sharia*, in the Ottoman Empire. Much like the *cursus honorum* of Ancient Rome, in which aspiring politicians steadily rose through the military and administrative offices of the Republic, hoping that one day they would reach the highest position of consul,[7] early modern Ottoman *ulemâ* also had to engage in a sequential order of offices to advance in the scholarly, religious and judicial hierarchy of the Empire. Once he graduated from an Islamic college (*medrese*), a young scholar could become a professor himself (*müderris*). According to his abilities, he would be appointed to a lower or higher-ranking *medrese*, from which he could then be nominated a *kadı*, or judge, in a smaller or larger town or city. The most capable ones were appointed *kadı*s in one of the eight utterly important cities of the empire: Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, Bursa, and Edirne; the highest office was, of course, that of Istanbul, judge of the Empire's capital. These high-ranking *kadı*s were known as *molla*s. Above these municipal positions, there were the two offices of *kazasker*s (military judges): the *kazasker* of Anatolia, i. e., the military judge of the Empire's Asian provinces, and the *kazasker* of Rumelia, the military judge of the European provinces. From this latter post, the now venerable scholar could finally hope to be appointed to the Ottoman Empire's highest religious and judicial office, that of the *şeyhülislâm*, or grand mufti.[8]

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6 I thank Charbel Nassif for his support in deciphering the following Arabic passages. Any mistakes that remain are my own.

7 H. Beck, *Karriere und Hierarchie. Die römische Aristokratie und die Anfänge des* cursus honorum *in der mittleren Republik*, Berlin, 2005.

8 İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, Ankara, 2022 (1st ed., 1965); H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300–1600*, transl. N. Itzkowitz and C. Imber, London, 1973, p. 168–172; M. C. Zilfi, "The Ottoman *ulema*", in S. Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey. Volume 3: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 212–221; A. Z. Furat, "XVIII. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Eğitiminde Dönüşüm: Islah mı? Yenilenme mı?", in A. H. Furat, N. K. Yorulmaz,

We can trace this early-modern Ottoman-Islamic *cursus honorum* in the careers of Müteferrika's endorsers. Take, for example, Mirzazâde Şeyh Mehmet Efendi, mentioned in his endorsement as a former military judge of Rumelia (*sadr-ı Rum sâbik*). After being *müderris* at the prestigious *medrese* of the Şehzâde mosque complex, he was appointed *kadı* of Istanbul in 1702, of Mecca in 1707, and once more of Istanbul in 1710. In 1713, he became *kazasker* of Anatolia, and from 1717 to 1719 he held his first office of *Rumeli kazaskeri*, the second being from 1720 to 1722. After being unemployed for eight years, he was appointed *şeyhülislâm* during the first days of Patrona Halil's rebellion, replacing Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi. After approving of the rebels' actions at first, he was decisive in their liquidation two months later, in November 1730. He retired in early 1731 and held no other public office until he died in 1735.[9]

3 Appraisals of the Printing Press

Mirzazâde Şeyh Mehmet Efendi's *takriz* on Müteferrika's treaty does not go into any details about the benefits or utility of printing. It falls into what I describe as general praise, meaning that the author states, in elegant language, that Müteferrika has created a wonderful art which has many benefits, but without actually naming these benefits or detailing what the utility of printing is. To give another example of generic praise, Topkapılı Sâlih Efendi, in his capacity as a former military judge of Anatolia (*sadr-ı Anadolu sâbik*),[10] wrote that "This tract (*majalla*) is about the cleverness of printing (*ḥadhāqat al-ṭab'*) and strangeness of the art (*gharābat al-ṣan'a*)". The strange or weird nature of printing is mentioned in many of the texts, as it was also one of the descriptions that Müteferrika used for his newly introduced technology.[11]

An obligatory element of all sixteen *takariz* is the praise addressed to Sultan Ahmet III, applauded for the introduction of printing during his reign. As Zülâlî

O. S. Arı, *Sahn-ı Semân'dan Dârülfünûn'a Osmanlı'da İlim ve Fikir Dünyası (Âlimler, Müesseseler ve Fikrî Eserler) – XVIII. Yüzyıl*, vol. 1, Istanbul, 2018, p. 247–253.

9 A. Altunsu, *Osmanlı Şeyülislâmları*, Ankara, 1972, p. 119; M. Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, vol. 3, ed. by N. Akbayar, S. A. Kahraman, Istanbul, 1996, p. 1021–1022; M. İpşirli, "Mirzazâde Şeyh Mehmed Efendi", in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 30, Ankara, 2020, p. 170–171.

10 Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, vol. 5, p. 1464.

11 Dipratu, "Ottoman Endorsements", p. 56. For a longer discussion of the Ottoman perception of printing as a "strange art", see O. Sabev, *Waiting for Müteferrika: Glimpses of Ottoman Print Culture*, Boston, 2018, p. 2–13.

Hasan Efendi, a former judge of Yenişehir, Bursa, and Mecca, and *kadı* of Istanbul at the time,[12] wrote:

> فهذه مجلة جليلة جديدة ظهر في زمن سلطاننا الاعظم والخاقان المعظم مولى ملوك العرب والعجم خادم الحرمين الشريفين السلطان بن السلطان السلطان الغازى احمد خان خلد الله خلافته وابد سلطنته
>
> This is an important new tract that became visible during the time of our Great Sultan and Exalted Khan, Lord of the Kings of the Arabs and Persians, Servant of the Two Noble Sanctuaries, Sultan son of Sultans, the Sultan Ghazi Ahmet Han, may God make his caliphate perpetual and his sultanate eternal.

Other texts, such as that of Mirzazâde Sâlim Mehmet Emin Efendi, a former judge of Istanbul, further mentioned Ahmet III as "God's Shadow on Earth, Sultan of the Two Lands and Two Seas" (*ẓill Allāh fī al-'ālam sulṭān al-barrayn wa-l-baḥrayn*). Put together, these attributes reflect the official titles that Ottoman sultans had carried since Mehmet II's conquest of Constantinople (hence, master of the "Two Lands" – Asia and Europe – , and the "Two Seas" – the Black Sea and the White, i.e., Mediterranean, Sea) and, especially, Selim I's conquests of the "lands of the Persians and the Arabs" and " the two holy sanctuaries" of Mecca and Medina (hence, their servant or custodian, and God's earthly shadow).[13]

In contrast, only a couple of texts give credit to the grand vizier. After blessing the sultan for having introduced the printing press during his reign, the same Mirzazâde Sâlim Efendi wished that God grant success to "his most honorable son-in-law and his greatest minister in organizing the affairs of his kingdom" (*ṣihru-hu al-afkham wa-wazīri-hu al-a'ẓam fī tanẓīm umūr mulki-hi*). Reflecting Ibrahim Pasha's more official title, Vardarî Mehmet Efendi, to whom we will turn later, wrote that besides the sultan, the printing enterprise was possible "with the endeavor of his grand vizier, most illustrious deputy, most distinguished minister (*bi-himmat wazīri-hi al-a'ẓam wa-wakīli-hi al-afkham wa-dustūri-hi al-akram*)." However, his name is never mentioned, even though Nevşehirli İbrahim Pasha was directly involved in the printing enterprise.[14]

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12 In 1730, after being unjustly removed from this position, Zülâlî Hasan would side with the rebels and use his authority to depose sultan Ahmet III. In return, Patrona Halil secured his appointment as *kazasker* of Anatolia upon the succession of Mahmut I. See Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, vol. 2, p. 627; Aktepe, *Patrona İsiyanı*, p. 126–129, 153–158.

13 Erdem Çıpa, *The Making of Selim. Succession, Legitimacy, and Memory in the Early Modern Ottoman World*, Bloomington/Indianapolis, 2017, p. 102, 237–238, 241–242.

14 Besides the political and financial support, Ibrahim Pasha also provided Müteferrika with books, such as Judasz Tadeusz Krusiński's account of the Afghan conquest of Persia, which the printer himself translated from Latin into Ottoman-Turkish and published in 1729.

Apart from generic praises such as these, which occupy most of the texts, some *takariz* describe how or why printing is beneficial. An argument found in two endorsements is that printing allows books to be easily copied, without the toil of manual labor.

Damatzâde Ebülhayr Ahmet Efendi, a former military judge of Rumelia and future grand mufti between 1732 and 1733, wrote that: "Its benefits are great because it is a means of multiplying books (*wasīla ilā takthīr al-kutub*) without resorting to the trouble and costs of writing (*mashaqqat al-kitāb wa kulfat al-kitāba*)". Feyzullah b. Yahyâ Efendi, who was the military judge of Rumelia in 1730, when the rebellion began, and was therefore exiled by the rebels to the island of Lesbos,[15] similarly argued that printing circumvented the "hardships of writing (*mashāqq al-kitāba*)". Another scholar tried to briefly describe the technology behind the printing press. Biraderzâde Mustafa Efendi, a great-grandson of the famous mufti and chronicler Hoca Sadettin Efendi,[16] had been a *kadı* in Cairo, Mecca, and Istanbul, and was the military judge of Anatolia in 1728[17] when he wrote that Müteferrika's "arts and wonders (*al-ṣanā'i' wa-l-badā'i'*) were created by the method of knitting into a mold (*al-uslūb al-mashbūk fī qālab*)". The printing matrix, a crucial element of the printing equipment, must have amazed the scholar so much that he inserted this reference in his brief endorsement.

Religious validation was necessary if the novel technology of the printing press was to be accepted by Ottoman society. This type of validation was, after all, the primary role of the *takariz* requested by Müteferrika. Besides the practical benefits of the printing press, in an effort to further convince readers that this was a commendable activity, the *ulemâ* authors of these texts presented the new technology as being universally accepted by scholars. For instance, the aforementioned Damatzâde Ebülhayr Ahmet Efendi wrote that "this thing is a marvel (*'ujāb*), a

15 Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, vol. 2, p. 530; Aktepe, *Patrona İsiyanı*, p. 164.

16 Hoca Sadettin Efendi was grand mufti for only a year and a half (April 1598 – October 1599), but he nevertheless founded a dynasty of high-ranking *ulemâ*s, with his sons and grandsons occupying the position of *şeyhülislâm* for many years during the 17th century. Sadettin Efendi's famous historical work *Tâcü't-tevârîh* ("The Crown of Histories") was partially translated into Latin and printed in 1591, in Frankfurt, as part of Johannes Leunclavius's *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum*. By the middle of the next century, it was also translated into Italian by the Ragusan dragoman Vicenzo Bratutti and printed in two volumes as *Chronica dell'origine e progressi della casa Ottomana*, followed by other partial translations that remained in manuscript versions, including one penned by Antoine Galland. See A. Özcan, *Osmanlı'da Tarih Yazımı ve Kaynak Türleri*, Istanbul, 2020, p. 74–75; E. N. Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance. Diplomatic Interpreters and the Routes of Orientalism*, Ithaca/London, 2021, p. 222–223; N. Ö. Palabıyık, *Silent Teachers. Turkish Books and Oriental Learning in Early Modern Europe, 1544-1669*, London/New York, 2023, p. 68.

17 Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, vol. 4, p. 1161.

matter esteemed (*yasta'ẓimu-hu*) by the people of intellect (*ulū al-albāb*)". Such "people of intellect" or "of understanding", literally "those possessed of minds", as well as other "possessors" (pl. *ulū*, sg. *dhū*) or people endowed with certain qualities, are frequently mentioned in the Qur'ān.[18] Using similar Qur'ānic terminology, Feyzullah b. Yahyâ Efendi wrote in his *takriz* that printing was appreciated by "those with elegant eyes (*ulū al-anẓār al-āniqa*)".

That the *ulemâ* agreed about the lawfulness of printing was most convincingly expressed by Dürrî Mehmet Efendi. A native of Ankara, he had been the judge of Aleppo (1709), Cairo (1714), Mecca (1717), Istanbul (1720), and the military judge of Anatolia (1726-1727). He was first appointed military judge of Rumelia during the first days of Patrona Halil's rebellion, and then a second time in 1734, before being promoted to *şeyhülislâm*.[19] In his *takriz*, Dürrî Efendi acknowledged the benefits of printing presented by Müteferrika and, furthermore, mentioned that the *ulemâ* also approved them:

> When I saw that it included the benefits of printing (*fawā'id al-ṭab'*), and the distinguished scholars (*al-'ulamā al-a'lām*) found it most pleasing (*bi-ḥusn al-maqbūl*), I turned the pen to the ultimate goal (*aqṣā al-marām*) of praying for our imam and great sultan.

Correspondingly, the aforementioned Biraderzâde Mustafa Efendi also testified that other "scholars and great men (*al-'ulamā wa-l-'uẓamā'*)" had given their "acceptance and signature (*al-qubūl wa-l-imḍā'*)" to the novel enterprise. In other words, the leading scholars of the time whom Müteferrika chose to write endorsements for him tried to convince readers that it was not only them who found the printing press adequate, but its acceptance was widespread among the wider body of *ulemâ*. Nevertheless, one should be careful in affirming that all Islamic scholars in early 18th-century Istanbul were so appreciative of the printing press; if this had been the case, Müteferrika would have probably not bothered to request so many *takariz*.[20]

"That strange and dazzling art (*tilka al-ṣinā'a al-gharība al-bāhira*)", wrote Arabzâde Abdurrahman Bâhir Efendi, "is most unusual and amazing (*aghrab wa-abda'*) … and is devoid of stain (*'ārin 'an ma'arra*)." Abdurrahman Efendi, Sultan Ahmet III's preacher (*imâm-ı şehriyârî halâ*) and tutor to his children, is a most interesting character: not only was he a distinguished scholar, previously

18 For example, the *ulū al-albāb* are said to be the only ones who acknowledge God, in contrast to the ignorant ones (Qu'rān 39:9). See E. M. Badawi, M. Abdel Haleem, *Arabic-English Dictionary of Qu'ranic Usage*, Leiden/Boston, 2008, p. 65.

19 Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, vol. 2, p. 424; Altunsu, *Osmanlı Şeyhülislâmları*, p. 125–126; M. İpşirli, "Dürrî Mehmed Efendi", in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 10, Istanbul, 1994, p. 35.

20 Dipratu, "Ottoman Endorsements", p. 58–63.

kadı of Mecca and Istanbul, but he was also an accomplished poet and musician, composing several pieces for the stringed instrument *saz*, also known as *bağlama*. Moreover, he befriended the French Ambassador, Villeneuve, another important promoter of the Istanbul printing press.[21] Exiled by Patrona Halil's rebels to the island of Chios, the former imperial preacher later returned to the capital and was appointed military judge of Anatolia (1738) and then Rumelia (1745), but he died before reaching the final position of grand mufti.[22]

Nevertheless, the most interesting *takriz* is probably that of Vardarî Şeyhzâde Mehmed Efendi.[23] Rising from an important family of scholars, Vardarî Mehmed Efendi began his career as a professor at the prestigious Eyüp *medrese*,[24] then steadily rose through the judicial ranks, holding the offices of judge of Edirne (1719), Medina (1724), and Istanbul (1727). He must have written his *takriz* in late 1728, after being dismissed from his position of judge of Istanbul.[25] Vardarî Mehmed Efendi was again appointed judge of Istanbul during the critical months of October and

21 In the mid-1730s, after obtaining Abdurrahman Efendi's support in reinstating Castagnier as French consul in Milos, Villeneuve boasted of having befriended "someone who has the sultan's ear five times a day", cf. A. Vandal, *Une ambassade française en Orient sous Louis XV. La mission du marquis de Villeneuve 1728–1741*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1887, p. 106–108; S. Kuneralp (ed.), *Les rapports de Louis-Saveur Marquis de Villeneuve Ambassadeur du Roi de France auprès de la Sublime Porte Ottomane (1728–1741)*, vol. 1, Istanbul, 2019, p. 312. For the role played by Villeneuve in Müteferrika's printing press, see my article "French Ambassador Marquis de Villeneuve and the Beginnings of Ottoman Print in Istanbul", in M. Kuru, M. Cornelissen (eds.), *Proceedings of the first EMOS Conference held in Ankara, 12–14 June 2023*, Ankara (forthcoming).

22 N. Özcan, "Abdurrahman Bâhir Efendi", in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1, Istanbul, 1988, p. 158.

23 Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, vol. 3, p. 1024–1025. Not to be confused with his poet namesake, who lived a century earlier; see B. Kesik, "Mehmed, Vardarî Şeyh-zâde Mehmed Efendi", *Türk Edebiyatı İsimler Sözlügü*, https://teis.yesevi.edu.tr/madde-detay/mehmed-vardari-seyhzade-mehmed (accessed March 15, 2024).

24 A suburb of Istanbul on the Golden Horn, where one of Prophet Muḥammad's companions, Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, is said to have died and been buried during the Arab siege of Constantinople of 674. The grave site was famously rediscovered by Sultan Mehmet II's preacher Akşemsettin during the siege of 1453, and a mosque complex (*külliye*) was built soon after. From the reign of Selim II (1566–1574), this also became the site where new sultans were girded with the sword of Osman I, founder of the dynasty. See H. İnalcık, "Istanbul: An Islamic City", *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 1, 1990, p. 2–4; N. Vatin, G. Veinstein, *Le Sérail ébranlé. Essai sur les morts, dépositions et avènements des sultans ottomans (XIVe–XIXe siècle)*, Paris, 2003, p. 305–319.

25 Vardarî's entry in Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, vol. 3, p. 1024–1025, mentions the date of his dismissal as AH 1141, corresponding to AD August 7, 1728–July 26, 1729. Considering that *Lugat-ı Vankulu* came out of the printing press in January 1729, it appears that Vardarî wrote his *takriz* almost a year later than 15 Safer 1140/October 2, 1727, which is the date indicated by F. Sarıcaoğlu, C. Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi ve Müteferrika Matbaası/ Basmacı İbrahim Efendi and the Müteferrika Press*, Istanbul, 2008, p. 147.

November 1730; he was the official representative of the Ottoman government, at a time when Patrona Halil's rebels had appointed their own *kadı* of Istanbul.[26]

But let us now turn to what Vardarî Mehmed Efendi had to say about the printing press.

> The blessings (*ni'ma*) of the printed art (*al-ṣan'a al-maṭbū'a*) are invisible (*ghayr mar'īya*) in our lands [but] its benefits (*fawā'idu-ha*) are heard. Cut [and] chopped (*majzūma maqṭū'a*), it bears lots of fruit *(fākiha kathīra)*, which are neither cut nor forbidden (*lā-maqṭū'a wa-mamnū'a*). Thank God, its artisan (*ṣāni'u-hā*) proceeded and afterwards succeeded in the same manner (*bi-amthāli-hā*). Time was ungenerous (*bakhīl*) with it and hid it (*khaba'a-hā*) under the canopy of concealment (*fī ḥajalat al-ikhfā'*), but the veil of disdain (*ḥijāb al-istighnā'*) was lifted from its face with the blessing of our sultan… and with the endeavor of his grand vizier.

In short, the former judge of Istanbul considered that the introduction of the printing press to the Ottoman Empire was long overdue. And this is a most interesting point of view, considering that recent scholarship tends to perceive the question of "why did Ottoman Muslim culture adopt printing so late" as being too Euro-centric.[27] At least one of the Ottoman *ulemâ* seems to have been bothered by the same question.

While the other *takariz* published in the preface of Müteferrika's first volume do not seem to be of much value to this analysis, the careers of their authors certainly are. However, since presenting all sixteen *ulemâ* would require at least another separate paper, I will allow myself to present only one more.

Ebuishakzâde İshak Efendi was not only an endorser of the printing press, but also one of the experts called upon by the sultan to proofread the books coming out of Müteferrika's press. Having become the judge of Istanbul in 1723 and *kazasker* of Anatolia in 1729, he was an important representative of the cultural development of the Tulip Age, being involved in several translation projects and composing odes to the sultan and the grand vizier. Self-exiled after their deposition, İshak Efendi returned to the capital and was appointed *kazasker* of Rumelia, and then grand mufti, from October 1733 until his death one year later.[28]

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26 The previous official *kadı* of Istanbul, Raşid Mehmed Efendi, was exiled to the island of Kos, and replaced by the rebels with Deli ("the Mad") Ibrahim Efendi, a low ranking (*hariç*) *müderris*, who was happy to issue *fetva*s legitimizing their actions. See Aktepe, *Patrona İsiyanı*, p. 141–142, 154, 164.
27 S. Reese, "Introduction", in S. Reese (ed.), *Manuscript and Print in the Islamic Tradition*, Berlin/Boston, 2022, p. 3.
28 M. N. Doğan, "İshak Efendi, Ebûishakzâde", in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 22, Istanbul, 2000, p. 530–531.

4 Final Remarks

Patrona Halil's rebellion lasted a couple of months, and it succeeded in profoundly shaking Ottoman society, apparently halting the trend, viewed as progressive by some, too extravagant and costly by others, that the government had followed since 1718. Although the sultan, grand vizier and grand mufti were deposed, important positions in the upper echelons of the empire's administration were occupied by endorsers of the Müteferrika press even during the crucial months of the rebellion. Moreover, once the situation began to settle, from 1731 until Müteferrika's death in 1747, many of his endorsers held the important offices of military judges and grand muftis. Following a brief hiatus in 1731, when the only volume to come out of the printing press was the French *Grammaire turque*, in 1732, Müteferrika published an original composition about the necessity for reforms, based on his observations of the recent insurrection.

At least two other volumes were published with direct support from one of the original endorsers. Müteferrika states in his prefaces to Kâtib Çelebi's *Cihannümâ* (*Cosmography*) and *Takvîmü't-tevârîh* (*Historical Calendars*) that Damatzâde Ebülhayr Ahmet Efendi, grand mufti by then, had given him suggestions and encouragements to publish those books.[29] While Patrona Halil's rebellion was mainly directed against the ruling class, many high-ranking *ulemâ* of the Tulip Age survived those hectic months and their *takariz* were valid after 1730, and, therefore, permitted the printing press to continue its activity even after the deposition of its main political supporters.

A similar episode, but with a different outcome, had unfolded some 150 years earlier. The Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmet Pasha was the patron of the astronomical observatory erected in Galata in 1574, run by the Egyptian-born scientist Taqi al-Din. However, after Sokollu was murdered in 1579, the observatory was closed and demolished due to religious concerns expressed by the *şeyhülislâm* of the time.[30] In contrast, the Istanbul printing press was able to continue operating even after the assassination of the grand vizier who supported it, as the authors of the *takariz* examined in this essay still held the highest religious and judicial authority in the Empire.

While some of the *takariz* only praised Müteferrika's initiative in general terms, others mentioned some practical benefits, such as the possibility of reproducing books faster and easier than manually copying them. In several instances,

29 Sarıcaoğlu, Yılmaz, *Müteferrika*, p. 107, 252, 321.

30 A. Sayılı, *The Observatory in Islam and Its Place in the General History of the Observatory*, Ankara, 2016, p. 294–310.

the assessment was elegantly wrapped in religious terminology that would have resounded with the more pious readers, whom it was trying to convince that printing was generally approved by the *ulemâ*. However, the very fact that all the texts were written in Arabic is evidence enough that the targeted audience was educated, possibly including low-ranking scholars who may have been reluctant to accept yet another innovation introduced during the rule of Sultan Ahmet III and his Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha.

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Part 3. **Collectors and Collections of Oriental Books from the West to the East**

Feras Krimsti

Ulrich Jasper Seetzen and the Printing Presses of the Ottoman Levant: From Documentation to Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge

1 Introduction

Research on the circulation of Arabic books in the 18th century has typically focused on the movement of manuscripts from the Ottoman Near East to Western Europe. This transfer has been examined in light of military conflicts and tensions between European states and the Ottoman Empire, but also against the background of the networks of trade and commerce in which books circulated.[1] Arabic printed books remained in the shadow of manuscripts: while the circumstances of their production and the history of printing presses have been examined,[2] little is known about their circulation, the reasons for their collection and purchase, and the readers and audiences that they targeted. One should also note that the movements of printed books were not following patterns as clear as those of manuscripts: the systematic large-scale collection of manuscripts by Orientalists and European travelers in the Near East caused a veritable "book drain".[3] These activities resulted in a movement of manuscripts from the East to the West. This movement is of course not the only recognizable pattern; manuscripts also circulated *within* the Ottoman Empire.[4] In

1 See, e.g., P. Babinski, "The Formation of German Islamic Manuscript Collections in the Seventeenth Century", in S. Mangold-Will, Ch. Rauch, S. Schmitt (eds.), *Sammler – Bibliothekare – Forscher: Zur Geschichte der orientalischen Sammlungen an der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, Frankfurt am Main, 2022, p. 19–44; S. Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge: Trade, Religion, and Scholarship between England and the Ottoman Empire, c. 1600–1760*, Oxford, 2020.

2 For a history of the first presses in the Ottoman Empire that printed Arabic books for Christians, see I. Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, Berlin/Boston, 2023. The printing presses founded by Athanasios Dabbās and ʿAbdallāh Zākhir in the Levant have especially garnered scholarly interest. See, e.g., H. Kilpatrick, "From Venice to Aleppo: Early Printing of Scripture in the Orthodox World", *Chronos*, 30, 2014, p. 46–48; J.-P. Ghobrial, "The Ottoman World of ʿAbdallah Zakher: Shuwayr Bindings in the Arcadian Library", in G. Mandelbrote, W. de Bruijn (eds.), *The Arcadian Library: Bindings and Provenance*, Oxford, 2014, p. 192–231.

3 A. El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics: How Editors and Print Culture Transformed an Intellectual Tradition*, Princeton/Oxford, 2020, p. 10.

4 See F. Krimsti, "Von Aleppo nach Gotha: Der Aleppiner Buchmarkt des 18. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel der von Ulrich Jasper Seetzen erworbenen Gothaer Handschriften", in K. Paasch (ed.),

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spite of this, the most significant large-scale transfer of manuscripts was the one from the Ottoman Empire to Europe. The transfer of printed books, by contrast, followed different courses, including a noteworthy transfer from the West to the East. Arabic books were printed in Europe – in cities like Rome, Oxford, Halle – and sent to the Levant.[5]

This chapter focuses on the creation of one of the largest collections of Arabic books printed in the 18th century by Levantine Christians established outside the Near East, which is preserved at the Gotha Research Library (Gotha, Germany). The books were collected by the naturalist and traveler Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1767–1811). I argue that Seetzen's collection of Arabic printed works was created for the purpose of documenting the state of the art of printing in the Near East. Exhaustiveness was one of the main principles that guided Seetzen when acquiring printed works, unlike manuscripts, which were far too numerous for this approach. However, not only did Seetzen try to document the state of the art by gathering one copy of each printed work. I show that he developed insights into the state of printing in the Ottoman Empire and the Levant into a programmatic approach to the dissemination of knowledge through the medium of print. This program anticipated modern European discourses about the function of printing as a technology of civilizational progress that brought about modernity.

Before delving into Seetzen's collection of printed works and analyzing his agenda, some reflections on Seetzen's background and career are required. He was born on January 30, 1767, in Sophiengroden, Jever, as one of several sons of a wealthy farmer.[6] In 1785, he left Jever to study medicine in Göttingen. Disinterested in medical practice and free of financial pressures, Seetzen turned to the study of natural history. In 1790, he left Göttingen to travel for several years across Germany and the Netherlands. When Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859), a fellow student from Göttingen, set out on his journey to America in 1799, Seetzen started dreaming

Bücher bewegen: 375 Jahre Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Katalog zur Jubiläumsausstellung auf Schloss Friedenstein Gotha vom 10. April bis 19. Juni 2022, Gotha, 2022, p. 56–63.

5 Arabic texts have been printed in Europe for centuries. For an overview of these activities, see J. Balagna, *L'imprimerie arabe en Occident (XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, 1984.

6 For biographical information on Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, see H. Stein (ed.), *Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, 1767–1811: Leben und Werk. Die arabischen Länder und die Nahostforschung im napoleonischen Zeitalter*, Gotha, 1995, especially the chapter by B. Schäbler, "Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1767–1811): Jeveraner Patriot, aufgeklärter Kosmopolit und Orientreisender", p. 113–134; D. Haberland (ed.), *Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1767–1811): Jeveraner – aufgeklärter Unternehmer – wissenschaftlicher Orientreisender*, Oldenburg, 2014; D. Haberland (ed.), *Der Orientreisende Ulrich Jasper Seetzen und die Wissenschaften*, Oldenburg, 2019.

of exploring "inner Africa".[7] Seetzen was introduced to Ernest II, the Duke of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg (1745–1804), by the astronomer Franz Xaver von Zach (1754–1832). The Duke, who was interested in astronomy, along with his successor and son August (1772–1822), funded Seetzen's journey. In 1802, Seetzen finally set out on this journey. He travelled to Istanbul first and then to Aleppo, where he stayed for eighteen months to learn Arabic. Further stations were Damascus, Palestine, the Anti-Lebanon Mountains, Cairo, and the Hijaz. Throughout the journey, Seetzen noted down astronomical observations and collected books and artifacts for the Ducal library and collections. The journey came to a tragic end in 1811 when Seetzen died in unknown circumstances in Yemen.

Collecting books was Seetzen's mission, but he was interested in Arabic works in both forms, manuscripts and printed books, for his own reasons. Some orientalists whom he encountered and with whom he corresponded gave him important impulses.

Among them were philologists and book hunters. In 1802–1803, he met Joseph Hammer (later, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, 1774–1856), with whom he continued to correspond throughout his journey. Hammer gave Seetzen advice relating to his book acquisitions.[8] Seetzen sought Arabic literary texts not only because of his patrons and acquaintances, but because they aligned with his scholarly interests. He collected works of all genres, but especially works on geography (*Erdkunde*) and ethnography (*Völkerkunde*). He was convinced that these works had the potential to expand the horizons of his academic readership in Germany.

Although Seetzen was generally interested in Arabic literature, there was one area in which he, unlike many earlier and contemporary travelers and scholars, had little interest: Christian religious literature. This is curious because he lived among Christians in the Levant and bought many books from them.[9] Nevertheless, it reflects the ambiguous attitude many learned men of the Enlightenment had towards the Christian religion. Another reason was that Seetzen was a Freemason.[10]

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7 On the scientific goals of Seetzen's journey, see D. Haberland, "Ulrich Jasper Seetzen und Afrika – die entdeckungs- und wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Dimension seiner Reise", in Haberland (ed.), *Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1767–1811)*, p. 199–225.

8 See, e.g., U. J. Seetzen, *Tagebuch des Aufenthaltes in Konstantinopel und der Reise nach Aleppo. 1802–1803*, ed. V. Enderlein, Hildesheim, 2012, p. 149 (diary entry, March 1, 1803).

9 E.g., Seetzen acquired the private book collection of the Maronite physician Ḥannā al-Ṭabīb in Aleppo, possibly from a member of Ḥannā's family. See in detail F. Krimsti, "The Lives and Afterlives of the Library of the Maronite Physician Ḥannā al-Ṭabīb (c. 1702–1775) from Aleppo", *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, 9, 2018, p. 196–197.

10 U. Wallenstein, "Ein Freimaurer im Orient – Ulrich Jasper Seetzen und die Aegyptica für den Gothaer Hof", in M. Meumann, U. Wallenstein (eds.), *Freimaurer und Mysterien Ägyptens in Gotha*, Petersberg, 2023, p. 263–275.

The number of Christian Arabic theological, liturgical, and spiritual manuscripts that Seetzen acquired amounts to no more than 47 – a little more than one percent of the approximately 2,700 manuscripts that he acquired.[11] The collection of religious Arabic works printed by Christians in the 18th century that Seetzen bought was, by contrast, almost exhaustive. He consequently must have had different reasons for systematically collecting these religious works printed by and for Arabic Christians, a reason that transcended their content. At present, some of these works are extremely rare, which makes the Gotha collection quite unique.[12] Seetzen's goal was not to create a collection of Christian spiritual literature printed in Arabic. Instead, he set out to document the state of the art of printing in the Levant, and this represented the starting point for the radical program of scientific reform that he envisioned.

2 Collecting and Documenting Printed Books in the Levant

Seetzen was extremely prolific. He produced an extraordinary number of written texts during his travels through the Ottoman Empire, the Near East, and the Arabian Peninsula. He kept a travel journal, mentioned above,[13] he published scientific articles about a vast range of topics in academic journals like *Monatliche Correspondenz zur Beförderung der Erd- und Himmelskunde*, he made astronomical observations and reported them regularly, and he translated excerpts of literary works that he found important for the advancement of geography. The list of his academic contributions between 1803 and 1809 surpasses a hundred items. Luckily, this vast

11 This count is based on the manuscripts listed in the chapter "Christliche Theologie" in W. Pertsch, *Die orientalischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, Third Part. *Die arabischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, 5 vols., Gotha, 1878–1892, specifically, vol. 4, p. 526–564. See also M. Hasenmüller, "Ulrich Jasper Seetzen als Sammler orientalischer Handschriften", in D. Haberland (ed.), *Der Orientreisende Ulrich Jasper Seetzen*, p. 467.

12 E.g., only the Gotha exemplar of a liturgical work in Garshuni entitled *Kitāb khidmat al-quddās ḥasab rutbat al-kanīsa al-suryānīya al-mārūnīya al-muqaddasa*, printed at Dayr Mār Mūsā in 1789, has been preserved. No other exemplars of this book are currently known. See Appendix 2, Seetzen Damask no. 18.

13 Seetzen himself was not able to revise and publish his diaries. They were edited and published after his death, in the mid-19th century, as well as in the 21st century. Following the itinerary of Seetzen's journey rather than the publication date, they are: the above-mentioned Seetzen, *Tagebuch des Aufenthaltes in Konstantinopel und der Reise nach Aleppo. 1802–1803*, ed. V. Enderlein, Hildesheim, 2012; U. J. Seetzen, *Tagebuch des Aufenthalts in Aleppo. 1803–1805*, ed. J. Zepter, Hildesheim, 2011; F. Kruse (ed.), *Ulrich Jasper Seetzen's Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia Petraea und Unter-Aegypten*, 4 vols., Berlin, 1854–1859.

corpus of scientific works has been preserved, and we are in the fortunate position that it is available to us. It can help us understand Seetzen's scholarly pursuits in the cities in which he stayed, the choices that he made when he bought books, and his intellectual commitments in general (Fig. 1).

For his acquisitions, Seetzen focused primarily on manuscripts. The principles underlying his activities as a collector of manuscripts were carefully analyzed.[14] He was later accused of collecting them "haphazardly and uncritically" (*ohne Auswahl und Kritik*),[15] but Seetzen's selection was in fact deliberately broad and encyclopedic.[16] He paid attention to the "variety and usefulness" (*Mannigfaltigkeit und Brauchbarkeit*) of the works he bought.[17] Another criterium was the benefit the works held for the advancement of the sciences, an idea that became central to his engagement with printing. It was his goal to create a data and source basis for various fields including, but not limited to, geography, ethnography, astronomy, and history.[18]

Although the acquisition of manuscripts was Seetzen's principal objective, he purchased printed works in different languages, notably Arabic, both in Arabic and in Syriac script (Garshuni), Armenian, and Turkish.

He also dedicated an article to the topic of printing presses in the Levant. Since he visited major printing centers of the Ottoman Empire, like Istanbul and Aleppo, he was able to collect valuable information on the state of the art of printing. In his "Note about the Printing Presses Existing in the Levant" (published with the German title "Nachricht von den in der Levante befindlichen Buchdruckereyen"),[19] written in Aleppo, Seetzen presented to his readership an overview of the works that had been printed. He explained which ones he had found and offered historical considerations on printing presses operating in the past. The article was written in Aleppo in 1805 and published in the *Intelligenzblatt* of the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*.

The journal is a noteworthy choice. Seetzen published most of his articles in *Monatliche Correspondenz zur Beförderung der Erd- und Himmelskunde*, a journal specifically dedicated to astronomy and geography. The article on the

14 See Hasenmüller, "Ulrich Jasper Seetzen als Sammler". The author also mentions Seetzen's purchases of printed books at p. 468–469.

15 Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, vol. 1, p. X.

16 Hasenmüller, "Ulrich Jasper Seetzen als Sammler", p. 466, *passim*.

17 U. J. Seetzen, *Reise-Nachrichten des Russisch-Kaiserlichen Kammer-Assessors Dr. U. J. Seetzen*, Gotha, 1803, p. 6. See also Hasenmüller, "Ulrich Jasper Seetzen als Sammler", p. 465.

18 Hasenmüller, "Ulrich Jasper Seetzen als Sammler", p. 466.

19 See U. J. Seetzen, "Nachricht von den in der Levante befindlichen Buchdruckereyen", *Intelligenzblatt der Jenaischen Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung*, 76, 1805, col. 641–654.

printing presses, by contrast, appeared in a journal with a much broader audience. The *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* was an offshoot of the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* which had operated in Jena since 1785 but whose place of publication was moved to Halle after a crisis occurred at Jena University in 1803.[20] This year marked the departure of several renowned chairholders who accepted positions in Würzburg and Halle. The *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* was founded to preserve the importance of the University of Jena, an endeavor in which even Johann Wolfgang von Goethe was involved. The new journal, to which luminaries contributed, was a real success. It was more open to contributions touching on politics and natural sciences.

When the foundation of the journal was discussed, Goethe asked Heinrich Karl Abraham Eichstädt (1771–1848), who would later become the chief editor of the new offshoot, to produce an exposé detailing his vision for the journal.[21] Eichstädt's exposé also includes some comments on the *Intelligenzblatt*, which published Seetzen's article.[22] The *Intelligenzblatt* was meant to provide literary news, advertisements by authors and booksellers as well as reviews and responses to reviews. Eichstädt specifically mentioned that literary news from correspondents abroad should be integrated into its pages. He also pondered the ways in which foreign literature could be discussed in the literary news.[23] Individuals who were abroad, he suggested, could write reviews of works in different languages, which could then be translated.

Clearly, Seetzen, as a traveler abroad who was knowledgeable about the literary production in the Levant and sought to promote the natural sciences, fit the bill of the newly founded journal. This is why his overview of the state of the art of printing in the Levant, which listed the titles of printed works in Arabic and provided abundant technical codicological information, was published in a journal read by litterateurs and intellectuals of the Goethe era.[24]

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20 On Jena University's crisis of 1803 and the foundation of the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, see M. Pape, "Goethe und Johannes von Müller im Briefwechsel: Zur Gründungsgeschichte der Jenaischen Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung", in Ch. Perels (ed.), *Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts 1986*, Tübingen, 1986, p. 158–163.

21 I. Schmid, "Die Gründung der 'Jenaischen Allgemeinen Literaturzeitung'", *Impulse*, 10, 1987, p. 195; Eichstädt's exposé is provided at p. 236–239.

22 Schmid, "Die Gründung", p. 238–239 (paragraph no. 6).

23 Schmid, "Die Gründung", p. 238 (paragraph no. 5).

24 German literati in the "Republic of Letters" were generally interested in the topic of printing in the Ottoman Empire. In the first half of the 18th century, some German newspapers and periodicals reported about the Müteferrika press, which was founded in Istanbul. See O. Sabev, "The Müteferrika Press: Obstacles, Circumvention, and Repercussion According to Contemporary

In Aleppo, Seetzen was able to purchase most of the printed books listed in his article. The city was a flourishing book market; he was able to find printed books not only from Aleppo, but also from the wider region, especially Mount Lebanon, and even from Europe, notably England. But he also made significant purchases of printed works in Istanbul, Damascus, and Jerusalem.

Seetzen's article provided a chronological overview of the history of printing in the Ottoman Levant as he had reconstructed it from what he had seen and learned from locals. He mentions an early printing press in Jerusalem, the press established by the Greek-Orthodox in Aleppo, the press imported to Aleppo from Wallachia, and the press at the Monastery of Mār Yūḥannā in Shuwayr (Khinshāra), on Mount Lebanon.[25] He also discusses presses that printed Syriac, Greek, Armenian, and Hebrew works.[26] The press of Constantinople and the printing activities of the French during Napoleon's Egyptian campaign are also addressed here.[27] Some of the information that Seetzen provided was based on conjecture and, as we know today, incorrect: the Jerusalem printing press cannot be clearly identified; some of the works printed by the Greek Orthodox in Aleppo were not printed with type from Western Europe, as he suggested, but with type transferred from Wallachia; other works that Seetzen thought were printed with type from Wallachia were actually printed in England.

Such errors notwithstanding, the article suggests a critical approach – it was "the up to then best account of the history of printing in the Arab world".[28] A comparison of the information that Seetzen recorded in his diaries with the information that made it into his article demonstrates this. Seetzen sifted and evaluated the information that he received. For example, in a diary entry dated 5 October 1804, he describes his encounter with the Greek Orthodox Bishop of Aleppo and simply records what the "honorable old man" (*achtungswürdige*[*r*] *Greis*) told him about the history of printing.[29] In his article, in contrast, he is much more critical and expresses doubt, stating that Greek Orthodox priests were not much concerned

German Sources (1727–1741)", in R. Dipratu, S. Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond. First Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project*, Berlin/Boston, 2024, p. 23–25.

25 See Seetzen, "Nachricht", col. 641, 641–642, 643–644, 644–648.

26 See Seetzen, "Nachricht", col. 648–649.

27 See Seetzen, "Nachricht", col. 644, 649–654 (including a French proclamation listing the printed works and their prices).

28 C. Walbiner, "The Collection, Perception and Study of Arabic Incunabula from the Near East in Europe (17th – early 19th Centuries)", in Dipratu, Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond*, p. 199.

29 Seetzen, *Tagebuch des Aufenthalts in Aleppo*, p. 210–211 (diary entry, October 5, 1804).

with scientific topics. He suggests, based on information he received from the Roman Catholic physician, missionary, and fellow traveler Leopoldo Sebastiani (1770–1843), that the three works supposedly printed at Aleppo by the Greek Orthodox with Arabic type from Wallachia were actually printed in Leipzig.[30] This assumption was not actually correct, but it demonstrates Seetzen's efforts towards a correct assessment of the information that he received.

In addition to critically evaluating first-hand information, second-hand information, and information from hearsay, Seetzen adopted a documentary approach. This is revealed by his systematic recording of his purchases. He tried to document the state of the art through the purchases themselves. He repeatedly expressed his intention to send a "complete" collection of printed books to Gotha.[31] He compiled lists of his purchases and enclosed them in the boxes that he sent home. Although most of the lists were subsequently lost, his system can still be seen on the items themselves, which were also numbered. Seetzen assigned a number to each printed book that he purchased and sent to Gotha (*Seetzen Haleb no…*, *Seetzen Damask no…*).[32] He used one series of numbers for printed books and a different series for manuscripts. These numbers can help us understand which works arrived in Gotha and which ones were lost at some point. The appendices reflect the current state: only five of the twenty-one books Seetzen claims in his article to have purchased in Aleppo have not been preserved in the collection of the Gotha Research Library.[33] Four of the lost titles can, however, be identified based on his article.[34] Twelve books were printed in Shuwayr, five in Aleppo, and three in England.[35] It should be noted that the fact that the highest number Seetzen assigned to a book is 21 (Haleb no. 21) does not mean that he did not buy other books.

Once Seetzen had moved to Damascus, he continued to hunt for manuscripts and found some more Arabic printed books both in Damascus and on his brief

30 Seetzen, "Nachricht", col. 644: "Da die nicht-unirte griechische Geistlichkeit sich wenig mit wissenschaftlichen Gegenständen befasset: so trage ich Bedenken, der Versicherung des hiesigen Bischofs, ohne weitere Untersuchung, Glauben beyzumessen".

31 Seetzen, "Nachricht", col. 645: "… welche die orientalische Sammlung in Gotha fast vollständig besitzen wird". On the idea of completeness, see also Walbiner, "The Collection, Perception and Study of Arabic Incunabula", p. 199.

32 For Seetzen's numbers, see the figures in Krimsti, "Von Aleppo nach Gotha", p. 56, 61.

33 According to Appendix 1a below, six works are not found, but the first book mentioned in Appendix 1b is recorded in the article. This book must therefore be Seetzen Haleb no. 2, 4, 6, 10, 11, or 17; the number attributed to it by Seetzen was probably lost when a page was removed from the book.

34 See Appendix 1b.

35 See Appendices 1a and 1b.

journeys to Mount Lebanon. The period in Damascus is the last station of the journey for which it is certain that Seetzen purchased printed books. The books Seetzen acquired during his stay in Damascus (and the trips to Mount Lebanon) are mentioned in another publication, which is based on lists of his acquisitions that he sent to Gotha.[36] The *Verzeichniss der für die orientalische Sammlung in Gotha zu Damask, Jerusalem u.s.w. angekauften orientalischen Manuscripte und gedruckten Werke, Kunst- und Naturprodukte u.s.w.* ("Index of the Oriental Manuscripts, Printed Works, Artefacts, Natural Products, etc., Purchased in Damascus, Jerusalem, etc., for the Oriental Collection in Gotha"), prepared by Ernst Friedrich Karl Rosenmüller in Leipzig in 1810,[37] is a register of all the objects Seetzen acquired in Damascus, on Mount Lebanon, and in Jerusalem. One section is dedicated to "Oriental Printed Works". Unfortunately, only three of the books mentioned in the ten entries relating to Arabic books produced by Levantine presses are preserved today in the Gotha Research Library.[38] The *Verzeichniss* is noteworthy in another regard: it lists works printed in Europe, especially in Rome (besides some Armenian and Syriac books). These works must have been available in the book markets of Damascus, Mount Lebanon, and Jerusalem.

The article "Note about the Printing Presses Existing in the Levant" is not programmatic, but the contours of a program emerge. In the first lines, Seetzen calls printing a "means for the dissemination of scientific knowledge" (*Hülfsmittel zur Verbreitung wissenschaftlicher Kenntnisse*),[39] an idea that he would later express in more detail. It is noteworthy that Seetzen included an account of the printing press founded in Constantinople in 1727 in his history of printing in the Levant.[40]

36 A part of one such list written by Seetzen is still preserved in Gotha: Gotha Research Library, Chart. B 2047 (list of purchases by Ulrich Jasper Seetzen), accessible at https://dhb.thulb.uni-jena.de/receive/ufb_cbu_00028288. In 1835, the director of the library, Friedrich Jacobs (1764–1841), mentioned that such lists written by Seetzen had arrived in Gotha and explained that the 1810 *Verzeichniss* was based on some of them. It was printed with the financial support of Duke August. See F. Jacobs, "Zur Geschichte der Bibliothek", *Beiträge zur ältern Litteratur oder Merkwürdigkeiten der Herzogl. öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, 1, 1835, 1, p. 57 (and n. 84).

37 See [E. F. K. Rosenmüller], *Verzeichniss der für die orientalische Sammlung in Gotha zu Damask, Jerusalem u.s.w. angekauften orientalischen Manuscripte und gedruckten Werke, Kunst- und Naturprodukte u.s.w. Von U. J. Seetzen*, Leipzig, 1810. The section on "Oriental Printed Works" ("Orientalische gedruckte Werke") is found on p. 16–17. Rosenmüller's name does not appear in the *Verzeichniss*, but Gotthold Weil mentions that he was the one who compiled it. See G. Weil, "Goethes Brief an H. F. v. Diez vom 15. November 1815", in G. Abb (ed.), *Von Büchern und Bibliotheken: Festschrift für Ernst Kuhnert*, Berlin, 1928, p. 184.

38 See Appendix 2.

39 Seetzen, "Nachricht", col. 641.

40 Seetzen, "Nachricht", col. 644.

Enthusiastic about the printed works produced in this press, he explains that Muslims were not allowed to print religious texts there. This offered a good opportunity for printing geographical works that contributed to the progress of the sciences. Some of Seetzen's programmatic ideas about the scientific potential of printing can be gleaned from this discussion of the press at Constantinople.[41] They also manifest in his ethnographic approach to printing, which emerges principally from his discussion of the printing press that he had visited in person and with which he was most familiar, the press in Shuwayr.

3 An Ethnographic Interest in Printing: The Printing Press in Shuwayr

The printing press of the Melkite monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Shuwayr is a pivotal topic in Seetzen's article.[42] Seetzen's account of the press demonstrates an ethnographic interest that went hand in hand with his documentary approach. This interest is also confirmed by the fact that Seetzen endeavored to acquire all the Shuwayrite printed books for the "Oriental Museum" that Duke August wanted to found in the Friedenstein Castle.[43] Seetzen's engagement with Shuwayr also sheds light on some of the reservations he had regarding the content of the books printed by the monks there.

In his article, Seetzen devotes considerable attention to this printing press and lists thirteen of its books. He was able to locate and acquire eleven of them. Although he praised the elegant typefaces and the quality of the paper on which the texts were printed, he was critical of the religious character of the works. He observed with disappointment that the press produced "only devotional works" (*bloss Andachtsbücher*).[44] This too points to Seetzen's view of the potential of printing, especially if contrasted with his enthusiastic account of the press at Constantinople.

41 This also explains why Seetzen commented at length on the books printed in Egypt by the French under Napoleon. See Seetzen, "Nachricht", col. 649–654.

42 On the origins of the Shuwayr press in its Ottoman milieu, see in detail Ghobrial, "The Ottoman World", especially p. 195–200.

43 U. J. Seetzen, "Fortgesetzte Reise-Nachrichten", *Monatliche Correspondenz zur Beförderung der Erd- und Himmelskunde*, 13, 1806, p. 553. On the plans for an Oriental Museum, see U. Wallenstein, "'Eine schöne egyptische Antike' – Seetzens Bedeutung als Altertumsforscher und Sammler für den Gothaer Hof", in D. Haberland (ed.), *Der Orientreisende Ulrich Jasper Seetzen und die Wissenschaften*, p. 444.

44 Seetzen, "Nachricht", col. 645.

Seetzen had first-hand knowledge of the printing press in Shuwayr because he traveled to the monastery, stayed there, and observed the printing process. In his travel journal, he included a veritable ethnographic study of the printing at the monastery. In an entry dated September 17, 1806, he recalls:

> They gave me a room and a good lunch [in the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist]. Then they led me to the printing press, which is in a dedicated building. In one room, they were busy casting and filing type. In another room, they were doing the setting. A long horizontal table was covered in small boxes in which the sorts were lying; the printing frame, like a lectern, is not in use here. In the same room, there was a portrait of the one who had created the printing matrices, Sahher [ʻAbdallāh Zākhir], a Maronite from Aleppo who had cut the matrices for this printing press. In a third room, they were correcting the [typeset] text; a very difficult and boring thing, because one must not only look for letters that were omitted or mixed up, but one also has to make sure that the shapes of the letters are connected. This is done so that the print is as similar as possible to a manuscript. It is therefore necessary to take out a lot of sorts, file them, smooth them, etc., until the goal is achieved. In a fourth room, there was a printing press. It was also here that the red and black ink for printing were produced. The paper, however, is purchased from Venice and France. Of every book, some 1,000–2,000 exemplars are printed. They say that about 15 books have been printed […].[45]

Seetzen's account of the printing process at the Monastery in Shuwayr is a short ethnographic and sociological study. It points to the veneration of one of the pioneers of printing, ʻAbdallāh Zākhir (d. 1748), by the monks. Zākhir was seen as "a sort of Gutenberg of the Arab world".[46] His portrait was displayed on a wall in the room where the sorts received their final shape. Another intriguing observation is that the monks strove to make the printed books look like manuscripts. This suggests that

45 Kruse, *Ulrich Jasper Seetzen's Reisen*, vol. 1, p. 251–252: "Man gab mir ein Zimmer und ein gutes Mittagsmahl, und führte mich nachher in die Druckerey, die in einem besondern Gebäude ist. In einem Zimmer war man beschäftigt, Lettern zu giessen und zu befeilen; in einem andern setzte man. Ein langer horizontaler Tisch war ganz mit kleinen Fächern bedeckt, worin die Buchstaben lagen; der Druckerkasten, wie ein Pult, ist hier nicht gebräuchlich. In demselben Zimmer hing das gut gemalte Portrait des Matrizenschneiders Sahher, eines Maroniten von Halep, welcher die Matrizen für die hiesige Druckerey schnitt; in einem dritten korrigirte man die gesetzte Schrift; eine sehr beschwerliche und langweilige Sache, weil man nicht bloss auf ausgelassene oder verwechselte Buchstaben, sondern weit mehr darauf zu sehen hat, dass die Züge der Buchstaben gehörig an einander anschliessen, damit der Druck dem Manuscript so viel möglich ähnlich werde. Man muss daher eine Menge Lettern aus dem Satze heraus nehmen, sie schleifen, plätten u.s.w., bis man seinen Zweck erreicht hat. In einem vierten Zimmer war eine Presse befindlich. Auch die rothe und schwarze Druckdinte verfertigt man hier. Das Papier erhält man aber alles aus Venedig und aus Frankreich. Man zieht von jedem Buche 1000–2000 Exemplare ab. Es sollen jetzt etwa 15 Bücher gedruckt seyn […]".

46 Ghobrial, "The Ottoman World", p. 194.

printing was clearly still approached with the reading expectations and experiences characteristic of manuscript culture. It had to fulfil the aesthetic expectations of manuscript readers. Finally, and most intriguingly, Seetzen includes a list of the prices of the monastery's printed books, *Bayān thaman al-kutub al-maṭbūʿa* (*Explanation of the Prices of Printed Books*). This provides the modern historian with an important puzzle piece for a potential economic history of monastic orders in the region, and of the Levantine book market.[47] The list mentions two prices for each book, one for a book with red binding and another for the version bound in black (Fig. 2).

Seetzen was not the first European traveler to visit Shuwayr and discuss the printing press of the Monastery. About twenty years earlier, the philosopher and orientalist Constantin François de Chassebœuf, Comte de Volney (1757–1820), had traveled across Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon. He also visited the monastery in Shuwayr, wrote an account of the foundation of the printing press, and compiled a list of the books that had been printed there.[48]

Even so, Seetzen's account distinguishes itself by the rich detail about the printing process. His thorough description of the printing process is part of an extensive assessment of the state of the art of printing in the Levant, which will be discussed later. However, before addressing Seetzen's program, some reflections on the entanglement between missionary activities, travels by Westerners, and printed religious books are required, to contextualize Seetzen's unique approach.

4 Printing and Missionary Projects

Long before Seetzen started thinking about the printing presses in the Ottoman Levant, the matter of the printed word in Arabic was entangled in various ways with Catholic and Protestant missionary activities. Besides drawing attention to local printing presses, Seetzen's book acquisitions in Aleppo and Damascus give us an idea of works printed in Europe by Catholics and Protestants that were circulating at the time of Seetzen's journey in the region. Roman Catholics had printed Arabic books on the press of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, while

47 Seetzen also reproduces a document advertising books printed by the French in Egypt which mentions prices. See Seetzen, "Nachricht", col. 651–654.

48 For the history of the printing press in Shuwayr, see C.-F. Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte, pendant les années 1783, 1784, & 1785*, vol. 2, Paris, 1787, p. 175–185. The list of books is included there on p. 180–184. For an English translation, see C.-F. Ch. B. Comte de Volney, "Some Account of the Only Printing-Press that Ever Had any Success in the Turkish Empire", *The Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany*, 6, November 1787, 35, p. 309–312 (the list on p. 311–312). See also the chapter signed by Aurélien Girard in this volume.

others were printed by the Typographia Medicea, copies of which Seetzen bought.[49] He also acquired a book that was printed in London by the Anglican Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), with the support of European merchants in the Levant, local church authorities, and Levantine Christians living in Europe.[50] This book was the translation of the New Testament entitled *Al-ʻAhd al-jadīd li-Rabbinā Yasūʻ al-Masīḥ* (*The New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, 1727), mentioned by Seetzen in his article on the printing presses but unfortunately not preserved in Gotha.[51] Clearly, the Levant was starting to become a spiritual battleground in the wake of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and printing was often at the core of the fight for the Eastern Christians' souls. Especially in the second half of the 17th century, a "shift in the balance" between the Catholic and the Protestant printing of Arabic books was visible, but Arabic books printed by Protestants circulated in the Levant in significant numbers only in the 19th century.[52]

European missionaries brought from Europe printed religious works in Arabic and other languages. Some of the works they brought were polemical.[53] They also commented here and there on the printing presses and printed books of the Levant. The interests of these missionaries differed markedly from those of Seetzen. They were spiritual and linguistic rather than scientific.

49 See [Rosenmüller], *Verzeichniss*, p. 16–17, nos. 12, 13, 15, 16, etc.

50 Anglicans cultivated a relationship with the Greek Orthodox Church and supplied them with printed Arabic books. On this topic, 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 à 24 Septembre 2010*, vol. 1, Bucharest, 2011, p. 436–439. On the translation and printing of the Psalter (1725) and the New Testament (1727) by the SPCK and the involvement of a European Merchant, Rowland Sherman (1662–1747), Aleppo's Metropolitan Athanasios Dabbās (1647–1724), and two scholars from the Levant residing in Europe, Solomon Negri (1665–1729) and Carolus Rali Dadichi (1694–1734), see details in the contribution of Simon Mills to the present volume.

51 Seetzen, "Nachricht", col. 644, no. 3. A photograph of the design of the book's title page is included in Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge*, p. 236.

52 Y. Ayalon, "Richelieu in Arabic: The Catholic Printed Message to the Orient in the Seventeenth Century", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 19, 2008, 2, p. 157.

53 For an example, see F. Krimsti, "A Refutation of Muslims, Jews, and 'Heretical' Christians, printed in Arabic: A Catholic Missionary at Work in 17th Century Aleppo", Blog der Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, October 5, 2022, accessible at https://blog-fbg.uni-erfurt.de/2022/10/a-refutation-of-muslims-jews-and-heretical-christians-printed-in-arabic-a-catholic-missionary-at-work-in-17th-century-aleppo/ (accessed: August 17, 2024). The refutation of Muslims, Jews, and "heretical" (i.e., non-Catholic) Christians composed by the missionary Justinien de Neuvy, born Michel Febvre, who was active in Aleppo, was printed in Arabic by the Vatican in 1680.

A particularly prominent example of a missionary whose main interest was spiritual is the Protestant Stephan Schultz from Halle (1714–1776).[54] The case of Schultz is interesting in the context of Seetzen's views of print culture in the Ottoman Levant because Seetzen knew of Schultz and dismissed his missionary efforts, as discussed in the last part of this chapter.

Stephan Schultz was born in Flatow (Złotów) in 1714 and studied theology at the University of Königsberg. Because of his linguistic talent, he was discovered by two members of the Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum, a Pietist missionary institution that had been founded in Halle in 1728 by Johann Heinrich Callenberg (1694–1760). It had its own press that printed books for the use of missionaries. The press produced books in Hebrew, Yiddish, Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Greek.[55] They were primarily meant for Muslims and Jews, and since 1746, also for Eastern Christians. Schultz was successfully recruited for the Institutum.

As a member of the Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum, Schultz travelled widely, and he described his experiences extensively in his five-volume work *Der Leitungen des Höchsten nach seinem Rath auf den Reisen durch Europa, Asia und Africa* (*Following the Guidance of God Most High While Traveling across Europe, Asia, and Africa*). Between 1752 and 1756, one journey led him and his travel companion Albrecht Friedrich Woltersdorf (1729–1755) across the Ottoman Empire. The two traveled via Venice and Trieste to Ancona, and then via Smyrna to Constantinople. From there, they went on to Cairo, where Woltersdorf hurt his leg in an accident. The leg became infected, and they had to change their original route. They traveled to Jerusalem, Acre, and Nazareth. Woltersdorf eventually succumbed to his infection in 1755, and his tragic death meant the end of a journey that was supposed to

54 For Stephan Schultz's biography, see D. Haas, "Von Halle in den Orient: Stephan Schultz auf Reisen im Osmanischen Reich in den Jahren 1752 bis 1756", in A. Schröder-Kahnt, C. Veltmann (eds.), *Durch die Welt im Auftrag des Herrn: Reisen von Pietisten im 18. Jahrhundert*, [Halle], [2018], p. 67–79; D. Haas, "'es kam mir diese Sprache etwas schwer vor': Stephan Schultz (1714–1776), Mitarbeiter und später Direktor des Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum in Halle, und seine Beschäftigung mit orientalischen Sprachen", in M. Häberlein, H. Zaunstöck (eds.), *Halle als Zentrum der Mehrsprachigkeit im langen 18. Jahrhundert*, Halle, 2017, p. 170–171; J. Schmidt, "The Journey of Stephan Schultz, Protestant Missionary from Halle, in the Ottoman Empire 1752–1756", *Oriens*, 39, 2011, 1, p. 19–21.

55 On the printing activities of the Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum, see Haas, "Von Halle in den Orient", p. 67–68; D. Haas, "The Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum and the Catholic Missionary Apparatus: Insights into a Largely Obscure Set of Relations", in M. Friedrich, H. Zaunstöck (eds.), *Jesuit and Pietist Missions in the Eighteenth Century Cross-Confessional Perspectives*, Halle, 2022, p. 55.

continue to Armenia, Persia, India, and Ethiopia. Schultz had to return home and, on his way back, he visited Aleppo, Mount Lebanon, and Damascus.[56]

Printed works played an important part during Schultz's journey. Even before leaving Halle, he sent printed books to Alexandria in Egypt in anticipation of his stay there.[57] Schultz and Woltersdorf were not meant to try and actively convert the individuals they encountered; the journey was intended as a sort of reconnaissance mission. The two missionaries were supposed to acquaint themselves with the circumstances in the Ottoman Empire and refine their linguistic skills. They therefore had many contacts with locals, and in some of the conversations they had with them printed books are mentioned. On such occasions, they read these books to locals.[58]

Besides bringing books from Halle, Schultz was also interested in the books printed in the Ottoman Empire, and in his travelogue, he commented repeatedly on the topic of printing. It is particularly noteworthy that Schultz had the opportunity to visit Shuwayr, as Seetzen would, several decades later. He also described the printing press at the Monastery in Shuwayr, although his account is clearly less detailed than Seetzen's. The description suggests that Schultz's primary concern was spiritual and linguistic.

> When we returned home from church, the Pater Provincialis led me to the printing press of the monastery. There only was a press and a box for the type, just like in Europe, only it was lying flat on the table, unlike ours, which are deposited on a slanted rack. They had the sorts cast in France, but their shape was previously drawn by the founder of this printing press, a monk named Soliman who had already passed away; this is why this type is of the oriental kind. I bought the Psalter and the *Spiritual Measure of Time* [i.e., Juan Eusebio Nieremberg's *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno* (1640) in its Arabic translation, *Mīzān al-zamān*]. The monks in this place speak Arabic in such a clear, delicate, and pure way that it is a pleasure to be in their company, were it only for practicing the language.[59]

56 Haas, "Von Halle in den Orient", p. 72.

57 Haas, "Von Halle in den Orient", p. 72.

58 Haas, "Von Halle in den Orient", p. 74.

59 St. Schultz, *Der Leitungen des Höchsten nach seinem Rath auf den Reisen durch Europa, Asia und Africa*, vol. 5, Halle, 1775, p. 452: "Als wir aus der Kirche nach Hause kamen, führete mich der Pater Provincialis in die Druckerey des Klosters, woselbst nur eine Presse und ein Schrift-Kasten war, welcher eben so eingerichtet ist wie die in Europa, nur daß er gerade auf einem Tisch lag, und nicht so wie unsere, auf einem schiefen Gestelle ruhete. Die Buchstaben haben sie in Frankreich giessen lassen, die Form aber hat der Urheber dieser Druckerey, ein nun schon verstorbener Mönch Namens Soliman, vorgemahlet; daher dieser Typus recht nach orientalischer Art ist. Ich kaufte den Psalter und den geistlichen Zeitmesser. Die hiesigen Mönche reden das Arabische, so deutlich, zierlich und rein, daß es ein Vergnügen ist, auch nur zur Uebung der Sprache mit ihnen

This short comment on the printing press in Shuwayr suggests that Schultz was less well informed than Seetzen. For example, the reference to a monk named Soliman as the supposed founder of the printing press is certainly a mistake. Seetzen identified the person correctly as the monk ʿAbdallāh Zākhir. Schultz's admiration of the "clear, delicate, and pure way" in which the monks spoke, in the context of his discussion of printed books, suggests that his principal interest was to acquire religious literature that could be of value for the missionaries at the Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum, both by acquainting them with Eastern Christian spiritual literature and for the study of Arabic. It is significant that Schultz cared little whether the literature that formed the material basis for his linguistic training was Protestant, Orthodox, or Catholic. As a matter of fact, Stephan Schultz had visited Rome together with Woltersdorf in 1750, attended church services with Uniate Eastern Christians, and purchased books printed by the Propaganda Fide.[60] Schultz later used these books for language studies.[61]

As Daniel Haas has emphasized, it would be a mistake to characterize Schultz's journey through the Ottoman Empire merely as "missionary travels". Indeed, the director of the Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum, Callenberg, was opposed to the designation "missionaries" for the members of his institute.[62] Nevertheless, Arabic printed books served Schultz as a resource for conversation about religious matters.

5 Printing and the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge

Seetzen was by no means the only 18th-century traveler who criticized the religious content of the works printed by the Levantine printing presses. He was preceded by Volney, who commented on the printing press in Shuwayr:

> As for the inconsiderable sale of the books, this must be attributed to the bad choice they have made of them; instead of translating works of real utility, calculated to awaken a taste for the arts indiscriminately among all the Arabs, they have only translated mystic books peculiar to the Christians, which, by their misanthropic morality, are formed to excite a disgust for all science, and even for life itself.[63]

umzugehen". Schultz's eyewitness report about the Shuwayr press is also mentioned in Walbiner, "The Collection, Perception and Study of Arabic Incunabula", p. 197.

60 On Schultz's stay in Rome and his activities there, see Haas, "The Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum", p. 65–74.

61 Haas, "The Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum", p. 73.

62 Haas, "Von Halle in den Orient", p. 74.

63 Volney, *Voyage en Syrie*, vol. 2, p. 179, cited here according to the English translation in Volney, "Some Account of the Only Printing-Press", p. 311. On Volney's account of the history of the press and

In the chapter "On the Arts, Sciences, and Ignorance" of his work *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte*, Volney depicts manuscript culture in the Levant as an obstacle to the dissemination of scientific knowledge. He contrasts the insufficient impact of manuscripts with the print culture of a developed Europe:

> In these countries every book is a manuscript, the writing of which is necessarily slow, difficult, and expensive. The labor of many months produces but one copy. It is impossible therefore for books to multiply, and consequently for knowledge to be propagated. If we compare this state of things with what passes among ourselves, we cannot but be deeply impressed with the advantages of printing. We shall even be convinced, on reflection, that this art alone is possibly the main spring of those great revolutions, which, within the last three centuries, have taken place in the moral system of Europe. The press, by rendering books common, has diffused a more equal share of knowledge through every class; and, by rapidly communicating ideas and discoveries, has produced a more speedy improvement and more universal acquaintance with the arts and sciences.[64]

As Dana Sajdi has argued, the observation that there were few printing presses in the Near East constituted an "explanatory paradigm for an imagined stagnation". The technology of printing emerged as "the instrumental dividing line between the two geographies", namely that of a progressive and enlightened Europe, on the one hand, and a backward and benighted "Orient", on the other.[65] There are clear lines of continuity between Volney's reflections and those held by modern scholars in the wake of Elizabeth Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, first published in 1979. Eisenstein's idea that printing brought about the advent of modernity was later severely criticized for a variety of reasons.[66]

Seetzen held views very similar to Volney's, and even developed them into a programmatic approach. His perspectives are informed not only by his influential predecessor, but also by his training at the University of Göttingen. Seetzen was neither a philologist, nor a missionary, nor a member of the European diplomatic and commercial network in the Levant. During his years in Göttingen, Seetzen was a member of a circle of students around the famous physician, naturalist, and

its current state, see also Walbiner, "The Collection, Perception and Study of Arabic Incunabula", p. 191.

64 Volney, *Voyage en Syrie*, vol. 2, p. 412–413. The passage is translated and discussed in D. Sajdi, "Print and Its Discontents: A Case for Pre-Print Journalism and Other Sundry Print Matters", *The Translator*, 15, 2009, 1, p. 106. It is also discussed in Walbiner, "The Collection, Perception and Study of Arabic Incunabula", p. 198.

65 Sajdi, "Print and its Discontents", p. 107.

66 For an analysis of the impact of Eisenstein's work on Middle Eastern book history and the criticism it garnered, see Sajdi, "Print and its Discontents", p. 115–118; K. A. Schwartz, "Book History, Print, and the Middle East", *History Compass*, 15, 2017, p. 3–5.

anthropologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840). Blumenbach influenced the entire generation of naturalists (and travelers) that he trained.[67]

As a naturalist, Seetzen's interests resembled those of the brothers Alexander and Patrick Russell. Alexander Russell (1715–1768) was a physician for the Levant Company's Factory at Aleppo from 1740 to 1753. He was joined by his brother Patrick Russell (1727–1805) in 1750. Alexander Russell wrote a monumental *Natural History of Aleppo*, which was later expanded by his brother.[68] Long before arriving in Aleppo, Seetzen wrote his dissertation about plant diseases.[69]

Seetzen collected manuscripts and printed books not only because he was supposed to do so for the enlightened monarchs who funded his travels. He wanted to make geographical knowledge available, alongside ethnographic, astronomical, botanical, biological, and geological knowledge. He saw himself as a mediator who provided the academic readership in Germany with knowledge included in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts, and wrote a programmatic article on this facet of his agenda as well.[70] This article was authored during the same stretch of Seetzen's journey as the one devoted to printing. In Seetzen's eyes, printed books offered also a unique opportunity to disseminate scientific knowledge among the "Orientals" in the Ottoman Empire and the Near East at large. He therefore emphasized its potential, as Volney had done before him. According to Seetzen, the absence of printed works was a serious obstacle to the development of the natural sciences in the Ottoman Empire and the Near East. In the early stages of his travels, after his stay in Istanbul, he noted:

> One of the most important instruments of intellectual culture is still lacking, the printing press. The imperial printing press, which is now in Scudàr [Üsküdar], is by far unable to satisfy this urgent need. There should be more of them, throughout the entire Empire, so that within a short period of time the most important manuscripts of the Orient would be printed. One would also have to take care to translate individual European classical works from all sciences and enrich Turkish literature with them. This would make it easier to get used to

67 For Blumenbach's impact on Seetzen's agenda during his travels, see F. Krimsti, "Silent Helpers: The Role of Locals in Ulrich Jasper Seetzen's Scholarly Work", in C. Rauch (ed.), *Proceedings of the Conference "Oriental Manuscripts in Germany. Collection History between the Academic Thirst for Knowledge, Antique Trade across the Globe, and Imperial Claims to Power"* (forthcoming).

68 See A. Russell, P. Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo: Containing a Description of the City, and the Principal Natural Productions in its Neighbourhood. Together with an Account of the Climate, Inhabitants, and Diseases, Particularly of the Plague*, 2 vols., London, 1794 (2nd ed.).

69 U. J. Seetzen, *Systematum generaliorum de morbis plantarum brevis diiudicatio*, Göttingen, 1789.

70 See U. J. Seetzen, "Nachrichten von einigen Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Reisebeschreibungen, Topographien und anderen geographischen Werken und Landkarten", *Monatliche Correspondenz zur Beförderung der Erd- und Himmelskunde*, 12, 1805, p. 101–125.

> printed works. Presently, manuscripts are still preferred, but they are hard to obtain, and they can only be purchased by wealthy people because they are so expensive.[71]

What distinguishes Seetzen from Volney is the fact that Seetzen developed his ideas into a program for the dissemination of knowledge through printed works in the Ottoman Levant, along the lines of a *mission civilisatrice*. This program is formulated most explicitly in his essay "Die wissenschaftliche Propagande: Ein Werk des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts" ("Scientific Propaganda: A Nineteenth-Century Work") written in 1808 in Cairo.[72] "Propaganda" is a term that Seetzen had already used, as demonstrated by diary entries related to printing in which the word occurs.[73] In his essay, Seetzen embeds the "propaganda" that he envisions in an account of the activities of the Propaganda Fide in Rome, which used the printing press for the dissemination of the Catholic faith. This project was predisposed to end in failure: Roman Catholic missionaries were not and would not be able to establish Catholicism as a universal religion.[74] In fact, all Christian missionary activities in the Ottoman Empire were doomed to fail – Seetzen specifically mentions Stephan Schul[t]z.[75]

Not only is the essay a piece of explicit religious skepticism, but it also opposes Europe and the Orient in terms of scientific progress and develops the concept of a "scientific mission": Europe, Seetzen argues, had made considerable scientific progress, whereas the Orient had not. The most significant technical achievement that facilitated this progress was, unsurprisingly, printing.[76] Seetzen made a case for

71 Seetzen, *Reise-Nachrichten*, p. 16: "Noch immer fehlt zu sehr das wichtigste Hülfsmittel der Geistescultur, die *Buchdruckerey*. Denn die kaiserliche Buchdruckerey, die jetzt in *Scudàr* ist, ist bey weiten nicht im Stande, diesem dringenden Bedürfnisse abzuhelfen. Es müssten mehrere durch das ganze Reich verbreitet seyn, damit in kurzer Zeit die wichtigsten Manuscripte des Orients im Druck erschienen, und vorzüglich müsste man dahin sehen, durch Übersetzungen einzelner classischer Werke der Europäer aus allen Wissenschaften die Türkische Literatur zu bereichern. Dadurch würde man sich schneller an die Lecture der Druckschriften gewöhnen, statt dass man jetzt noch immer den Handschriften Vorzug gibt, die nur mit Mühe zu erlangen sind, und die ihrer Kostbarkeit wegen nur von den Wohlhabenden angeschafft werden können".

72 See U. J. Seetzen, "Die wissenschaftliche Propagande: Ein Werk des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts", in the Landesbibliothek Oldenburg, Nachlass von Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, Varia aus dem Nachlaß, Cim I 88 l, Konvolut 5, Nr. 12. I am grateful to Merle Logge for transliterating the article. An edition of this important programmatic text is currently in preparation. Henceforth I cite Seetzen's essay, which has no pagination or foliation, in the likely order in which it was authored.

73 E.g., Seetzen, *Tagebuch des Aufenthalts in Aleppo*, p. 211: "Die vormalige Propaganda würde sich um die Wissenschaft sehr verdient gemacht haben".

74 Seetzen, "Die wissenschaftliche Propagande", p. 1–2.

75 Seetzen, "Die wissenschaftliche Propagande", p. 3.

76 Seetzen, "Die wissenschaftliche Propagande", p. 9.

sending out missionaries who would spread scientific knowledge and called for the creation of an institution that would prepare them for such a task.[77] The "scientific missionaries" Seetzen imagined were to travel to the East to study the sciences and acquire important literature, especially travelogues and geographical works, for Europe.[78] But they were also to "give back":

> A scientific Propaganda is greatly beneficial for two reasons: on the one hand, it would acquaint us with the state of the literature of all educated peoples of the Orient as well as with the opinions, practices, and customs of those who are not yet benefiting from a scientific training; on the other hand, it would convey to the former by way of an exchange beautiful and important selections from the literature of the Europeans, and to the latter the first seeds of a scientific education.[79]

Seetzen advanced concrete suggestions for the foundation of commercially successful oriental printing presses in European cities, listed specific works that were to be printed in Europe, and described in detail how they were to be prepared, to reflect the tastes of a potential oriental readership.[80] A font like that used in Silvestre de Sacy's *Chrestomathy* had to be selected for printing, but the letters had to be connected carefully – Seetzen here praises the Shuwayrite monks for their accurate work, as "the example most worthy of imitation" (*das nachahmungswürdigste Beyspiel*).[81] These printed books would generate an interest that would result in the establishment of printing presses in the Near East.[82]

It is obvious that Seetzen imagined himself as just the sort of "scientific missionary" whom he described in his manifesto. His scattered observations on the printing presses of the Levant in scholarly publications and in his diary, accordingly, can be perceived as part of an endeavor to assess the situation in preparation of a *mission civilisatrice* through printed works, especially in Arabic. Orientalist discourse

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77 Seetzen, "Die wissenschaftliche Propagande", p. 11: "We are just lacking a place of gathering where these disciples of the sciences can prepare for their mission" ("Es fehlt uns nur an einem Vereinigungspunkt, wo diese Jünger der Wissenschaften sich zu ihrer Mission vorbereiten").

78 Seetzen, "Die wissenschaftliche Propagande", p. 12, 14.

79 Seetzen, "Die wissenschaftliche Propagande", p. 13: "Der ausgebreitete Nutzen einer wissenschaftlichen Propagande lässt sich auf zwey Punkte zurückführen; einmal nämlich, indem sie uns mit dem Zustande der Litteratur aller gebildeten Völker des Orients, und mit den Meinungen, Sitten und Gebräuchen derjenigen bekannt macht, bey welchen noch keine wissenschaftliche Bildung statt findet; und dann, indem sie Jenen zum Tausch das Auserlesenste, Schönste und Wichtigste von der Litteratur der Europäer, und Diesen die erste Saat zu einer folgenden wissenschaftlichen Bildung mittheilt".

80 Seetzen, "Die wissenschaftliche Propagande", p. 16–21.

81 Seetzen, "Die wissenschaftliche Propagande", p. 17.

82 Seetzen, "Die wissenschaftliche Propagande", p. 19.

pervades Seetzen's manifesto, for example, when he assigns to each European state its respective "scientific terrain" in the Orient.[83] Some passages are characterized by blatant racism:

> Yes! Destiny seems to have decided that us Europeans of the Motherland will enlighten the savage and wild nations of our planet with the flame of the sciences. One day, the negro peoples in Inner Africa will write in their annals in our script, they will relate to their offspring that a [Seetzen here strikes the word "white"] people from another land came to them and planted the first seed of the sciences there.[84]

This racist discourse about the peoples in Inner Africa oddly contrasts with other passages in which Seetzen insists on the importance of "oriental literature" (*orientalische*[*n*] *Litteratur*), specifically Arabic, Persian, and Turkish works.[85]

A decade after Seetzen's death, his manifesto was rediscovered by the physicist and chemist Johann Salomo Christoph Schweigger (1779–1857), who used it to promote his own vision of the Academies of Sciences.[86] Schweigger studied philosophy but switched to physics and chemistry after his habilitation. He was professor in Erlangen before moving to Halle. He was the founder of the Association for the Diffusion of Knowledge of the Natural World and a Higher Truth ("Verein zur Verbreitung von Naturkenntniß und höherer Wahrheit"), whose goal was to support naturalists sent to East India.[87] Schweigger built on Leibniz and Seetzen, whose manifesto he had rediscovered,[88] to intervene in a debate about the purpose and role of Academies – he saw the potential of the Academy in serving precisely for the "scientific propaganda" that Seetzen had described. He continued to strive to connect his Association to a University or Academy until it became part of the

83 Seetzen, "Die wissenschaftliche Propagande", p. 25–26.

84 Seetzen, "Die wissenschaftliche Propagande", p. 23: "Ja! Vom Geschick scheint es beschlossen zu seyn, dass wir Europäer des Mutter- und Tochterlandes mit der Fackel der Wissenschaften die rohen und wilden Nationen unsers Planetens erleuchten. Einst werden die Neger-Völker des innern Afrika's in ihren Annalen, geschrieben mit unserer Schrift, ihrer Nachwelt erzählen, ein weisses [crossed out] Volk aus einem fernen Lande sey zu ihnen gekommen, und habe die erste Saat zu den Wissenschaften bey ihnen ausgestreut".

85 Seetzen, "Die wissenschaftliche Propagande", p. 13.

86 On Schweigger's rediscovery of Seetzen's idea of a "scientific propaganda", see M. Kaasch, J. Kaasch, "Wissenschaftliche Propaganda im Sinne von Leibniz und Seetzen: Johann Salomo Christoph Schweigger und die Akademien", in S. Splinter, S. Gerstengarbe et al. (eds.), *Physica et historia: Festschrift für Andreas Kleinert zum 65. Geburtstag*, Halle, 2005, p. 373–386.

87 Kaasch and Kaasch, "Wissenschaftliche Propaganda", p. 374.

88 Kaasch and Kaasch, "Wissenschaftliche Propaganda", p. 375.

University of Berlin in 1842–1843.[89] He also continued to fight for the reformation of the Academies.

It must be noted that Schweigger's program differed noticeably from Seetzen's in that he advocated the dissemination of religion through scientific propaganda, thus emphasizing a Protestant religious purpose incompatible with Seetzen's vision. The example points to different iterations of the concept of a "scientific mission", which excluded or included religious purposes.

6 Conclusion

On January 14, 1809, Ulrich Jasper Seetzen visited the Egyptian astronomer Shaykh 'Uthmān al-Mīqāti ("Schech Osman el Mikâty") at his home. In a conversation about a work on astronomy, the following exchange occurred between the two scholars.

> He inquired what was going to happen to the Arabic manuscripts in Europe. The French had arguably carried away 30 camel loads from the deserted houses. I assured him that excerpts would be taken from all the works, especially the historical and geographical ones, but also the theological ones, or that full translations would be produced and disseminated in print. This was remarkable to him. [...] I had told him about our large public libraries where big collections of oriental works can be found. "Indeed!", he said. "Your rulers do more than ours; none of our despots and pashas cares about the sciences".[90]

Whether or not the dialogue took place in the very form recalled by Seetzen, it certainly highlights his own ideas about the crucial role printed books could potentially play in the exchange of scientific knowledge between the East and the West. In this conversation he does not specifically address printing in the Levant, but in the discussion the same general themes are brought up as in Seetzen's written reflections on the printing presses of the Levant: the advancement of history, geography, and all the areas of knowledge production, the dissemination of knowledge

89 Kaasch, Kaasch, "Wissenschaftliche Propaganda", p. 382, *passim*.

90 Kruse, *Ulrich Jasper Seetzen's Reisen*, vol. 3, p. 386–387 (diary entry, January 14, 1809): "Er erkundigte sich, was man mit den arabischen Manuscripten in Europa anfange, indem die Franzosen wohl 30 Kameel-Ladungen aus den verlassenen Häusern mitgenommen hätten. Ich versicherte ihm, dass man aus allen Werken, besonders den historischen und geographischen, aber auch aus theologischen, Auszüge mache, oder vollständige Uebersetzungen davon veranstalte. Dies war ihm sehr auffallend. [...] Ich hatte ihm von unsern grossen öffentlichen Bibliotheken gesagt, wo auch grosse Sammlungen von orientalischen Werken anzutreffen. 'Wahrlich! sagte er, ihre Fürsten thun mehr, als die unsrigen; von unsern Gewalthabern und Paschen bekümmert sich keiner um die Wissenschaften'". The diary entry is also cited in El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*, p. 15.

through translations and printed books, and the fundamental scientific superiority of the European side in this exchange.

It was Seetzen's goal not only to select and purchase a representative sample of manuscripts that captured the state of all the sciences for his readership in Germany, but he had a second agenda that revolved around the printed word in the Ottoman Levant. It might be surprising that a scholar disinterested in Christian spiritual literature created one of the most compelling collections of early Arabic religious works printed by and for Levantine Christians. His attempt to purchase all the books printed in the Levant, especially, but not exclusively, the Arabic works, was an exhaustive survey that was meant to provide the foundation for the introduction of printing among the "Orientals".

If one compares Seetzen's views about the printing presses of the Levant to the ideas earlier travelers like Stephan Schultz expressed, the change in perspective immediately becomes obvious. Schultz was interested in printed religious literature for two main reasons: to improve his linguistic skills and to prepare for future missionary activities. Seetzen decidedly turned away from this religious impulse and later developed the concept of a scientific "propaganda" that he contrasted with the religious missionary propaganda. It is remarkable that the physicist Johann Salomo Christoph Schweigger, when thinking about the structure of the German Academies a couple of decades later, used Seetzen's ideas to return to a missionary impulse like Schultz's and combine it with scientific aspirations. Despite their differences, however, all three scholars negotiated the relation between reformed Christianity, on the one hand, and the aspiration for the knowledge of the world, on the other.

What would have happened if Seetzen had not perished in Yemen under mysterious circumstances in 1811? Would he have translated European classics for the Arabs of the Levant and made sure that they were printed on a Levantine press? Would he have translated excerpts of European historical and geographical literature to be disseminated in print in the Levant? We do not know where Seetzen's peregrinations would have led him, but he was clearly willing to act as a pioneer of the "scientific missionaries" whom he so vividly imagined in his essay on scientific propaganda.

Appendix 1a

Arabic Printed Books Purchased by Ulrich Jasper Seetzen during his Stay in Aleppo (Numbered)

Seetzen Haleb no.	Shelfmark Gotha Research Library	Book title, place and date of publication	Seetzen article p./no.
1	Theol 8° 227/15	*Kitāb yud'ā ṣakhrat shakk*, Oxford, 1721	p. 643, no. 1
2	not identified		
3	Theol 4° 20/16	*Kitāb al-Zabūr al-sharīf*, Aleppo, 1706	not mentioned
4	not identified		
5	Theol 8° 320a/18	*Mukhtaṣar al-ta'līm al-maṣīḥī*, Shuwayr, 1756	p. 647, no. 7
6	not identified		
7	Theol 8° 619d/4	*Kitāb Murshid al-khāṭi' fī sirr al-tawba wa-l-i'tirāf*, Shuwayr, 1747	p. 646, no. 5
8	Theol 8° 715/15	*Kitāb wajīz yashtamilu 'alā ta'ammulāt rūḥīya li-ayyām al-usbū'*, Shuwayr, 1735	p. 646, no. 3
9	Theol 2° 58/1	*Kitāb al-Injīl al-sharīf al-ṭāhir wa-l-miṣbāḥ al-munīr al-zāhir*, Aleppo, 1706	p. 642, no. 2
10	not identified		
11	not identified		
12	Theol 4° 799/6	*Mīzān al-zamān wa-qisṭās abadīyat al-insān*, Shuwayr, 1733–1734	p. 645, no. 1
13	Theol 8° 58/14	*Kitāb al-Zabūr al-ilāhī li-Dāwūd al-nabī*, Shuwayr, 1764	not mentioned
14	Theol 8° 619d/6	*Kitāb al-Ukṭū'īkhūs al-mushtamil 'alā al-thamāniya al-alḥān li-l-qiyāma*, Shuwayr, 1767	p. 647, no. 8
15	Theol 8° 715/14	*Kitāb Ta'ammulāt jahannam*, Shuwayr, 1769	p. 647, no. 9
16	Theol 8° 619d/5	*Kitāb Qūt al-nafs*, Shuwayr, 1772	p. 647, no. 10
17	not identified		

18	Theol 8° 58/9	*Kitāb Zabūr Dawūd al-malik wa-l-nabī*, London, 1725 (Salomon Negri)	p. 643, no. 2
19	Theol 8° 328/3	*Risāla wajīza tūḍiḥu kayfīyat al-tawba wa-l-i'tirāf*, Aleppo, 1711	p. 642, no. 4
20	Theol 2° 281/3	*Kitāb al-Nubuwwāt al-kanā'isī*, Shuwayr, 1775	p. 647, no. 11
21	Theol 2° 58/3	*Kitāb al-Injīl al-sharīf al-ṭāhir wa-l-miṣbāḥ al-munīr al-zāhir*, Aleppo, 1706	p. 642, no. 1

Appendix 1b

Arabic Printed Books likely Purchased by Ulrich Jasper Seetzen during his Stay in Aleppo (Not Numbered)

Seetzen Halep no.	Shelfmark Gotha Research Library	Book title, place and date of publication	Seetzen article p./no.
none	Theol 8° 58/15	*Kitāb al-Zābūr al-ilāhī li-Dāwūd al-nabī*, Shuwayr, 1735	p. 645–646, no. 2
none	not preserved	*Kitāb al-Durr al-muntakhab min maqālāt al-Qiddīs Yūḥannā Famm al-Dhahab*, Aleppo, 1707	p. 642, no. 3
none	not preserved	*Al-'Ahd al-jadīd li-Rabbinā Yasū' al-Masīḥ*, London, 1727 (Salomon Negri)	p. 644, no. 3
none	not preserved	*Iḥtiqār abāṭīl al-'ālam*, Shuwayr, 1739–1740 (only vols. 1 and 4 were printed)	p. 646, no. 4
none	not preserved	*Kitāb Tafsīr sab'at Mazmūrāt min Mazāmīr Dāwūd al-nabī*, Shuwayr, 1753	p. 646, no. 6

Appendix 2

Arabic Printed Books Purchased by Ulrich Jasper Seetzen during his Stay in Damascus[91]

(Numbered = [Rosenmüller], *Verzeichniss*, p. 16–17, section "Orientalische gedruckte Werke")

Seetzen Damask no.	Shelfmark Gotha Research Library	Book title, place and date of publication
1	Theol 2° 58/2	*Al-Injīl al-sharīf al-ṭāhir wa-l-miṣbāḥ al-munīr al-zāhir,* Shuwayr, 1776
2	not preserved	*Qaṭf al-azhār*, Shuwayr, 1797
3	not preserved	*Īḍāḥ al-taʿlīm al-masīḥī*, Shuwayr, 1768
4	not preserved	*Al-Abraksīs*, Shuwayr, 1792 (4th edition)
5	not preserved	*Al-Sawāʿī*, Shuwayr, 1787
6	not preserved	*Sharḥ al-taʿlīm*, Shuwayr, 1802
7	Theol 8° 715/13	*Al-Burhān al-ṣarīḥ fī ḥaqīqat sirray dīn al-Masīḥ*, Shuwayr, 1764
8	not preserved	*Irshād ilā muʿallimī al-iʿtirāf*, Shuwayr, 1804
18	Theol 8° 314b/3	*Khidmat al-quddās ḥasab rutbat al-kanīsa al-suryānīya al-mārūnīya al-muqaddasa*, Dayr Mār Mūsā al-Ḥabashī, 1789
19	not preserved	Prayers in Garshuni, Quzḥayā

91 Books printed in Armenian and Syriac, as well as books printed in Rome without the involvement of Levantine Christians, were omitted from this list.

Fig. 1: Frederik Christiaan Bierweiler, Portrait of *Ulrich Jasper Seetzen*, mezzotint, 1818. The artist may not have met Seetzen; the portrait was created based on recollections of contemporaries (Friedenstein Stiftung Gotha, inventory no. G 69,35,2. By permission of the Friedenstein Stiftung Gotha).

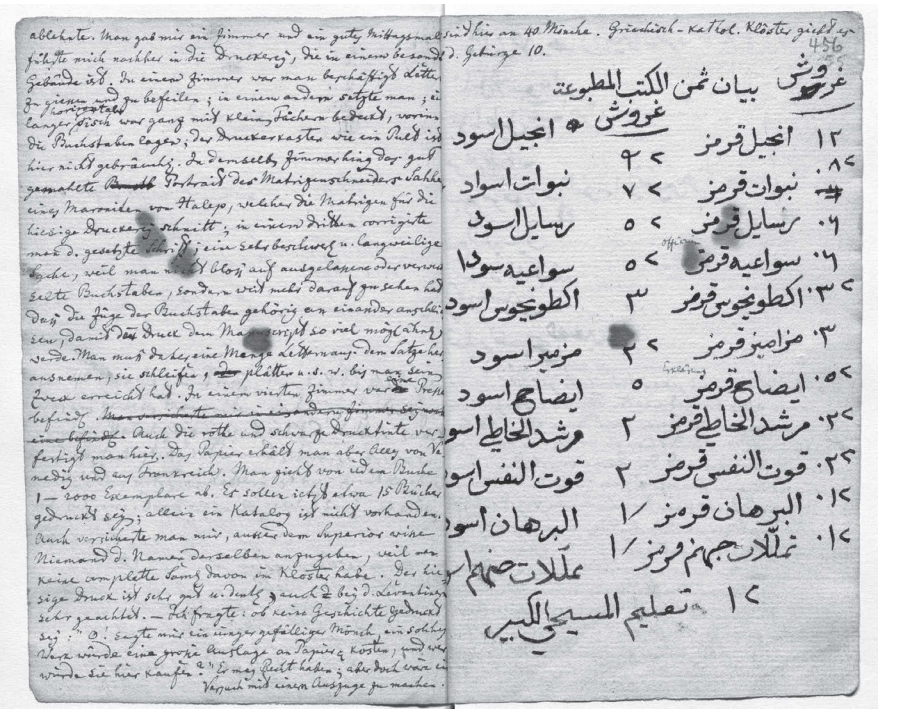

Fig. 2: Excerpt of a diary entry written by Ulrich Jasper Seetzen on September 17, 1806, describing a visit to the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Shuwayr and its printing press. A list of Arabic books printed by the monks, probably by a different hand, mentions their prices (Landesbibliothek Oldenburg, Cim I 88 h: 6, fol. 155r. By permission of the Library).

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Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan

Timotei Cipariu, the First Romanian Scholar of Arabic and Collector of Oriental Books in Transylvania

1 Introduction

As a Romanian historian and theologian from Transylvania, I am especially grateful to be given the opportunity to write about one of the outstanding personalities of Romanian culture in general and of Transylvania in particular: Timotei Cipariu (Fig. 1). I have to admit from the very beginning that the topic was a challenge for me, because the eminent Greek Catholic theologian, philologist, linguist, educator, historian and Orientalist Timotei Cipariu is an extremely complex figure about whom much has been written in Romania.[1] It is no coincidence that his profile page on the europeana.eu platform describes him as "a Transylvanian Erasmus", considered "the father of Romanian philology".[2] However, I noticed that, on an international level, he has been forgotten, being almost unknown today, which is unfair, considering his status as a self-taught Orientalist, appreciated in the 19th century for his vast knowledge by scholars such as the German historian Theodor Mommsen (1817–1902), who visited him in Blaj in 1857, or the French Romance philologist Émile Picot (1844–1918), private secretary of Prince Charles of Romania (1866–1867), vice-consul of France in Timișoara (1868–1872), and professor (1875–1909) at the *École des langues orientales vivantes* in Paris (today, Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales, INALCO), who also visited him in Blaj in 1868 and with whom he corresponded.[3]

1 See four bio-bibliographical notes on his life and work in M. Popa-Andrei et al., *Canonici, profesori și vicari foranei din Biserica Română Unită (1853–1918). Dicționar*, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, p. 135–141; M. Păcurariu, *Dicționarul teologilor români*, Sibiu, 2014 (3rd, revised edition), p. 143–145; M. Păcurariu, D. N. Rusu, *Teologi români și străini membri ai Academiei Române*, Sibiu, 2016, p. 178–180; E. Simion (coord. ed.), *Enciclopedia literaturii române vechi*, Bucharest, 2018, p. 227–229.
2 https://www.europeana.eu/en/blog/timotei-cipariu-a-transylvanian-erasmus (accessed December 2, 2023).
3 V. Nițu, T. Vedinaș, *Timotei Cipariu: arhetipuri ale permanenței românești*, Cluj-Napoca, 1988, p. 71–72, 76.

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2 Transylvania

Many readers may be wondering where the town of Blaj lies. Answering this question gives me the opportunity to start off with a brief account on Transylvania. The next two sections are dedicated to Timotei Cipariu's biography, activity, and library, with a special focus on his Oriental manuscripts and printed books, including the Arabic ones.

Unfortunately, after the publication of the Irish writer Bram Stoker's novel *Dracula* in 1897 and its screen version distributed by the Hollywood film industry, Transylvania has become internationally associated with vampires, Prince Dracula, and horror films.[4] I can assure you that this is all a legend, fiction that bears no connection to historical or contemporary reality. Neither I, nor my Romanian colleagues have ever encountered vampires in our home region.

Transylvania is a geographical and historical region of Romania,[5] surrounded by the Carpathian Mountains. Due to its history and the nations that have lived here, it is known historicaly by several names: *Transsilvaniae* and *Transilvania* in Latin, *Transilvania* and *Ardeal* in Romanian, *Erdély* in Hungarian, and *Siebenbürgen* in German. Over the last two millennia, it was first part of the Kingdom of Dacia, then, for two centuries, a province of the Roman Empire, in the Middle Ages it was a voivodeship within the Kingdom of Hungary,[6] and then an autonomous principality under Ottoman rule (1526-1688).[7] Between the Treaty of Carlowitz and the Treaty of Trianon, it was part of the Habsburg Monarchy, and on December 1, 1918, it united with Romania, in accordance with the democratic will of the majority of the local population.[8] And since the conference in preparation for this volume took place in "die einstige thüringische Residenzstadt", where, thanks to the Saxon Electors, the town and the region became a "Schauplatz" of Martin Luther and the history of German Protestantism, I feel compelled to point out that the Principality of Transylvania played a significant role in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) on

4 For details, see https://www.britannica.com/topic/Jonathan-Harker (accessed December 2, 2023).

5 K. W. Treptow (ed.), *A History of Romania*, 3rd ed., Iași, 1997; K. Hitchins, *The Identity of Romania* (2nd, enlarged edition), Bucharest, 2009; I. A. Pop, I. Bolovan (eds.), *History of Romania. Compendium*, Cluj-Napoca, 2006.

6 I. A. Pop, Th. Nägler (coord. eds.), *The History of Transylvania, Volume I: (until 1541)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2005.

7 I. A. Pop, Th. Nägler, A. Magyari (coord. eds.), *The History of Transylvania. Volume II: (from 1541 to 1711)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2009.

8 I. A. Pop, Th. Nägler, A. Magyari (coord. eds.), *The History of Transylvania. Volume III: (from 1711 to 1918)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2010.

the side of the Protestant coalition.[9] It is no coincidence that some of the Calvinist princes of Transylvania had links to Thüringen, and a statue was erected in Bad Kissingen to honor one of them, Franz Rákoczy II (1676–1735), the "Erzfeind der katholischen Habsburger" ("a sworn enemy of the Catholic Habsburgs").

Blaj is a small town (around 18,000 inhabitants at the 2021 census) located in the middle of Transylvania, which developed due to the establishment there of the See of the Romanian Uniate Episcopate in 1738 and, from 1855 onwards, that of the Romanian Greek Catholic Metropolis of Făgăraș and Alba Iulia, which turned it into the religious and cultural center of the Romanians united with the Church of Rome. Greek Catholicism in Transylvania was created between 1697 and 1701 through the union of a part of the Transylvanian Romanians with the Church of Rome, in the spirit of the Unionist Council of Florence (1438–1439). The union was controlled by the Court of Vienna and the Jesuit fathers and signed by the (formerly) Orthodox Metropolitan Atanasie Anghel and by most of the Romanian archpriests of Transylvania.[10] In 1754, thanks to the Bishop Petru Pavel Aron, the first public school in Transylvania that used Romanian as the language of instruction was opened in Blaj. In the decades that followed, a Greek-Catholic theological school was added, followed by a secondary school for the four to eight grades, which functioned until the autumn of 1948, when the Greek-Catholic Church was dissolved, according to the Soviet model, and "reunified" with the Romanian Orthodox Church.[11] Timotei Cipariu studied and then taught at these schools in Blaj.[12]

3 Timotei Cipariu

Throughout its history, Transylvania has produced personalities and scholars famous in Romanian and European history and culture. Among these personalities is the Greek Catholic canon Timotei Cipariu. Cipariu was born on February 21, 1805, in the village of Pănade, 10 km north-east of Blaj. His parents, Iacob Cipariu

9 J. Arndt, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg 1618–1648*, Stuttgart, 2009; G. Volkmer, *Siebenbürgen zwischen Habsburgermonarchie und Osmanischen Reich. Völkerrechtliche Stellung und Völkerrechtspraxis eines ostmitteleuropäischen Fürstentums 1541–1699*, Oldenbourg, 2015, p. 335–357, 372–409.

10 On the history of the Romanian church united with Rome, see A. V. Sima, *Afirming Identity: The Romanian Greek-Catholic Church at the Time of the First Vatican Council*, Milan, 2013.

11 C. Vasile, *Între Vatican și Kremlin. Biserica Greco-Catolică în timpul regimului comunist*, Bucharest, 2023; E. Cosmovici, *Desfășurarea „lichidării" Bisericii Române Unite în 1948*, Târgu Lăpuș, 2020.

12 N. V. Fola, *Școlile Blajului între anii 1850–1918: evoluția instituțională și contribuții la dezvoltarea elitelor intelectuale românești*, Târgu Mureș, 2009.

and Salomia Truța, were Romanian serfs, descendants of families of priests. Timotei was the fourth of the family's five children, four boys and a girl, of which only two boys reached adulthood. In his autobiographical notes, Cipariu reveals that, as a child, he began to learn to read Romanian, Latin, and Greek.[13] In the spring of 1814, at the age of nine, he writes: "I have learned to read Greek, using a grammar book by Alvari, using the Latin alphabet".[14] The same source suggests that he had a remarkable memory and was able to memorize whole pages after a single reading. The example he gives is the *Odes* of Horace.[15] Between 1814 and 1821, he attended primary and secondary school in Blaj, then studied philosophy and theology at the Greek Catholic Seminary, from which he graduated in 1825. At that time, not only Latin, but also Greek and Hebrew were studied at the Blaj Seminary, which was also a tradition in German Evangelical secondary schools in Transylvania. The canon Ioan Micu Moldovan (1833–1915), who knew him, mentions that Timotei Cipariu was taught Hebrew at the theological seminary by Professor Teodor Pop (1782–1835), then learned Arabic on his own, writing in Latin and Arabic as fluently as in his mother tongue.[16] Noticed by his superiors, Cipariu was appointed teacher at the Blaj Secondary School the very year he completed his studies.[17]

In 1826, he joined the Monastery of the Holy Trinity in Blaj as a novice, but gave up after a few months. In 1828, he was appointed professor of philosophy, then of dogmatics and later of biblical studies at the Blaj Seminary. In the records of the Făgăraș Episcopate in 1835, he is mentioned as a teacher of Hebrew and Greek at the Episcopal Secondary School, professor of biblical studies, philosophy and religion at the Theological Seminary, and director of the diocesan press,[18] which he headed until 1866. In 1827, the Bishop Ioan Bob ordained Cipariu as a celibate priest. In 1842, he became a canon, and in 1876, a capitulary provost.

In addition to his teaching positions and honorary titles, he also held a number of administrative positions at the Archdiocesan Center of Blaj, such as archiepiscopal vicar general and president of the marital court,[19] director of the Secondary School,

13 T. Cipariu, *Jurnal*, edition, preface, notes and glossary by M. Protase, Cluj, 1972, p. 71–78.

14 Cipariu, *Jurnal*, p. 82–83.

15 Cipariu, *Jurnal*, p. 77–78.

16 I. M. M[oldovan], "Timotei Cipariu, date biografice", *Unirea*, XV, 1905, 25–26, p. 223.

17 Popa-Andrei et al., *Canonici*, p. 136.

18 *Schematismus venerabilis cleri graeci ritus catholicorum Dioeceseos Fogarasiensis in Transilvania, pro anno a Christo nato MDCCCXXXV, ab unione cum Ecclesia Romana CXXXVIII*, Blaj, p. 5, 7.

19 Until 1894, when civil marriage was introduced in the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Transylvanian churches held broad legal powers in marital matters. During the 19th century, the Greek Catholic Diocese of Făgăraș had a consistory court that judged all marital

and school inspector in Blaj (1854–1875).[20] In the summer of 1868, after the death of the Metropolitan Alexandru Sterca Șuluțiu (1794–1867), Timotei Cipariu was one of the three candidates nominated by the electoral synod for the Metropolitan See. Ioan Vancea received 59 votes, Timotei Cipariu, 49, and Ioan Negruțiu, 36. Thus, on November 21, 1868, the Emperor Franz Joseph of Austro-Hungary appointed Ioan Vancea de Buteasa, the bishop of Gherla, who was confirmed as metropolitan by the Holy See on December 21, 1869.[21]

Timotei Cipariu was also involved in the national movement of the Romanians of Transylvania and Hungary as a member of the national committee of 1848, a member of the Romanian deputation that travelled to Pest and Vienna to advocate for the Romanian cause, then as a deputy in the Transylvanian Dieta (Parliament) of Sibiu (1863–1864).[22] In 1861, he participated in the founding of the Association for Romanian Literature and Culture of the Romanian People of Transylvania, the most important Romanian cultural forum in Hungary until 1918. He contributed to the development of the association as its vice-president (1861–1867), then president (1877–1887). In 1866, he was one of the founding members of the Romanian Literary Society of Bucharest (Societatea Academică Română), forerunner of the Romanian Academy.[23]

He was one of the pioneers of Romanian journalism in Transylvania, founding and publishing the first Romanian newspaper that used the Latin alphabet: "Organul luminării" ("The Organ of Enlightenment"), in 1847–1848. He was the editor of "Învățătorul poporului" ("The People's Teacher"), in 1848, and editor of "Archivu pentru filologie și istorie" ("Archive for Philology and History"), the first Romanian journal of philology, published in Blaj in 1867–1870.[24] Timotei Cipariu wrote works of history, literature, linguistics, philology, folklore, poetry, and memoirs.[25] He was an avid collector of rare Romanian and foreign books, manuscripts

matters of the Greek Catholic clergy and laity. This was the only court to judge and pronounce divorce. For details, see: D. Deteșan, D. Covaci, E. C. Holom, "Laic laws governing the Romanian families in Transylvania in the second half of the 19th century", in A. Fauve-Chamoux, I. Bolovan (eds.), *Families in Europe between the 19th and the 21st Centuries. From the Traditional Model to the Contemporary PACS*, Cluj-Napoca, 2009, p. 575–591.

20 Popa-Andrei et al., *Canonici*, p. 136–137.

21 I. Cârja, *Biserică și societate în Transilvania în perioada păstoririi Mitropolitului Ioan Vancea (1869–1892)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2007, p. 44.

22 Popa-Andrei et al., *Canonici*, p. 137–138.

23 Nițu, Vedinaș, *Timotei Cipariu*, p. 42–46, 53–56; S. Maier, C. Necula, *Asociațiunea ASTRA – recuperarea unei Memorii culturale.* Volume II: *Președinții*, Bucharest, 2021, p. 33–49.

24 Nițu, Vedinaș, *Timotei Cipariu*, p. 35–52; Popa-Andrei et al., *Canonici*, p. 139.

25 Popa-Andrei et al., *Canonici*, p. 139–140.

and coins and came to own the largest private Romanian library in Transylvania.[26] He entertained a rich correspondence with his contemporaries in Transylvania and the Romanian Principalities, as well as with various scholars of his time, and with publishing houses and bookshops throughout Europe, the Levant, and Egypt.[27]

Contemporary witnesses and book titles in his library testify to the fact that Timotei Cipariu was a true polyglot and a Renaissance encyclopedist with an obvious vocation for universality.[28] The fourteen languages Cipariu mastered were: his native Romanian, Hungarian and German, commonly spoken in Transylvania at the time, alongside the classical languages (Greek, Latin and Hebrew), then the modern European ones (French, Italian, Spanish, and English); also, curiosity drove him to the study of Oriental languages (Arabic, Turkish, Syriac, and Persian). He acquired and collected early printed Romanian and Western books and manuscripts, especially incunabula, and Oriental manuscripts throughout his life. His notes and letters, preserved to this day, reveal that he wrote in Romanian, Latin, German, Hungarian, Italian, Greek, and Arabic.[29]

Scholars of his life and work have shown that Cipariu's fields of excellence were linguistics and philology.[30] He conducted systematic research in the history of language, philology and comparative linguistics. Carmen-Gabriela Pamfil, the author of a doctoral thesis entitled *Timotei Cipariu, Linguist and Philologist*, states, among others, that Timotei Cipariu showed great interest in the study of ancient languages, which is evident from his numerous readings from the works of the great Indo-Europeanists of the time, which he cited in his writings and even translated to some extent. He has lists of equivalents between Sanskrit, Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and Arabic, which are found in his notebooks that amount to over 5,000 pages.[31]

Timotei Cipariu passed away at the age of 82 on September 3, 1887, in Blaj, and was buried in the cemetery of the Greek Catholic parish church.

26 See S. Puiu, D. Daisa, *Biblioteca lui Timotei Cipariu. Catalog*, vol. I–V, Cluj-Napoca, 1990.

27 I. Botezan, Al. Matei (eds.), *Arhiva personală Timotei Cipariu. Catalog*, Bucharest, 1982, p. 15–459; L. Botezan, I. Botezan, Il. Cuibus, *Timotei Cipariu: corespondență primită*, Bucharest, 1992.

28 C.-G. Pamfil, *Timotei Cipariu – lingvist și filolog*, Iași, 2009, p. 10–11.

29 Botezan, Matei (eds.), *Arhiva personală*, p. 42–453.

30 M. Popa, *Timotei Cipariu, ipostazele enciclopedistului*, Bucharest, 1993, p. 166.

31 Pamfil, *Timotei Cipariu*, p. 21–22.

4 Timotei Cipariu's Library and Oriental Books

Writing in 1884, the German ethnographer Rudolf Bergner, author of *Siebenbürgen. Eine Darstellung des Landes und der Leute*, reports that he visited Cipariu in 1883 at his home in Blaj and was deeply impressed by his erudition and his library:

> Everywhere there are Latin, Greek and French scholarly works, while on the tables and floor lie clustered huge stacks of Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian books. All these languages are known to the old man around whom the Blaj school was formed. What a wealth of knowledge, what a mountain of work is concentrated here! In his study, unadorned and simple, worthy of a philosopher, one sees Hungarian, German, Romanian, Spanish, French, Italian, and English writers, all in a row, all read through, all well-known.[32]

The Hungarian historian Jakó Zsigmond (1916–2008) was the one who recreated the history of Cipariu's library by reconstructing the stages of its assembly.[33] Cipariu's extant correspondence reveals his extensive network of contacts with prominent booksellers and antiquarians across Europe, including Vienna,[34] Leipzig,[35] Berlin, Gotha, Wrocław (Breslau),[36] Sibiu,[37] Budapest,[38] Cluj,[39] Alba Iulia, Timișoara, Brăila, Oradea, Aiud,[40] Bucharest,[41] and Istanbul. He also had contacts in Cairo, London, Lviv, and St. Petersburg.[42] It is not known exactly how much he spent on books, but it is certain that investments were substantial and constant. Even after Cipariu was buried, the post still kept delivering his orders to Blaj. Despite the destruction of a large part of his library during the revolution of 1848, when he lost more than half of the over 3,000 volumes he owned, at the end of his life, the library amounted to more

32 R. Bergner, *Siebenbürgen. Eine Darstellung des Landes und der Leute*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 117.

33 Z. Jakó, *Philobiblon transilvan*, with an introduction by V. Cândea, Bucharest, 1977, p. 310–361.

34 Such as Wilhelm Braumüller, Carl Gerold, J. F. Gress, Josef Klemm, Carl and Markus Greif, then Johann Schratt, Prendel et Meyer, Carol Sartori, and the Mechitharisten-Congregation.

35 F. A. Brockhaus, Kirchhoff, Wigand, and K. F. Köhler.

36 Such as A. Ascher and Friedländer in Berlin, Friedrich Andreas Perthes in Gotha, and H. Skutsch-Schlettersch in Breslau.

37 Theodor Steinhausen, Samuel Filtsch, Johann Thallmayer, and W. Krafft.

38 Adolf Hartleben, Johann Liebrich, and Friedrich Liedman.

39 Such as Emil Mathernay, Johann Stein, and Burián Pál.

40 Moses Klüger (Alba Iulia), F. G. Rösch and Gabriel Bettelhein (Timișoara), Ioan Faranga (Brăila), Karoly Fenyvessy and Daniel Pauker (Oradea), and Johann Winkler (Aiud).

41 Visarion Rusu, Johann Scarlat, Socec, C. H. Wartha, and Iosif Romanov.

42 Jakó, *Philobiblon transilvan*, p. 352–354; Botezan, Matei (eds.), *Arhiva personală*, p. 139, 154, 163–164, 192–205, 208, 210, 216–218, 223–225, 239, 290–296, 320, 330, 332–334, 342–348, 358, 381–384, 397, 400–401; Botezan, Botezan, Cuibus, *Timotei Cipariu*, p. 146–247.

than 6,000 volumes and manuscripts.[43] In the autumn of 1862, Cipariu wrote the following to Ioan Maiorescu[44] in Bucharest:

> I have a library of about 4–5,000 volumes (including around 200 manuscripts, mostly Oriental and Latin), which I would sell if I could find a buyer. [...] And, if you don't need them, I will sell them to some German or Englishman, for which purpose I first intend to publish a catalogue of the manuscripts and Oriental books, then of the others.[45]

He then gave up on the idea of selling it and continued to expand his library. In his will, he left the library and his material possessions to the Greek Catholic Capitulary of Blaj, on condition that the library be made available to the public in a suitable location and be carefully kept as a separate unit. Such a location was only completed in the summer of 1916, but, because of the war, the collection was moved to the cellar, then transported to Oradea. During these hasty operations, the Cipariu collection became mixed up with the legacy of Augustin Bunea and Ioan Micu Moldovan. Zenovie Pîclișianu attempted to separate them to some extent, as most of Cipariu's books bore no mark of ownership. In 1949, the Cipariu library was moved to Cluj and is now part of the collections of the Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj-Napoca.[46] Years later, Cipariu's library was inventoried and an alphabetical catalog of the books was published in five volumes. The catalog of the Cipariu library includes 5,577 volumes, 4,627 of which are preserved at the Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj and 950 are part of the Timotei Cipariu Documentary Library in Blaj. However, the Oriental books, which have not been inventoried, are not included in this catalog; they add up to about 885 volumes.[47]

In 1834, Timotei Cipariu bought his first Oriental books and manuscripts from Iosif Romanov in Bucharest. His first trip to Vienna opened his eyes to the European book market and, on all his subsequent trips, he acquired books directly or through the bookseller Steinhausen of Sibiu.[48] In 1840, he contacted Simion Petroviciu in Istanbul, then Petroviciu's broker in Cairo, with the intention

43 Jakó, *Philobiblon transilvan*, p. 335–348.

44 Ioan Maiorescu (1811-1864), Transylvanian intellectual with theological studies in Blaj, Pest and Vienna, involved in the 1848 revolution in Wallachia and Transylvania, later, professor in Bucharest, Cernăuți, Iași and Craiova.

45 Jakó, *Philobiblon transilvan*, p. 357.

46 Jakó, *Philobiblon transilvan*, p. 358–359.

47 Puiu, Daisa, *Biblioteca lui Timotei Cipariu*, vol. I, p. I–XIV.

48 Jakó, *Philobiblon transilvan*, p. 320–321.

of enriching his Oriental collection.[49] He subscribed to the London bookshop of W. H. Allen, a company specialized in importing Oriental works to Europe. Through Allen, Petroviciu and Steinhausen, Cipariu's library received Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Syriac and Hebrew manuscripts, as well as the latest literature in the field of Oriental studies published in German.[50] His library catalogs include Oriental manuscripts from the Gesenius and William Morley collections. Cipariu also obtained information by consulting the reports published in the journals of the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* and the *Journal Asiatique*. Before 1848, Cipariu's library contained the latest analytic and synthetic works, as well as dictionaries concerning the language, literature, history, geography, and ethnography of the Oriental peoples, composed by 76 authors, such as Adler, Biesenthal, Bohlen, Caspari, Dombay, Gesenius, Hoffman, Henzius, Leberecht, Moser, De Rossi, De Sacy, Westergaard, Ullmann, Vuller, Zunz, and others.[51] Based on his travel notes and correspondence, it appears that, on all his visits to cities of the Austrian Empire, Germany, Italy, Romania, and the Ottoman Empire, Timotei Cipariu would visit libraries, take notes, and establish contacts. It is known for certain that he himself collected excerpts from manuscripts and books at libraries in Vienna, Rome, Gotha, and Jena, either copied by himself or commissioned to others.[52] It is also important to note that in his library is stored a two-hundred-page address book of all German libraries, published in Dresden in 1845.[53]

One may, of course, ask what motivated a Greek Catholic priest like Cipariu to learn Arabic. How, from which professor, and when did he learn it? His first request for Oriental books and manuscripts to the bookseller Romanov in Bucharest dates from 1836, which means that he approached Arabic and other Oriental languages on his own. In 1838, he travelled to Vienna, where he met Baron Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856), the famous Austrian Orientalist, with whom he corresponded

49 Jakó, *Philobiblon transilvan*, p. 314–317, 322. Excerpts of Petroviciu's correspondence with Cipariu can be found in Botezan, Matei (eds.), *Arhiva personală*, p. 297–301, and Botezan, Botezan, Cuibus, *Timotei Cipariu*, p. 227–234.

50 Jakó, *Philobiblon transilvan*, p. 331–332.

51 M. Guboglu, "Manuscrisele și tipăriturile orientale din Fondul 'T. Cipariu' al Bibliotecii Filialei din Cluj a Academiei R.P.R.", *Limbă și Literatură*, III, 1957, p. 151–166; Y. Goldenberg, "Timotei Cipariu – un arabisant roumain du XIX^{e} siècle", *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, 9, 1977, p. 67–73.

52 Guboglu, "Manuscrisele și tipăriturile orientale din Fondul 'T. Cipariu'", p. 151, 166; Goldenberg, "Timotei Cipariu – un arabisant roumain", p. 68; Y. Goldenberg, "Preocupările de arabistică ale lui Timotei Cipariu", *Analele Universității București. Seria Științe Sociale. Filologie*, 11, 1962, 25, p. 475–479, 487–488.

53 *Adressbuch deutscher Bibliotheken*, herausgegeben von Julius Petzholdt (2nd, improved ed.), Dresden, 1845. Recorded in Puiu, Daisa, *Biblioteca lui Timotei Cipariu. Catalog*, vol. I, p. 9.

and from whom he acquired 20 books.[54] During that same year, he wrote to his friend George Barițiu[55] that he was striving to copy "the poetry of the Arabs with diligence".[56] From his correspondence with George Barițiu in the summer of 1841, we find out that on his journey to Istanbul he stopped for almost two weeks in Bucharest, where he met an Arab and took daily lessons in Arabic diction: "I have been going every morning for two hours and we both read a course about Jews and Christians from the Koran and others. We tell each other stories".[57]Among Cipariu's manuscripts, there are several notebooks containing extracts and notes in Arabic written by himself between 1839 and 1877.[58] The first copied notebook dates from 1839–1844 and contains reading notes, the rules of Arabic grammar and spelling, fragments of classical Arabic poetry, metrical and prosody rules, as well as a list of 24 titles of Oriental manuscripts, which, in 1840, were part of his library (Fig. 3).[59]

Having studied Cipariu's Oriental books and handwritten transcripts, the Arabist and philologist Yves Goldenberg (1929–1979)[60] remarked that the theologian of Blaj possessed some of the most valuable Arabic books and made notes and corrections on them:

> [Timotei Cipariu] was an Arabist who not only mastered the reading and writing of Arabic to perfection, alongside several Semitic and Oriental languages, but also had a broad understanding and deep knowledge of both the Arabic language and Arabic history and culture. [...] He was a valued Arabist who researched the most important works of classical Arabic literature with great passion and competence, and studied most of the fields that Arabic culture

54 Goldenberg, "Timotei Cipariu – un arabisant roumain", p. 67.

55 George (or Gheorghe) Barițiu (June 4, 1812 – May 2, 1893) was a Romanian publicist, historian, politician, and founder of the Romanian press in Transylvania. He was a founding member (1861), then president (1888–1893) of the "Astra Association for the Literature and Culture of Romanians in Transylvania", a founding member of the Romanian National Party in Hungary and Transylvania (1869), its president in 1884–1889, and a founding member of the Romanian Academy (1866). His chief historical work is *Părți alese din istoria Transilvaniei pre două sute de ani în urmă* (*Selected Moments of the History of Transylvania over the Past Two Hundred Years*), published in Sibiu in three volumes between 1889 and 1891.

56 Cipariu to Barițiu, Blaj, 10 June/29 May 1838, in Șt. Pascu et al., *George Bariț și contemporanii săi*, vol. IV, Bucharest, 1978, p. 131, and in T. Cipariu, *Epistolar 1836–1877*, ed. I. Chindriș, Bucharest, 2005, p. 65.

57 Cipariu to Barițiu, Bucharest, 18/30 August 1841, in Cipariu, *Epistolar 1836–1877*, p. 100.

58 Botezan, Matei (eds.), *Arhiva personală*, p. 449–453.

59 Botezan, Matei (eds.), *Arhiva personală*, p. 449.

60 Yves Nathaniel Goldenberg (1929–1977) taught Arabic language and literature at the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures of the University of Bucharest between 1957 and 1977. See https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yves_Goldenberg (accessed December 18, 2023).

included during its periods of splendor: language, grammar, lexicography, literature, prosody, history, geography, philosophy, theology, and Islamic law.[61]

It was no wonder that Timotei Cipariu was elected ordinary member of the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* of Halle and Leipzig on May 1, 1846, a year after the founding of the society.[62] Cipariu corresponded with the members of the society and paid his annual fees, as shown by his archives.[63] Between 1849 and 1852, he dedicated part of his time to the study of Arabic rhyme and versification and worked on Jean Humbert's Arabic anthology, published in Paris in 1819, from which he copied excerpts. During that same period, he travelled to Gotha, Halle, and Vienna, where he copied Arabic texts and poems. For example, at the Gotha library he copied the Arabic poems in *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Aghānī*.[64] His passion for Arabic poetry can also be seen in the chapter titled "Arabic versification" devoted to Arabic metrics in his book *Elemente de poetică, metrică și versificațiune* (*Elements of Poetics, Metrics and Versification*) published in Blaj in 1860.[65] Cipariu learned Arabic so well that his corrections can be seen on some Arabic and bilingual volumes. For instance, on Dr Wolff's study *Zwölf Gedichte Abu Ishak's*, published in *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Göttingen, Band III, Heft 1, p. 64), Cipariu's corrections consist of vowel markings on the Arabic poetic texts. He addressed a letter in Arabic to Professor Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer of Leipzig, in which Arabic lines of poetry, corrected by Cipariu and translated into French, are reproduced at the end.[66] He could memorize Arabic verses, as recorded in his autobiographical notes.[67] Ioan Bianu (1856–1935), the director of the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest (1884–1935), who knew Cipariu well, mentions that until his old age, the Blaj

61 Goldenberg, "Preocupările de arabistică ale lui Timotei Cipariu," p. 475–476.

62 C. Tatai, O. Rotaru, "Materiale arhivistice referitoare la activitatea lui Timotei Cipariu", *Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis*, 11, 1973, p. 796. On page 802, the authors reproduced Cipariu's certificate of membership of the society, issued in Halle and Leipzig on May 1, 1846. See below, Fig. 2.

63 Botezan, Matei (eds.), *Arhiva personală*, p. 26–28.

64 On June 22, 2023, while participating in the 2nd international conference of the TYPARABIC project, I studied, thanks to Feras Krimsti's kindness, two of the Gotha Research Library's foreign visitors' catalogs (*Einschreibebuch der Fremden*, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha der Universität Erfurt, Gotha, Signatur A. 2032) dated between 1803 and 1895, but did not find Timotei Cipariu's name among the readers who signed in these registers. For the Gotha Research Library, see https://www.uni-erfurt.de/en/gotha-research-library (accessed December 18, 2023).

65 T. Cipariu, *Elemente de poetică, metrică și versificațiune*, Blaj, 1860, p. 153–159. The book is accessible in the digital library of the Central University Library "Lucian Blaga" of Cluj-Napoca: https://documente.bcucluj.ro/web/bibdigit/fg/BCUCLUJ_FG_184808_1860.pdf (accessed December 20, 2023).

66 Goldenberg, "Preocupările de arabistică ale lui Timotei Cipariu", p. 482–488; Goldenberg, "Timotei Cipariu – un arabisant roumain", p. 71–73.

67 Cipariu, *Jurnal*, p. 78, 86.

philologist read Arabic literature in particular, "about which he loved to speak, and spoke with great enthusiasm".[68]

Yves Goldenberg, alongside Mihail Guboglu (1911–1989), a known scholar of Turkish studies, who both studied Timotei Cipariu's collection of Oriental manuscripts and printed books in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj-Napoca, concluded that there are about 600 volumes (from a total collection of 885), including 550 Arabic books and 159 Oriental manuscripts (a total collection of 197), of which 115 are Arabic and 36 Turkish and Persian, while the rest are Hebrew, Chinese and Tibetan. Most of the Arabic manuscripts and printed books are works of philology, grammar, literature and poetry.[69] Here is a brief statistical presentation of them:[70]

a) Twenty-nine grammars of the Arabic literary language, some of which address the dialects spoken in Egypt, Syria, and Algeria. Evidently, he was interested in the dialects spoken in Arab countries. His library also contained grammars of the Arabic language in French, Latin, and German.

b) Twenty-three Arabic dictionaries, among them the famous Arabic-Latin dictionary *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* compiled by Georg W. Freytag and published in Halle in five volumes in 1830–1837; other Arabic dictionaries published in Cairo, Constantinople, Beirut; three Arabic lexicographic works; catalogs of Arabic and Oriental manuscripts from the great libraries of Europe, such as Gotha, Munich, Leiden, the British Museum in London, and Vienna, as well as from Cairo, which is a clear indication that he had direct connections with Arab countries.

c) Forty-three texts, divided in 88 volumes, represent a rich collection of classical literary anthologies known in Arabic as *adab*.

d) Forty-one volumes of poetry collections, comprising masterpieces of Arabic poetry. Cipariu's passion for Arabic poetry can be seen in his notebooks that contain Arabic poems copied from various manuscripts. These are poems from the pre-Islamic era, the Abbasid epoch, the Middle Ages, and Arabic poetry from Spain. Cipariu was in touch with the literary movement in Arab countries and followed developments closely. He owned four volumes by the poet Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, published in Beirut in 1853, 1856, and 1864.

e) Forty history books in 90 volumes, written in Arabic, which were his sources for the study of the history of Muslim countries in the Middle Ages, including the writings of the Arab historian Ibn Khaldūn, published in seven volumes at Cairo,

68 I. Bianu, *Monumente culturale*, Bucharest, 1904, p. 48.

69 Guboglu, "Manuscrisele și tipăriturile orientale din Fondul 'T. Cipariu'", p. 147– 151; Goldenberg, "Preocupările de arabistică ale lui Timotei Cipariu", p. 479; Goldenberg, "Timotei Cipariu – un arabisant roumain", p. 68; Nițu, Vedinaș, *Timotei Cipariu*, p. 153.

70 Based on Goldenberg, "Preocupările de arabistică ale lui Timotei Cipariu", p. 479–488.

1865. He owned Ibn Khallikān's biographical dictionary of famous people of the Islamic world, *Wafāyāt al-aʿyān*, the Paris edition of 1842, Göttingen, 1835–1850, and Cairo, 1858. Alongside these works there are 15 titles of books on geography.

f) Twenty-eight titles of works of Muslim dogmatics, mysticism, and exegesis, in 58 volumes, including al-Zamakhshārī's commentary on the Qurān, Cairo, 1864, in two volumes; books on the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, such as *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, Ferdinand Wustenfeld's edition, vol. I-II; several books on Muslim jurisprudence and translations into Arabic.

g) Biblical texts, such as *Pentateuchus Mosis, Arabice*, Leiden, 1622, alongside Christian Arabic texts: *Novum Testamentum Arabice*, Leiden, 1616, the *Interpretation of the Psalms* by Eusebius of Caesarea in the translation of Bernardus de Jenisch (1791), a Syriac Gospel book, and the Four Gospels in Arabic, Leipzig, 1864.

h) Six Arabic-language notebooks written by Timotei Cipariu contain notes extracted from various Arabic books and manuscripts, signed "T. C." and dated in Romanian, with the registration shelfmarks of the manuscripts from which they were copied. Another eleven large notebooks, copied in Arabic and bound in cardboard, contain Arabic poems.[71]

According to Yves Goldenberg, who studied the Arabic manuscripts in Cipariu's collection closely, they are written either on high quality, glazed, thick paper of a yellow hue, or on white, pink, and rose-colored paper, but of inferior quality. The older ones are of Turkish-Levantine origin, the newer ones of European origin. Some are bound in yellow morocco leather, silk, velvet or good quality cloth, with artistically executed designs, some embroidered in gold in the form of Oriental arabesques. Other items are paperback, while others are preserved only in part, without a beginning or an end. They all carry various notes to the texts, in the beginning and end of the manuscripts, most of them mentioning historical events, solar eclipses, birthdays, reproductions of Ottoman Turkish documents, and most often the names of the owners, sometimes confirmed by round seals, or accompanied by a brief religious formula or a verse from the Qur'ān. A few are adorned with beautiful miniatures drawn in vivid hues, the preferred colors being red, gold, and blue.[72]

Arabic manuscripts, in verse or prose, are written in classical and medieval Arabic, with linguistic influences ranging from Baghdad to northern Spain. Persian manuscripts are written in pre-Modern Persian, the language of Firdawsi (d. 1020),

71 Goldenberg, "Preocupările de arabistică ale lui Timotei Cipariu", p. 487–488; Y. Goldenberg, "Quelques notes concernant les manuscrits arabes autographes de Timotei Cipariu", *Analele Universității București. Limbi clasice și orientale*, XX, 1971, p. 113–123.

72 Guboglu, "Manuscrisele și tipăriturile orientale din Fondul 'T. Cipariu'", p. 147–148.

Iran's greatest poet. Turkish manuscripts are written in *fasih türkce*, a heavily Persianized and Arabicized literary Turkish. Most of the manuscripts begin with the familiar religious formula: *Bi-smi-llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm*, "In the name of the all-merciful and gracious Allāh" (the *basmala*). Some manuscripts end with the name of the copyist accompanied by the epithet *al-faqīr*, "the humble one", and the date of completion.[73]

The Islamic manuscripts (Arabic-Turkish and Persian), which make up much of this collection, are written in Arabic script. Most manuscripts have a literary content: poems, written in *ta'līq* script, or educational, in *thuluth* script, with thick strokes and decorative markings. A few are historical or religious, financial or accounting-related (*siyākat* script). They are written in very dark black ink (*mürekkep*), which has not lost its luster, and in some of them red ink (cinnabar) was also used, to highlight headings or the most important passages and to frame texts. Other colors can be seen in the miniatures, such as blue, purple, rose, pink, green and yellow. The final parts are sprinkled with grains of golden sand (*altun rik*).[74]

The content is rich, diverse and of great interest. Most of the volumes are of a linguistic and literary nature. They include dictionaries, encyclopedias, vocabularies, conversation guides, poetry, prose, works on grammar and style, treatises on calligraphy, ceremonial speeches, templates of epistolary correspondence used by the chancelleries of the Muslim Orient. This should come as no surprise, given that their owner, Timotei Cipariu, was primarily concerned with Arabic philology and literature, not with historical matters or theological works.

Twenty-five of them were copied by him personally from rare manuscripts found in the libraries of Vienna, the Vatican, Gotha and Jena. Timotei Cipariu even wrote an incomplete *Grammatica Arabica* (*Pars. I*) that remained in manuscript. There is also a small number of philosophical, judicial and ethical manuscripts, some treatises on geometry, physics, astronomy and medicine. Out of Cipariu's 159 Oriental manuscripts, fifteen are religious, of which eight are copies of the Qur'ān and various studies or commentaries on it.[75] A considerable number of manuscripts belong to the famous Arab grammarian and writer al-Ḥarīrī of Basra (al-Baṣrī, 1054–1123). The most important of these is the *Maqāmāt*, which contains 50 stories recounting the adventures of one Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī. According to Mihail Guboglu, in 1864, Timotei Cipariu copied a series of extracts from the collected

73 Guboglu, "Manuscrisele și tipăriturile orientale din Fondul 'T. Cipariu'", p. 148–149.
74 Guboglu, "Manuscrisele și tipăriturile orientale din Fondul 'T. Cipariu'", p. 149–151.
75 Guboglu, "Manuscrisele și tipăriturile orientale din Fondul 'T. Cipariu'", p. 151–159.

Arabic manuscripts, which, in his notes, is titled *Collectie poetica e carmenibus celeberriorum poetarum arabicum XLIX dicta "Gehre al'arabi"*.[76]

5 Conclusions

This passion for Oriental studies, and especially for Arabic studies, is remarkable in the case of Timotei Cipariu, as he had no academic background in Oriental studies, but was self-taught. This shows his great passion for culture, capacity for work, discipline, and perseverance. Yves Goldenberg points out that Cipariu was not merely a collector of Oriental books and manuscripts, as some Romanian scholars claimed, but "the first outstanding figure of 19th-century Romanian culture who succeeded in studying in depth the Arabic language, literature, history, and culture in general".[77] It is now up to the contemporary Arabists of Romania to draw up a rigorous catalog of the Oriental manuscripts in Cipariu's collection instead of the only one available now, incomplete and faulty (in an improvised form, in a single copy on typed sheets), and a complete catalog of the Oriental printed books held by the Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj-Napoca.[78]

76 Guboglu, "Manuscrisele și tipăriturile orientale din Fondul 'T. Cipariu'", p. 156.
77 Goldenberg, "Preocupările de arabistică ale lui Timotei Cipariu", p. 488.
78 See the chapter signed by Nicholas Bishara in the present volume.

Fig. 1: Timotei Cipariu, lithography, Public Domain, https://www.europeana.eu/ro/blog/timotei-cipariu-a-transylvanian-erasmus (accessed December 19, 2023).

Die
deutsche morgenländische
GESELLSCHAFT
ernennt nach § 32 ihrer Statuten
Herrn Timotheus Cipariu,
Domkanzler in Blasendorf in Siebenbürgen,
zu ihrem ordentlichen Mitgliede
worüber
gegenwärtige Urkunde
mit dem Siegel der Gesellschaft
ausgestellt wird
Im Auftrage des Vorstandes
die Geschäftsführer:
Halle und Leipzig am 5. Mai 1846.

Fig. 2: Timotei Cipariu's certificate as a member of the German Oriental Society, Halle & Leipzig, 1846 (cf. Cornel Tatai, Octavian Rotaru, "Materiale arhivistice referitoare la activitatea lui Timotei Cipariu", *Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis*, 11, 1973, p. 802).

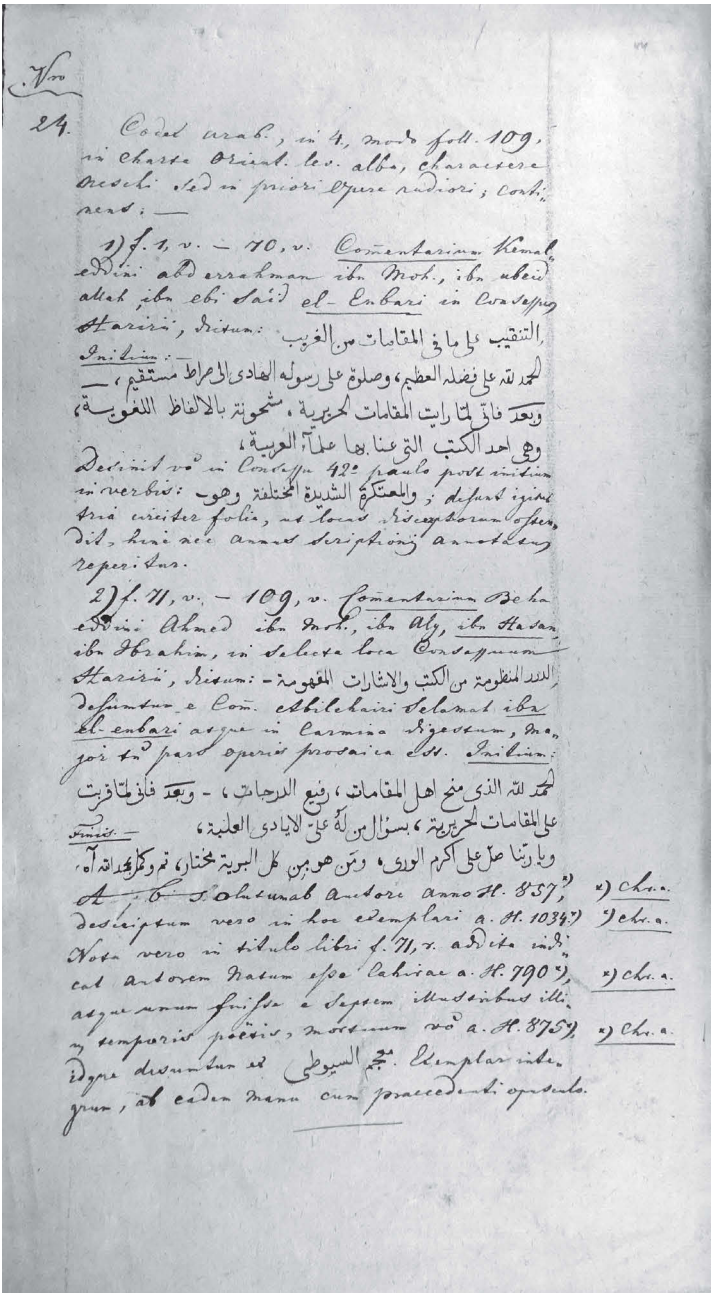

Fig. 3: Timotei Cipariu's Arabic notes in MS 02, f. 44, Library of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca (by permission of the Library).

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Nicholas Bishara

Germanos Farḥāt's Works in Manuscripts Preserved in Romanian Collections

1 Introduction

The Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest and the Library of the Academy – Cluj-Napoca Branch hold important collections of Oriental manuscripts, which include texts written in Arabic script belonging to several cultures: Arabic (Christian and Islamic), Turkish, Persian, Uyghur, and others. Although they have attracted the attention of Romanian Orientalists since the last century (Timotei Cipariu, Aurel Decei, Mihail Guboglu), the manuscripts have not been catalogued yet according to the standards of modern codicology and have not been assessed in terms of their importance for the history of the various cultures represented in these collections.

Based on the inventories of the two libraries, we have so far identified sixteen manuscripts containing Christian Arabic texts, totalling about 2,140 folios. Six of these manuscripts are preserved at the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest and ten manuscripts at the Cluj-Napoca branch of this library. These manuscripts constitute the corpus of my doctoral thesis on the *Philological and Historical Evaluation of the Christian Arabic Manuscripts in Romanian Collections*, which I am preparing under the supervision of Dr Ioana Feodorov. My research also includes smaller collections of Oriental manuscripts held at the Central University Libraries of two other cities, namely, at the Batthyaneum Library in Alba-Iulia, as well as in Iași. It is possible that during my research other Christian texts in libraries and collections in Romania are identified. For example, at the State Archives of Craiova there are 38 manuscripts in Arabic script that Aurel Decei, one of the major Ottoman history scholars of Romania, researched more than fifty years ago, presenting a brief description of the entire collection. For extensive research of the Arabic manuscripts in Romania, one must start from the inventory drawn up by Nadia Anghelescu in 1993 for the second volume of the work edited by Geoffrey Roper *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*,[1] where, in addition to the collections in

1 N. Anghelescu, "Romania", in G. Roper (ed.), *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*, vol. II, London, 1993, p. 649–661.

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Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca and Craiova, the author mentioned the presence of manuscripts in Arabic script in Iași, Alba-Iulia, and Galați. All these collections of Oriental manuscripts could reveal Christian Arabic texts relevant to my research.

The Christian Arabic manuscripts that form the corpus I am surveying contain different types of texts. Some of them are liturgical texts, including the Psalter and a collection of prayers for various services. There are also three manuscripts belonging to Germanos Farḥāt, the book *Baḥth al-maṭālib* and a manuscript of his *Dīwān.*

The texts I am studying range in length from 30 to 750 folios and are mostly written in *naskhī* (a word derived from the Arabic verb *nasakha*, "to copy"), an Arabic calligraphic script widely used by Levantine copyists from the 11th to the 19th centuries. At first glance, these manuscripts date from the period when the provinces inhabited by Arab Christians were under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, probably no later than the mid-19th century.

The Christian Arabic manuscripts preserved at the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest and the Academy Library – Cluj-Napoca Branch are of particular interest, because they remain unpublished and have not been researched by any Arabist until today. The historians who have studied them, although undoubtedly experts in other Oriental languages, such as Ottoman Turkish and Persian, were not able to describe the content of these Arabic texts in a rigorous and accurate manner.

There are only a few notes on the Oriental manuscripts in the Library of the Romanian Academy, composed by various researchers, Orientalists, and language scholars. Therefore, my doctoral thesis will include the first catalog of these manuscripts, in which I will describe them according to the current standards of research in the field. I will consider the technical aspects of the manuscripts, their content, as well as their history, mentioning the few sources where they were mentioned. In addition to my attempt to collect the descriptions of these Arabic Christian manuscripts in a catalog, an essential aspect of my work will be the analysis of the language features specific to them, taking into consideration that the linguistic variety specific to the Arabic-speaking Christians of the Ottoman provinces, a version of "Middle Arabic", reveals well-defined features, which can also be traced in the texts that I am surveying.

2 Arabic Manuscript Collections in Bucharest and Cluj-Napoca

2.1 The Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest

The Oriental manuscripts at the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest (Biblioteca Academiei Române, henceforth B.A.R.) come from different sources: on the basis of royal decrees, the National Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest

ceded to the B.A.R. the largest lot of Oriental manuscripts it ever received, consisting of 119 items (in 1903 and 1909).[2] The presence of Christian Arabic manuscripts in the collections of the B.A.R. can also be explained by the travels of Christians attached to the Church of Antioch, many of them members of the upper clergy, to the Romanian Principalities. Thus, the metropolitan of Aleppo Athanasios Dabbās, who was twice patriarch of the Church of Antioch, printed two books in Wallachia, in Arabic and Greek: The Liturgikon (Snagov, 1701) and the Horologion (Bucharest, 1702). Then, between 1735 and 1748, while in Moldavia and Wallachia, Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch printed four books in Arabic in Iași and two in Bucharest.[3] From 1746 on, the Monastery of Saint Spyridon[4] in Bucharest became a *metochion* of the Antiochian Patriarchate and hosted a community of Syrian monks who, among other things, cast Arabic type for the new printing press there.[5]

In 1946, the historian Ion Nistor published in the *Annals of the Romanian Academy*, *Memoirs of the Historical Section*, a study entitled "Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the Academy of the Romanian Republic with their Inventory",[6] followed by an *Inventory of Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the Romanian Academy* drawn by the Turkish studies scholar Mihail Guboglu.[7] The study contains some information on the languages of the Oriental manuscripts held by the B.A.R. and the transfer of their ownership.

Between 1970 and 1979, a researcher from Teheran, Mohammad Ali Sowti, studied the Oriental manuscripts at the B.A.R. and compiled the first comprehensive catalog.[8] It includes more manuscripts than those recorded in the work of Ion Nistor and Mihail Guboglu. Sowti's inventory contains 472 Oriental manuscripts, while the catalogs of the above-mentioned authors only list 217. The inventory also includes two other collections, held at the Central University Library in Cluj and the Central State Library in Bucharest.

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2 I. Nistor, "Manuscrisele orientale din Biblioteca Academiei Române cu inventarul lor", *AARMSI*, S. III, t. XXVIII, Mem. 4, Bucharest, 1946, p. 82–83.

3 I. Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands. The East-European Connection*, Berlin/Boston, 2023, p. 133–162.

4 Today, the monastery, dating from the 17th century, is known as Sfântul Spiridon Vechi ("Saint Spyridon the Old"), in order to distinguish it from the "new" Church of Saint Spyridon in Bucharest, built in the second half of the 19th century.

5 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 162–186.

6 Nistor, "Manuscrisele orientale din Biblioteca Academiei Române", p. 77–92.

7 M. Guboglu, "Inventarul manuscriselor orientale din Biblioteca Academiei Române", in *AARMSI*, S. III, t. XXVIII, Mem. 4, Bucharest, 1946, p. 93–126.

8 M. A. Sowti, *Catalogul manuscriselor persane din bibliotecile românești și informații despre manuscrisele orientale din Biblioteca Academiei Republicii Socialiste România*, Bucharest, 1976 (not published).

The catalog compiled by Mohammad Ali Sowti was never published. The one describing the collection of the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest is available for study in the Manuscripts Reading Room, in a typed version – for the Romanian part, and handwritten by Sowti – for the text in Arabic. The one in Cluj, typed in Romanian in a single copy, is available to readers on request.

Mohammad Ali Sowti's descriptions contain numerous errors and inaccuracies. He was not a specialist in the paleography of Arabic texts, nor in the codicology of manuscripts in Arabic script. He knew his mother tongue, Persian, and rudiments of Arabic, and could read any text written in the Arabic alphabet but without understanding the content well. For the Arabic manuscripts, the information given was often minimal, such as "prayer book", without specifying whether it belonged to the Islamic or the Christian culture, what it contained, or other details.

2.2 The Romanian Academy Library, Cluj-Napoca Branch

The collection of Oriental manuscripts at the Library of the Romanian Academy – Cluj-Napoca Branch comes, for the most part, from the personal collection of Timotei Cipariu, a collection that originally belonged to the Central Library of Blaj.[9] From 1747 on, when the Monastery of the Holy Trinity was founded in Blaj, the Basilian monks who had settled there set up a library. In the same year, a printing press started to function.[10] The library began to receive donations of books and manuscripts from clergymen and laymen of Transylvania and Vienna. Library owners donated book collections to the monastery library, which obtained the status of Blaj Central Library at the beginning of the 20th century. Over time, the Basilian monks bought books and copied manuscripts from other libraries in Gotha, Vienna, and the Vatican.[11]

In the second decade of the 19th century, the prominent scholar Timotei Cipariu, a historian, man of letters and polyglot, was active in Blaj; he was also interested in Oriental languages, particularly Arabic, as well as Hebrew, a language he taught at the city's theological college.[12] He began to study and acquire Oriental manuscripts

9 M. Guboglu, "Manuscrisele și tipăriturile Orientale in fondul 'T. Cipariu' al Bibliotecii Filialei din Cluj a Academiei R.P.R.", *Limbă și literatură*, S III, Bucharest, 1957, p. 147–166. For more details on Timotei Cipariu and his works, see the chapter signed by Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan in the present volume.

10 A. Bunea, *Din istoria Românilor. Episcopul Ioan Inocențiu Klein (1728–1751)*, Blaj, 2012, p. 24–26.

11 L. Ardelean, "Fond Biblioteca Centrală Cluj, Inventar 1730–1948 328 u.a.", *Transylvanian Review*, IV, 1995, 3, p. 95–96.

12 E. Simion (ed.), *Enciclopedia literaturii române vechi*, Bucharest, 2018, p. 227–229.

to enrich the collections of the library in Blaj. In 1950, through the care of the historian David Prodan, the manuscripts, books and documents from the collections of the Central Library of Blaj that had survived were transferred to the Library of the Academy in Cluj, hosted in the building of the Central University Library.

Among the most interesting Christian Arabic manuscripts in these two Romanian public-access libraries are the works of Gabriel Farḥāt, the Maronite bishop Germanos of Aleppo.

3 Gabriel Farḥāt

3.1 Biographical data

Germanos Farḥāt was a poet, a scholar, a writer, and a translator, bishop of the Maronite eparchy of Aleppo (1725–1732), and one of the founders of the Aleppo Maronite Order, called the Lebanese Maronite Order after 1706.

Jibrā'īl ibn Farḥāt ibn Maṭar al-Ḥaṣrūnī was later known as Germanos Farḥāt, after he was consecrated bishop of the Maronites of Aleppo. The origin of the Maṭar family is the village of Ḥaṣrūn, Bsharri district, in northern Lebanon, where this family was active in trade. They later moved to Aleppo, where they settled for good.[13]

Jibrā'īl was born in Aleppo in the year 1670. His family's financial circumstances allowed him to study in Aleppo schools. From a young age, he learned the Syriac and Arabic languages and literatures, and later he studied Latin and Italian. Jibrā'īl Farḥāt, together with ʻAbdallāh Qar'alī (one of the organizers of the Maronite monastic order), had the same teacher, Buṭrus al-Tūlāwī, a Maronite theologian and philosopher. Also, to acquire a good knowledge of Arabic, they studied with the grammarian Sulaymān al-Naḥwī from Aleppo. From the teacher Yaʻqūb al-Dibsī of Tripoli, Farḥāt received lessons on writing, rhetoric, and poetry. At the age of nineteen, he studied theology, philosophy, logic, rhetoric, and natural sciences.[14]

At the age of twenty-five, his inclination for the ascetic life began to show. Therefore, following his Aleppo companions ʻAbdallāh Qar'alī, Gibrā'īl Ḥawwā, Yūsuf al-Batn, and some others who had left before him, he went and joined the

13 N. Razūq, *Jirmānūs Farḥāt: ḥayātu-hu wa-āthāru-hu*, Jounie, 1998, p. 27–28.

14 G. Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʻarabī al-masīḥī ʻinda al-mawārina*, vol. VII, ed. by H. Ibrahim, M. Nathan, R. el Gemayel, Beirut, 2022, p. 265.

monastic life in Lebanon, where Maronite monasteries could be found in large numbers.[15]

At the end of 1695, Farḥāt came to the Monastery of Saint Moura in Ehden to become a monk of the Aleppo Maronite Order. In 1697, Farḥāt became a priest and, shortly after, the abbot of the Monastery of Saint Moura. In the same year, ʻAbdallāh Qar'alī, along with Farḥāt and other monks, established a general law for Maronite monasticism, based on the regulations of Western and Eastern monastic communities.[16] Although the Maronite Patriarch Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī approved it in 1700, certain Maronite monasteries objected to it. As a result of this dispute, Farḥāt had to leave the monastery of Ehden and went to reside at the Monastery of Saint Joseph in Zgharta, near Tripoli, where he preached and taught the people of that region. During that period, he encountered Jesuit monks. Some researchers, such as Georg Graf, believe that Farḥāt intended to join the Jesuit Order, but he changed his mind after the reorganization of the Maronite monastic order by ʻAbdallāh Qar'alī and other monks. Farḥāt also contributed to the improvement of Maronite monasticism at their side.[17]

In 1711, ʻAbdallāh Qar'alī, the General Superior of the Lebanese Maronite Order, sent Farḥāt to Rome to resolve the dispute of this Order with its former leader, Jibrā'īl Ḥawwā, and the Maronite monks who resided in Rome. From there, he continued his travels to Spain, where he studied manuscripts preserved there.[18]

In 1712, Farḥāt returned to Lebanon and went to the Monastery of Elisha the Prophet in the Qadisha Valley, where he wrote some of his works. Before becoming bishop of the city of Aleppo, he visited the city with the purpose of preaching.[19] Between 1716 and 1724, Farḥāt was the General Superior of the Lebanese Maronite Order, after the former superior, ʻAbdallāh Qar'alī, became Maronite bishop of Beirut.

In 1725, the Maronite Patriarch Yaʻqūb ʻAwāḍ ordained Gabriel Farḥāt bishop of Aleppo, on which occasion he took the name Germanos. He remained bishop until his death (1732) and was one of the church leaders who resided in the city.[20] Bishop Germanos went to great lengths to improve the condition of the parish and control the chaos caused by his predecessor, the bishop Jibrā'īl Ḥawwā, between the parishioners and the authorities. He set laws for bishops to be more disciplined

15 Razūq, *Jirmānūs Farḥāt*, p. 33–35.

16 E. al-Duwayhī, *Tārīkh al-ṭā'ifa al-mārūnīya,* ed. R. al-Shartūnī, Beirut, 1860, p. 267–268.

17 Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʻarabī al-masīḥī*, p. 265.

18 J. Manash, "al-Mustaṭrafāt wa-l-mustaẓrafāt fī ḥayāt al-sayyid Jirmānūs Farḥāt", *al-Mashriq*, 3, 1904, p. 106–107.

19 Razūq, *Jirmānūs Farḥāt*, p. 37–38.

20 Manash, "al-Mustaṭrafāt wa-l-mustaẓrafāt", p. 108–111.

and issued advice and guidance in dealing with the parishes and the surrounding community. He also set regulations for priests and deacons.

He renovated the Maronite school to accommodate a larger number of students, and it became a prestigious educational center where students from various Christian communities of Aleppo came to advance their education. He also established an academic center with scholars from Aleppo, the priests Buṭrus al-Tūlāwī, Yūsuf al-Bānī, ʻAbd al-Masīḥ Labyān, the poet priest ʻAṭallāh Zandah, and others, all interested in writing books and translating and copying manuscripts. Among their works, we should mention several liturgical texts that they translated from Syriac into Arabic. Farḥāt revised them, arranged them, and created indexes.[21]

Farḥāt founded a library at the Bishopric, where he collected books and manuscripts in Syriac, Arabic, and other languages. Most of them were religious and philological works, but books on history and literature could be found there as well.

Bishop Germanos Farḥāt of Aleppo died in 1732 at the age of 61 years, leaving behind a rich heritage, including a large collection of books, translated texts in manuscript form, and contributions to other books, in addition to his ascetic, pastoral, and educational works.

3.2 Farḥāt's Major Works

Germanos Farḥāt's works belong to four domains: language, poetry, history, and theology. Among them are original works, translations, and philologically revised texts. The total number of Farḥāt's works amounts to 78 titles, whereas 25 were published.[22]

3.2.1 Works on language

Farḥāt produced several authoritative books on Arabic grammar, writing and rhetoric, for use in Christian schools. These books were initially copied by hand and circulated as manuscripts before they were printed in Lebanon and other Arab countries, as well as in Europe. Three of Farḥāt's works on Arabic grammar and two works on academic writing and rhetoric are most famous.

21 Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʻarabī al-masīḥī*, p. 266–267.

22 Razūq, *Jirmānūs Farḥāt*, p. 57–111; Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʻarabī al-masīḥī*, p. 268–302.

1. *Baḥth al-maṭālib* (*Discussion of* [*Grammatical*] *Issues*)[23] is a book for Arabic-speaking students in Christian schools, modelled on the grammar books written by Muslims in the time of Farḥāt or before him. The Maronite bishop used texts from the Bible as examples of grammar topics, just as Muslims used Qur'ān verses for the same purpose. This work was printed several times, and notes were added to some editions. The first edition was printed in 1836 in Malta by the American Press.[24] The last edition was printed in a different version, under the form of questions and answers. The book is entitled *Al-ajwiba al-jalīya fī al-uṣūl al-naḥwīya*.[25]
2. *Iḥkām bāb al-iʿrāb ʿan lughat al-aʿrāb* (*Accuracy of Expression in the Language of the Arabs*) is an Arabic dictionary in which Farḥāt presented a grammatical classification of the words and added Christian terms. It was first printed in 1849 in Marseille.[26]
3. *Al-faṣl al-maʿqūd fī ʿawāmil al-iʿrāb* (*The Well-Knitted Chapter on Grammatical Cases*) is a grammar book for teaching the Arabic language. It was published as an appendix to the previously mentioned book.[27]
4. *Bulūgh al-ʿarab fī ʿilm al-adab wa-kitāb al-manṭiq* (*Reaching the Goal in Learning* [*Arabic*] *Literature and Logic*) was designed as a manual for learning rhetorical methods in prose and poetry.[28]
5. *Faṣl al-khiṭāb fī al-waʿẓ* (*Final Comment on the* [*Art of*] *Preaching*) discusses the style of religious speech, which differs from other speech genres in terms of the language used to address the congregation and the duration of the sermon. In this work, Farḥāt relied on the Western way of preaching.[29]

3.2.2 Works on Poetry

Farḥāt is especially famous for his poetry and religious verse. He composed many texts and collected them in two volumes, the *Dīwān* and *al-Muthallathāt al-durrīya*, while his heritage in hymnography was not collected in volumes. Farḥāt is also an

23 The English version of most titles of Farḥāt's books is adopted from K. Brustad, "Jirmānūs Jibrīl Farḥāt", in J. E. Lowry, D. J. Stewart (eds.), *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography: 1350–1850*, Wiesbaden, 2009, p. 242–243.

24 Razūq, *Jirmānūs Farḥāt*, p. 60.

25 Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī al-masīḥī*, p. 283–284.

26 Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī al-masīḥī*, p. 286–287.

27 Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī al-masīḥī*, p. 287–288.

28 Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī al-masīḥī*, p. 288–289.

29 Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī al-masīḥī*, p. 290–291.

expert in poetry writing: he composed a handbook on rhyme and its importance for the art of poetry.

1. The *Dīwān* is a collection of poems written by Farḥāt in different years and places. Because these poems were passed down through the hands of copyists, additions and deletions were made to the original texts. Consequently, Farḥāt collected all his poems in one book arranged alphabetically.[30]
2. *Al-Muthallathāt al-durrīya* (*The Pearly Homographic Triplets*) is a collection of poems in the form of triangle poetry, which contains in each line of poetry one word with three meanings, to give a tripartite rhythm. This style of poetry is attributed to the well-known poet Abū ʻAlī Muḥammad ibn al-Mustanīr, also known as Quṭrub, who was, apparently, the first to use it. Farḥāt composed these poems in 1706.[31]
3. *Risālat al-fawā'id fī fann al-ʻarūḍ* (*The Treatise of Useful Information on the Art of Prosody*). In this book, Farḥāt talks about the importance of rhyme and meter in poetry. The printed version, published in Beirut in 1894, received a different title: *Risāla fī ʻilm al-qāfīya fī kitāb dīwān al-muṭrān Jirmānūs Farḥāt* (*A Treatise on the Science of Rhyme in the* Dīwān *of the Bishop Germanos Farḥāt*).[32]
4. *Muwashshaḥ fī qalb al-Aqdas* (*An Ode to the Most Sacred Heart* [*of Jesus*]) is a lyrical poem. It was published by Louis Cheikho in *al-Mashriq*, 16, 1913, p. 417–421.[33]
5. *Qaṣā'id Maryam al-ʻAdhrā'* (*Poems to the Virgin Mary*) is a book of odes dedicated to the Mother of God. Louis Cheikho published excerpts from it, titled *Virgin Mary*, in *al-Mashriq*, 7, 1926, p. 424–425.

3.2.3 Works on Theology

Farḥāt's theological works are the most numerous among his compositions. They cover a wide range of topics: pastoral, ascetic, liturgical texts, and essays on Church history. Farḥāt's motivation for composing these works came from his wish to defend the Catholic doctrine and reorganize parishes and monasteries, as well as to guide the clergy and teach people the Church dogmas.

Also, aware of the lack of religious books for Arabic speakers, Farḥāt considered it his duty to write books to satisfy this need, in addition to achieving translations and revising works already translated into Arabic.

30 Razūq, *Jirmānūs Farḥāt*, p. 66.
31 Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʻarabī al-masīḥī*, p. 67.
32 Razūq, *Jirmānūs Farḥāt*, p. 69.
33 Razūq, *Jirmānūs Farḥāt*, p. 70.

3.2.3.1 Pastoral Works

1. *Al-irshādāt al-waṭīda ilā manhaj al-ʿibāda al-akīda* (*The Book of Steady Guidance to a Certain Knowledge of Worship*) contains questions and answers for worship guidance.
2. *Qawānīn al-ruhbān al-lubnānīyīn* (*Rules for Lebanese Monks*).
3. *Qawānīn al-ruhbān wa-l-rāhibāt* (*Rules for Monks and Nuns*).
4. *Qawānīn al-iklīrūs fī Ḥalab* (*Rules for the Clergy of Aleppo*).
5. *Risālat al-farāʾiḍ wa-l-waṣāyā li-l-asāqifa wa-l-kahana wa-l-shamāmisa wa-l-ʿilmānīyīn* (*The Treatise on Inheritances and Bequests for Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Laity*).[34]

3.2.3.2 Ascetic and Spiritual Works

1. *Al-muḥāwarāt al-ruhbānīya* (*Monastic Dialogues*), a dialogue on the virtues and goals of ascetic life.
2. *Niẓām ḥayāt li-kull al-masīḥīyīn* (*A Way of Life for All Christians*), teachings for a Christian life.
3. *Maqāl fī al-ṣalāt al-rūḥīya* (*Article on Spiritual Prayer*).
4. *Maqāl fī aʿmāl al-khayr* (*Article on Charitable Deeds*).
5. *Mukhtaṣar kitāb abāṭīl al-ʿālam* (*Summary of the Book 'Contempt for the Vanities of the World'*).
6. *Mukhtaṣar sullam al-faḍāʾil* (*Summary of the Book 'The Ladder of Divine Ascent'*).
7. *Taḥḍīr li-l-quddās* (*Preparation for the Mass*).[35]
8. *Al-kamāl al-masīḥī* (*Christian Perfection*), a book about the lay people's spiritual life. It contains excerpts from the book *The Practice of Christian and Religious Perfection* by the Jesuit Alphonso Rodriguez.[36]

3.2.3.3 Liturgical texts

2. A collection of sermons for Sundays, religious celebrations, and various occasions.
3. The service for the sanctification of water.
4. The chrismation service.
5. The service for the sanctification of church utensils.
6. An interpretation of the Divine Liturgy according to the Maronite rite.

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34 Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī al-masīḥī*, p. 273.
35 Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī al-masīḥī*, p. 274.
36 Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī al-masīḥī*, p. 269–271.

7. An explanation of the significance of the chronological order of prayers.
8. *Al-Sinaksār al-sharqī* (*The Eastern Synaxarion*), a synaxarion of the saints of the Maronite Church with passages from the Gospel for each day.
9. *Sinaksār al-qiddīsīn* (*Synaxarion of the Saints*), bringing together the synaxarion of the saints of the Roman Church and the Maronite Church.[37]

3.2.3.4 Works on History

Three of Farḥāt's works deal with the history of the Maronite Church in Lebanon and Syria.

1. *Mukhtaṣar al-tārīkh al-kanā'isī* (*Brief History of the Church*), 1703, in 48 chapters.[38]
2. *Dīwān al-bida'* (*The Record of [Heretical] Innovations*), a list of heretics' names, in alphabetical order. The author discusses about 226 personalities, their views on life, and their heresies. Among these personalities are the Greek Catholic Metropolitan Euthymios Ṣayfī, because of his disagreement with the Maronites, and the Patriarch Athanasios III Dabbās, based on his reluctance to join the Catholic Church. Also mentioned is Patriarch Chrysanthos of Jerusalem, who fought the Catholic Church and wrote against it.[39]
3. *Tārīkh al-rahbana al-lubnānīya* (*History of the Lebanese Monasticism*), a work on Maronite monasticism and the monastic establishments.[40]

3.2.3.5 Translations

Germanos Farḥāt is known also for his translations from Syriac, among which the most important are a book of Church sermons, the Anaphoras (Eucharistic prayers) of the Apostles Peter, James, and John, the liturgy of the Latin Mass, and many hymnography texts of the Divine Liturgy for different occasions, such as:[41]

10. *Marmīyāt wa-ṣalawāt al-'iṭr*, hymns chanted during the period from September 1, beginning of the Orthodox year, to the Sunday of the Commemoration of the Dead.
11. Hymns of the Divine Liturgy for Sundays during Christmas and Epiphany.
12. Hymns for the Christmas week.
13. Hymns for the Sundays of Lent.

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37 Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-'arabī al-masīḥī*, p. 275–276.
38 Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-'arabī al-masīḥī*, p. 300.
39 Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-'arabī al-masīḥī*, p. 300–301.
40 Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-'arabī al-masīḥī*, p. 301.
41 Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-'arabī al-masīḥī*, p. 280–281.

14. Hymns from Pascha until the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul.
15. Hymns for the feast of Saint Simeon the Stylite.
16. Hymns for the feasts of various saints.
17. Hymns of the Divine Liturgy for various occasions.
18. *Ḥassāyāt min al-shaḥīma al-mārūnīya*, Maronite hymns for daily prayers.

3.2.4 Language revisions

One of the main events in Farḥāt's scholarly life was his collaboration with Athanasios Dabbās, who was twice patriarch of Antioch, as well as a writer and a preacher. He printed in Wallachia and Aleppo liturgical and spiritual books and translated theological texts from Greek into Arabic.[42]

Nihād Razūq mentions that Athanasios Dabbās, after returning to the patriarchal throne in 1720, invited Farḥāt to Aleppo to revise the translation of the book *al-Durr al-muntakhab*, containing texts written by John Chrysostom, which Dabbās had supposedly translated into Arabic. Additionally, it is mentioned that Farḥāt corrected another book translated by Dabbās, *The Nicene Council*.[43] Farḥāt also revised the Arabic version of Dimitrie Cantemir's *Divan* translated by Dabbās from the Greek text of the volume printed at Iași in 1698.[44]

Farḥāt helped Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī, the patriarch of the Maronite Church, in writing a history of the Maronite community (*Tārīkh al-ṭā'ifa al-mārūnīya*), revising the text philologically.[45] He also contributed to the completion of *The Series of the Maronite Patriarchs* by al-Duwayhī.

42 See Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 255–265.
43 Razūq, *Jirmānūs Farḥāt*, p. 105.
44 See Dimitrie Cantemir, *Salvation of the Sage and Ruin of the Sinful World*, Arabic edition and English translation I. Feodorov, with the contribution of Y. Petrova, Leiden/Boston, 2016.
45 Razūq, *Jirmānūs Farḥāt*, p. 68–69.

4 Germanos Farḥāt's Works in Manuscripts Preserved in Romania

4.1 Manuscripts in the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest

4.1.1 MS Or. 97, the *Dīwān*

The collection of poetry – the *Dīwān* – is a book containing poems written by Farḥāt on various occasions, including religious verse, as well as panegyric or scornful poems about people and events that occurred during his time. Farḥāt wrote these poems in different years. He composed some of them in Aleppo, others, when he was in Rome, in the Monastery of Khinshāra, and in other locations. He collected these poems in one book, known as the *Dīwān*, and arranged the texts alphabetically. The reason for collecting his poems in this orderly way was his discovery of the fact that copyists were altering his texts.

In the manuscript at the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest, neither the name of the copyist is mentioned, nor the place or the year when the copy was written. Farḥāt mentioned in his text the year when he wrote each poem, the place that he was in, and the poetic meter. In the copy in Bucharest, some poems are wrongly dated, such as the year 1664, six years before Farḥāt's birth.

The manuscript contains 100 poems. The text has neither an introduction nor a colophon, or an index. It includes only a *basmala*[46] at the beginning of the text (Fig. 1), and at the end a *ḥamdala*[47] for having completed the writing of the text. In the printed edition of the *Dīwān*, there is an introduction attributed to Farḥāt when he was a monk, explaining the system of rhyme in Arabic poetry and stating that he adopted the arrangement of his collections alphabetically according to the rhyme. This was in the year 1720.[48]

The copy amounts to 139 folios. The text of the manuscript is copied in Classical Arabic, in *naskhī* calligraphy. It is written in black ink, and the titles are in red ink. The text size is 220 x 160 mm.

46 *Basmala* is a short formula like a prayer to receive the blessing for beginning a work. Both Eastern Christians and Muslims used it at the onset of their works. The Christian *basmala* is usually: "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, One God".

47 *Ḥamdala* is a brief prayer of thanksgiving for the completed work, usually written on the last line of text before the colophon. It was used by both Christians and Muslims. The name of this term comes from the word *al-ḥamdu li-llāh*, which comes at the beginning of this phrase.

48 S. al-Shartūnī, *Dīwān al-sayyid Jirmānūs Farḥāt, muṭrān al-umma al-mārūnīya fī madīnat Ḥalab*, Beirut, 1894, p. 5–6, 13.

4.2 Manuscripts in the Romanian Academy Library, Cluj-Napoca Branch

The collection of Oriental manuscripts at the Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj-Napoca includes two manuscripts of Germanos Farḥāt's grammar book *Baḥth al-maṭālib*.

4.2.1 *Baḥth al-maṭālib wa-ḥaththh al-ṭālib*

Farḥāt wrote a book on Arabic grammar, like those used in Islamic schools. He excerpted from the Bible the necessary examples for exercises and comments. This book was to be used in the Maronite schools. The first part was written in 1705. In 1706, Farḥāt added another section to explain the first book, a sort of summary, but this second section was not completed until 1708.[49] The original title of the book is *Baḥth al-maṭālib wa-ḥaththh al-ṭālib*, or briefly *Baḥth al-maṭālib*. The meaning of the title is "Discussion of (Grammatical) Issues in the Student's Search for Knowledge". However, as we shall see, the title was altered in the printed editions to make its meaning clearer.

The book proved to be very useful, as many copies have survived: around 61 manuscript copies are known in various collections. Some surviving manuscripts are written in the hand of Germanos Farḥāt: a manuscript in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (Cod. arab. 770, dated 1707), and another in the Maronite College in Rome, with the call number 203.[50]

This work circulated widely and was printed several times. The first edition was published in 1836 at the American Press in Malta under a similar title: *Baḥth al-maṭālib fī ʿilm al-ʿarabīya*. An abridged version was published in 1841, titled *al-Ajwiba al-jalīya fī al-uṣūl al-naḥwīya*. In 1854, a new edition was printed in Beirut under the supervision of Buṭrus al-Bustānī, who commented on the text and provided additional grammatical examples. Its title is *Miṣbāḥ al-ṭālib fī baḥth al-maṭālib* (*The Student's Lamp in the Quest for Knowledge*). The Catholic Press in Beirut printed the first edition in 1865 with the original text and title, and a second edition came out in 1876.[51]

In 1882, the language scholar Saʿīd al-Shartūnī prepared a new version of the book with notes and the original title, published by the Catholic Press in Beirut. In 1900, Fr. Niʿmatallāh Bākhūs published the book in two parts at the Lebanese Press in Baʿabda.[52] In 1931, Fr. Niʿmatallāh Bākhūs and Fr. Philippe al-Samarrānī divided

49 Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī al-masīḥī*, p. 283–284.
50 Graf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī al-masīḥī*, p. 285.
51 Razūq, *Jirmānūs Farḥāt*, p. 60–61.
52 Razūq, *Jirmānūs Farḥāt*, p. 61–62.

the book into sections to suit the French educational system, from the primary to the secondary schools.[53]

In the Library of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca Branch, there are two copies of the *Baḥth al-maṭālib*: the Oriental Manuscripts 15 and 30 (MS Or. 15 and MS Or. 30).

4.2.2 MS Or. 15, *Baḥth al-maṭālib wa-ḥathth al-ṭālib*

The copyist of this manuscript is the monk Niʿmatallāh Jabbān of Damascus. He copied it in Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ, Lebanon, in 1722. The codex was bought by the deacon Anṭuwān Yūsuf from Wādī al-Rahbana (Qadīshā).

The copy of *Baḥth al-maṭālib* contains an introduction by Germanos Farḥāt (Fig. 2), a warning from the author to the copyist not to alter anything in the text, an index, the three sections (on verb conjugation, noun conjugation, and grammar rules), and a summary of the *iʿrāb* (classification of the grammatical endings of words).

The codex has 100 folios. The text of the manuscript is in Classical Arabic, in *naskhī* calligraphy. It was written in black ink, and the title in red ink. The paper size is 270 x 190 mm.

4.2.3 MS Or. 30, *Baḥth al-maṭālib fī al-naḥw wa-ghayri-hi*

The title of this manuscript means "Discussion of Grammatical Issues and Other Topics" (Fig. 3). The copyist, place, and copy date are unknown. At the end of the manuscript it is mentioned that the copy of the book was presented to the al-Azhar University in Cairo in 1829, perhaps to be evaluated by its professors.

The codex has 100 folios. The text reveals no differences from the previous copy, but the notes are different. The text of the manuscript is in Classical Arabic, in *naskhī* calligraphy. It was written in black ink, the title in red ink, and chapter numbers in blue ink. The paper size is 210 x 150 mm.

5 Sources on Farḥāt's Manuscripts Preserved in Romanian Collections

5.1 Ion Nistor and Mihail Guboglu

MS Or. 97 – the *Dīwān* – was recorded by the historian Ion Nistor and the Turkologist Mihail Guboglu in two lists of Oriental manuscripts held by the Romanian

53 B. Masʿad, *al-Dhikrā fī ḥayāt al-muṭrān Jirmānūs Farḥāt*, Jounie, 1943, p. 110–113.

Academy Library in Bucharest. As I mentioned before, these lists were presented in one publication in the same volume.[54]

Nistor classified the Oriental manuscripts according to languages; therefore, MS Or. 97 was classified as an Arabic manuscript. As for the history of the location of this manuscript, it has been the property of the Romanian Academy Library since 1903, after the Royal Decree No. 519 was issued, ordering the transfer of the manuscripts collection from the National Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest to the Romanian Academy.[55]

In the second inventory, Nistor classified the Oriental manuscripts according to topics, but MS Or. 97 was not mentioned in any classification, not even among the literary and philological works. Guboglu described the manuscript as consisting of verses in Arabic and transliterated its incipit.[56]

Nistor then provided a general description of the Oriental manuscripts at the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest, mentioning that the type of calligraphy in Arabic manuscripts, especially for religious texts, was *naskhī*, and the manuscripts were written on Oriental paper. Guboglu, in his record, provided information on the text size and number of folios.

In another article, where he presented a general description of the Oriental manuscripts in Timotei Cipariu's collection, Guboglu mentioned both manuscripts of Farḥāt's *Baḥth al-maṭālib*, MS Or. 15 and MS Or. 30, preserved at the Romanian Academy Library in Cluj-Napoca Branch.[57] His record contains around 175 manuscripts, of which 115 are written in Arabic script. The description includes materials used in manufacturing the manuscript copy: paper, cover, calamus, and inks. The language of the Arabic manuscripts is defined as Classical and Middle Arabic. Guboglu also mentioned the topics of the texts: language, grammar, and literature.

5.2 Mohammad Ali Sowti

In his unpublished catalog of the Oriental manuscripts of the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest (1976), Mohammad Ali Sowti described MS Or. 97, Farḥāt's *Dīwān*, on p. 11–12 of Part 2. It is presented as an Arabic poetry manuscript in 144 folios, size 22 x 16 cm. Sowti indicated the date of the first poem, 1659, in Aleppo (a poem dedicated to Jesus Christ by "the Lebanese monk Gabriel"), and the last

54 Nistor, "Manuscrisele orientale"; Guboglu, "Inventarul Manuscriselor Orientale".

55 Nistor, "Manuscrisele orientale", p. 77, 82; Guboglu, "Inventarul manuscriselor orientale", p. 109.

56 Guboglu, "Inventarul manuscriselor orientale", p. 110.

57 Guboglu, *Manuscrisele și tipăriturile Orientale*, p. 147–156, 160, 163.

date of this work, a poem dated 1713, on f. 84. Also, Sowti misspelled the author's name, writing *Djebrā'il-ol* instead of *Jibrā'īl*.[58]

In the catalog of the Romanian Academy Library, Cluj-Napoca Branch, prepared by Sowti the same year, the author described MS Or. 15 *Baḥth al-maṭālib* on p. 3, as follows: the author is Gabriel ibn Farḥāt, the topic of the manuscript is Arabic grammar, the book is divided in two parts, each of them in 200 pages, and it is dated 1772. The manuscript is a copy, not the original.[59]

On p. 5, Sowti briefly described MS Or. 30 as follows: the author is Gabriel Farḥāt, the title of the manuscript, *Baḥth al-maṭālib*, "Research on topics of Arabic grammar". He also (wrongly) states that this copy was written in Alexandria in 1829.[60] This is all the information given by Sowti about these manuscripts.

5.3 Yves Goldenberg

Farḥāt's manuscripts MS Or. 15 and MS Or. 30, like all the Oriental manuscripts in the Cluj-Napoca Branch of the Romanian Academy Library, once belonged to the Central Library of Blaj. The library and the Oriental Collection of Manuscripts and Rare Books, under the supervision of Timotei Cipariu, were transferred to the Romanian Academy Library in Cluj-Napoca in 1950. The philologist and Orientalist Yves Goldenberg, who taught Arabic at the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures of the University of Bucharest until 1979, studied the contents of the Blaj Library, where he found in the Oriental Collection 550 items, of which 115 were Arabic manuscripts, including books on Arabic grammar, literature, history, and other topics. He also mentioned Cipariu's notebooks where he had collected notes on books and manuscripts in Arabic and other languages. He published his findings in a concise article in 1962.[61]

58 Sowti, *Catalogul manuscriselor persane*, Part 2, p. 11–12.

59 Sowti, *Lista manuscriselor orientale păstrate la Secția de manuscrise a Bibliotecii Filialei din Cluj a Academiei R.S.R.*, Cluj-Napoca, 1976 (not published), p. 3.

60 Sowti, *Lista manuscriselor orientale*, p. 5.

61 Y. Goldenberg, "Preocupările de arabistică ale lui Timotei Cipariu", *Analele Universității București*, 11, 1962, p. 479–480.

6 Conclusion

Germanos Farḥāt's scholarly works played an important part in the Renaissance of the Maronite Church. He was a true forerunner of the Arabic literary revival of the 19th century, in which Arab Christians were instrumental. Farḥāt's literary and grammar works continued to be used in school curricula until the beginning of the 20th century.

Farḥāt's manuscripts preserved in Romanian collections have not received the proper attention of research. These copies have only been mentioned or briefly described in the Romanian language and are not known outside Romania. The manuscripts of Farḥāt's works, as well as other Christian Arabic manuscripts preserved in Romania, deserve a more rigorous and detailed description. They represent an important part of the Christian Arabic written heritage that should be made accessible to academic circles. Our research intends to provide a thorough survey of these quasi-unknown Christian Arabic manuscripts, along with an accurate description, to reveal their philological and historical value.

Fig. 1: Germanos Farḥāt, *Dīwān*, incipit, MS. Or. 97, f. 3v. Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest (by permission of the Library).

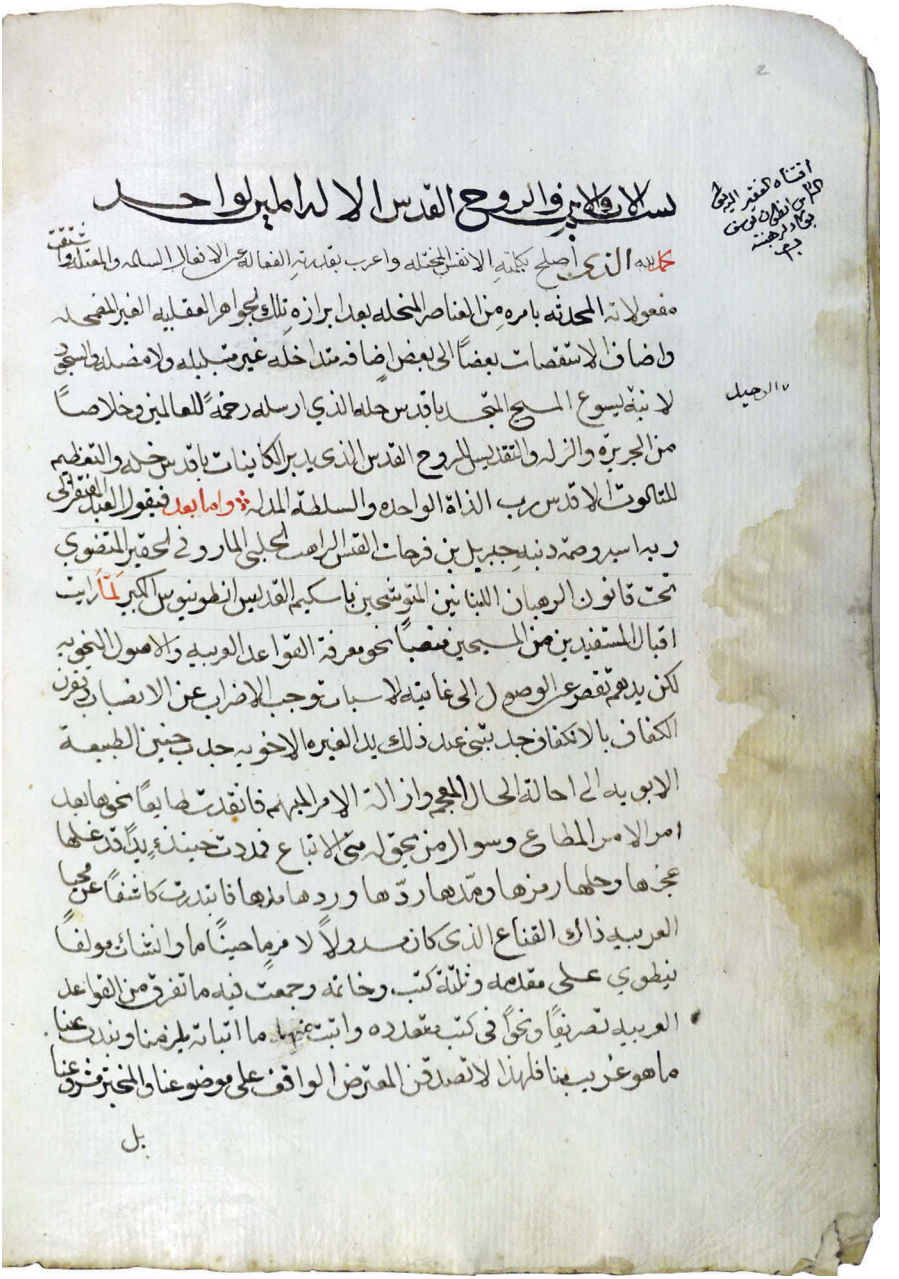

Fig. 2: Germanos Farḥāt, *Baḥth al-maṭālib wa-ḥathth al-ṭālib*, incipit, Ms. Or. 15, f. 3v, 1772. Romanian Academy Library, Cluj-Napoca Branch (by permission of the Library).

Fig. 3: Germanos Farḥāt, *Baḥth al-maṭālib fī al-naḥw wa-ghayri-hi*, incipit, Ms. Or. 30, f. 3v, 1829 (?). Romanian Academy Library, Cluj-Napoca Branch (by permission of the Library).

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Nino Kavtaria

The Georgian Books of the First Tbilisi Printing Press and Their Artistic Decoration (1709–1722)

In Georgia, the first printed books in the Georgian language were published in Tbilisi in 1709.[1] Prince Vakhtang, then the governor of Kartli (1703–1714), later the king of Kartli Vakhtang VI (1716–1724),[2] played a crucial role in advancing this national cause. The establishment of the press and the printing of books became possible with the help of Antim the Iberian (1650–1716, called Antim Ivireanul by the Romanians), a scholar of Georgian origin, whose entire life and activities were

1 It is important to note that the first Georgian book was printed in 1629 in Rome. Two Georgian books were published in the Propaganda Fide printing press: a *Georgian Alphabet with a Prayer* and a *Georgian-Italian Dictionary*. Nikoloz (Nikiphore) Irubakidze-Cholokashvili, the representative of Georgia to Italy, greatly assisted the Italian side in the book editing and the set-up of the Georgian printing press in Rome. In 1643–1670, Francisco Maria Maggio's *Grammar of the Georgian Language* was also printed in Rome. This kind of literature would be of great help to the Catholic missionary monks who came from Rome to Georgia. See M. Tamarati, *L'Église géorgienne dès l'origine jusqu'à nos jours*, Rome, 1920, p. 505; J. Vateishvili, *Kartuli Tsignis Bechdvis istoria. XVII–XVIII ss.*, Tbilisi, 2017, p. 9. The second stage of Georgian book printing is connected with the name of Archil II (1647–1713), the king of Imereti, a scholar and poet who left Georgia for Russia in 1699. In 1705, he succeeded in printing the Psalter in the press of the Holy Synod in Moscow. See D. Karitchashvili, *Kartuli Tsignis Bechdvis Istoria*, Tbilisi, 1929, p. 44–48; Vateishvili, *Kartuli Tsignis*, p. 442–474.

2 The story of the Tbilisi printing press is present in Georgian and foreign historiography. Since the 1880s, several research works were dedicated to it, defining the dates and chronology: Z. Chichinadze, *Kartuli Stamba da Vakhtang VI*, Tbilisi, 1909; A. Shanidze, "Kartuli Stambis Istoriisatvis", *Literaturuli Memkvidreoba*, t. I, 1935, p. 156–178; G. Kiknadze, T. Nakashidze et al. (eds.), *Kartuli Tsigni. Bibliografia, 1612-1920*, t. I, Tbilisi, 1941; G. Leonidze, "Kartuli Erovnuli Stambis Istoriistvis", *Drosha*, 2, 1951, p. 16-19; K. Sharashidze, *Pirveli Stamba Sakartveloshi, 1709–1722*, Tbilisi, 1955; S. Kurdghelashvili, *Kartuli Stambis Istoriidan*, Tbilisi, 1959; O. Kasradze, *Kartuli Tsignis Bechdvis Kerebi*, Tbilisi, 1980; A. Ioseliani, *Kartuli Mtsignobrobis, Tsignisa da Stambis Istoriis Sakitkhebi*, Tbilisi, 1990; N. Targamadze, "Vakhtang VI Stambis Istoriisatvis", *Mtsignobari*, 9, 2009, p. 9–18; D. Machaidze (ed.), *Vakhtang VI Stambis Gamotsemebi*, Tbilisi, 2009; M. Gachechiladze, "Peculiarities of the Georgian Printed Book Design (17th–19th c.)", *Georgian Antiquities*, 13, 2009, p. 168–187; V. Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare. Creații românești și izvoare despre români în colecții din străinătate*, ed. I. Feodorov, vol. II, Bucharest, 2011, p. 192–199; T. Zhordania, "Mokle Istoriuli Mimokhilva Kartuli Stambis Darsebisa da Mokmedebisa Metvramete Saukuneshi da Metskhramete Saukunis Pirvel Tselta Ganmavlobashi", in K. Nadiradze (ed.), *The Collection of Essays*, Tbilisi, 2011, p. 117–125; T. Zhordania, *Kronikebi*, t. II, Tbilisi, 2018, p. 482–483.

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associated with Romania. Antim the Iberian was metropolitan of Wallachia from 1708 to 1716 and played a significant role in both state and church affairs.[3]

At the turn of the 17th–18th centuries, Georgia underwent a remarkable cultural resurgence amidst challenging political and economic circumstances, along with ongoing conflicts with its Muslim neighbors. After the death of King Vakhtang V of Kartli (also known as Shahnavaz, 1658–1675), his successor Giorgi XI ascended the throne. He failed to become a real ruler, carrying out flattering Iranian policy. The desire to unify Georgia and fight against treacherous feudals contradicted the policy of Iran in Georgia. Thus, the distrust of the Shah of Iran resulted in the removal of the king, and in 1688 Erekle I, known as Nazarali Khan, who strictly followed and defended the Shah's policy, ascended the throne. Soon, the Shah reconciled and reinstated Giorgi XI as king. However, he was requested to go to Iran and sent to fight against the Afghans, who posed a great threat to the Persians at the time.[4] His nephew Vakhtang (later, King Vakhtang VI), the son of Prince Levan, was appointed as viceroy (provincial governor) of Kartli. It must be said that among the numerous heirs of Vakhtang V, only a few acted for the good of Georgia, and among them Giorgi XI (1651–1709), Archil (1647–1713, king of Imereti, then Kakheti), Prince Levan (†1709), and his sons Vakhtang (later King Vakhtang VI) and Domenti (1677?–1741, then, catholicos Damian/Domenti).

From 1703, Prince Vakhtang, who was appointed as viceroy, managed to establish peace, temporarily halted the Persians and the Ottomans, overcame external and internal invasions and resistance, established strict laws, and abolished the sale of captives. Despite the presence of a Persian garrison based in Tbilisi Tower (Nariqala), Vakhtang enthusiastically began the cultural and educational reconstruction of the country. The development of agriculture, which was vital for the

3 É. Picot, "Notice biographique et bibliographique sur l'imprimeur Anthime d'Ivir, Métropolitain de Valachie", *Nouveaux Mélanges Orientaux*, Paris, 1886, p. 515–560; F. Djindjikhashvili, Антимоз Иверииели, Tbilisi, 1967; O. Gvinchidze, *Antim Iverieli*, Tbilisi, 1973; G. Ștrempel, *Antim Ivireanul*, Bucharest, 1997; N. V. Dură, "Antimoz Iverieli (Anthim the Iberian). New Contributions on His Life and Printing Activity", *Bulletin of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences*, 10, 2016, 2, p. 153–161; G. Shurgaia, "The Martyred Metropolitan. Anthimos the Iberian († 1716) in Contemporaneous Sources of History", *Proceedings of the Seventh International Symposium of Kartvelian Studies: Georgia in the Context of European Civilizations*, Tbilisi, 2016, p. 221–222.

4 George XI was killed in a battle with the Afghans near Kandahar in 1709, while protecting the Shah's interests. Prince Levan and a large group of Georgian warriors were also killed in battle. See A. Baramidze, *Sulkhan Saba*, Tbilisi, 1959, p. 9–10.

country, and the expansion of trade and craftsmanship were his main concerns. At that time, Tbilisi became a well-connected center of trade.[5]

The renovation and restoration works that he carried out are especially important. According to contemporaries, he built palaces, and among them the Tbilisi palace, outstanding in richness and grandeur, about which it was written: "I have never seen a more beautiful house in the entire Iran". [6] The number of *caravanserai* also increased. Tbilisi Sioni, Urbanisi Church, and the Saint John the Baptist Church were reconstructed by the king.

Vakhtang initiated the creation of a "Council of Learned Men", which collected the existing historical documents, old manuscripts, and manuscripts of the *Chronicles of Kartli*. The best scholars and literati of the time (Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani, Prince Vakhushti, Nikoloz Orbeliani, etc.) worked at the court. Works of original content were composed, and translations were made of the masterpieces of world literature and science: *Kalila and Dimna*, a collection of tales of Indian origin, was translated from Persian into Georgian by Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani; Vakhtang himself translated Ulugh Beg's astronomical treatise from Persian. An important endeavor was the search for old manuscripts and their subsequent re-translation. The changes made in the philosophic and lexicographical domains meant that a more simplified literary language, closer to the vernacular, gained precedence. All branches of science came under the scholarly king's scrutiny, and remarkable progress was made in all directions. The incipient process of cultural reconstruction created the need for European-style publishing.

By all appearances, the establishment of a printing press and publishing activities in Tbilisi had been a long-standing dream of the royal court. However, the difficult political and economic environment had prevented it from coming to fruition. The necessity of printing was also generated by the fact that "our sacred writings were corrupted during copying by hand".[7] At the same time, the printed book, in addition to presenting the texts correctly and without errors, ensured a rapid increase in the number of volumes needed.

It is noteworthy that Vakhtang did not turn for help with printing to his uncle Archil, who had moved to Russia (and already had the experience of printing Georgian books in Russia), but to the Patriarch of Jerusalem. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the situation of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem forced the patriarchs to constantly travel to Orthodox countries, including Georgia, to collect donations

5 B. Vakhushti, *Aghtsera Sameposa Sakartvelosa*, Tbilisi, 1941, p. 37–45; N. Berdzenishvili, Iv. Javakhishvili, S. Janashia, *Sakartvelos Istoria*, Tbilisi, 1949, p. 362–363.

6 V. Beridze, "XVIII Saukunis Tbilisi Vakhtangis Gegmis Mikhedvit", *Analebi*, I, 1947, p. 134–135.

7 *Acts of the Apostles*, 1709, colophon of the editor Nikoloz Orbeliani, f. 421.

and receive material help.[8] At the same time, the close connection with the highest religious circles in Jerusalem was very important for the Georgians. They were gradually losing the Georgian churches and monasteries that were in their possession in Jerusalem and sought the support of the patriarch of Jerusalem in this matter. Patriarchs often helped the Georgian authorities to pay their debts; they played the role of mediator, delivering the paid taxes from Georgia to Jerusalem. The Patriarchs of Jerusalem Paisios (1645–1660) and Dositheos II Notaras (1667–1707) visited Georgia on different occasions.

The patriarchs of Jerusalem and the kings of Georgia maintained a regular correspondence. It is important to note that in Georgian academic circles there is a widespread opinion that the idea of setting up a printing press in Tbilisi was suggested to the royal family by the patriarchs of the East. In 1681, during his second visit to Georgia, Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem personally met King George XI and his brother Prince Levan, father of Vakhtang VI. Interestingly, one modern source suggests that Antim the Iberian accompanied the Patriarch Dositheos to Tbilisi in 1681, acting as his interpreter, and introduced to his compatriots the idea of establishing a printing press in Georgia.[9] Hence, it can probably be assumed that years later Vakhtang had to achieve the project of establishing a press in Tbilisi, according to the wishes of his father and his uncle George XI, who themselves were inspired by Antim.

Vakhtang asked the patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheos (who resigned in 1707 and died in 1709), for help in setting up a printing press, but the request of the ruler of Kartli was fulfilled by Dositheos's nephew, the following patriarch of Jerusalem, Chrysanthos Notaras (1707–1731). As known, Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, during a visit to Iași in Moldavia, purchased the necessary equipment for printing in Greek and founded a printing press there (1670).[10] Dositheos, and later Chrysanthos, were prominent Church leaders: "Of the learned patriarchs, Jerusalem produced the great names of Dositheos, Chrysanthos, and others, whose encyclopedic erudition are absolutely astonishing", wrote the famous diplomat Konstantin Bazili.[11]

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8 K. Bazili, *Сирия и Палестина под турецким правительством в историческом и политическом отношениях*, t. II, St. Petersburg, 1875, p. 200; Kurdghelashvili, *Kartuli Stambis*, p. 8.

9 "Antim the Iberian, who resided at the Patriarchate of Jerusalem for 23 years, was likely serving as an interpreter in the intense correspondence and interactions between the patriarch of Jerusalem and the kings and catholicoses of Georgia. This leads us to believe that Antim the Iberian, as the person performing the duties of a translator, was one of the companions of Patriarch Dositheos on his journey to Tbilisi in 1681", cf. Kurdghelashvili, *Kartuli Stambis*, p. 16–17. There is no other source in support of this supposition.

10 A. Muravyov, *История Св. Града Иерусалима*, t. II, St. Petersburg, 1844, p. 342.

11 Bazili, *Сирия и Палестина*, t. II, p. 221–222.

Thus, having received Vakhtang's request, the patriarch of Jerusalem turned for support to the ruler of Wallachia, Constantin Brâncoveanu. He counted on Antim the Iberian, because of his Georgian origin, to help advance this project.

It is not at all clear when Antim came to Wallachia. According to the secretary of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu, Anton Maria del Chiaro, Antim (born Andrei) was a slave in Jerusalem in his youth.[12] Del Chiaro, who knew Antim personally, also noted that: "He was endowed with such rare talents that he could admirably imitate any kind of craftsmanship, especially carvings, paintings, and embroidery".[13] A plausible hypothesis is that Antim, a protégé of Patriarch Dositheos, learned the art of printing in the newly established press of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem that operated at the Monastery of Cetățuia near Iași. This could have happened around 1689–1690.[14] When Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu sought to expand the printing

12 A. M. del Chiaro, *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia. Con la descrizione del paese, natura, costumi, riti e religione degli abitanti*, new edition by N. Iorga, Bucharest, 1914, p. 51. For the life and works of Antim the Iberian, see Archim. M. Stanciu, "Descoperiri recente referitoare la venirea Sfântului Antim Ivireanul în Țările Române", *Ortodoxia*, 66, 2014, 1, p. 132–142; Archim. M. Stanciu, "Sfântul Antim Ivireanul, ipodiaconul Mihail Ștvanovici și începuturile tiparului Georgian", *Ortodoxia*, 67, 2015, 3, p. 83–100; Doru Bădără, *The Beginning of Printing and Print Culture in the Romanian Principalities*, in R. Dipratu, S. Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond. First Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project*, Berlin/Boston, 2024, p. 123–144.

13 "Era egli dotato di sì rari talenti, che sapeva mirabilmente imitare qualsisia sorta di manifatture, spezialmente in genere d'intaglj, disegni e ricami"; A. M. del Chiaro, *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni*, p. 202.

14 Archim. P. Chițulescu (coord. ed.), *Antim Ivireanul. Opera tipografică*, Bucharest, 2016, p. 11–13 (with an overview of the Romanian sources on Antim the Iberian). See also Muravyov, История Св. Града, II, p. 329; Kurdgelashvili, *Kartuli Stambis*, p. 30–33. It is known that in the 17th century the Patriarchate of Jerusalem went through hard times. Patriarch Dositheos resided in Constantinople for a long time. During his visit to Iași in 1670, Patriarch Dositheos secured a press and typographic equipment and founded the printing press of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in Constantinople. Hieromonk Mitrofan, a master brought from Wallachia, was appointed as the head of the printing press. It was probably Hieromonk Mitrofan who later trained Antim in the art of printing. There is also an opinion that by the time Antim arrived in the Romanian Principalities he was already a scholar and an artist, brought up in the traditions of Georgian culture. Otar Gvinchidze points out that in Wallachia he was not the supporter of Greek traditions, since he opposed the hegemony of the Greek Orthodox Church and was in favor of the superiority of the Romanian language. Gvinchidze shares the opinions of the Romanian scholars Ion Nanu and Petre Constantinescu-Iași about the influence of Georgian art on Romanian art and he considers that Antim the Iberian was the initiator of this trend. See O. Gvinchidze, *Antim the Iberian*, p. 23-24, 334–335; P. Constantinescu-Iași, "Din relațiile culturale româno-gruzine", *Studii și articole de istorie*, II, 1957, p. 6-32; I. Nanu, "Kartuli da ruminuli xelovnebis urtiertoba", *Soviet Art*, 8, 1963, p. 83–88; G. Ştrempel, *Antim Ivireanul. Predici*, Bucharest, 1962, p. 35.

and publishing activities in Wallachia, the learned men at his court recommended Antim the Iberian for his versatile talents.[15]

Antim's name is associated with the foundation of several Wallachian presses. His first printing activities were connected with the Bucharest printing press in 1691, where books in various fields were printed: theology, history, literature, philosophy, etc. He laid the foundation for the printing of books in the Romanian language. He built the Monastery of All Saints in Bucharest and wrote a *Typikon* for the monastic community and the press he set up there. Antim the Iberian rose through the ecclesiastical hierarchy: he became the hegumen of the Snagov Monastery near Bucharest, then bishop of Râmnic, and finally, metropolitan of Wallachia. On his initiative, printing presses were established and operated in Snagov, Râmnic, Târgovişte, and Bucharest. A total of 64 books in Romanian, Greek, Church Slavonic, and Arabic were printed under his patronage in Wallachia.[16] From a technical point of view, the books printed by Antim were of the same quality as books printed in the presses of the European countries of that time. In some features, such as the elegance and detail of the book art elements (engravings, vignettes, borders, decorative elements, etc.), they were even superior. Antim's part in the establishment of the first Arabic printing press in Ottoman lands, in Aleppo (1706), is also worth mentioning.[17]

It is therefore not surprising that a renowned book printer was asked to help establish the first printing press in Tbilisi. In this sense, it was suggested that Vakhtang's brother, Prince Domenti, travelled to Wallachia and Jerusalem at the end of the 17th century. This journey was described by his closest friend and companion Yese Tlashadze in his chief poetic work.[18]

Yese Tlashadze was a Georgian poet of the first half of the 18th century. He composed the poem *Bakarian*, or *Katalikoz-Bakarian*, written in Constantinople in 1727. This work is interesting because it contains information that is not found in other sources. It is a history of Vakhtang VI and his son Bakar, with special attention

15 N. Șerbănescu, "Antim Ivireanul, tipograf", *BOR*, 77, 1950, 8–9, p. 695. Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688–1714) played a significant part in the advancement of printing in Wallachia. He actively supported the free distribution of printed books to the Christian East. See I. Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands. The East-European Connection*, Berlin/Boston, 2023, p. 255-308.
16 Chițulescu (coord. ed.), *Antim Ivireanul*, p. 31-34.
17 I. Feodorov, "New Data on the Early Arabic Printing in the Levant and Its Connections to the Romanian Presses", *RESEE*, 56, 2018, p. 197–233; I. Feodorov, "Working together for the Antiochian Patriarchate: Antim the Iberian and Patriarch Athanasios III Dabbās", *Georgian and European World Philosopical-Cultural Dialogue*, II, Tbilisi, 2019, p. 61–76.
18 E. Taqaishvili, *Katalikoz-Bakariani by Priest Yese Tlashadze*, Tbilisi, 1907; Y. Tlashadze, *Bakariani*, Tbilisi, 1962.

paid to the history of Vakhtang's brother, Prince Domenti, catholicos-patriarch of Georgia (1705–1714). The author mentions his journeys to various countries and cities: Russia, Iran, the Ottoman Empire, Wallachia, Bugdan (Moldavia, in present-day Romania), and Jerusalem.[19]

There is no doubt that when coming to Wallachia the Catholicos Domenti would get acquainted with his famous countryman, and it is likely that their meeting could help fulfill the long-standing dream of the royal family to open a printing press in Tbilisi. Antim the Iberian asked Constantin Brâncoveanu for help for the Georgians, for which he received the consent of the ruler of Wallachia. The meeting between Domenti and Antim the Iberian was first mentioned by Poliekvtos Karbelashvili in 1699, as having taken place during the former's visit to Jerusalem. However, the presence of Antim the Iberian in Jerusalem at that time is not confirmed, and they probably met in Wallachia.[20]

The negotiations of the Georgian royal family about the printing press were completed successfully, and Antim the Iberian sent to Tbilisi his most skilled disciple, Mihail Ishtvanovich (also known as Mihail Stepaneshvili, son of Stepane, or Ștefan), who was involved in printing many of the books at the Râmnic press. When it became imperative to establish an Orthodox printing press outside the borders of Wallachia, Mihail Ishtvanovich was assigned to carry out this mission.[21] Various dates have been proposed for his arrival in Georgia. The most acceptable seems to be the opinion of Shota Kurdglashvili that this happened around 1708, when he must have taken the shortest route from Constantinople to Tbilisi, visiting, on his way, the Patriarch of Jerusalem Chrysanthos Notaras in the Ottoman capital.[22]

Apparently, Mihail Ishtvanovich brought to Georgia a printing press, paper, typographic tools, a set of Nuskha-Khutsuri type,[23] probably Greek type as well, and ready-made woodblocks for the artistic decoration of books. Scholars also assume that Antim the Iberian had already created the Nuskha-Khutsuri and Asomtavruli series of type in Wallachia, assisted by Mihail Ishtvanovich. Later, in Tbilisi, Ishtvanovich supervised the manufacture of small type of the Nuskha-Khutsuri and Asomtavruli scripts, and part of the typefaces of the Mkhedruli script, previously unknown to him.[24]

19 Taqaishvili, *Katalikoz-Bakariani,* p. 32-34, 47.

20 P. Karbelashvili, *Ierarkia Sakartvelos Eklesiisa. Katolokozni da Mghvdeltmtavarni*, Tbilisi, 1900, p. 131–132; O. Gvinchidze, *Antim Iverieli*, p. 194–196.

21 Gvinchidze, *Antim Iverieli*, p. 210.

22 Kurdghelashvili, *Kartuli Stambis*, p. 45.

23 E. Machavariani, *Kartuli Anbani* (*Georgian Alphabets*), Tbilisi, 1977.

24 Kurdghelashvili, *Kartuli Stambis*, p. 53.

It is worth reminding here that there are three writing systems in the Georgian language: Asomtavruli, Nuskha-Khutsuri, and Mkhedruli. Among them, Asomtavruli is the oldest form of writing (it is also known as Mrglovani, due to its round outline) and was widespread in the 5th–10th centuries. The next stage of writing was Nuskha-Khutsuri. This system extended into the 10th – 11th centuries (the first specimen can be seen in the 9th century). In manuscripts copied in Nuskha-Khutsuri, initials and titles were still completed with Asomtavruli. The Nuskha-Khutsuri script was used until the 19th century, mostly in religious literature. Mkhedruli is a type of modern Georgian script. However, the first occurrences are found starting in the 10th – 11th centuries, while from the 14th century, the Mkhedruli script spread and was used mainly in documents and secular activities.

Vakhtang was prepared for the arrival of Mihail Ishtvanovich. He had built a special ten-room apartment for the printing press near the royal palace, on the right bank of the Mtkvari River, between the Anchiskhati and the Sioni Churches.[25] During its brief existence from 1709 to 1722, the Tbilisi press printed 20 titles, both religious and secular works. The number of copies of these books is unknown. Ishtvanovich's arrival to Georgia was of particular importance, as he taught printing and publishing techniques and trained Georgian typographers who continued this work after his departure. Ishtvanovich remained in Georgia from 1708 to 1711. His name is no longer mentioned in the 1712 edition of *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*.

The books published by the first press in Georgia are printed on high quality paper, some with watermarks. The character of the text, its layout, the harmonious combination of type of different sizes, refined ornaments, initial letters, the use of Asomtavruli, Nuskha-Khutsuri, and Mkhedruli fonts, engravings inserted in the printed text, headpieces and other decorative elements make these books unique. The outstanding bindings of the printed books were probably made locally. Books left the printing press already bound and, sometimes, enclosed in a leather case.

It is no longer disputed that the fonts and the entire artistic decoration and technical features of the books of Vakhtang's printing press were of such a high quality that they became an unattainable ideal of the Georgian printing presses in the second half of the 18th century, both in Georgia and in Russia.[26]

Between 1709 and 1722, during its thirteen years of existence, Vakhtang's press printed twelve different titles, many in several successive editions (see Table 1).

25 P. Ioseliani, *Описание древностей г. Тифлиса*, Tbilisi, 1866, p. 247; T. Zhordania, *Kartl-Kakhetis monastrebisa da eklesiebis istoriuli sabutebi*, Poti, 1903, p. 98–99, 103.
26 *Kartuli Tsigni*, Tbilisi, 1941, p. IX.

Of the greatest value are the colophons of printed books and long texts listing the names and works of the typographers and other persons mentioned.

The first book, printed in 1709, was the Gospel (Tetraevangelion), as stated on the title page.

> სამღთო და სამღდელო სახარება. აწ ახალი და პირველი დაბეჭდილი ქართულს ენაზედა. ჟამსა ამაღლებულისა და სახელოვანისა საქართველოს მეფისა უფლისა, უფლისა გიორგისა, იესიან დავითიან სოლომონიანისსა. შრომითა ფრიადითა და წარგებითა საფასეთათა მართლმადიდებლისა და განათლებულისა საქართველოს განმგებლისა, ბატონიშვილისა, თვით უფლისა ვახტანგ ლევანის ძისათა. გაიმართა წმიდაჲ ესე ჴელითა ნიკოლოზ მღვდელ-მონაზონისა ორბელის შვილისათა. ჴელითა მესტამბე მიხაილ სტეფანე შვილისა, უნგროვლახელისა. ქალაქსა ტფილისისასა. ქორონიკონსა ქრისტეს აქეთ ათას შვიდას და ცხრას.
>
> The Divine and Priestly Gospel. The new and first printed book in the Georgian language. In honor of the exalted and illustrious King of Georgia, Lord Giorgi, whose forefather was Yese David Solomon. With the labor and donation of the great and most learned ruler of Georgia, Prince Vakhtang, son of Levan himself. Edited by the Hieromonk Nikoloz, son of Orbeli. By the hands of the typographer Mihail, son of Stepane [Stepaneshvili] from Ungro-Wallachia [...], in the city of Tiflis. The *choronicon* [year][27] was one thousand seven hundred and nine AD.[28]

The title page is followed by Vakhtang's colophon:

> სადიდებლად წმიდისა სამებისა. მე, გვარტომობით, ძირმოდგმით დავითიანმან. ძის ძემან სახელგანთქმულის მეფის ვახტანგისამან. ძმისწულმან ქებულის მეფის არჩილისამან და დიდად სახელოვანის ქართველთა მეფისა გიორგისამან და ძემან დიდად პატიოსნისა ლევანისამან და განმგებელმან ქართლისამან. ბატონიშვილმა ვახტანგ, მოვიყვანე მესტამბე ვლახეთით და გავაკეთე სტამბა საჴსრად სულთა წინა თქმულთა მეფეთა და მამისა და დედისა ჩემისა.
>
> In praise of the Holy Trinity. I, by birth, have descended from David. Son of the son of the famous King Vakhtang. The nephew of the praiseworthy King Archil and the great illustrious King of the Georgians Giorgi and the son of the great and honored Levan and the governor of Kartli. I, Prince Vakhtang, invited a printer from Wallachia and founded a printing press to the memory of the souls of the aforementioned kings and of my father and mother [...].[29]

27 Name of the calendar system in Georgia < Gr. χρονος (*chronos*).

28 Matchaidze (ed.), *Vakhtang VI Stambis*, p. 9.

29 Matchaidze (ed.), *Vakhtang VI Stambis*, p. 9.

Mihail Ștefan, or Iștvanovici (the names he went by in Wallachia), was named in the colophons of the Tbilisi books "Stepane Shvili", i.e., "son of Stepane (Ștefan)". In Georgian, the surname is read as one word, "Stepaneshvili".

After the colophon of the governor of Kartli, an appeal of the printer, Mihail from Ungro-Wallachia, was placed in the book:

> ყოველთა მკითხველთა გიხაროდენ! პირველად მიზეზი უცხოსა ამის საქმისა და ძალითა მღთისათა უცონელად შემასრულებელი სტამბისა ამის, სამკვიდრებელსა თქვენსა, იქმნა კურთხევით ჴსენებული, განათლებული და გამგებელი საქართველოსა ბატონიშვილი და თვით პარტონი ვახტანგ, ღმრთისმოყვარენო და ყოვლად მშვენიერნო მკვიდრნო საქართველოსანო. ხოლო ყოველივე საქმენი, რაოდენნი იხილვებიან: ასონი, ორთანონი და ყოველნი საჴმარნი სტამბისა, დაწყებით სრულყოფამდი, მოქმედი და წინამძღოლი მე ვარ, უნდო მონა თქვენი. უწინარესად დავბეჭდეთ ესე საღმრთო და სამღვდლო წმიდაჲ სახარება. სიმდაბლით გევედრებით თქვენ, ყოველთა დიდთა და მცირეთა: უკეთუ ცთომილი რაჲმე იხილოთ, სიტყვა ანუ ასო, ნუ გამქირდავთ, რამეთუ უცხო ვიყავ ქვეყანასა ამის და უსმენელი სიტყუათა თქვენთა და რომელნი ჩემნი მოწაფენი იყვნენ, ეგრეთვე გამოუცდელნი, საქმისა ამისა ჩემისა, ვითა მე ვიყავ ქართლის უნახავი, ეგრეთვე ჩემნი მოწაფენი სტამბის... მდაბალი ამათ მბეჭდავთაგან მესტამბე მჴურვალითა გულითა ვმუშაკობ. მოსამსახურე თქვენი მიხაელ სტეფანეს შვილი უნგროვლახელი.
>
> Rejoice, all readers! For the first time, the accomplishment of a new craft and the power of the good maker of the printing press, your heritage, were made possible with the blessing of the enlightened, scholarly ruler of Georgia and the lord himself, Prince Vakhtang, the God-fearing and all-praised by the people of Georgia. And all the works will be clearly seen: type, tools, typographic items, and the whole printing press, from the beginning to the end. I am the worker and the master, I am your servant. First, we have printed these divine and priestly Holy Gospels. I humbly beseech you, all great and small: if you see anything wrong, a word or a letter, do not blame me, for I am a stranger in this country and I have never heard your words, and those who were my disciples in this work of mine, so inexperienced, as I have never seen Kartli, so were my disciples in printing [...]. I am working with the hearts of humble typographers. Your servant Mihail, the son of Stepane [Stepaneshvili], from Ungro-Wallachia.[30]

The text of the Gospel Book is preceded by a foreword by the editor Nikoloz Orbeliani, who states that he compared and corrected the Georgian text using a Greek version of the Gospels. This first Georgian printed book, along with elegant graphic art elements and the observance of Georgian bookmaking traditions, demonstrates an excellent level of typographic and printing techniques.

30 Machaidze (ed.), *Vakhtang VI Stambis*, p. 9–10.

The grateful Vakhtang sent a copy of the first printed book to Constantin Brâncoveanu, the prince of Wallachia. The copy of the Gospels in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest (call number III 182739, CRV 157A) contains a handwritten note in Romanian by Antim the Iberian:

> The Holy Book of the Divine Gospel, which is presented to his Highness, with reverence, O dear Lord, is the new fruit that the land of the Iberians, quenching its thirst from the munificence of your printing gifts, has born this year. Thus, this land has also had the fortune to be enriched with printing in its language" (p. [II]).[31]

On p. [IV]-[V] in the Georgian Gospel, before Antim's dedicatory colophon, there is a 13-stanza ode that details the story of the setup of the printing press in Tbilisi. It describes Vakhtang's request to the patriarch of Jerusalem for help in establishing a Georgian printing press, then Patriarch Chrysanthos's request to his friend Constantin Brâncoveanu, the prince of Wallachia, to send a typographer to Georgia. Brâncoveanu sent Mihail Ishtvanovich, who first visited Patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras in Constantinople and then went to Georgia. The printing press in Tbilisi was established according to plan. It is worth mentioning here that during the visit of a Georgian delegation to Romania in 1951,[32] the Georgian writer Giorgi Leonidze studied this book at the Library of the Romanian Academy and read this ode, writing about it upon his return to Georgia. In his opinion, this poem had to be attributed to Mihail Ishtvanovich and was probably composed in Tbilisi.[33]

The first Georgian Gospel was printed in bold Nuskhuri type, with black ink only. It is a rather large format book, 23.5 x 15.5 cm. A *Deisis* composition is inserted in the frontispiece of the title page (Fig. 1). In the center, there is the half-length figure of the Savior, with the half-length images of the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist left and right. Inside the medallions, on either side of the holy figures, there are inscriptions: for Christ – "Jesus Christ, have mercy on Vakhtang", for the Mother of God – "All Holy, Have mercy on Vakhtang", for Saint John the Baptist – "Baptist, Have mercy on Vakhtang". A large area of the headpiece is filled with a floral ornament wrapped around the medallions. King Vakhtang's title is placed

31 Leonidze, "Kartuli Erovnuli", p. 18; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 322.

32 In 1951, a Georgian delegation was invited to the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of the Romanian poet Mihail Eminescu. They also visited the Romanian Academy and its Library, and surveyed the items related to Antim the Iberian that the Library holds to this day.

33 Leonidze, "Kartuli Erovnuli", p. 18; see also https://dspace.nplg.gov.ge/bitstream/1234/7087/1/Antimoz_Iverieli_Samgvto_da_Samgvdelo.pdf (accessed August 11, 2024).

at the bottom of this page, separated from the title by a decorative border of small fleurons.

If we compare the first printed Georgian Gospels with the Romanian Gospel printed in Snagov in 1697, the similarity of the general structure and the iconographic themes of the engravings included in the design is obvious.[34] In the Snagov Gospels, the composition of the *Deisis* came with Greek inscriptions. The main distinguishing feature of this representation is that the Georgian book adopted the iconographic types of the Savior, the Mother of God, and Saint John the Baptist common in the Georgian art of the Middle Ages. The blessing Christ seen in the headpiece of the 1697 Gospel printed in Snagov has been replaced in the Georgian edition by a bust of Christ holding a codex in his left hand and blessing with his right. Parallels to the ornate floral decoration used as a background can be found in Georgian manuscripts of the late Middle Ages.

Similar headpieces are inserted at the beginning of each Gospel Book (p. 7, 71, 117, and 193). Engravings of the Four Evangelists are placed before the beginning of each text. Their iconography is like the portraits of the Evangelists included in Georgian manuscripts. The Evangelist Matthew (p. 6) is depicted against a complex architectural background. The Asomtavruli inscription runs along the edge of the frame: "Holy Apostle Matthew beg Christ to grant us forgiveness for our prayers and great mercy for our souls" (*Motsikulo tsmindao Mate evedre Kristes Ghmertsa, rata lotsvata shendoba mogvanitsos da sulta chuenta didi tskaloba*). The Holy Apostle Matthew is presented with a codex in his hand, sitting on his chair (Fig. 2). His symbol, an angel, appears in the background. The compositional and stylistic features of the engraving are rooted in local art.

Against the architectural and starry background, Mark the Evangelist (p. 70) is seated on a chair with an open codex and his symbol, the bull, beside him (Fig. 3). Whereas the icon of Matthew is completely covered with hatched lines, in the case of Mark, simpler architectural details are used and wider blank areas are left, which bring more light and clarity to the composition.

Luke the Evangelist, on the other hand (p. 116), is depicted in the process of writing, drawn against a background rich in architectural details (Fig. 4). In this case, we notice that the image of Luke shows the already established high artistic level of Georgian engravings.[35]

The divinely inspired Saint John is depicted next to Prochorus (p. 192), against the background of the cave (Fig. 5). Among the Evangelists, the monumental figure

34 Chițulescu (coord. ed.), *Antim Ivireanul*, p. 52.

35 S. Kvaskhvadze, *Vakhtang VI Stambis Tsigni*, Tbilisi, 1952, p. 56.

of John is the most expressive. Thick plastic lines depict the massive forms of the body. This engraving shows an essentializing, almost abstract drawing.

The Evangelists' portraits in the Gospel show the hand of two masters. The first is conventionally called "the hand of the artist of John the Evangelist", and the second is "the hand of the artist of Saint Matthew".[36] The hand of the artist of the Evangelist Mark matches the hand of the artist of the Evangelist John, so, the two engravings are considered to be the work of the same artist.

At the end of the Gospel of Luke (p. 190), the figures of Saints Constantine and Helen, holding the Cross between them, are blessed by Christ, who comes out from the open Heavens (Fig. 6). One can wonder where the inclusion of this engraving among the Gospel illustrations comes from, as it was alien to Georgian book decoration. It is worth mentioning that Antim the Iberian dedicated a sermon to Saints Constantine and Helen, which was printed at Snagov in 1696 and included a woodcut of a similar type. The Georgian engravers obviously followed the Wallachian model. However, they replaced the Greek inscriptions there with Georgian texts in the Nuskhuri script.[37] It can be assumed that the printer Mihail Ishtvanovich had brought with him books printed in Wallachia and their ready-made woodcuts as well. Their use can be clearly traced in the first Georgian printed books.

A portrait of King Vakhtang is inserted in the 1709 Gospel Book, at the end of the text. Around the engraving there is an Asomtavruli inscription: "In praise of the Holy Trinity and the One Being, I, by lineage of David Solomon Pankration, the son of the righteous, the son of kings, the ruler of Kartli, Prince Vakhtang…" (*Madideblad Tsmindisa Samebisa da Ertarsebisa, Me, Gvartomobit Davitian Solomonian Pankrationi, dze, zitagan ketilovanta, dzis dze mefeta, gamgebeli kartlisa batonishvili Vakhtang…*).[38]

The ruler of Kartli, depicted facing front under the eastern triple arch, is represented on the royal throne, holding a cross (Fig. 7). Behind Vakhtang is the figure of a young man with a sword in his hand. The blank space in front of the king is filled with a plant growing in a pot. The king wears a brocade and fur jacket. The linear rhythm, the well-constructed arched frame and the striking resemblance of the figures suggest that the engraving was created by analogy with the portrait of Vakhtang's uncle, King Archil (Fig. 8), in an 18th-century manuscript that contains

36 Kvaskhvadze, *Vakhtang VI Stambis*, p. 54.

37 Chițulescu (coord. ed.), *Antim Ivireanul*, p. 205.

38 N. Targamadze, "Vakhtang VI Portretis Interpretatsiisatvis", *Mtsignobari*, 10, 2010, p. 100.

the rhymed literary works of this ruler and Iranian translated texts of Vakhtang VI, copied by Ose Gabashvili.[39]

There was a disagreement, for a long time, about the identity of the figure depicted behind the king. According to recent studies, the young man is Bakar, the son of Vakhtang, represented behind the king as heir to the throne. The note "Here is presented Bakar" is written on a manuscript copy preserved at the National Center of Manuscripts in Tbilisi.[40] It is noteworthy that the shape of the letters, their arrangement, the architecture in general confirm the hand of a skilled typographer.

According to early historiography, the establishment of the Tbilisi printing press was believed to be the outcome of negotiations between Antim the Iberian and the Georgians. Zakaria Chichinadze claims that Antim the Iberian created the Georgian fonts in Wallachia and sent samples to Georgia for approval. The Georgians were impressed with the samples and requested the services of a skilled master and a printing press. Thus, Zakaria Chichinadze emphasizes that the credit for opening the printing press belongs directly to Antim and not to anyone else. [41]

A separate issue is the use and rendering of the initial letters. As Shota Kvaskhvadze points out,[42] there are two types of engraving rules for initial letters: 1) Raising the silhouette, outline, contour of the image and deepening the background; and 2) Deepening the image and a smooth background. The letters are always written in a rectangle. Often there are details characteristic of manuscript illumination, when the configuration of the initial letter is presented in the form of a compound initial.

The design and layout of the Georgian Gospel are based on the books printed by Antim the Iberian in Snagov. Nevertheless, the iconographic models used by the engravers are reminiscent of medieval Georgian art (e.g., the *Deisis* and the portraits of the Four Evangelists). It is important to note that parallel to book printing, calligraphy schools continued to flourish, and it was due to them that engravings inserted into the Georgian printed books were created.

The book of the *Acts of the Apostles*, published in 1709, is notable for being the first edition of Vakhtang's printing press to use two colors of ink. The title page features the traditional *Deisis* headpiece, as well as the colophon of King Vakhtang that had already been used in the Gospel. For the first time, the coat of

39 MS NCM S-395 in the collection of the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, f. 89r. See E. Metreveli (ed.), *Description of Georgian Manuscripts, S-Collection*, vol. I, Tbilisi, 1960, p. 493–497.

40 Targamadze, "Vakhtang VI Portretis", p. 104.

41 Z. Chichinadze, *Kartuli Stamba da Vakhtang VI*, Tbilisi, 1909, p. 59. This note was sent to Zakaria Chichinadze by Michael Tamarashvili.

42 Kvaskhvadze, *Vakhtang VI Stambis*, p. 120.

arms of the Bagrationi family appears on the title page of the *Acts of the Apostles*, in its single-lion version, accompanied by the inscriptions: "By the grace of God, David, Pankration King Giorgi of all Georgia" (*Tskalobita Gmrtisita Davitian, Pankration Mepe Giorgi kovlisa Sakartveloisa*), "King David's Harp" (*Davitis Knari*), "David's Slingshot" (*Davitis Shurduli*), and "Christ's tunic" (*Kristes Kvarti*). On the same page, below the image, there is a poem explaining the symbolism of the coat of arms. According to Akaki Shanidze, placing the coat of arms in the books of Vakhtang's printing press was a choice determined by the influence of the Wallachian printed books.[43]

The book of the *Acts of the Apostles* contains several other engravings: 1) *Pentecost* (p. 4) (Fig. 9); 2) The portrait of *the Holy Apostle Paul* (p. 78), where the inscription "By the hand of the sinful archdeacon Markoz" (*Khelita chem tsodvili mtavardiakon Markozisata*) can be seen next to him; 3) *The Holy Apostle Jacob* (p. 249); 4) *The Holy Apostle Peter* (p. 259); 5) *The Holy Apostle John* (p. 275); 6) *The Holy Apostle Judas* (p. 287); 7) The portrait of *King Vakhtang* (p. 422), which is identical to the one printed in the Gospel. In terms of style, these engravings reflect the influence of medieval Georgian artistic traditions.

At the end of the book, a typographer's note is present: "It was printed in the city of Tiflis (Tbilisi), by the hand of the typographer Mihail, son of Stepane, from Ungro-Wallachia. The *choronicon* was one thousand seven hundred and nine AD" (*Daibechda kalaksa Tfilisisasa, khelita mestambe Mikhail Stepane Shvilisa Ungrovlakhelisa. Koronikonsa Kristes aket atas shvidas da tskhrasa*) (p. 421).

The 1709 edition of the Psalter is devoid of decoration. A characteristic feature of the book is its small size (12.2 x 7 cm), which does not fully agree with the large type used in it. Only one copy of this book survives, preserved today at the library of the Ivane Javakhishvili State University in Tbilisi.

The large typeface used for the books printed in 1709 seems to have been changed in 1710, which reveals a diversification of typefaces by this time. In 1710, the editorial program of the press was extended to include new titles. The Liturgikon (*Kondaki*) was printed in two ink colors, red and black. On the title page, next to the portrait of Prince Vakhtang, it is mentioned that "it was held by the hand of Germane, the priest-monk, by the hand of the printer Mihail, son of Stepane (Stepaneshvili), from Ungro-Wallachia. Tiflis (Tbilisi), 1710 AD" (*Gaimarta khelita Germane mghvdel-monazonisata. Khelita mestambe Mikhail Stepaneshvilisa ungrovlakhelisa, kalaksa Tiflisisasa, Kristes aket 1710*). The title page also features an ornate frame containing an explanation of the contents of the Liturgikon and the place and date of its printing.

43 Shanidze, "Kartuli Stambis", p. 157.

The traditional coat of arms of the Bagrationi family (the two-lion version), the explanation of its symbolism, Vakhtang's colophon, and the introduction of the printer Mihail Ishtvanovich were transferred here unchanged. The typographer's colophon in the Liturgikon is followed by a Greek inscription. It is assumed that the Greek font was brought from Wallachia by Ishtvanovich. This edition of the Liturgikon is also interesting in that it contains a Romanian poem presumably composed by Ishtvanovich and printed in Mkhedruli type. Vakhtang's portrait is a notable feature of the enduring design found in Georgian printed books. However, a new, different version of it was used in the Liturgikon. The king is shown facing the reader and is surrounded by an oval frame. The inscription, which runs along the frame, reveals decorative qualities. The insertion of the king's portrait in royal attire comes from the Georgian tradition and should be connected with the 16th – 18th-century portraits of rulers. This also reflects the influence of secular art.

The following full-page engravings were inserted in the Liturgikon: 1) *The Pentecost*, whose composition is akin to a similar scene included in the Acts. The characters are slightly disproportionate and rough, drawn with large strokes; 2) *Christ Blessing*, a full-page icon of the Savior, with Greek inscriptions (Fig. 10); 3) *The Crucifixion*, where the Greek signature IO can be seen, which probably indicates its non-Georgian origin;[44] 4) *Saint John Chrysostom*, an engraving whose creator is Georgian, as he signed his name as "archdeacon Markoz". This character could be the engraver who worked on the *Acts of the Apostles* and at the same time the author of the Liturgikon engraving.[45] 5) *Saint Basil the Great*, who holds a scroll filled with Asomtavruli-script text; 6) *Saint Gregory the Theologian*.

The icons of the holy fathers are outstanding in their simplicity and do not comprise the rich decorations and background typical of similar compositions in Romanian books.[46] However, we should note that the engravings of the Liturgikon still bear a great resemblance to the compositions contained in the books printed in Wallachia (in particular, the *Crucifixion* and *Christ Blessing*). The image of the *Crucifixion* (Fig. 11) is an exact copy of the engraving included in the Euchologion printed in 1706 at Râmnic (Fig. 12).[47]

A Book of Prayers (*Lotsvani*) was also printed in 1710. The printing of this text in Nuskha-Khutsuri and Mkhedruli type was an important event for that time. The regular elements were presented at the beginning of the book: title page, the Bagrationis' coat of arms, Vakhtang's colophon, publishing data. The decoration

44 Kvaskhvadze, *Vakhtang VI Stambis*, p. 110.
45 Kvaskhvadze, *Vakhtang VI Stambis*, p. 114.
46 Chițulescu (coord. ed.), *Antim Ivireanul*, p. 176.
47 Chițulescu (coord. ed.), *Antim Ivireanul*, p. 142.

includes only a few engravings: 1) *The Savior*, which looks like the woodblock was not of Georgian provenance but could have been brought by Mihail Ishtvanovich from Wallachia; 2) *The Presentation of the Holy Virgin at the Temple*, with Georgian inscriptions; 3) *The Inexhaustible Chalice* (Fig. 13). At first glance, it seems that there are no inscriptions on the image, but at close inspection, certain Georgian letters appear to be scattered all over the frame. The mirror reading revealed a phrase uttered by the Savior at the Last Supper: "Drink ye all of you" (*Matthew* 26:27),[48] which is associated with the Eucharist. Therefore, placing this image before the prayer for communion is not accidental. The same arrangement is present in Romanian books (e.g., Akathistos, Snagov, 1698; Greek-Arabic Liturgikon, Snagov, 1701; Book of Hours, Târgovişte, 1715).[49]

The Georgian Horologion printed in 1710 contains the largest number of engravings, 21, in addition to the portrait of Prince Vakhtang: 1) *The Holy Trinity*, with the Georgian inscription "God is the Lord of all"; 2) *Nativity of the Holy Virgin*; 3) *Elevation of the Holy Cross*; 4) *Presentation of the Holy Virgin at the Temple*; 5) *Nativity of the Lord*; 6) *Epiphany*; 7) *Presentation of Jesus at the Temple*; 8) *Annunciation*; 9) *Transfiguration*; 10) *Dormition of the Mother of God*; 11) *The Raising of Lazarus*; 12) *Entry into Jerusalem*; 13) *The Last Supper*; 14) *The Crucifixion*; 15) *The Deposition*; 16) *The Resurrection*; 17) *The Incredulity of Tomas*; 18) *Communion*; 19) *The Ascension*; 20) *The Pentecost*; 21) *The Choir of All Saints*.

The Horologion illustrations reveal the directions in the development of Georgian engraving art and the local masters' bold involvement in it. The participation of Georgian masters becomes even more evident when we compare the engravings with miniatures in Georgian manuscripts of the 17th and 18th centuries (MS A-30, A-31, A-32, 1681; MS H-1755, 17th – 18th centuries; MS A-619, 17th century; MS H-342, 1661, all held by the National Center of Manuscripts in Tbilisi). Their artistic and stylistic resemblance is obvious. It should also be considered that the existence of various artistic workshops and calligraphic schools that worked in various fields of fine arts, including miniature and fresco, is attested in the 17th and 18th centuries in Kartli.[50] Thus, it is possible that the masters of these workshops also tried their hand in the art of engravings for book printing, which was completely new to them.

An original didactic, catechism-like Georgian work, comprising the knowledge of the basic doctrines of Christianity, would only be printed in 1711: *Teaching on how to Preach to a Disciple* (*Stsavla tu vitar martebs modzgvarsa stsavleba*), authored

48 Machaidze (ed.), *Vakhtang VI Stambis*, p. 53.

49 Chiţulescu (coord. ed.), *Antim Ivireanul,* p. 66, 94, 193.

50 F. Devdariani, *Миниатюры Анчисхатского Гулани*, Tbilisi, 1990, p. 94.

by the hieromonk Germane. The decoration of the book consists only of an ornamental setting. A traditional title page, the Bagrationi family's coat of arms, king Vakhtang's colophon, the author's note, and an epilogue are included in the book.

The same year, the Psalter was printed in Mkhedruli type, with passages in Nuskha-Khutsuri and Greek type. It is important to note that King Kaikhosro, Vakhtang's brother, is mentioned along with him on the title page. At the same time, next to Mihail, the son of Stepane, from Ungro-Wallachia, another printer is mentioned: "[The Psalter] was achieved by the hands of Gabriel, son of the archpriest of the church of Sioni". It is clear from this book that Mihail Ishtvanovich, who was probably preparing to leave Georgia, had a disciple and a successor.

The Psalms are preceded by a poem in Greek dedicated to the biblical King David.[51] This edition contains a variety of ornamental frames, headpieces and tailpieces. The illustrations of the Psalter include the Bagrationi family's coat of arms, a portrait of Prophet David, and a portrait of King Vakhtang at the end of the text. The image of David repeats the illustration from the Psalter printed in Romanian at Bucharest in 1694[52] and the engraving of King David in the Greek Psalter printed at Snagov in 1700 (Fig. 14).[53] King David is represented in the process of writing, placed in an elliptical frame. The oval shape is surrounded by a square one (Fig. 15). The composition is quite rich in details. The Greek and Romanian inscriptions were replaced by Asomtavruli script.

In the books published in 1712, the name of Mihail son of Stepane of Ungro-Wallachia does not occur at all. In the Psalter published that year only the name "Mikel, son of the archpriest of the royal court" is mentioned. The structure and illustrations of the book repeat the editions of previous years.

The first secular book printed in Vakhtang's press was *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*, the greatest and most famous literary text of Georgian medieval literature, a real saga of the people of Georgia. It must have been a great event for the society of that time. A lot of preparatory work preceded the printing of the poem, and a particularly significant fact is the edition of the text by Vakhtang himself: a letter confirming this was included in the printed book. The book contains the traditional title page, the coat of arms (Fig. 16) and a poem explaining its symbolism, Vakhtang's colophon, his portrait (Fig. 17), the typographer's poem (where only Mikel is mentioned), and Vakhtang's interpretation of the saga. There are no illustrations within the text.

51 K. Sharashidze, *Pirveli Stamba*, p. 139.
52 Chițulescu (coord. ed.), *Antim Ivireanul*, p. 47.
53 Chițulescu (coord. ed.), *Antim Ivireanul*, p. 76.

The Euchologion was printed in 1713. On the title page, the name of the printer Mikel, son of the archpriest of the royal court, is still present. The text itself was edited and prepared for publication by Cyprian, Bishop of Samtavisi. The surname of the typographer Mikel, son of the archpriest and a member of the Mikadze literati family, has been established.[54] No new engravings were created for this book, but the illustrations from the Horologion printed in 1710 were re-used: *The Holy Trinity* and an icon of *All Saints*, which are probably not of Georgian origin.

In 1717, the Horologion was printed, repeating the 1710 edition; the order and number of engravings included in the text remained unchanged, 21. The text on the title page was changed: Prince Bakar, Vakhtang's son, is mentioned next to King Vakhtang. It is also indicated that the book was "printed by the hand of the typographer Garsevan, formerly, priest Gabriel". The indication of the printer repeats the one of Mihail Ishtvanovich; only the king's and the printer's names were changed. In this edition of the Horologion is mentioned the name of the artist Giorgi, who called himself in the Octoechos published in 1720: "Giorgi, artist of the Sioni Church in Tbilisi".

The Octoechos (or Parakletike) was printed by the order and at the expense of Prince Bakar. In addition to the customary texts, the coat of arms, and the portrait of King Vakhtang, several engravings were included in the Octoechos: 1) *The Holy Trinity*; 2) the same *Deesis* as in the Gospel Book of 1709 and the Bible of 1710–1711, but in a new version, rougher and more angular than the first. It is assumed that the woodcut of this second *Deesis* was created in Georgia. Thus, a completely new icon appears in the Octoechos, in addition to the portraits of the first Georgian saints, or "enlighteners" (the first preachers of Christianity), and Saint George, the holy patron of Georgia. In the headpiece there are half-figures of Saint Nino, the Holy Virgin Mary with the Child Jesus, and Saint Andrew the First-Called. The Asomtavruli inscriptions still address Vakhtang and ask the saints to bless him.

Thus, the emphasis on the national idea and the depiction of the first preachers of Christianity in Georgia confirm the local origin of this book and its production in a workshop of Georgian engravers. This opinion is supported by the style of the two new triptychs in the Octoechos, the second version of the *Deesis* and the *Georgian Saints*, which represent the work of a Georgian master. The somewhat coarse, angular, accentuated, and rough drawing is its characteristic feature. On the one hand, the engravings of the Octoechos show their connection to Georgian art, on the other, they introduce artistic and iconographic innovations.

One of the last books printed in King Vakhtang's press was the *Book on the Knowledge of the Creation of Celestial Bodies* (*Kmnulebis Tsodnis Tsigni*), also known as *Aiati* in Georgian, an astronomical treatise that the king had translated from

54 Ioseliani, *Kartuli Mtsignobrobis*, p. 203.

Persian. The text was edited by the bishop of Ruisi, Nikoloz Orbeliani. Probably due to the difficult situation in the country, it was not possible to create and include engravings in the book, so, their intended places remained blank.

The books printed in 1719–1722 show a different artistic style of decoration from the earlier editions, which confirms the existence of a new engraving workshop.[55]

Vakhtang was forced to leave for Russia in 1724, after the invasion of Tbilisi, first by the Ottomans, and then by the Persians in 1723. It was an unfavorable time for printing Georgian books, and Vakhtang's press was destroyed. The building was demolished and the printing implements were vandalized. The restoration of book printing in Tbilisi became possible only in 1749. However, it did not match Vakhtang's printing press in terms of quality and scale of activity.

An important fact is that the books published under the supervision of Mihail Ishtvanovich are characterized by their diversity. The structure of the artistic elements of the books printed in Wallachia are preserved in them, as well as the use of similar engravings. However, one can see the amazing capacity of Georgian masters to become skilled in the art of book printing and engraving. It is significant that Ishtvanovich's name does not appear in printed books after 1711. Still, he had by then essentially contributed to the establishment of a typographic base in Georgia and the training of Georgian typographers.

At Vakhtang's printing press in Tbilisi, 20 Georgian books were printed. Their initial print run is unknown. The remaining copies are preserved today at the Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts, the National Parliamentary Library of Georgia, the Kutaisi Historical-Ethnographic Museum, the Tbilisi Museum, the Library of Ivane Javakhishvili State University in Tbilisi, the Giorgi Leonidze Museum of Georgian Literature, the National Archives, private collections, and various libraries in Russia and Europe. The National Centre of Manuscripts collection of early printed books is outstanding in its richness. The Centre (formerly the Institute of Manuscripts, until 2008) was established in 1958, when the Manuscripts Department was separated from the State Museum and formed an independent scholarly center. The National Centre of Manuscripts received the collections that existed in Georgia before February 1921,[56] including those of the Ecclesiastical Museum (A-collection), the Society for the Dissemination of Literacy among Georgians (S-collection), the Historical-Ethnographic Society (H-collection), the new collection (Q-collection), rare books collections, as well as a corpus of historical documents and archival material.

55 Kvaskhvadze, *Vakhtang VI Stambis*, p. 173.

56 Part of this large collection was transferred to France in 1921, and its return to Georgia became possible only in 1945. The Centre holds almost all the books printed at Tbilisi in 1709–1722.

Where did Mihail Ishtvanovich go when leaving Georgia? One of the reasons ventured for Ishtvanovich's departure from Tbilisi was a disagreement with King Vakhtang.[57] The true reason, however, is revealed by the correspondence between Antim the Iberian and the Patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras. In a letter from Râmnic, Antim writes to the Patriarch: "Today, it will be one year since our disciple Mihail left Iberia, and as I learned, he had a very difficult journey to the capital [of Wallachia], but by the grace of God and your prayers, he arrived safely. Wishing to acquire greater knowledge, he has travelled to Holland. But we do not know how long he will stay there".[58] Mihail Ishtvanovich's departure from Georgia coincided with Vakhtang's leave for the Shah's court in Isfahan in 1712, where the latter would remain until 1716 (perhaps this was one of the reasons why the Wallachian printer left Georgia so urgently).

Vakhtang VI was able to establish the first Georgian printing press and properly control its activities against the background of a difficult political situation. He was supported by Antim the Iberian, the Patriarch Chrysanthos of Jerusalem, the Wallachian prince Constantin Brâncoveanu, and the printer Mihail Ishtvanovich, who contributed to the development of a Georgian school of book engravings. After he left Georgia, his work was continued by his disciples. The Tbilisi printing press drew on the artistic traditions of the Georgian monastic scriptoria and the various schools of calligraphy active at the time. Antim the Iberian's achievements and the expertise of printing art in Walachia in his time were crucial for the establishment of the first Tbilisi printing press.

Tab. 1: Books Printed in Tbilisi in 1709-1721

Year	Book Title/Description	Re-editions	Type (Script)
1709	*Samghto da Samghdelo Sakhareba* (The Divine and Priestly Gospel Book), 302 p., 26.5 x 18.5 cm		Nuskha-Khutsuri
1709	*Davitni* (Psalter), 295 p., 13 x9 cm	2nd ed., 1711 3rd ed., 1712 4th ed., 1716	1st ed., Nuskha-Khutsuri 2nd ed., Mkhedruli 3rd and 4th eds., Nuskha-Khutsuri
1709	*Samghto da Samghdelo Samotsikulo* (The Divine and Priestly Acts of the Apostles), 442 p., 27 x 19 cm		Nuskha-Khutsuri

57 Karitchashvili, *Kartuli Tsignis*, p. 71.
58 *BRV* I, p. 342.

Tab. 1: Books Printed in Tbilisi in 1709-1721 (continued).

Year	Book Title/Description	Re-editions	Type (Script)
1710	*Kondaki* (Liturgikon), 210 p., 20 x 16 cm		Nuskha-Khutsuri and Mkhedruli (less often)
1710	*Zhamni* (Horologion), 421 p., 12 x 8 cm	2nd ed., 1710 3rd ed., 1717 4th ed., 1722	2nd and 3rd eds., Mkhedruli 4th ed., Mkhedruli
1710	*Lotsvani* (Book of Prayers), 290 p., 13 x 9 cm	2nd ed., 1717	Nuskha-Khutsuri
1710–1711	*Biblia*: separate books of the *Profecies* and the Gospel, 404 p., 26.5 x 18.5 cm		Nuskha-Khutsuri
1711	*Stsavla tu vitar martebs modzgvarsa stsavleba motsapis-Germane Mghvdelmonazoni* (*Teaching on how to Preach to a Disciple by Hieromonk Germane*), 411 p., 13 x 10 cm		Mkhedruli
1712	*Vepkhistqaosani* (*The Knight in the Panther's Skin*), 351 p., 29 x 19 cm		Mkhedruli
1713	*Kurtkhevani* (Euchologion), 627 p., 20 x 15 cm	2nd ed., 1719–1720	Nuskha-Khutsuri
1720	*Paraklitoni* (Octoechos), 453 p., 30 x 19 cm		Nuskha-Khutsuri
1721	*Kmnulebis Tsodnis Tsigni* (*Book on the Astronomical Knowledge*), 148 p., 21 x 15 cm		Mkhedruli

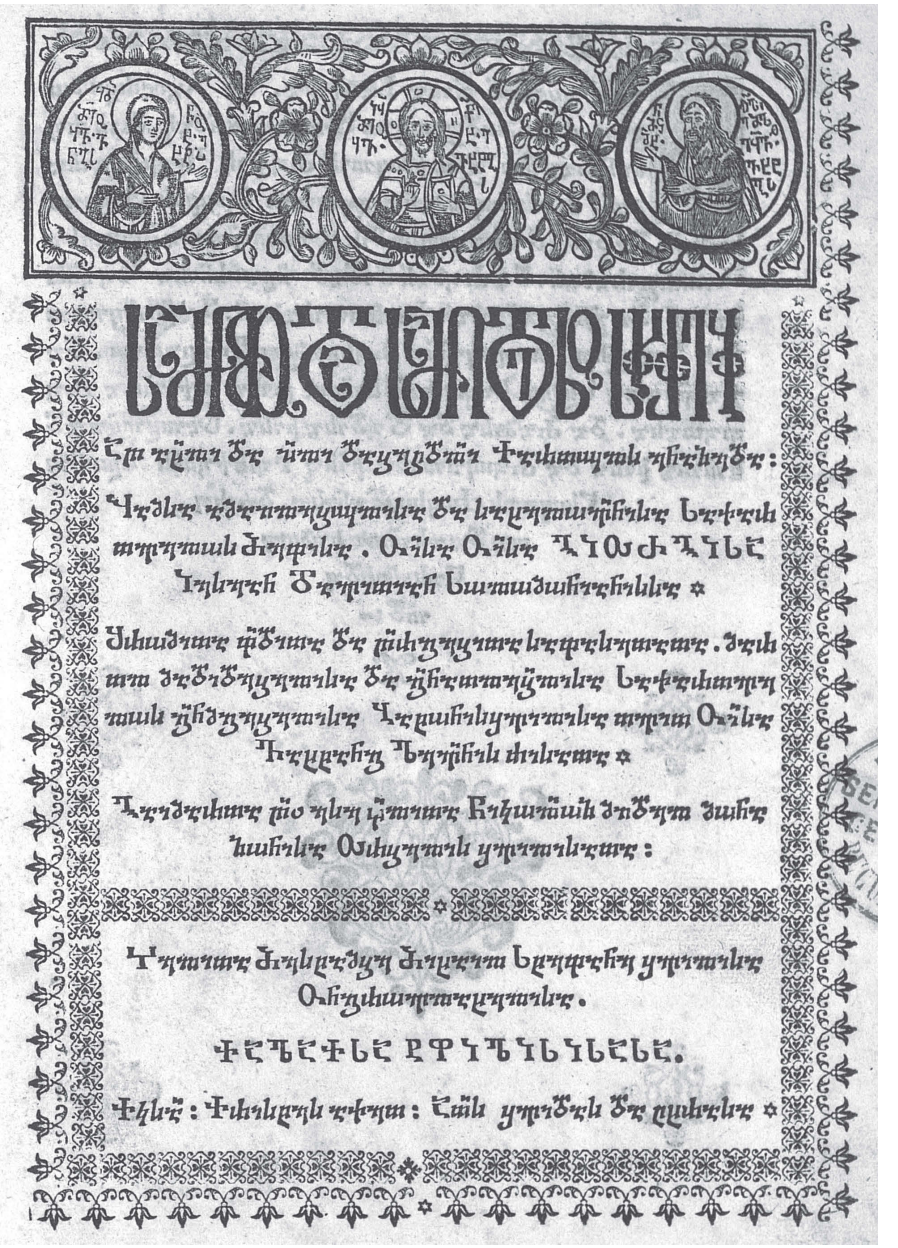

Fig. 1: Title page, Gospel, Tbilisi, 1709.

Fig. 2: Beginning of the Gospel of Matthew the Evangelist with his icon, Gospel, Tbilisi, 1709, p. 6.

Fig. 3: Beginning of the Gospel of Mark the Evangelist with his icon, Gospel, Tbilisi, 1709, p. 70.

Fig. 4: *Luke the Evangelist,* Gospel, Tbilisi, 1709, p. 116.

Fig. 5: *John the Evangelist with Prochorus*, Gospel, Tbilisi, 1709, p. 192.

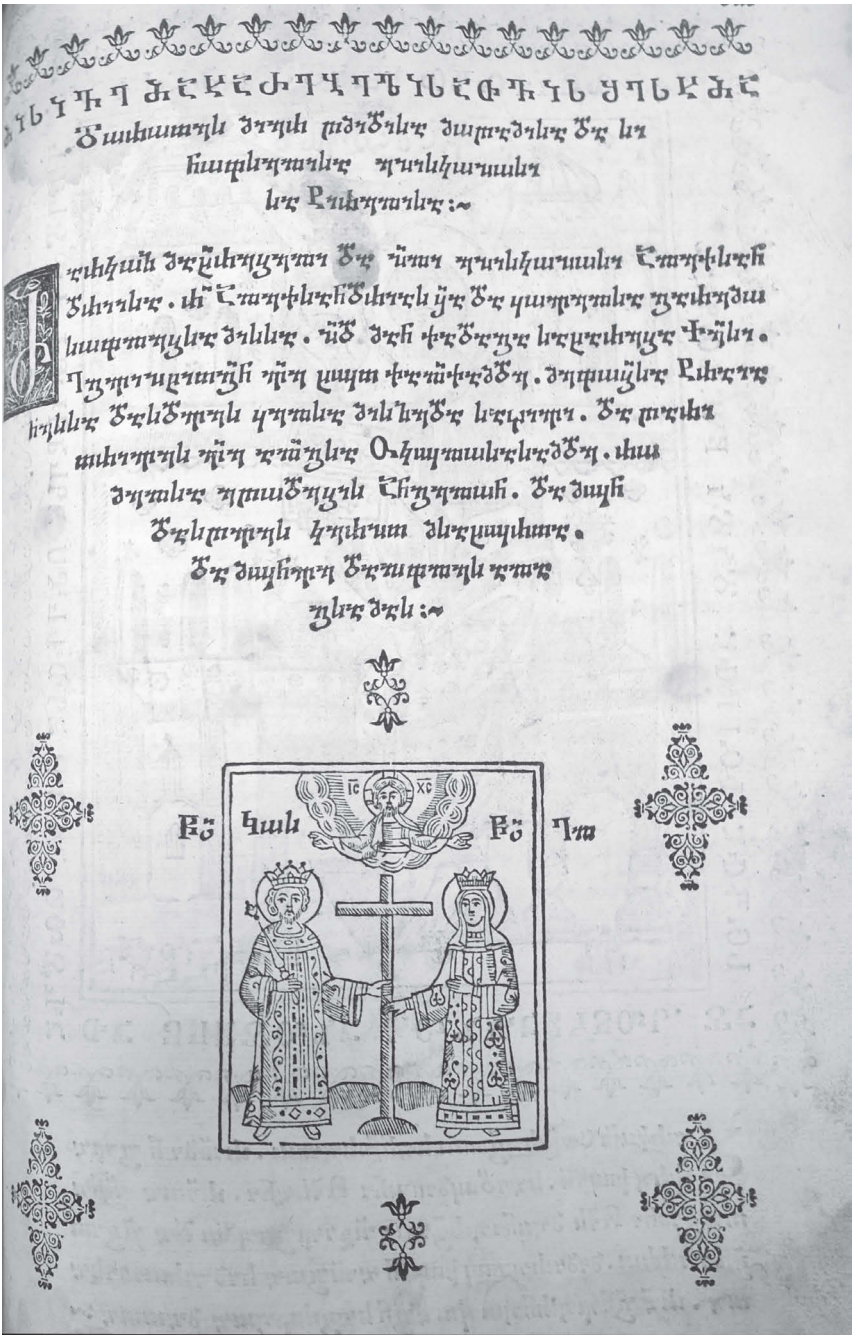

Fig. 6: *Saints Constantine and Helen*, Gospel, Tbilisi, 1709, p. 190.

Fig. 7: *King Vakhtang VI*, Gospel, Tbilisi, 1709, p. 300.

Fig. 8: *King Archil II*, MS NCM S-395, Collection of the 18th c., Center of Manuscripts, Tbilisi, f. 89r.

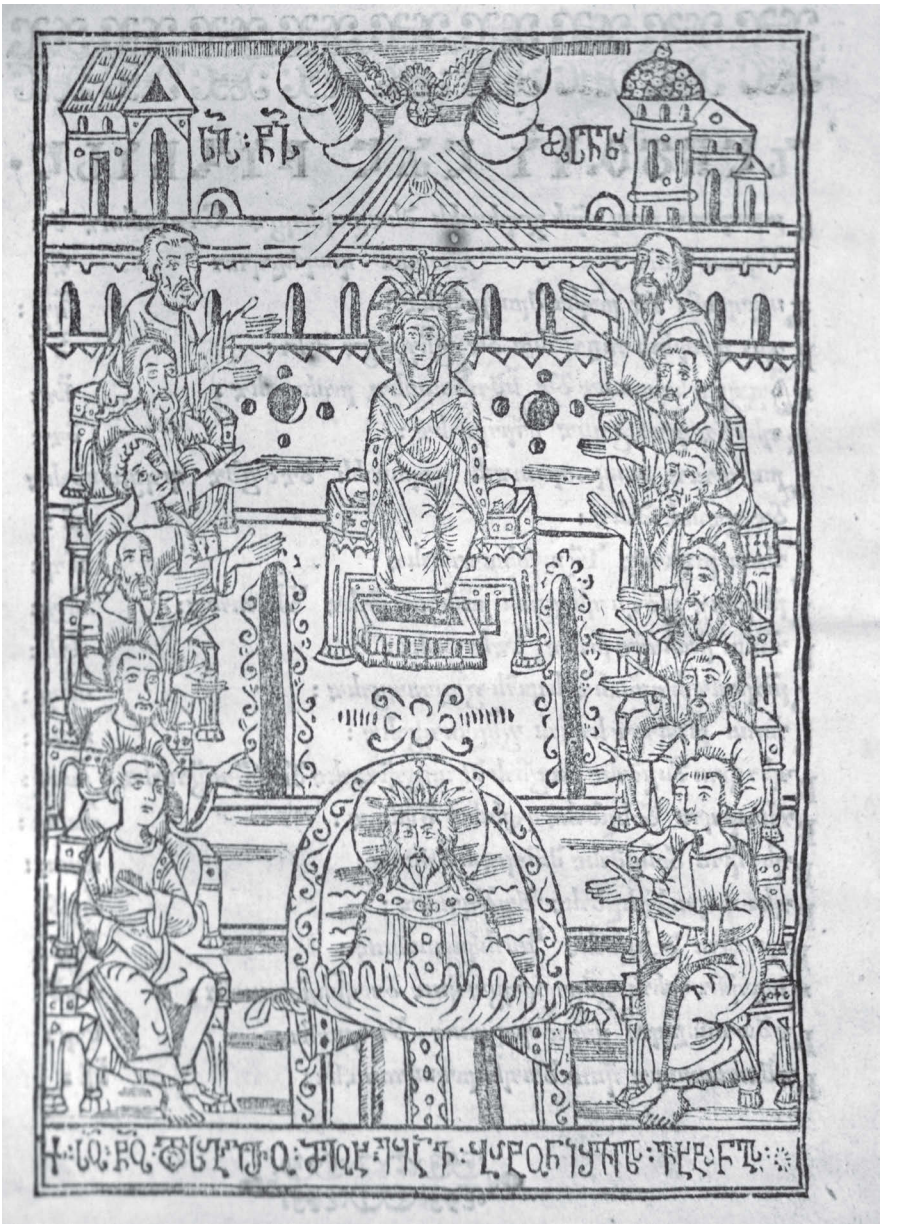

Fig. 9: *The Pentecost*, *Acts of the Apostles*, Tbilisi, 1709, p. 4.

Fig. 10: *Christ Blessing*, Liturgikon, 1710, Tbilisi, p. 22.

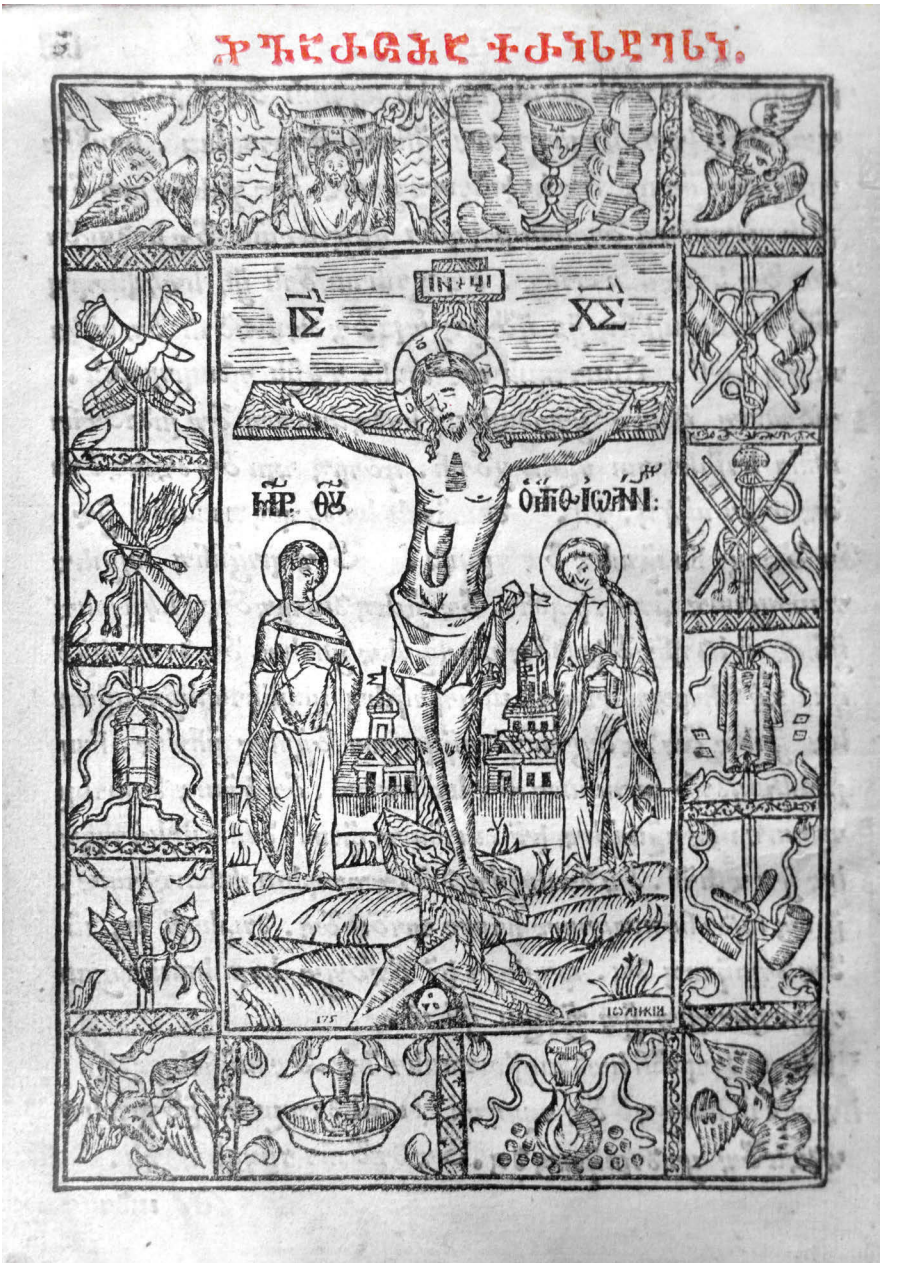

Fig. 11: *Crucifixion*, Liturgikon, Tbilisi, 1710, p. 60.

Fig. 12: *Crucifixion*, Euchologion, 1706, p. 12 (cf. Archim. Policarp Chițulescu (coord. ed.), *Antim Ivireanul. Opera tipografică*, Bucharest: Editura Institutului Cultural Român, 2016, p. 142).

Fig. 13: *The Inexhaustible Chalice*, Book of Prayers, Tbilisi, 1710, p. 259.

Fig. 14: *David the Prophet and King*, Psalter, Snagov, 1700, f. [2v] (B.A.R.).

Fig. 15: *David the Prophet and King*, Psalter, Tbilisi, 1711, p. 4.

Fig. 16: Coat of arms of the Bagrationi royal family in *The Knight in the Panter's Skin*, Tbilisi, 1712, p. 2.

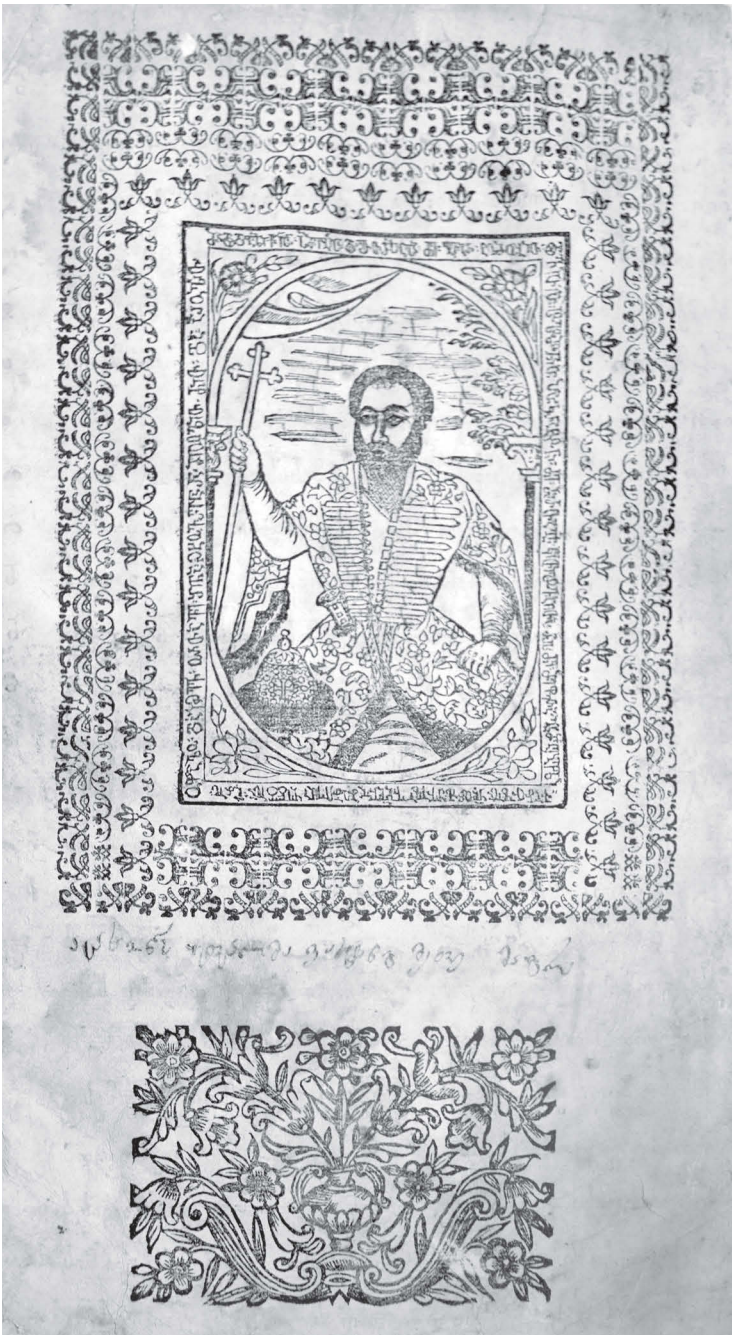

Fig. 17: *Portrait of King Vakhtang VI* in *The Knight in the Panter's Skin*, Tbilisi, 1712, p. 4.

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Part 4. **Artistic Encounters in the Iconography and the Printed Books of the East**

Nada Hélou

Liens entre les cultures roumaine et arabe chrétienne. Les programmes iconographiques du père Sofian Boghiu au Liban

1 Introduction

Le père Sofian Boghiu (1912–2002) était un moine roumain érudit et un adepte du mouvement orthodoxe de l'hésychasme, qui est une forme ancienne et traditionnelle de silence et de prière.[1] Ayant mené une vie humble et modeste, il devint un prédicateur de l'humilité.

De 1940 à 1945, il poursuit ses études en théologie et en beaux-arts à l'Université de Bucarest. Il est probablement plus connu pour ses idées et sa philosophie de vie que pour son art, qui, toutefois, est loin de passer inaperçu. Il est sans conteste l'un des peintres les plus renommés du XX[e] siècle pour ses icônes et ses fresques religieuses.[2] Il a réalisé des peintures et des réparations de fresques dans plusieurs églises de Roumanie, y compris, à Bucarest, les églises du Monastère de Radu Vodă et celui du couvent de Darvari, deux établissements très vénérés par les orthodoxes roumains.[3] Sa renommée au Liban et en Syrie repose sur son travail de créateur de peintures murales et d'icônes dans les églises de ces deux pays. Malheureusement, son œuvre en Syrie a presque péri : la cathédrale de Hama qu'il avait peinte en 1979 fut totalement détruite en 1982 lors de la répression des islamistes par l'État syrien.

1 L'hésychasme privilégie les sacrements de la communion de l'homme avec Dieu par le contact avec les énergies divines émanant de lui. Le chemin de l'*hésychia* (le silence) conduit l'âme à cet état spécial dans lequel les énergies divines peuvent être perçues. Cette doctrine, qui est une méthode ancienne et particulière de contemplation et de prière, privilégie la spiritualité intérieure. L'attention se porte surtout sur les problèmes de la foi, de la prière, de la communion avec Dieu et de la vie intérieure de l'homme.

2 Le père Sofian Boghiu naquit le 7 octobre 1912 dans un village de Bessarabie et mourut le 14 septembre 2002 au Monastère Antim de Bucarest. Il fut enterré au Monastère de Căldărușani, près de Bucarest. Pour sa biographie, voir : I. Gheorghiu, « Elder Sofian Boghiu : The Urban Hesychast. A Brief Biography », *The Orthodox Word. For the Mission of True Orthodoxy*, 57, 2021, 3(338), p. 105–151 ; Protos. Antipa Burghelea, *Viața Părintelui Sofian Boghiu, o icoană a virtuții*, introduction par Archim. dr. Nectarie Șofelea, Bucarest, 2022.

3 Voir aussi la description détaillée de la nouvelle peinture qu'il conçût et exécuta au Monastère de Dealu, en Roumanie, entre 1984 et 1989, dans le livre de Mihaela Palade, *Biserica Mănăstirii Dealu. Istorie în forme și culori*, Bucarest, 2008.

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La deuxième église syrienne qu'il a peinte est celle de Mar Éliane à Homs, qui a subi les atrocités de la guerre de 2011, mais qui fut restaurée par la suite.

En ce qui concerne son travail au Liban, deux projets monumentaux réalisés dans les années 1970 complètent la documentation sur son œuvre au-delà de la Roumanie. Dans cet article, nous étudions la conception du décor et la répartition iconographique des compositions sur les parois de ces deux églises dans le Mont Liban.

2 Voyages au Liban

Avant de traiter de l'œuvre du père Sofian Boghiu il convient d'évoquer les circonstances qui sont à l'origine de sa présence au Liban. Il s'avère que les relations avec l'Église roumaine ont commencé dès 1959 avec le père André Scrima qui était en Inde et qui s'est rendu spécialement à Deyr el-Ḥarf pour y fonder la communauté monastique et en devenir le père spirituel.[4] Militant œcuméniste, il a de même co-fondé avec le père Nathanaël Dupré La Tour (1977–2013) le fameux Institut des études islamo-chrétiennes à l'Université Saint-Joseph à Beyrouth, institut qui existe toujours et qui continue à jouer un rôle important dans l'étude et le rapprochement des deux cultures.

Une autre rencontre intellectuelle qui a marqué les relations culturelles entre le Liban et la Roumanie au XX^{e} siècle était avec l'historien Virgil Cândea de Bucarest, à qui on doit la découverte, avec Sylvia Agémian, des icônes dites melkites ou arabes, en leur consacrant une exposition et un catalogue en 1969.[5] C'est à partir de cette date que l'intérêt pour l'icône syro-palestinienne se situant entre le XVII^{e} et le XIX^{e} siècle a commencé. À la suite de cela, des relations artistiques et culturelles se sont tissées entre les deux pays. Le travail de Sofian Boghiu est le fruit de cette relation. Dans son journal, le père Boghiu décrit avec engouement son séjour au Liban, auquel Ioana Feodorov a consacré un article qui vient de paraître.[6] C'est pourquoi je me limiterai à souligner quelques aspects du séjour du père Sofian au Liban liés à ses activités artistiques et leurs racines communes avec l'art roumain de la fresque de style post-byzantin.

4 H. Kassatly, *La communauté monastique de Deir el Harf*, Balamand, 1996, p. 25.

5 Un catalogue de l'exposition fut publié : *Icônes melkites. Catalogue de l'exposition organisée par le Musée Nicolas Sursock du 16 mai au 15 juin 1969*, Beyrouth, 1969.

6 I. Feodorov, « Voyages et travaux du père Sofian Boghiu au Liban », *Chronos*, 45, 2024, p. 31–51. Les commentaires de Ioana Feodorov s'appuient principalement sur le journal des voyages du père Sofian Boghiu publié en roumain : Archim. Sofian Boghiu, *Jurnal*, éd. Emilia Mareș, Garoafa Coman, Bucarest, 2019.

Le père Sofian parle avec enthousiasme de ses relations avec les fidèles et les membres du clergé libanais et insiste sur ses rencontres avec le Métropolite du Mont Liban Georges Khodr et aussi avec le patriarche grec orthodoxe d'Antioche Elias IV, comme il exprime les bonnes relations qu'il eut avec le père Touma Bitar et la mère Maryam Zakka, du monastère de Douma. Il constate avec fascination la résilience de la communauté chrétienne et ne cesse de mentionner son amour pour le Liban et son peuple. D'ailleurs il s'y est rendu plusieurs fois, d'abord en 1971 quand il réalise le décor de l'église de Saint-Georges à Deyr el-Ḥarf, et l'année suivante, en 1972, où il accomplit la lourde tâche qui lui a été confiée de peindre le plafond de l'église de Saint-Georges à Broummana, et encore une fois en 1991, pour restaurer les fresques endommagées de Deyr el-Ḥarf. Dans ces projets, il était secondé par ses fidèles disciples et collègues les frères Mihai et Gabriel Moroșanu et par son apprenti Costel Micu (Fig. 1). Ce dernier, porteur de l'héritage artistique de son maître, accomplit au Liban, et plus précisément dans le district du Metn, dans les années 1990, beaucoup de projets incluant fresques et icônes ;[7] sa réalisation la plus spectaculaire est celle du monastère Saint-Jean de Douma.[8]

3 L'église Saint Georges de Deyr el-Ḥarf

L'église du monastère de Saint-Georges à Deyr el-Ḥarf, dans la région du Metn au Liban, a été érigée au XVIII[e] siècle, probablement sur une structure plus ancienne.[9] Son architecture suit la tradition des églises construites à cette époque, qui consiste en une église à une seule nef prolongée de trois travées, deux d'entre elles couvertes de voûtes d'arêtes et la troisième, celle de l'est, d'une voûte en berceau qui se termine par une abside semi-circulaire. Les travées sont séparées par des arcs doubleaux. Toutes les parois de l'église ont été couvertes de fresques qui se déploient sur un fond ocre-jaune et sont exécutées dans un style certes byzantin, mais où la main de l'artiste est très présente et très particulière.

Tout programme iconographique répond à des lois fixes, mais qui se plient à la volonté de leur commanditaire et de leur concepteur. Le programme de Deyr el-Ḥarf lui aussi répond à ces critères traditionnels, tout en ayant ses propres caractéristiques. L'analyse iconographique des scènes de Deyr el-Ḥarf, qui consiste à étudier l'emplacement des compositions et les liens dogmatiques qui se créent

7 Voir le site ARPOA : http://home.balamand.edu.lb/english/ARPOA, consulté le 23 mai 2024.

8 N. Hélou, « The Convent of St John Baptiste and the Monastery of St Silwan (the Athonite) – Douma », in S. Slim (éd.), *Monasteries of the Orthodox Patriarchate*, Balamand, 2007, p. 240–255.

9 Sur l'histoire de ce monastère, voir Kassatly, *La communauté monastique*, p. 19–38.

entre elles, devrait mener à une compréhension logique de la répartition des sujets sur les parois de l'église telle qu'elle a été conçue par le père Sofian Boghiu.

Les voûtes et les tympans sont occupés par les scènes évangéliques dont le but se concentre sur le sens du dogme (Fig. 2). Il est possible de tracer les connexions sémantiques les plus complexes entre les compositions. Ainsi le thème du sacrifice rédempteur du Christ détermine en grande partie le contenu des peintures.

Comme l'église ne possède pas de coupole pour y loger l'icône du Christ Pantocrator, celle-ci prend place dans le voûtain qui surmonte l'iconostase et qui est le plus en vue (Fig. 3). Elle est assistée sur les retombées de la voûte par un séraphin et un chérubin, gardiens du trône céleste. Représenté en buste, bénissant d'une main et tenant le livre de l'autre, le Christ est l'expression de l'épiphanie du Dieu transcendant qui a pris une forme humaine. C'est le Seigneur de la vie et celui qui règne au ciel, c'est le Tout puissant, le *Rex Mundi*. C'est pourquoi il détient la place la plus sacrée.

Dans la voûte du bêma comparaît le Christ dans un halo lumineux porté au ciel par deux anges (Fig. 4). C'est la scène de l'Ascension du Seigneur, mais les Apôtres et la Vierge, protagonistes traditionnels de la scène, y sont absents. Probablement le maître artiste, en les supprimant, a voulu mettre l'accent non pas sur l'évènement proprement dit mais sur le triomphe du Christ sur la mort et sa domination dans le monde céleste. L'Ascension devient l'acte final du sacrifice rédempteur du Verbe incarné et le triomphe de sa mission salvatrice divino-humaine. Le Pantocrator et l'Ascension du Christ au ciel sont les scènes dominantes dans tout le système du décor. On remarque ici le bandeau en demi-cercle sur lequel le Christ est assis, peint dans les couleurs du drapeau de la Roumanie : rouge, jaune et bleu.

Plus à l'est, la Vierge loge, comme il se doit, dans la conque de l'abside entre deux anges en adoration sur l'arc de l'abside (Fig. 5). La Mère de Dieu lève les bras vers le ciel en orante, avec l'Enfant inscrit dans un médaillon sur son sein : c'est l'image de la Vierge du Signe, qui représente la manifestation de Dieu, le Verbe divin, présent et incarné dans l'humanité. Elle revêt une signification symbolique et théologique particulièrement intense. C'est pourquoi elle occupe cette place de prédilection qui est l'endroit le plus sacré après la coupole. La Mère de Dieu s'associe au thème de l'Incarnation. L'Enfant qui tient le rouleau de la loi d'une main et bénit de l'autre est à la fois prêtre et victime, il est le sacrifiant et le sacrifié : c'est l'image de l'Eucharistie, image qui évoque le sacrifice.[10] C'est l'un des modèles iconographiques inclus par les imprimeurs dans les livres liturgiques de toute

10 Sur la fonction du prêtre-Enfant dans les bras de Sa mère représenté dans les absides voir : A. Lidov. « Christ the Priest in Byzantine Church Decoration of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries », in *XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies held in Moscow in 1991*, Vol. III : *Art*

l'Orthodoxie, y compris dans les livres arabes imprimés par Athanase Dabbās à Alep en 1706–1711.[11]

En dessous de la conque, sur la paroi absidale, sont représentés quatre évêques debout en pied portant chacun un livre. Ce sont les trois Docteurs de l'Église, Jean Chrysostome, Basile le Grand et Grégoire le Théologien (il est écrit *Dialogos* – une erreur du scribe)[12] qui se tournent de trois quarts vers saint Jacques, le premier évêque de Jérusalem (Fig. 5). Traditionnellement, les prélats officiant se dirigent vers le centre où est figuré soit l'autel de l'Hétimasie, soit l'agneau pascal,[13] ce qui n'est pas le cas ici. Cette déviation de la tradition iconographique ne peut s'expliquer que par le fait que le peintre a voulu insister sur la présence de saint Jacques en tant que frère du Seigneur et premier évêque de Jérusalem. Le cycle continue sur les deux côtés de l'entrée de l'abside avec saint Nicolas et saint Spyridon. Les évêques se manifestent en tant que défenseurs de l'Orthodoxie et en tant que fondateurs de la liturgie. Ils sont à l'Église terrestre ce que les Apôtres sont à l'Église céleste.[14]

De part et d'autre de l'abside s'ouvrent deux niches dont le fond est plat et où sont logées, dans celle de gauche qui sert de sacristie, une Nativité et, dans celle de droite, qui est un diaconicon, une Crucifixion. Certes, ces deux scènes se répètent dans la nef, mais ici, l'une souligne la nature humaine du fils de Dieu, car c'est à travers sa naissance d'une mère humaine que le divin invisible devint forme humaine visible et tangible, et c'est à travers elle qu'eut lieu le salut. La Crucifixion, elle, évoque le triomphe du Seigneur sur la mort et, éventuellement, souligne sa nature divine. Ainsi s'affirme ici l'union hypostatique des deux natures humaine et divine.

Une Cène (Fig. 6) et un Lavement des pieds (Fig. 7), deux évènements illustrant la passion du Christ, nous plongent au sein même de la semaine sainte ; c'est pourquoi le père Sofian les a placés sur les murs nord et sud du bêma. Sans doute, ces deux évènements se complètent et se confondent avec la communion des Apôtres

History, Architecture, Music, Shepherdstown, WV, 1996, p. 158–170 ; O. S. Popova, V. D. Sarabianov, *Мозаики и фрески Святой Софии Киевской*, Moscou, 2017, p. 38–40, note 59.

11 Sur ce point, voir la contribution de Oana Iacubovschi à ce volume.

12 Grégoire le Dialogue, évêque, ensuite pape de l'Église romaine (vers 540–604), est connu aussi comme Grégoire le Grand. Il est célébré dans l'Église Orthodoxe le 12 mars.

13 G. Babič, « Les discussions christologiques et le décor des églises byzantines au XII[e] siècle. Les évêques officiants devant l'Hétimasie et devant l'Amnos », *Frümittelalteriche Studien*, 2, 1968 p. 368–386 ; Ch. Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church*, London, 1982, p. 164–225 ; Ch. Konstantinidi, « Le message idéologiques des évêques locaux officiants », *Zograf*, 25, 1996, p. 39–50.

14 N. Thierry, « Christopher Walter, Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church » (Compte rendu), *Revue des études byzantines*, 42, 1984, p. 347–349.

qui se répète au cours de la liturgie orthodoxe, celle qui s'accomplit dans la réalité et que les fidèles observent tout en imitant les gestes des Apôtres, alors que le prêtre imite ceux de Jésus.

Les trois voutains qui entourent le Pantocrator sont occupés par la Transfiguration, l'Incrédulité de Thomas et la Pentecôte (Fig. 2). La Transfiguration, considérée comme le premier événement annonçant la passion de Jésus, s'interprète comme une image de la manifestation de Dieu dans le Christ incarné, car c'est la révélation de la nature divine et de la nature humaine unies dans le Christ.

Les deux autres scènes sont consacrées aux événements qui se sont produits après la Résurrection du Christ. Premièrement, il y a l'Incrédulité de saint Thomas, dont l'importance théologique affirme l'authenticité de la Résurrection, celle-ci même qui se trouve sur le plafond avoisinant dans le bêma. Quant à la Pentecôte ou la descente de l'Esprit saint sur les Apôtres, c'est le thème du ministère apostolique, qui révèle l'essence même du rayonnement de la religion chrétienne.

Sur les tympans nord et sud, l'*Anastasis* (Fig. 8) et la Nativité (Fig. 9), les deux plus grandes fêtes de l'Orthodoxie, se font pendant. Bien sûr, cette correspondance des deux scènes n'est pas fortuite, elle détient un sens dogmatique très profond qui souligne le lien entre Incarnation et Salut. À travers la Nativité se manifeste d'une part la maternité divine de Marie et d'autre part l'humanité du Fils de Dieu qui est né d'une mère humaine. Ces deux natures du Christ qui sont mises ici en évidence, humaine et divine, sont le fondement de l'Orthodoxie.[15]

La naissance de Jésus anticipe Sa Crucifixion et Sa Résurrection future. D'ailleurs, beaucoup de détails dans l'iconographie de la Nativité font allusion à la Crucifixion et la Résurrection.[16] Ainsi, la grotte noire devant laquelle Marie et l'Enfant sont couchés préfigure l'enfer que le Christ vaincra et dans lequel le Sauveur descendra après sa crucifixion pour y récupérer les âmes des Justes de l'Ancien Testament.[17] Les langes avec lesquelles l'Enfant Jésus est emmailloté reproduisent les bandelettes qui envelopperont son corps après sa crucifixion. La crèche rappelle son tombeau. Le bain de l'Enfant fait allusion au bain baptismal qui, lui aussi, préfigure la descente aux limbes, composition qui représente dans la tradition iconographique la Résurrection ou l'*Anastasis*. Toutes réunies, ces composantes

15 L. Ouspensky, *Théologie de l'icône dans l'Église orthodoxe*, Paris, 1993, p. 230.

16 Ouspensky, *Théologie de l'icône*, p. 225–238 ; A. Tradigo, *Icônes et saints d'Orient*, traduit de l'italien par Dominique Férault, Milan, 2005, p. 105–106.

17 Les Évangiles ne mentionnent pas la grotte, c'est la tradition qui parle des profondeurs mystérieuses de la terre. Voir Ouspensky, *Théologie de l'icône*, p. 232.

créent une idée antinomique de l'image du Christ qui se manifeste à la fois comme le Triomphateur et le Sacrifié éternel.[18]

Dans les quatre écoinçons des retombées de ces voûtains sont insérés les quatre Évangélistes accompagnés chacun par son symbole (Fig. 10). Dans les programmes byzantins, les Évangélistes occupent une place de prédilection sur les pendentifs de la coupole. Comme il n'y a pas de coupole ici, l'artiste leur a consacré une place non moins importante, face à tous les fidèles. C'est grâce à eux que la religion chrétienne s'est propagée dans le monde entier.

La travée ouest, elle, représente l'Annonciation, la Présentation au temple, la Résurrection de Lazare et la Trinité (Fig. 11). Chaque scène possède sa propre signification dogmatique, liturgique et théologique. L'Annonciation est le moment même où eut lieu l'Incarnation ; c'est donc l'Annonciation qui inaugure l'histoire du salut. La Présentation au temple est l'épisode qui figure le vieux Syméon recevant l'Enfant Jésus des mains de la Vierge, qui est suivie par la prophétesse Anne et par Joseph portant en offrande les deux colombes. Cette fête symbolise la rencontre du Christ avec l'humanité, comme elle s'associe avec l'eucharistie quand les fidèles reçoivent le pain et le vin des mains du prêtre. La Résurrection de Lazare préfigure la Résurrection du Seigneur sur la croix et est interprétée comme le début du cycle des passions qui se développe d'ailleurs sur la voûte suivante. Quant à la Trinité, qui réunit en elle le mystère du Dieu unique en trois personnes, elle résume l'un des dogmes essentiels du christianisme. C'est pourquoi sa place parmi les scènes christologiques est compréhensible d'autant plus que la table qui les réunit s'interprète comme l'autel du sacrifice de la Divine liturgie, ce qui nous renvoie encore une fois à l'eucharistie et à la communion terrestre.

Les tympans nord et sud représentent respectivement la Crucifixion et le Baptême. Le baptême est le premier événement biblique (le deuxième étant la Transfiguration) dans lequel se manifeste la Trinité divine telle qu'elle a été révélée par Matthieu dans le chapitre 3, versets 13 à 17 : « Dès que Jésus fut baptisé, il sortit de l'eau ; voici que les cieux s'ouvrirent et il vit l'Esprit de Dieu descendre comme une colombe et venir sur lui. Et des cieux une voix disait : " Celui-ci est mon Fils bien-aimé : en Lui j'ai mis tout mon amour " ». Le Crucifix évoque le triomphe du Seigneur sur la mort et, éventuellement, souligne sa nature divine.[19] Le baptême affirme la divinité du Christ. Son immersion dans l'eau du Jourdain préfigure sa

18 V. D. Sarabianov, *Спасо-Преображенский собор Мирожского монастыря*, Moscou, 2010, p. 181.

19 Pallas dénombre vingt-cinq icônes doubles, dont la moitié représentent sur le revers soit une crucifixion ou tout autre scène attenante, soit une croix ou l'autel de l'Hétimasie. Voir D. Pallas, « Die Passion und Bestattung Christi », *Miscellanea Byzantina monacensia*, 2, 1965, p. 308–328.

plongée dans les limbes. Sa sortie de l'eau annonce Sa victoire sur la mort et Sa Résurrection. C'est pourquoi le baptême des croyants au nom de Jésus est participation à Sa mort sur la croix et à Son triomphe sur la mort.

La Dormition de la Vierge, qui clôt le cycle des fêtes, se déploie sur le tympan ouest au-dessus de la porte d'entrée, comme il se doit dans la tradition byzantine (Fig. 12). Elle fait face à la Vierge à l'Enfant dans l'abside sur l'autre extrémité de l'église : dans l'une, la mère porte l'Enfant de Dieu en son sein, dans l'autre, c'est l'Enfant adulte qui porte l'âme de Sa mère sous la forme d'un enfant enroulé dans des langes.

Sur les murs sont représentés des saints martyrs, des prophètes de l'Ancien Testament, des soldats et des moines (Fig. 13). Je n'entreprends pas ici de les énumérer tous mais ce qui est important c'est de noter que parmi les saints grecs on rencontre aussi pas mal de saints originaires de la région syro-palestinienne et d'Égypte. Ainsi, on rencontre saint Ephrem le syrien, Siméon stylite, saint Sabas, saint Jean Damascène, saint Mina et même saint Maron, le saint patron des maronites (Fig. 14), pour ne citer qu'eux. Mais aussi, le concepteur du programme a tenu à introduire des saints roumains : le saint Dimitrie le Nouveau, Bassarabov, protecteur de la ville de Bucarest (XIII[e] siècle),[20] le saint évêque Calinic de Cernica, qui vécut de 1787 à 1868 (Fig. 15), sainte Philothée et sainte Parascève la Neuve d'Épivates, dont le culte est largement répandu en Roumanie (Fig. 16).[21] Ce qui est frappant aussi c'est que tout le mur nord est consacré aux saintes Femmes : leur nombre est presque égal à celui des hommes et ceci s'avère une approche novatrice, car dans la tradition byzantine les saintes Femmes ont toujours occupé une place moins importante dans le décor pariétal.

Une place privilégiée est accordée, bien sûr, à saint Georges, patron de l'église. On le voit trônant en habit de soldat sur le pilier sud qui sépare la travée ouest de la travée est et où le saint se manifeste face à l'entrée ouest (Fig. 17). Saint Georges jouit d'une grande popularité au Liban, il est même le saint le plus vénéré ; la tradition locale considère que son miracle contre le dragon eut lieu dans la baie de Beyrouth, qui porte d'ailleurs le nom du saint[22].

20 Le 13 juillet 2024, la Patriarchie roumaine célébra de manière fastueuse 250 ans depuis le transfert des reliques de ce saint à Bucarest. Né dans le village de Bassarabovo en Bulgarie, il fut canonisé en 1955 par l'Église Orthodoxe Roumaine pour sa vie d'ascète et ses miracles.

21 Kassatly, *La communauté monastique*, p. 68.

22 M. Kanaan, « Contribution à l'étude du culte du saint et glorieux mégalo-martyr Georges le tropéophore au Liban », *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxà*, XXIX, 1998, p. 103–112 ; M. Kanaan, « Legends, Places and Traditions Related to the Cult of Saint George in Lebanon », *ARAM*, 20, 2008, p. 203–219 ; V. Sauma, *Sur les pas des saints au Liban*, I, Beyrouth, 1994, p. 413–414.

Au-dessus de la porte nord se détache une image imposante de la Vierge tenant dans ses mains tendues un voile ou une étole (Fig. 18). C'est l'image de l'Intercession de la Mère de Dieu auprès du Sauveur en faveur des croyants et la force thaumaturgique du voile qu'elle porte au-dessus des fidèles. Ce qui est frappant ici c'est cette apparition au visage sévère et même austère qui dote l'image d'une solennité rare et d'un pathos remarquable.

4 Église Saint Georges de Broummana

À l'église de Broummana, la situation est totalement différente car l'architecture, très moderne (1964), est constituée par une couverture présentant une sorte de parapluie flottant en béton avec seize écoinçons de forme triangulaire en accordéon (Fig. 19). Les murs, quasi inexistants, sont formés par des dalles de calcaire montées dans des cadres métalliques.[23] De ce fait, l'espace décoré se réduit au plafond et par conséquent il ne peut correspondre à la tradition qui exige une lecture hiérarchique rigoureuse des événements sacrés, commençant par la voûte et descendant progressivement pour finir sur les murs avec les images des saints. De plus, les correspondances qu'on a pu voir à Deyr el-Ḥarf ne peuvent exister ici à cause de la lecture circulaire des images. Cette situation complexe et sortant de l'ordinaire posait un grand problème au père Sofian Boghiu, qui d'ailleurs exprime ses angoisses dans son journal, surtout qu'il a été convenu de couvrir le fond avec de la feuille d'or. C'est ainsi qu'il s'explique :

> J'ai fixé le programme iconographique de l'église. L'intérieur est très monotone du point de vue de l'architecture, c'est pourquoi, pour égayer un peu l'intérieur, j'ai lancé une Croix chromatique – or et bleu – et l'iconographie sera peinte en camaïeu de ces deux teintes. Que Dieu bénisse ce début ![24]

Mais comme ce projet s'est avéré excessivement coûteux et dépassait le budget établi, alors il fut décliné, tandis que la croix chromatique, proposée par le père Sofian afin d'éviter la monotonie, fut abandonnée. Les commanditaires insistèrent pour que la fresque soit réalisée seulement en blanc et ocre, alors que le doré se limiterait aux auréoles, ce à quoi le père Sofian se plia sans protester, bien qu'il n'y fût pas d'accord. D'ailleurs, il note à plusieurs reprises dans son journal que les

23 M. Davie, « Broumana : quatre églises, quatre siècles d'architecture religieuse », *Chronos*, 24, 2010, p. 103–128, surtout p. 114.

24 Cf. Feodorov, « Voyages et travaux », p. 45.

travaux se déroulaient sans joie et il écrit même « mon âme reste triste, comme tous ces jours ».[25]

Malgré tous ces obstacles qui ont entravé le projet originel, le père Sofian Boghiu, usant de sa sagesse et de son art, trouva la solution qui permit de joindre la tradition iconographique byzantine avec la structure moderne de l'architecture. Il y remédia en reproduisant l'histoire du Salut peuplant le Dôme céleste. La voûte, qui constitue à elle seule la paroi recevant les images, a été partagée en trois registres, avec un quatrième qui cintre l'église de l'extérieur. Les figures et les compositions se détachent sur un fond ocre-jaune qui est parsemé de petites étoiles dorées. Le Pantocrator, inscrit dans un octogone qui répète la forme du plan de l'église, occupe le centre du plafond dans la calotte (Fig. 20). Il est entouré par les puissances célestes (séraphins alternant avec trois anneaux ailés) qui participent au rite festif de la Liturgie céleste ; ce sont les serviteurs et les gardiens du trône de Dieu.

En deuxième registre s'alignent, debout en pied, les prophètes de l'Ancien Testament, les Apôtres et les prélats qui alternent avec les anges. Les scènes sont disposées en fonction de l'espace disponible, c'est pourquoi les grandes fêtes sont réparties dans les registres inférieurs de cette toiture en parapluie. Ce n'est qu'au troisième registre que se succèdent les fêtes christologiques illustrant les scènes de la vie du Seigneur et ses miracles. Il est évident que les scènes représentées au-delà de l'iconostase, c'est-à-dire dans le bêma, sont des épisodes ayant trait à l'eucharistie, de telle sorte qu'on voit représentées ici la Cène (Fig. 21) et la Communion des Apôtres (Fig. 22). Ce sont des compositions très significatives en ce lieu le plus sacré où les fidèles reçoivent la communion du prêtre officiant. Ensuite, le cycle constitué de quatorze scènes commence à partir de l'iconostase, de droite à gauche, dans le sens des aiguilles d'une montre. La Trinité inaugure le cycle, puis suivent les événements tels qu'ils se succèdent chronologiquement dans les textes évangéliques, avec l'Annonciation, puis la Nativité, la Présentation au Temple, le Baptême, la Transfiguration, la Multiplication du pain, l'Entrée à Jérusalem, la Crucifixion, les Lamentations, la Descente aux Limbes, l'Incrédulité de Thomas, l'Ascension (Fig. 23) et enfin la Pentecôte. C'est le cycle narratif reproduisant les fêtes christiques. D'ailleurs, ces scènes sont très laconiques, par manque d'espace, car elles se réduisent au strict nécessaire, de telle sorte qu'elles n'encombrent pas l'espace et le plafond reste assez dégagé. Ça n'a pas empêché le père Sofian de répéter ici le motif du bandeau tricolore évoquant le drapeau roumain, qui soutient le Christ, entouré des deux anges.

Si on se réfère à la tradition orthodoxe, les scènes illustrant la vie du Christ doivent être représentées dans les voûtes et les parties supérieures des murs tout comme à Deyr el-Ḥarf, or ici, le fait de les placer dans la partie inférieure du

25 Cf. Feodorov, « Voyages et travaux », p. 46–47.

plafond revient à la forme de la couverture, qui est conique ou pyramidale, c'est-à-dire qu'elle s'élargit au fur et à mesure qu'elle descend. C'est pourquoi les compositions narratives de la vie du Seigneur, qui exigent des espaces larges, ont été reléguées ici dans les parties inférieures de la couverture, alors que les figures de saints debout ont occupé les espaces plus restreints, bien que ceux-ci devraient peupler les parties inférieures des murs.

La place des prophètes de l'Ancien Testament est, dans les programmes traditionnels, dans la coupole et les parties les plus hautes de l'église, car ceux-ci, par leurs prophéties, ont prédit et annoncé la venue du Seigneur bien avant son apparition sur terre. Cependant, ils occupent ici non seulement les parties les plus basses mais sont reportés à l'extérieur des murs de l'église (Fig. 24). Ici se suivent de part et d'autre de la Vierge et du Christ jeune, qui marquent l'entrée, des personnages comme Élie, Élysée, Abraham, Isaïe, David, Salomon et d'autres figures de l'Ancien Testament, qui se mêlent parfois avec des figures de martyrs. Ils s'inscrivent tous dans des médaillons qui se détachent sur un décor végétal d'inspiration roumaine (Fig. 25). Il est à noter aussi que le fait de continuer le décor sur les murs extérieurs provient de la tradition roumaine, où les murs extérieurs se couvrent eux aussi de scènes bibliques, tout autant que l'intérieur. Par ailleurs, ce procédé s'avère très significatif, car le peintre a voulu par ce changement mettre l'accent non pas sur les patriarches de l'Ancien Testament mais sur les saints et les prêtres chrétiens, en leur consacrant la partie médiane de la coupole, qui est une place de prédilection. Ces changements prouvent à quel point Sofian Boghiu pouvait non seulement se permettre des « libertés » dans la conception du programme iconographique mais aussi imposer ses idées et ses opinions, ce dont n'étaient capables que les personnes aux convictions fortes et à la foi intouchable et immaculée.

5 Le style artistique

Il est évident que l'art du père Sofian Boghiu possède les caractéristiques de la tradition artistique roumaine des XVI^{e} et XVII^{e} siècles, de souche byzantine, et en constitue la continuité. C'est dans le rendu des formes et des volumes, dans les valeurs plastiques et chromatiques que le peintre perpétue le style de l'art traditionnel rencontré dans les églises de la Roumanie. Malgré ceci, le maître peintre a certainement dépassé ses prédécesseurs car il détient sa propre expression artistique, qui est issue et enrichie par l'hésychasme auquel il était profondément attaché : ceci se manifeste dans l'énergie du dessin, le modelé raffiné des images et en même temps l'intensité du contenu dramatique de ses figures et compositions. Les images des saintes et des saints fournissent dans les deux ensembles à ces figures sacrées une touche lyrique et les dotent d'une sobriété profonde, qui coexiste avec la douceur

des tonalités et la vibration de la lumière qui les modèlent. Le tracé soigné des contours et des ombres parfois contrastées dote les figures d'une sorte de portrait profondément spirituel. Tout ceci va de pair avec les idéaux de la doctrine hésychaste qui aspire à la retenue des émotions et à une expression plutôt sévère[26].

Dans sa technique, le père Sofian Boghiu privilégie les contrastes des couleurs et les effets de lumière qui confèrent aux figures une vie intérieure intense et soulignent leur force spirituelle. Ceci est souligné par la dynamique des draperies et le développement des paysages à l'arrière-plan, qui situent les scènes dans l'espace. Le personnage du Christ Pantocrator dans les deux ensembles est concentré et contemplatif, son visage au contour foncé met en valeur la lumière qui l'éclaire. Ici, le peintre a travaillé d'une façon soignée et non dénuée d'une certaine sécheresse qui dote la divine personne d'une expression sévère. Une importance particulière est consacrée à la grâce et à la sobriété des personnages, mais surtout au traitement des visages, dont le modelé raffiné et les ombres verdâtres ou brunâtres qui les façonnent délicatement insufflent aux figures une vie toute de fraicheur.

Le cycle des fêtes s'inspire des modèles iconographiques classiques et se distingue par une approche plutôt illustrative et une simplification des schémas iconographiques, qui est surtout manifeste à Broummana. On distingue dans l'art du père Sofian Boghiu d'une part une profondeur spirituelle et lyrique et d'autre part une expressivité sobre.

Par rapport à Deyr el-Ḥarf, on remarque qu'à Saint-Georges de Broummana l'ensemble, bien qu'il n'ait pas été vraiment apprécié par le père Sofian, comme il le témoigne lui-même dans son journal, émane d'un art plus apaisé et plus doux, où les figures et la palette sont faites de tonalités proches du pastel, alors qu'à Deir-el-Harf la palette est plus forte, les contrastes plus prononcés et les ombres plus évidentes. Et si à Deyr el-Ḥarf l'atmosphère qui prévaut est celle du triomphe dramatique du Verbe divin et de la vie sur la mort, à Broummana l'accent est plutôt lyrique avec cette dominance de l'ocre jaune, du rose saumon, du rouge cinabre contrebalancé par sa couleur complémentaire, le vert. Il y a ici un équilibre savant des tons chauds et froids. En donnant une touche de poésie à ces peintures qui sont empreintes d'un goût contemplatif, il est évident que le père Sofian a réussi non seulement à surmonter toutes les difficultés qui s'étaient imposées à son travail, mais à neutraliser la froideur qui émanait de cette coupole en béton, en l'animant et en lui insufflant une vie toute de beauté, de lumière et d'optimisme.

26 La doctrine de l'hésychasme, qui a toujours existé dans le monde byzantin, s'est largement répandue au XIV^e^ siècle avec le moine athonite et théologien Grégoire Palama (1296–1359), dont les idées hésychastes s'imposèrent vers le milieu du siècle. Le reflet de cette doctrine était très fort dans l'art, où il y avait une prédominance de la dimension spirituelle des images et des formes.

6 Conclusion

Le père Sofian Boghiu est sans conteste un peintre à la forte personnalité artistique. Il a réussi, dans les peintures murales réalisées dans les deux églises du Liban que nous avons décrites, à nous transmettre son idée principale, qui est celle d'un programme d'enseignement de la foi, de telle sorte que les compositions, par la finesse de leur agencement et de leur organisation, répondent à une lecture dogmatique, liturgique et théologique. Le thème récurrent de ces fresques est celui de l'Union dans le Dieu-Homme des deux natures humaine et divine, ainsi que celui du Sacrifice expiatoire.

Par ailleurs, l'expressivité de l'art du père Sofian Boghiu réside dans la force d'expression de l'image, elle tient à son équilibre calme et détaché, à l'harmonie spirituelle née d'une profonde contemplation qui va de pair avec la doctrine de l'hésychasme défendue par le père Sofian.

Bref, la contribution de Sofian Boghiu au décor des églises du Liban revêt une importance exceptionnelle car au XX^{e} siècle la peinture murale dans les églises n'existait pratiquement plus. Les murs des églises étaient froids et impersonnels, mais Sofian Boghiu les a remplis d'énergie et leur a donné une vie intense. Ses œuvres se démarquent par leur originalité et leur créativité, tout en restant fidèles à la tradition. Son engagement envers les chrétiens du Liban va au-delà du seul territoire de ce petit pays. Il eut incontestablement un grand impact sur l'art chrétien à travers le monde, pas seulement en Roumanie, mais loin dans le monde orthodoxe.

Avant que cette contribution soit achevée, le Saint Synode de l'Église Orthodoxe Roumaine a décidé de canoniser le père Sofian Boghiu (séance du 11–12 juillet 2024), qui sera célébré dorénavant comme « saint Sofian d'Antim », le monastère de Bucarest ou il fut hégoumène entre 1950 et 1954. Sa fête sera célébrée le 16 septembre. On peut conclure que les pas d'un saint roumain, peintre et prédicateur empli d'humilité et d'inspiration créative, ont laissé des empreintes de beauté spirituelle dans plusieurs églises et monastères du Liban et de Syrie.

Fig. 1: Signatures en arabe et en roumain d'une fresque de Deyr el-Harf (Photo Ioana Feodorov).

Fig. 2: Deyr el-Ḥarf, église Saint-Georges, travée orientale, le Christ Pantocrator, l'Incrédulité de Thomas, la Transfiguration et la Pentecôte (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 3: Deyr el-Ḥarf, église Saint-Georges, voûte orientale, le Christ Pantocrator (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 4: Deyr el-Ḥarf, église Saint-Georges, voûte du bêma, Le Christ montant au ciel (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 5: Deyr el-Ḥarf, église Saint-Georges, l'abside: la Vierge orante avec l'Enfant dans la conque, les saints Jacques, Basil le Grand, Jean Chrysostome et à l'extrême droite saint Spyridon (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 6: Deyr el-Ḥarf, église Saint-Georges, mur nord du bêma, la Cène (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 7: Deyr el-Ḥarf, église Saint-Georges, mur sud du bêma, le Lavement des pieds (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 8: Deyr el-Ḥarf, église Saint-Georges, mur nord, la Descente aux Limbes ou l'*Anastasis* (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 9: Deyr el-Ḥarf, église Saint-Georges, mur sud, la Nativité (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 10: Deyr el-Ḥarf, église Saint-Georges, retombée de la voûte vers le mur nord, l'évangéliste Matthieu (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 11: Deyr el-Ḥarf, église Saint-Georges, voûte ouest, la Trinité divine, l'Annonciation, la Présentation au temple et la résurrection de Lazare (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 12: Deyr el-Ḥarf, église Saint-Georges, mur ouest, la Dormition de la Vierge (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 13: Deyr el-Ḥarf, église Saint-Georges, mur sud, de droite à gauche : les saints Jean Damascène, Antoine le Grand, le prophète Élie, Jean Prodromos et Joachim (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 14: Deyr el-Ḥarf, église Saint-Georges, mur sud, saint Maron (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 15: Deyr el-Ḥarf, église Saint-Georges, mur sud, saint Calinic de Cernica (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 16: Deyr el-Ḥarf, église Saint-Georges, mur nord, de gauche à droite, Sainte Philothée, en costume populaire roumain, et Sainte Parascève la Neuve d'Épivates (Photo Ioana Feodorov).

Fig. 17: Deyr el-Ḥarf, église Saint-Georges, pilier du mur sud, saint Georges trônant (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 18: Deyr el-Ḥarf, église Saint-Georges, au-dessus de la porte nord, l'Intercession de la Mère de Dieu (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 19: Broummana, église Saint-Georges, le Christ, le cycle des saints et les fêtes christiques avec, à l'extérieur, les prophètes (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 20: Broummana, église Saint-Georges, calotte de la coupole, le Christ Pantocrator (Photo Ioana Feodorov).

Fig. 21: Broummana, église Saint-Georges, au nord de l'autel, la Cène (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 22: Broummana, église Saint-Georges, au sud de l'autel, la Communion des Apôtres (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 23: Broummana, église Saint-Georges, l'Ascension (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 24: Broummana, église Saint-Georges, à l'extérieur, le prophète Jonas et la sainte martyre Asteria (Photo Nada Hélou).

Fig. 25: Broummana, extérieur, avec la frise des saints tout autour (Photo Ioana Feodorov).

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Oana Iacubovschi

Woodcut Tailpieces of the First Arabic Books Printed by Athanasios Dabbās in Aleppo

1 Introduction

Following his successful collaboration with the future metropolitan of Wallachia, Antim the Iberian,[1] on the publication of the Greek and Arabic editions of the Book of the Divine Liturgies (Snagov, 1701) and the Horologion (Bucharest, 1702), Athanasios Dabbās[2] decided to return to Aleppo and continue his printing work

1 Antim the Iberian, originally from Georgia, served as metropolitan of Wallachia from 1708 to 1716. A prolific typographer, he had learned the art of printing as an apprentice of Mitrofan of Buzău (bishop of Huși, 1682–1691; bishop of Buzău, 1691–1702) at the printing press of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, which operated between 1682 and 1715 at the Monastery of Cetăţuia, near Iași. In 1694, at the request of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688–1714), he established a printing press in the Monastery of Snagov, close to Bucharest. By the time Athanasios Dabbās arrived in Wallachia in the early 18th century, Antim had already published a number of books in several languages at this press. These included works in Romanian, Slavonic, and Greek. The first joint project of Dabbās and Antim, the Arabic Book of Divine Liturgies, was published in 1701. In the same year, Antim published two Greek books: the *Proskynitarion of the Holy Mount Athos* and the *Eortologion* of Sevastos Kyminētēs. On the typographic activity of Antim the Iberian, see D. Bădără, *Tiparul românesc la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea și începutul secolului al XVIII-lea*, Brăila, 1998, p. 101–120; D. Bădără, "The Beginning of Printing and Print Culture in the Romanian Principalities", in R. Dipratu, S. Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond. First Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project*, Berlin/Boston, 2024, p. 128, 134–136. See also Archim. P. Chiţulescu (coord. ed.), *Antim Ivireanul. Opera tipografică*, Bucharest, 2016. The volume offers a critical examination of previous literature. For the Greek-Arabic books published by Antim in collaboration with Athanasios Dabbās, see I. Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands. The East-European Connection*, Berlin/Boston, 2023, p. 143–162.

2 Athanasios Dabbās (patriarch of Antioch, 1686–1694, 1720–1724, and metropolitan of Aleppo, 1694–1720) was a proponent of the literary reform initiated by Meletios Karma, former metropolitan of Aleppo (1612–1634) and patriarch of the Church of Antioch (1634 –1635). Karma's most ambitious project was the publication, in Rome, of a revised edition of the Arabic Bible, based on the Arabic manuscript tradition. His project was ultimately rejected by the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. For the contribution of Meletios Karma and Athanasios Dabbās to Arabic literature and print culture in the broader context of the Arab cultural Renaissance of the 17th and 18th centuries, see *HMLÉM* IV.1, p. 70–87, 132–146; C.-M. Walbiner, "Melkite (Greek-Orthodox) Approaches

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in Ottoman territory. Having already acquired practical experience in the technique of movable-type printing, the former patriarch proceeded to establish an Arabic-type press at his metropolitan residence shortly after his return to Syria. As early as 1706, the first liturgical books in Arabic were published in Aleppo. The editorial plan of the press was carefully drawn up by Dabbās himself, who was involved in all phases of the printing process, including proofreading and revising the texts. The founding of the Aleppo press in 1706 marked a significant milestone for the Arabic-speaking Christians of Ottoman Syria, whose long-held aspiration to print in Arabic in their homeland was finally accomplished.

Once settled in Aleppo, Dabbās broadened the scope of his editorial project to include, in addition to primary liturgical texts, anthologies of sermons and theological works, which he saw as contributions to the spiritual edification of his congregation. Over the course of its six-year existence, the Aleppo press published a total of nine distinct titles, in addition to one reprint.[3] Notably, the press published three titles in 1706 alone.[4] These included a Psalter (of 296 pages) and a Gospel, which came out in two different versions (amounting to over 800 pages). The success of Athanasios Dabbās's pioneering enterprise, as well as the relatively short time in which he was able to establish the press,[5] has given rise to the assumption that

to the Bible at the Time of the Community's Cultural Reawakening in the Early Modern Period (17th–Early 18th Centuries)", in S. Binay, S. Leder (eds.), *Translating the Bible into Arabic: Historical, Text-Critical and Literary Aspects*, Beirut, 2012; A. Wade, "A Preliminary Comparison of the Horologion in Sinai Arabic 232 (13th c.) with the 1702 Edition of Athanasios Dabbās and the Earlier Version of Meletios Karma", in Dipratu, Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond*, especially p. 243–251. On the typographic activity of Athanasios Dabbās in Syria, see Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 162–186.

3 These books are: 1) Psalter (1706), re-edited in 1709; 2) Gospel Book (1706); 3) Gospel Lectionary (1706); 4) *The Book of the Chosen Pearls from the Sermons of Saint John Chrysostom* (1707); 5) *Acts of the Apostles* (1707); 6) The Holy Book of the Paremia, or Prophetologion (1708); 7) *A Sermon by John Chrysostom for the Easter Feast* together with *The Sermons of Athanasios, the Patriarch of Jerusalem* (1711); 8) Book of the Paraklitiki, or Octoechos (1711); 9) Athanasios Dabbās, *Brief Epistle on How to Repent and Confess* (1711).

4 In 1706, Athanasios Dabbās published two different editions of the Gospel. The initial version covers a total of 243 pages. The second version was expanded with patristic commentaries on the biblical pericopes, bringing the total to 566 pages. For bibliographic references, see below, the section devoted to the engraved decoration of the first Arabic Gospel published in Aleppo.

5 Although Arabic book printing in Wallachia ceased after the release of the Horologion, it is believed that Dabbās continued to reside in the principality until at least 1704. The precise date of Dabbās's return to Syria is uncertain, although it is known that he made a detour to Cyprus via Constantinople in 1705, after his appointment as archbishop of Cyprus by the Ecumenical Patriarch Gabriel III (1702–1707). See C.-M. Walbiner, review of E. Hanebutt-Benz, D. Glass, G. Roper (eds.), *Sprachen des Nahen Ostens und die Druckrevolution: Eine interkulturelle Begegnung/Middle*

the Syrian metropolitan acquired the necessary printing equipment (or, at least, an important part of it) from Wallachia.[6] However, there is no concrete evidence to substantiate this assumption. The preface to the Psalter, the first book printed at the Aleppo press, does not provide any context as to how Dabbās set up the press and who assisted him in the process.[7] One plausible hypothesis is that he was accompanied to Aleppo by apprentices of Antim the Iberian, who may have assisted him in installing the press.[8] This hypothesis is supported by the evidence that Antim employed a similar approach when solicited to assist in the establishment of the first Georgian printing press in Tbilisi around the same time.[9]

Furthermore, there is currently no consensus among scholars regarding the provenance of the typefaces used by the printing press in Aleppo. The prevailing opinion is that the former patriarch received the set of Arabic typefaces as a gift from Antim the Iberian upon his departure from Wallachia and used them to print his books in Aleppo.[10] However, the lack of a direct comparison between the typefaces used in the Wallachian printed books and those used by Athanasios Dabbās in his newly established press leaves this hypothesis open to questioning. Indeed, some skepticism has persisted

Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter (Westhofen, 2002), *Oriens Christianus*, 88, 2004, p. 285; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 162.

6 See, for example, *HMLÉM* IV.1, p. 132, 145; C.-M. Walbiner, "Some Observations on the Perception and Understanding of Printing amongst the Arab Greek Orthodox (Melkites) in the Seventeenth Century", in P. Sadgrove (ed.), *Printing and Publishing in the Middle East*, Oxford, 2008, p. 71; J.-P. Ghobrial, "The Ottoman World of 'Abdallāh Zāḫir: The Bindings of the Melkite Monastery at Shuwayr in the Arcadian Library", in G. Mandelbrote, W. Bruijn (eds.), *The Arcadian Library: Bindings and Provenance*, London, 2014, p. 194.

7 See the relevant passage in section 3 below.

8 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 162–163.

9 In 1707, Antim the Iberian sent his disciple Mihail Ștefan (Mikhael Stepaneshvili) to Tbilisi to help the Georgians set up their first movable type printing press. This was undertaken at the behest of King Vakhtang VI of Kartli, who sought to facilitate the dissemination of knowledge among his people through the medium of printing. In the preface to the Gospel (Tbilisi, 1709), Mihail Ștefan himself testifies to having travelled to Tbilisi with the requisite equipment for establishing the printing press. This included woodcuts, and possibly even the Georgian characters in the Nuskhuri script, which were employed to print the first Georgian books in Tbilisi. See A. Pippidi, "À propos des débuts de l'imprimerie en Georgie", in E. Siupiur, Z. Mihail (eds.), *Impact de l'imprimerie et rayonnement intellectuel des Pays Roumains*, Bucharest, 2009, p. 25–40; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 319–323. A comparison of the illustrations in the books printed in Tbilisi with those published by Antim the Iberian reveals striking similarities. On this topic, see the chapter signed by Nino Kavtaria in this volume.

10 See, for example, D. Simonescu, E. Muracade, "Tipar românesc pentru arabi în secolul al XVIII-lea", *Cercetări literare*, III, Bucharest, 1939, p. 3. Joseph Nasrallah states that the Arabic type was cast anew by 'Abdallāh Zāḫir in Aleppo: see Nasrallah, *HMLÉM* IV.1, p. 145.

in scholarship regarding the likelihood that Dabbās continued his work in Aleppo with the same movable type that he used to print his books in Snagov and Bucharest. More than a century ago, the French scholar Émile Picot, who examined the Gospel (Aleppo, 1706) and the Prophetologion (Aleppo, 1708), concluded that the Arabic fonts used in these books were of a different shape and of inferior quality compared with those used in the Book of the Divine Liturgies (Snagov, 1701) and the Horologion (Bucharest, 1702).[11] A similar claim has recently been made by Serge A. Frantsouzoff regarding the first publication of Dabbās's press, namely the Book of Psalms.[12] Alternatively, it has been suggested that the Arabic type presented by Antim the Iberian to the Syrian metropolitan was not used for printing new books in Aleppo, but rather served as a model for the newly cast type with which Dabbās printed his books at the Aleppo press.[13] Further research is expected to shed more light on these issues.

2 Elements of Decoration in Publications by the Aleppo Press

Preliminary research indicates that the icons and ornaments in the books published by Athanasios Dabbās in Aleppo were not printed from woodblocks manufactured in Antim's printing workshop. This chapter will demonstrate this assertion in relation to the tailpieces, although it appears that all woodcuts used by Dabbās's press were cut anew in Aleppo. The printing press employed artists and woodcutters capable of creating its own unique stock of book ornaments and illustrations.

The Aleppo editions bear witness to the engravers' remarkable capacity to process iconographic sources from a wide range of geographical regions. The publications by the Aleppo press between 1706 and 1711 reveal a combination of Eastern and Western artistic traditions, seamlessly integrated within Ottoman and

11 É. Picot, "Notice biographique et bibliographique sur l'imprimeur Anthime d'Ivir, Métropolitain de Valachie", *Nouveaux Mélanges Orientaux*, Paris, 1886, p. 538–539, 543–544. In this article, Émile Picot presents a critique of Christian Friedrich Schnurrer's assertion regarding the identity of the Aleppo and Wallachian typefaces; cf. C. F. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, Halle, 1811, p. 270–271, no. 266. In addition to Picot, other scholars advanced the idea that the type was not identical. See the discussion in Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 180–182.

12 S. A. Frantsouzoff, "Les psautiers arabes imprimés dans les bibliothèques de Saint-Pétersbourg", in P. Chițulescu, I. Feodorov (eds.), *Culture manuscrite et imprimée dans et pour l'Europe du Sud-Est/Manuscript and Printed Culture in and for South-Eastern Europe*, Brăila, 2020, p. 198. The author later reformulated his opinion in more careful terms; see S. A. Frantsouzoff, "Les vieux livres imprimés en écriture arabe dans la collection des Rousseau, père et fils, conservée à Saint-Pétersbourg", in I. Feodorov, B. Heyberger, S. Noble (eds.), *Arabic Christianity between the Ottoman Levant and Eastern Europe*, Leiden/Boston, 2021, p. 254–255.

13 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 181.

Central Asian ornamental patterns which migrated into book decoration from other branches of decorative arts. It is this blend of imagery that distinguishes the books produced in Aleppo from those printed in the Romanian Principalities[14] or in any of the other major Orthodox printing centers of the time. Nevertheless, in their search for iconographic and compositional solutions, the Aleppo printers often drew inspiration from the expertly crafted Wallachian editions that inaugurated Dabbās's book series: the Book of Divine Liturgies and the Horologion. Rather than simply copying one model or another, the Aleppo press adapted the designs in Dabbās's earlier editions to suit its specific needs and ideas.

While borrowings from the Wallachian artistic repertory occurred with some regularity until 1711, the present analysis is limited to the collection of single-block woodcut tailpieces used by Athanasios Dabbās in the first two books he published after his return to Syria, namely the Psalter and the canonical version of the Arabic Gospel.

European printers employed decorative devices for a variety of purposes beyond the enhancement of the physical form of printed materials. In addition to their intrinsic visual appeal, headpieces, tailpieces, title page vignettes and borders, made with matrices of wood or lead, served to create the interior structure of the book and to facilitate the readers' navigation through it. Whether iconic, narrative, or purely ornamental in nature, elements of book decoration were designed to engage the readers with the textual content of the books by focusing their attention and stimulating their imagination.[15] Tailpieces were primarily employed to mark

14 In the 17th and 18th centuries, typographic art in Wallachia and Moldavia was influenced by the European Baroque aesthetic, largely through the dissemination of Ukrainian printed books and the contribution of Ukrainian printers to book production in the Romanian territories. Woodblock engraving was the predominant printing technique employed for illustrated books in the Romanian Principalities during the early modern period. See Bădără, "The Beginning of Printing", especially p. 131–132. See also the chapter signed by A.-E. Tatay in the present volume. For a comprehensive description of woodcut ornaments used by different printing presses across the Romanian Principalities in the 17th and 18th centuries, see A. Andreescu, *Arta cărții. Cartea românească în secolele XVI–XVII*, Bucharest, 1997; O.-L. Dimitriu, *Ilustrația cărții românești vechi din secolul al XVIII-lea în colecțiile Bibliotecii Academiei Române. Gravura*, Bucharest, 2023, especially vol. I. *Țara Românească*, and vol. II. *Moldova*, Bucharest, 2023. The precise extent to which books printed in Venice and other Italian typographic centers served as a source of inspiration for printers in Wallachia has yet to be fully elucidated. It is known that books commissioned by Wallachian patrons were printed in Venice in the late 17th and 18th centuries; see P. Chițulescu, "Livres imprimés à Venise aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles avec la contribution des Pays Roumains", in Chițulescu, Feodorov (eds.), *Culture manuscrite et imprimée/Manuscript and Printed Culture*, p. 13–41.

15 M. C. Planche, "Ornaments and Narratives: The Dialogue of Engraved Motifs", in C. Ionescu (ed.), *Book Illustration in the Long Eighteenth Century: Reconfiguring the Visual Periphery of the Text*, Cambridge, 2011, p. 566–597.

the end of a section of text. Such texts could include dedications in prose or verse, prefaces, chapters, subdivisions of a larger work, and colophons. By filling in the remaining blank spaces on a printed page, tailpieces not only improved the book's overall visual presentation, but also reinforced the established visual and verbal conventions associated with closing sections in early printed books.[16] Finally, printers used end ornaments for practical reasons as well. As tailpieces were typically relief-cut ornaments, they provided structural support for the paper as it was pressed from above during the printing process. The pressure beneath the paper ensured that the page remained flat and secure within the press, eliminating the risk of displacement, which could result in a blurred text.[17]

The incorporation of woodcut or cast ornaments on title pages, especially in the absence of a woodcut-printed border, as in the case of most of the Aleppo editions, had a considerable effect on the compositional balance of the page. In the Aleppo books, the text section on title pages typically ends with a woodcut tailpiece. On occasion, the title paragraph is positioned between a headpiece composed of separate ornaments of common design and a woodcut tailpiece (Fig. 1).

It should be noted that printers in Aleppo used the same woodcut blocks without distinction, both at the end of a text section and on title pages. Moreover, an examination of the paragraph style in title pages and closing sections of the books printed by the Aleppo press reveals no discernible distinction in their design. There is a unified approach to the formatting of title pages and closure sections in publications in Dabbās's press, which favors what is called in art literature a "half-diamond indentation",[18] or the inverted triangular arrangement of the text. In the mid-16th century, Western European printers frequently arranged the title parts of title pages in the form of inverted triangles.[19] However, this practice became less frequent as time passed.[20] Another characteristic of the Aleppo books is that the text itself occupies

16 W. H. Sherman, "The Beginning of 'The End': Terminal Paratext and the Birth of Print Culture", in H. Smith, L. Wilson (eds.), *Renaissance Paratexts*, Cambridge, 2011, p. 65–87.

17 Martin Dominique Fertel, *La science pratique de l'imprimerie: Contenant des instructions trés-faciles pour se perfectionner dans cet art. On y trouvera une description de toutes les pièces dont une presse est construite, avec le moyen de remedier à tous les défauts qui peuvent y survenir* […], Saint Omer, 1723, p. 55. These aspects are discussed in detail by J. Fleming, "How not to Look at a Printed Flower", *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 38, 2008, p. 353–355.

18 M. M. Smith, *The Title Page. Its Early Development 1460–1510*, London/New Castle, DE, 2000, p. 61.

19 See, for example, the title section on the title page of *L'Eneïde de Virgile, prince des poètes latins*, translated into French by Louis des Masures, illustrated by Bernard Salomon and first published in Lyon by Jean de Tournes in 1550.

20 On the layout and paragraph style of title pages in early printed books, with a special focus on the book production of the *Officina Plantiniana*, see G. Proot, "The Officina Plantiniana from 'Renaissance' to 'Baroque': A Typographical Transition (1555–1670)", in G. Proot, Y. Sordet,

only a small proportion of the title pages, and despite the typical presence of an ornamental vignette, a considerable area of the front page of the book remains blank. This imbalanced proportion is reminiscent of that seen in incunabula, where this same feature shows the evolution of title pages in relation to colophons.[21]

In his last liturgical book, which was a monumental edition of the Octoechos, completed in 1711, Dabbās introduced a new layout scheme for the title page, marking a clear departure from previous practice. He incorporated a wide woodcut frame with busts of saints in pointed arch medallions, which permitted the title section to be displayed in a dedicated central square rather than floating freely on the page. However, in his earlier books, including those under consideration in this study, the printers were committed to a stylistic approach that treated title pages in a manner analogous to colophons, a practice which is also attested in incunabula. This resulted in a somewhat antiquated appearance of the Aleppo title pages.[22]

Except for the Arabic Psalter published in 1706, which is illustrated with two full-page intaglio engravings bearing the coat of arms of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu and the portrait of King David (Fig. 2), all the other books published by the Aleppo press were illustrated with icons and ornaments printed from woodblocks. Although the production of etchings was a relatively rapid and straightforward process and, therefore, somewhat cheap compared with engravings created using a sharp tool, known as a burin, on copper plates, it was not as affordable as woodcuts. This was due to the fact that the inclusion of an etched ornament or icon on the printed page required the outsourcing of printing to a printmaker's workshop, which would also result in a significant delay in the production process of the book.[23]

A survey of the ornamental repertoire of the books published by Dabbās's press during its six-year run reveals the absence of etched or engraved tailpieces,

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Ch. Vellet (eds.), *Un siècle d'excellence typographique: Christophe Plantin & son officine. A Century of Typographical Excellence: Christophe Plantin & the Officina Plantiniana (1555–1655)*, Paris/Dilbeek, p. 78–91. The first textbook on printing, *La science pratique de l'imprimerie*, was published by the printer and bookseller Martin-Dominique Fertel in 1723. In the second chapter, "De l'ornement des premières pages & de la disposition de differens ouvrages", Fertel addresses the issue of title page arrangement; see p. 79–111, especially p. 80–81.

21 One well-known example of this type of arrangement is the title page of Franciscus Columna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1499); cf. Smith, *The Title Page*, p. 104, Fig. 6.7.

22 John Day's edition of *Aelfric, A testimony of antiquity shewing the ancient faith in the Church of England, touching the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord* (London, 1567), offers a late example of the practice of including colophons in printed books. In this example, the text is laid out in a centered paragraph between a headpiece and a title-page vignette.

23 D. Imhof, "From Arnold Nicolai to Peter Paul Rubens: Book Illustration under Plantin and the First Moretuses", in Proot, Sordet, Vellet (eds.), *Un siècle d'excellence typographique*, p. 106–120.

headpieces, or page borders. Considering the workshop's limited funding, the decision to use woodcuts was a pragmatic one adopted by Dabbās. The printing of an etched ornament would have demanded the services of a printmaker, who would have been responsible for transferring the image to the printing surface using a rolling press.[24] In contrast, woodcuts were printed on the same press used for printing the text. Moreover, the creation of a woodcut ornament required the joint efforts of a draftsman and a woodcutter, both of whom should have been full-time employees of the press. The artist was responsible for designing the ornament, while the block-cutter was tasked with carving it into the block of wood. During the printing process, the raised areas of each woodcut ornament were transferred to the printing sheet in black or color ink, while the indentations (non-printed parts) remained white. The use of woodcuts thus enabled the printing of the text and ornaments in a single operation.

As early as the mid-16th century, printing presses in Western Europe began using cast ornaments known as typographic fleurons (or printer's flowers) to generate complex and varied patterns in borders, headpieces and tailpieces. These were cut by skilled punch cutters and were part of the printers' stock of type.[25] The Aleppo press did not adopt the use of cast fleurons on a large scale in its printed editions. However, it did experiment with two types of combinable fleurons in the Gospel, and subsequently in a more systematic manner in the Gospel with commentary (also called by some authors a Lectionary). As will be discussed later, both ornaments are stylized vine leaves and are close imitations of fleurons created by the French punchcutters in the second half of the 16th century.

Not much is known about the organization of Athanasios Dabbās's printing press. However, some basic information can be obtained by studying the frontmatter. Typically, the title pages of the Aleppo editions include only the book title, followed by the place and year of publication. In some cases, the name of Athanasios Dabbās is mentioned together with the information about the edition, which can be taken to suggest that the former patriarch acted as printer and publisher for the books in question. The prefaces in the Aleppo publications provide further insight

24 N. M. Orenstein, A. Stijnman, "Bitten with Spirit: Etching Materials and Techniques in the Sixteenth Century", in C. Jenkins et al., *The Renaissance of Etching*, New York, 2019, p. 22–23.

25 F. Meynell, S. Morison, "Printers' Flowers and Arabesques", *The Fleuron. A Journal of Typography edited by Oliver Simon*, 1, 1923, p. 1–43; E. Offner, "Renaissance Typographic Ornament: Origins, Use, and Experiments", in M. Senechal, G. Fleck (eds.), *Patterns of Symmetry*, Amherst, 1977, p. 50–73; J. Fleming, "Changed Opinions as to Flowers", in H. Smith, L. Wilson (eds.), *Renaissance Paratexts*, Cambridge, 2011, p. 48–64; J. Fleming, "How to Look at a Printed Flower", *Word & Image. A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry*, 22, 2012, 2, p. 165–187; H. D. L. Vervliet, *Granjon's Flowers: An Enquiry into Granjon's, Giolito's, and De Tournes' Ornaments: 1542-86*, New Castle, DE, 2016, p. 9–17.

into Dabbās's role as proofreader at the printing press. However, the illustrations included in the books indicate that the printing press collaborated with artists who were responsible for creating woodcuts and metal engravings. The parallel work on different editions suggests a dynamic and well-organized workshop with a clear distribution of tasks among the permanent staff members. The two etched icons mentioned above bear the date of their creation. Significantly enough, this date corresponds with the book's publication year, 1706, which indicates that the plates were not purchased by the printers from other presses and reused but were originally designed for the Psalter.[26] The artist who signed the engraving of David the King and Prophet identifies himself merely as Simeon, which provides little assistance in determining his identity. A preliminary analysis of the compositional and iconographic features of the depiction of David playing his ten-stringed harp indicates that the engraving was created by an artist affiliated with the local artistic milieu, well versed in Eastern Orthodox iconography, with a refined style and a marked preoccupation with ornamental details.

The eclectic stock of woodcut tailpieces used by the Aleppo press was likely created in successive stages by Dabbās's woodcutters, as evidenced by their distribution over various works published there. The present study focusses on the end ornaments used by Dabbās in his first book printed in Aleppo, the Psalter, which were subsequently reused in the Gospel Book of the same year, and later on in the *Acts of the Apostles* and the Prophetologion. In contrast with the tailpieces that were developed later, these earlier ornaments employed by the press provide tangible evidence of the transmission of book art elements from Wallachian presses to the first printing press established by Athanasios Dabbās in Ottoman Syria. The following section will discuss these ornaments in greater detail.

3 Tailpieces of the Aleppo Psalter

The first book printed by Athanasios Dabbās in Aleppo in 1706 was an Arabic version of the Psalter entitled *Kitāb al-Zabūr al-Sharīf al-manṭūq bi-hi min al-Rūḥ al-Qudus ʻalā fam al-nabī wa-l-malik Dāwūd* […] (*The Holy Book of the Psalms Composed by the Holy Spirit through the Mouth of David the Prophet and the King* […]). In the first preface to the Psalter, the former patriarch of Antioch acknowledges the contribution of the Wallachian prince Constantin Brâncoveanu to the inaugural publication

26 The artist's signature is discernible in the lower portion of the engraving's ornate frame: Χειρ συμεὼν ≠αψς, "By the hand of Symeon, 1706". However, the artist who created the engraving has yet to be identified; cf. *BRV* I, p. 470.

of the Aleppo press. However, Dabbās does not provide any details regarding the establishment of the printing press or the precise nature of Brâncoveanu's assistance. Instead, he expresses his satisfaction at having successfully initiated the printing of Arabic books in the city of Aleppo.[27]

> It is not concealed from Your Excellency that it is through you that the Lord bestowed His help to us, so that we might successfully start printing in Arabic in the city of Aleppo in Syria. We printed first of all this Psalter, a copy of which you are receiving, to see [the fruits] of your benevolence that you have been showing us previously and now. We are sending you as a gift this holy book that came to be due to your goodness [...] (Psalter, Aleppo, 1706, p. [5]).

To honor his patron, Dabbās placed Brâncoveanu's coat of arms at the beginning of the book and embellished the Psalter with a full-page icon of King David portrayed as a poet and musician. Both images were printed from etched plates. The drawing on the etching plate was executed in a freehand style and subsequently bitten with acid, thereby allowing for tonal variations and greater detail than could be achieved with a woodcut block.[28] One can only speculate as to what may have influenced the printers' decision to illustrate the Psalter with etchings instead of woodcuts. It could have been only a matter of opportunity, or perhaps the Aleppo printers wanted to present the book to their patron in a distinctive and appealing style. The superior quality of the images created through intaglio techniques made them indeed highly regarded by Western European printers and their more selective customers of the time.[29] On the other hand, etched plates were prone to wear and tear

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27 I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Yulia Petrova (Institute for Oriental Studies in Kyiv/TYPARABIC Project, Bucharest) for allowing me to use her translation. The complete text of the preface will be published in a volume that she is currently preparing in collaboration with Ioana Feodorov for the *Early Arabic Printing in the East* book series published by De Gruyter. A French translation of the first preface to the Psalter was published in *BRV* I, p. 469–477, with the passage cited here translated with some differences on p. 473. For a comprehensive description of the 1706 Psalter, see Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 263–265. For a content-related analysis of the two Arabic prefaces of the Psalter, see Y. Petrova, "The Prefaces of the Christian Arabic Books Printed in Wallachia and Syria in the Early 18th Century", in Dipratu, Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond*, p. 267–290.

28 During the early 16th century, the increasing appeal of printmaking among professional painters in Northern Italy coincided with the advancement of etching techniques. On this topic, see C. Jenkins, "Drawing on the Plate: Parmigianino and Early Etching in Italy", and "A Painter's Medium: Etching in Verona and Venice", in C. Jenkins et al., *The Renaissance of Etching*, New York, 2019, p. 129–137 and 161–199, respectively.

29 During the first half of the 17th century, the Plantin Press, which was managed by Plantin's son-in-law Jan Moretus I, and later by Moretus's sons Jan II and Balthasar Moretus, produced different illustrated versions of the same work, sold at different prices and to different categories of buyers.

during printing at a much faster rate than engraved metal plates or woodcuts.[30] For one reason or another, Dabbās ceased to engage the services of a metal-plate engraver following the printing of the Psalter.

The printers used three different styles of tailpieces, all in single woodcut blocks, to enhance the visual impact of certain end sections of the book. It should be noted that all three woodcuts discussed below were later used to decorate other works published by the same press. Subsequent entries are noted for each ornament in the relevant sections.

3.1 Tailpiece A

After the second preface,[31] before the beginning of the Psalms, on the left-hand side of David the Prophet playing his harp, the editor summarizes the contents of the Psalter and explains the liturgical division of the Psalms into twenty *kathismata* (Fig. 2). This brief introduction concludes with a triangular woodcut (l = 4.5, h = 4.5 cm) that features a lion-headed *mascaron* with leafy floral sprays sprouting from his mouth. The plant motif is worked into an arabesque pattern (Fig. 3). The design of this woodcut, which I labeled as tailpiece A, was most probably inspired by a wood-carved tailpiece reproduced several times in the Greek and Arabic versions of the Book of the Divine Liturgies and the Horologion printed in Wallachia. The ornament first appears on the

Until the 1650s, most of their books were decorated with woodcuts. A number of the printed volumes were decorated with intaglio engravings. The copies of a print run that were intended to be illustrated with copperplate engravings were printed without the illustration, which was subsequently added in a printmaker's press. These books were produced at a higher cost and subsequently offered for sale at higher prices to the press's more affluent and knowledgeable clientele. After the mid-17th century, engravings began to replace woodcuts for most of the printed works. See Imhof, "From Arnold Nicolai to Peter Paul Rubens", p. 108–110, 130–140.

30 Imhof, "From Arnold Nicolai to Peter Paul Rubens", p. 120–127.

31 Two of the surviving copies of the Psalter, with two distinct prefaces, are held by the Library of the Romanian Academy (CRV 154) and the National Library of Austria (2.J.7 ALT PRUNK). From one of the two copies of the Aleppo Psalter held by the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg (Bt I 84), the initial 50 pages and part of the introduction are missing. The second copy in St. Petersburg lacks the engraving of King David that should appear between the last page of the second preface and the first page of the Psalter. It is likely that this copy did not have this engraving since its production; see Frantsouzoff, "Les psautiers arabes imprimés dans les bibliothèques de Saint-Pétersbourg", p. 197, 203, Fig. 3. The copy in the Gotha Research Library is also incomplete, starting directly with the first page of the Psalter. A digitized version of the Gotha exemplar is available at: https://dhb.thulb.uni-jena.de/rsc/viewer/ufb_derivate_00012655/Theol-4-00020-16_002.tif.

final page of the Greek and Arabic preface addressed by Athanasios Dabbās to Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu in the Book of the Divine Liturgies, at the end of the Greek version, p. [18] (Fig. 4). A second impression of this tailpiece is visible on page 78 of the same volume. A year later, the woodcut with a *mascaron* was also reproduced on several pages of the Horologion (p. 308, 388, 616, and 651).

The Aleppo press developed a simplified yet refined version of the original Wallachian design. The ornate leafy sprays characteristic of the Wallachian ornament were converted by the woodcutter into a delicate, see-through arabesque pattern that coexists harmoniously with the floral and vegetal motifs depicted in the woodcut headpieces and around the calligraphic titles of the Aleppo Psalter. Tailpiece A was reprinted in the Psalter on page 161, following the hymn included after the twelfth *kathisma*. The ornament was used again on the final page of the first edition of the Gospel printed in Aleppo in the same year. In 1707, it appears on a single occasion in the *Acts of the Apostles*, to mark the end of the explanation of the Epistle reading for the liturgy of the Holy Saturday (p. [386]).[32] A year later, tailpiece A was reprinted in the Prophetologion. The first impression of this decorative element, at the bottom of the title page of the book, is flanked by two rectangular ornaments (tailpiece C), which will be described in greater detail later. The identical combination of elements reappears on page [131] and on the last page of the volume (p. [252]), which also marks the final documented occurrence of the tailpiece with *mascaron* in the publications of the Aleppo press.

It is also worth noting that tailpiece A is one of the ornaments that were transferred from Aleppo to the printing press of the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Khinshāra, on Mount Lebanon, following the closing of Dabbās's press in 1711. Unlike other Aleppo-made ornaments, this one did not enjoy much popularity among the printers at Khinshāra. Its presence can be ascertained in only two of the 29 books they published by the end of the 18th century.[33]

32 I am grateful to my colleague Fr. Charbel Nassif (CEDRAC/Saint-Joseph University, Beirut) for his assistance in identifying this passage.

33 The ornament can be seen in two books published in Khinshāra: *Kitāb tafsīr sabʿa mazmūrāt min mazāmīr Dāwūd al-nabī*, a commentary on the "penitential Psalms", published in 1753, and *Kitāb al-nubuʾāt* (Prophetologion) published in 1775; see C. Nassif, "Les gravures des livres imprimés au XVIIIe siècle au Monastère Saint-Jean-Baptiste à Khenchara – Mont Liban", *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia*, 21, 2024, p. 70, 73, and the motif F in the table on p. 92–95.

3.2 Tailpiece B

It is not until the conclusion of the fifth *kathisma* (reaching one-third of the volume) that new decorative elements are introduced in the Psalter. Following the hymn which comes after the fifth *kathisma* (p. 82), the printers added a diamond-shaped arabesque-patterned woodcut (tailpiece B), which measures 4.5 x 4.5 centimeters and features four small flowers at its center (Figs. 5, 6). The design of this ornament was most probably inspired by the diamond-shaped woodcut reproduced in the Greek and Arabic Book of the Divine Liturgies (p. 205) published by Athanasios Dabbās and Antim the Iberian in 1701 (Figs. 7, 8).[34] It should be pointed out that Antim had previously included this ornament in the Greek edition of the Psalter that he had printed at the Monastery of Snagov in 1700.[35] The diamond-shaped tailpiece can be seen on the recto side of the second folio in the Psalter, after the Greek verses dedicated to David the King and Prophet, entitled Στίχοι εἰς τὸν θεῖον Δαβίδ[36] and Ἕτεροι Στίχοι εἰς τὸν θεῖον Δαβίδ (Fig. 9).[37] The same ornament was later used to decorate the Romanian edition of the Octoechos published in Târgoviște in 1712.[38] A close examination of tailpiece B reveals that it is indeed an altered version of the ornament repeatedly used by Antim the Iberian in his books. The outer edges of the Aleppo tailpiece have a distinct rounded outline. By contrast, the woodcut used by Antim has straight edges and sharp corners, with a central square featuring four diamond-shaped marks. Moreover, the Wallachian ornament shows a closer affinity with the 16th-century versions of this tailpiece, such as the one reproduced on p. 132 in Giovanni Francesco Peverone's *Due breui e facili trattati*[39] published

34 The ornament appears at the end of the Troparion in honor of the Theotokos, which follows the recitation of Psalm 45 (i.e., the final Psalm of the fifth *kathisma*).

35 B.A.R., CRV 122; see Picot, "Notice biographique et bibliographique sur l'imprimeur Anthime d'Ivir", p. 536, no. 13; *BRV* I, p. 409–411; Chițulescu (coord. ed.) et al., *Antim Ivireanul. Opera tipografică*, p. 75–77.

36 Byzantine Psalters often contained epigrams in verse dedicated to David the King and Prophet, considered to have been the author of the Book of Psalms. For the first epigram reproduced in the Greek Psalter published in Snagov in 1700, see V. Cândea, "O epigramă grecească tradusă de spătarul Nicolae Milescu", *Limba română*, 12, 1963, 3, p. 74–77; G. R. Parpulov, *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters, ca. 850–1350 AD*, Plovdiv, 2014, p. 218, no. 5.

37 For the second epigram reproduced in the Greek Psalter published in Snagov in 1700, see Parpulov, *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters*, p. 222, no. 17.

38 B.A.R., CRV 162; see *BRV* I, p. 485–486; Chițulescu (coord. ed.) et al., *Antim Ivireanul. Opera tipografică*, p. 167–169. The diamond-shaped ornament is printed after the editor's commentary on the contents of the Octoechos.

39 *Due brevi e facili trattati, il primo d'arithmetica: l'altro di geometria: ne i quale si contengono alcune cose nuove piacevoli e utili, si à gentilhuomini, come artegiani*, Lyon, 1558.

by Jean de Tournes in Lyon in 1558 (1504–1564).[40] Jean de Tournes sourced the diamond-shaped arabesque motif from Peter Flötner's[41] catalog of arabesque designs, alternatively referred to as *Mauresques et damasquinures*,[42] *Grotesken und Maureskеn*,[43] or *Maureskenbuch* (Fig. 10).[44] Initially compiled and published in Zürich in 1549 by the printer and publisher Rudolff Wyssenbach, Flötner's woodcuts of arabesque designs were later reprinted by Andreas Gessner in his illustrated collection of biographies of Roman emperors, *Imperatorum romanorum omnium orientalium et occidentalium verissimae imagines*, published in Zürich in 1559.[45] The arabesque emerged as a main design element in illustrated books published in Lyon and other French cities in the mid-16th century, subsequently reaching presses in England. Peter Flötner's diamond-shaped ornament is replicated, for example, in the Latin translation of Sophocles's *Antigone* by Thomas Watson published in London in 1581 by John Wolfe.[46]

A subsequent reprint of tailpiece B can be seen on the title page of the first edition of the Gospel published in Aleppo in 1706.[47] The diamond-shaped ornament is documented for the last time on the title page of the *Acts of the Apostles* published by Dabbās's press in 1707.

It is also worth calling attention to the fact that the Arabic Psalter printed by Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch (1724–1766) in Bucharest in 1747 does not include the Aleppo version of the diamond-shaped tailpiece. Instead, it features the Wallachian one used in the Greek and Arabic Book of Divine Liturgies printed in Snagov in

40 The Lyon-based printer and publisher Jean de Tournes collaborated with the punchcutter Bernard Salomon, who was responsible for designing the metal-engraved tailpieces and headpieces included in de Tournes' books. Salomon's son-in-law was the typefounder Robert Granjon (1513–1590), who is credited with the innovation of combinable typeface ornaments, which enabled printers to create an unlimited array of designs in printed books. Christophe Plantin was one of Granjon's clients. For the diamond-shaped ornament, see Offner, "Renaissance Typographic Ornament", p. 58–61; Vervliet, *Granjon's Flowers*, p. 172, 212, no. 97.

41 Peter Flötner (1485–1546), born in Switzerland, was a designer of ornaments for furniture, altarpieces, fountains, and gold and silver objects. He was a sculptor and carver in his own right but is most renowned as a printmaker of models for other artists in Renaissance Germany.

42 The title "Flatner Moresq", accompanied by the year 1549, is inscribed on the leather binding of the copy preserved in the Collections numérisées de la bibliothèque de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art (INHA), Paris, accessible at: https://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/idurl/1/19133.

43 Accessible at: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/343652.

44 Meynell, Morison, "Printers' Flowers and Arabesques", p. 12.

45 The plate featuring Flötner's multiple diamond-shaped arabesque ornaments is printed on the recto of f. 42, below the biographical entry for the Roman emperor Licinius (308–324).

46 H. R. Polmer, *English Printer's Ornaments*, London, 1924, p. 132, 217, no. 89.

47 See section 4 below.

1701.[48] The woodcut ornament (which may have been Antim's original woodcut) was part of the ornament stock available to the typographers of the Monastery of Saint Spyridon in Bucharest at that time.[49]

A variation of tailpiece B, which reveals similarities to both the Aleppo and the Wallachian tailpieces, is seen in Nikolaos Mauroeidēs' work *Τὸ ἀποστολικὸν δύκτιον* [*sic*][50] (*The Apostolic Net*) published in Iași in 1756 by the renowned typographer and engraver Mihail Strilbițchi.[51] This later iteration of the ornament has a slightly rounded shape, comparable to that of the Aleppo tailpiece, but its interlaced design is identical to that of the Wallachian examples (Fig. 11).

3.3 Tailpiece C

Tailpiece B is combined on page 82 of the Psalter with two rectangular ornaments made of conventional leaf motifs, each measuring 2.5 × 2.5 cm (Fig. 5). No similar designs have been reported in books printed in Walachia during the same period. The Aleppo printers always used the rectangular ornaments in pairs; two identical pieces of the same ornament are typically placed in the blank spaces below the end paragraph of a chapter, often to create a symmetrical arrangement with a central tailpiece. In addition, C-type tailpieces could be used either as squares, as it is illustrated in the 1706 Psalter (p. 37, 82), or cornerwise, as evidenced on the final page of Athanasios Dabbās's preface appended in 1708 to the 1706 Gospel.

A review of the available evidence suggests that the Aleppo press did not utilize any Wallachian-made ornaments to embellish the Psalter printed in 1706. Two of the three ornaments commissioned for the Aleppo press's inaugural publication were based on designs created in Wallachia. These include the tailpiece with a lion-headed *mascaron* (tailpiece A) and the diamond-shaped tailpiece with an arabesque

48 I. Feodorov, "Sylvester of Antioch's Arabic Books Printed in 1747 at Bucharest. Recent Findings", *Scrinium*, 19, 2023, p. 11, fig. 4.

49 Concerning Patriarch Sylvester's typographic activity in Bucharest, see I. Feodorov, "New Data on the Early Arabic Printing in the Levant and its Connections to the Romanian Presses", *RESEE*, 56, 2018, 1–4, and the relevant chapter in the recent book by Mihai Țipău, *Sylvester of Antioch. Life and Achievements of an 18th-Century Christian Orthodox Patriarch*, Berlin/Boston, 2024.

50 It should be noted that either the editor or the author himself misspelled the Greek term δίκτυον (meaning "mesh", "fishing net"); see *BRV* II, p. 123.

51 The ornament first appears at the conclusion of the second preface of the volume (B.A.R., CRV 302), signed by Nikolaos Mauroeidēs of Kefalonia. It then reappears on pages 136, 204, 244, 258, 295, and 359. On Mihail Strilbițchi's activity as an engraver, see the chapter authored by A. E. Tatay and C. Tatai-Baltă in the present volume.

pattern (tailpiece B). The Wallachian woodcuts that inspired the tailpieces A and B were previously used to adorn the bilingual, Greek and Arabic, editions of the Book of the Divine Liturgies and the Horologion printed in Antim the Iberian's presses during the stay of the Syrian metropolitan in the North-Danubian principality in the early 18th century. The design of the Wallachian woodcuts underwent considerable variation in the books printed at Aleppo. This variation allows us to conclude that none of the ornaments were printed from woodblocks cut in Antim the Iberian's workshop.

4 Wood-Carved and Lead Cast Fleurons used in the First Publications of the Aleppo Press

In 1706, in addition to the tailpieces that I have already mentioned, Dabbās's stock of ornaments included three smaller ornaments that were occasionally used to mark the end of text sections. These were a woodcut ornament in a small rectangular format (0.8 x 0.8 cm) and a radial floral design, as well as two varieties of typecast fleurons. Both the Psalter and the Gospel make extensive use of small woodcut ornaments. In contrast, cast ornaments appear only on a limited number of occasions in the same books. For example, the Psalter contains no cast ornaments whatsoever, whereas the Gospel features them exclusively in the front matter.

The small wooden stamps of rectangular format were employed extensively throughout the Psalter, starting with the first page of the text (Fig. 12). Printers appended them to headings and subheadings and used them to mark concluding paragraphs where there was insufficient space to add an end ornament. Occasionally, the same rectangular elements were employed to emphasize certain words by isolating them from the surrounding text. The woodcut flowers reappear in the first version of the Gospel published later that year and were subsequently employed in two additional books: *The Acts of the Apostles* (1707) and the Prophetologion (1708). It seems that after this year, the multipurpose woodcut fleurons were superseded in popularity by a new generation of typecast ornaments, which were smaller and more versatile than their woodcut counterparts.

Lead-cast fleurons were first used in the 1706 edition of the Gospel. The first type unit, visible on the title page of the Gospel (Fig. 13), recalls the style of a fleuron engraved by the French punchcutter Robert Granjon in the second half of the 16th century and popularized by the Antwerp-based French typographer Christophe

Plantin (c. 1520–1589).[52] The design was still frequently in use in the early 17th century.[53] The Aleppo printers certainly did not fully explore the combinable potential of this fleuron, but as I mentioned when discussing the layout of title pages, they did create a headpiece with a serial arrangement of the same type unit in two parallel rows above the title section of the title page of the 1706 Gospel.

The second type of fleuron employed by the Aleppo printers is another conventional vegetal motif with two loops and a trefoil at its center (Fig. 14). This motif was similarly utilized with a circumscribed scope in the Gospel, namely, to create a headpiece on the first page of the preface to the Gospel. This type of ornament was also designed by Western punchcutters and was employed by various presses in Western Europe since the 16th century. The earliest known use of the typographic ornament, as indicated by Francis Meynell and Stanley Morison, was recorded in Hugues de la Porte's press in Lyon in 1547.[54] The flower was later used by Guillaume Rouillé and Robert Granjon in 1558.[55] It remained a popular motif throughout the 17th century, with no alterations in form. The Aleppo fleuron is virtually identical in shape to the type of ornament that composes the title-page vignette in the Spanish version of Edward Nicholas's *Apology for the Honorable Nation of the Jews* published by John Field in London in 1649 (Fig. 15).[56]

Following the initial application of cast ornaments in the Gospel, Dabbās's printers proceeded to fully explore the potential of typographic fleurons, as evidenced by the subsequent book printed by the press. The Gospel with commentary shows a heavy use of typecast flowers, particularly of the second variety. Throughout the book, printers demonstrated their skill in manipulating the same element to achieve a range of ornamental effects. The same building block was used to create frames of varying complexity and ornamental patterns of remarkable diversity around the headings and subheadings of text. Alternatively, the small cast ornaments were

52 Meynell, Morison, "Printers' Flowers and Arabesques", p. 40, no. 12; Vervliet, *Vine Leaf Ornaments in Renaissance Typography*, New Castle, DA/Houten, 2012, p. 27; Vervliet, *Granjon's Flowers*, p. 86, no. 32, units a–b.

53 It appears, for example, in the multi-unit frame that adorns the *Contents* page at the beginning of Robert Barker's 1615 edition of the Bible: *The Bible: that is the Holy Scriptures conteined in the Old and New Testament; translated according to the Ebrew and Greeke, and conferred with the best translations in divers languages*, London, 1615.

54 Meynell, Morison, "Printers' Flowers and Arabesques", p. 40, no. 7.

55 Vervliet, *Granjon's Flowers*, p. 61–62, no. 23. The ornament created by Granjon resembles a version used in 1544 by Gabriele Giolito (c. 1508–1578) in his printing press in Venice. This version was subsequently reworked by Jean I de Tournes in 1548; cf. Vervliet, *Granjon's Flowers*, p. 131, no. 59; p. 157, no. 82.

56 Edward Nicholas, *Apologia por la noble nacion de los Iudios y hijos de Israel*, London, 1649; cf. Polmer, *English Printer's Ornaments*, p. 135, 229, no. 116.

grouped in the Lectionary along the decreasing lines of the final paragraphs and in places where there was insufficient space to accommodate a woodcut-printed tailpiece.

5 Tailpieces of the Gospel Book

After his return to Syria, Athanasios Dabbās set himself the ambitious task of preparing, along with the Psalter, a liturgical edition of the Gospel that had been revised by him based on the Greek version.[57] The Gospel book was published in 1706 under the title *Kitāb al-Injīl al-sharīf al-ṭāhir wa-l-miṣbāḥ al-munīr al-zāhir* […] (*Book of the Holy and Pure Gospel or the Resplendently Shining Lamp* […]). It contains the four Gospels in their original order, with the text itself divided into liturgical pericopes. Each section or pericope is preceded by a red heading indicating the feast day or Sunday on which the passage was to be read in church.

In terms of decoration, the Aleppo Gospel does not exhibit any particularly innovative features. The typographers used the same ornaments that had been employed to decorate the Psalter. As already noted, the diamond-shaped woodcut (tailpiece B) was reproduced on the title page, below the title paragraph, which also incorporates details regarding the place and the year of publication. Additionally, a pair of rectangular foliate ornaments (tailpiece C) was printed after the final pericope of the Gospel of Matthew (*Matthew* 28:10-20), on page [65], and in conjunction with tailpiece A after the last pericope of Mark (*Mark* 16:16-20), on page [102].

The Library of the Romanian Academy holds two copies of the inaugural edition of the Gospel published by Athanasios Dabbās in 1706. The first copy (CRV 154A) forms part of the set of volumes bound and distributed in 1706.[58] The second copy (CRV 155A), notable for its lavishly embellished leather covers, was bound with funds provided by the hetman Ivan Mazepa in 1708.[59] Before they were distributed,

57 For further information regarding the manuscript sources of Dabbās's Arabic translation of the Gospel and his work to improve the consistency of the translation, see R. Wakim, "Patriarch Athanasios III Dabbās's Gospel. Origin and Characteristics", in Dipratu, Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond*, p. 295–297; R. Wakim, "The Commentary in the Melkite Lectionary. The Case of Patriarch Athanasios III Dabbās's Lectionary of 1706", *Scrinium*, 19, 2023, p. 70–99.

58 *BRV* IV, p. 32–33; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 271–274.

59 Simonescu, Muracade, "Tipar românesc pentru arabi", p. 17–18; Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 274. A second copy with the dedication to Ivan Mazepa, featuring identical ornate leather bindings, is held by the National Library of Ukraine in Kyiv; see http://irbis-nbuv.gov.ua/dlib/item/0002840.

the remaining copies of the 1706 edition were given a new title page where the year of publication was updated to 1708. Additionally, the preface was altered to include a eulogy for the Cossack hetman, whose coat of arms was printed with a woodcut made in Aleppo and placed in the beginning of the volume.[60]

It is worth calling attention to the fact that both the title page and the preface of Mazepa's Gospel feature ornaments that differ from those seen on the title page and the preface of the 1706 Gospel. The diamond-shaped motif (tailpiece B) was removed from the newly printed title page. Instead, a woodcut ornament depicting an Ottoman-style vase of flowers was inserted, to fill the blank space below the book's title (Fig. 16). Furthermore, the typographers combined a six-winged seraph ornament with a second floral design in a vertical alignment below the concluding paragraph of the newly added preface (Fig. 17). None of these three ornaments is present in the main text of the volume, which was fully printed in 1706. This suggests that the aforementioned woodcut ornaments were created after the publication of the first Aleppo Gospel, for use in the expanded, second version of the Gospel (with commentary) published later that year.

6 Conclusion

At some point between the publication of the two Arabic versions of the Gospel, the Aleppo press expanded its collection of woodcut ornaments with five additional pieces. Among the three newly added floral designs, one depicts a double-handle vase containing a single carnation surrounded by lotus flowers, while the other shows a low pedestal vase with two symmetrical branches of lotus flowers. As previously stated, both ornaments were included in the preface printed in 1708, which was bound with the text of the first version of the Gospel published by Athanasios Dabbās in 1706. The third floral motif shows a frontal arrangement of flowers, buds and serrated leaves. Two figurative ornaments have also been added to the collection, one depicting the bust of an angel, and the other a six-winged seraph. Owing to their distinctive visual charm, the newly designed tailpieces soon took precedence over the earlier Wallachian-inspired woodcuts, and after 1708, they became the only ones used at the Aleppo press.

The examination of the Aleppo books and their decorations leads to the conclusion that printers maintained a distinction between the two sets of tailpieces and never combined them in a single book. The only element shared between the

60 The woodcut for Mazepa's coat of arms is preserved today in the museum of the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Khinshāra, Lebanon.

books decorated with the first set of tailpieces and those decorated with the second set of ornaments is represented by tailpiece C.[61] The Wallachian-inspired designs of the first series were used in the Psalter (1706), the first version of the Gospel (1706), the *Acts of the Apostles* (1707), and the Prophetologion (1708). The remaining five ornaments are present in the other five books printed in Aleppo between 1706 and 1711. These include the Lectionary (1706), *The Book of the Chosen Pearls from the Sermons of Saint John Chrysostom* (1707), the title page and preface added in 1708 to the Gospel (1706), the frontmatter of the Lectionary dedicated to the hetman Daniel Apostol (1708),[62] *The Sermons of Athanasios, the Patriarch of Jerusalem* (1711), the Octoechos (1711), and Athanasios Dabbās's *Brief Epistle on How to Repent and Confess* (1711). The reason behind this approach is not readily apparent. It is possible that printers were motivated by purely aesthetic considerations in their manipulation of the ornamental stock, or that practical factors played a role in the decision, particularly if the two sets of ornaments were used to decorate books printed at the same time on different presses.

The Aleppo press experimented with a variety of decorative elements, consistently refining the visual presentation of its publications from one edition to another. The ornaments that Dabbās reused from his joint editions with Antim the Iberian were not the ones that became the most distinctive visual feature of the Aleppo editions. This role was taken on by the new floral tailpieces that emerged in the eclectic artistic milieu of Ottoman Aleppo. As a testimony to their success, three of these designs reappeared two decades later in the books published by the new Arabic-type press established at the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Khinshāra, on Mount Lebanon. So far, only one of the tailpieces used in the Psalter and the first edition of the Gospel has been identified in Arabic books printed in the East after 1711. The analysis of the decorative elements in the books published by Dabbās in Aleppo is of great interest for the history of the first printing press of the Church of Antioch. It represents a remarkably fruitful avenue of inquiry into the evolution of the Aleppo press, its response to changing circumstances, and the solutions it identified over time as appropriate for the visual presentation of its books. Furthermore, it illustrates the printers' concern for the bookmaking craft and their acknowledgement of the role played by the visual components in the success of Dabbās's editorial project.

61 The only exception is the title page of the first version of the Gospel, which was reproduced identically in the Lectionary of the same year, 1706.

62 Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands*, p. 274.

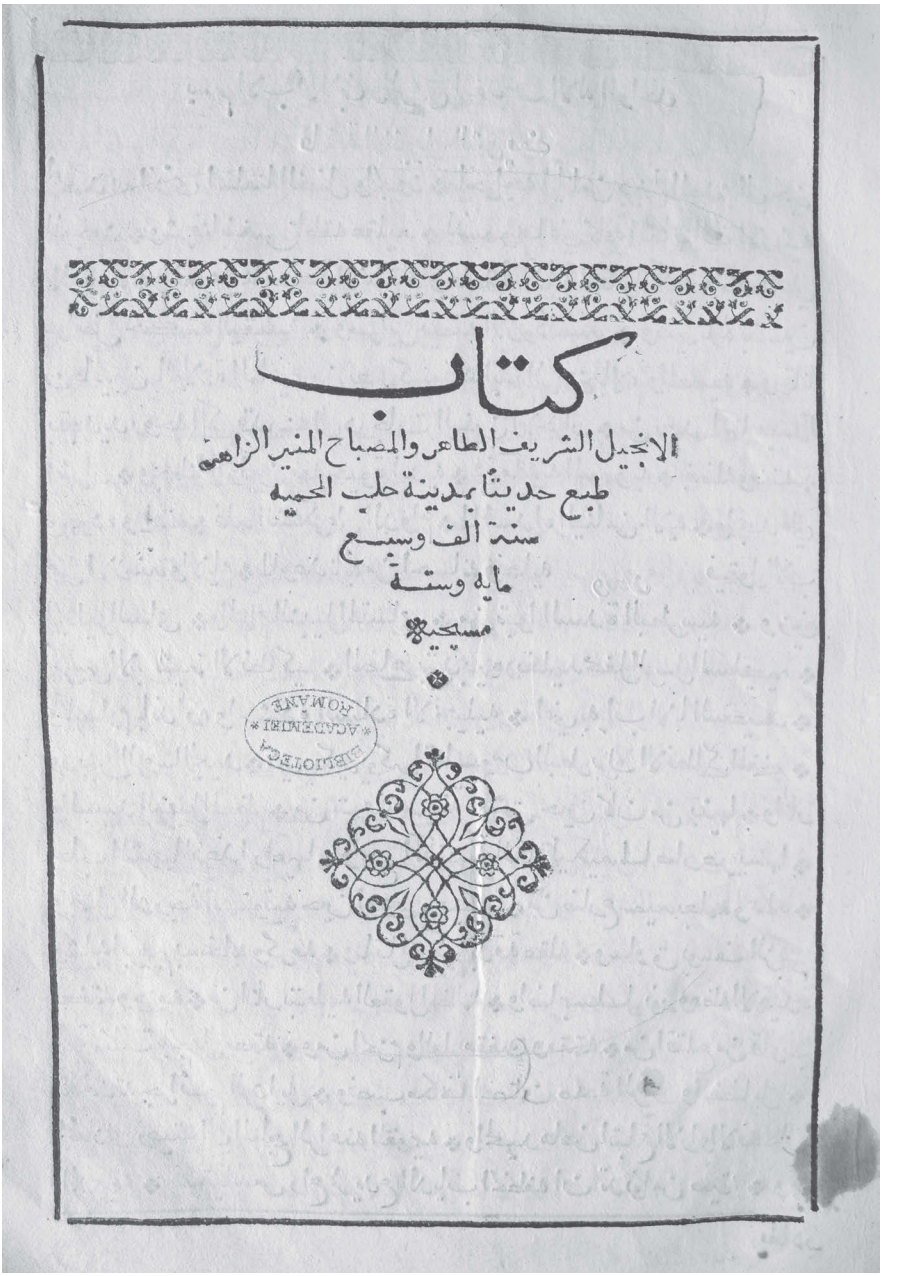

Fig. 1: Title page of the Gospel (Aleppo, 1706) decorated with a headpiece composed of a single type of fleuron and a diamond-shaped tailpiece in arabesque pattern, CRV 154A (B.A.R. Photo Oana Iacubovschi).

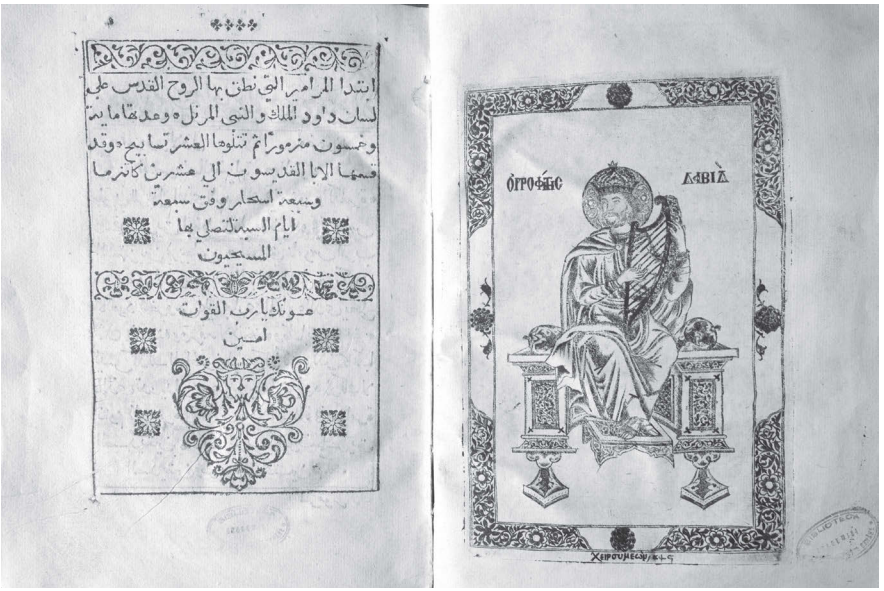

Fig. 2: Intaglio engraving of King David playing his ten-stringed instrument, opposite the first page of the Psalter, Aleppo, 1706 (B.A.R. Photo Oana Iacubovschi).

Fig. 3: Woodcut tailpiece with *mascaron* with leafy floral sprays coming out from his mouth (tailpiece A). Psalter, Aleppo, 1706, detail of Fig. 2 (B.A.R.).

Fig. 4: Woodcut tailpiece with *mascaron* with leafy floral sprays coming out from his mouth. Book of the Divine Liturgies, Snagov, 1701, p. [18] (B.A.R. Photo Oana Iacubovschi).

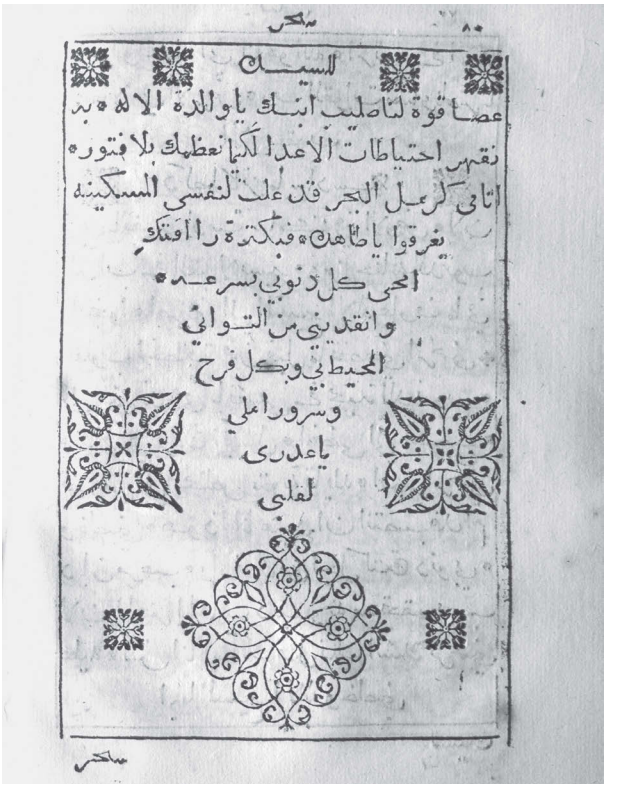

Fig. 5: Tailpieces B and C, Psalter, Aleppo, 1706, p. 82 (B.A.R. Photo Oana Iacubovschi).

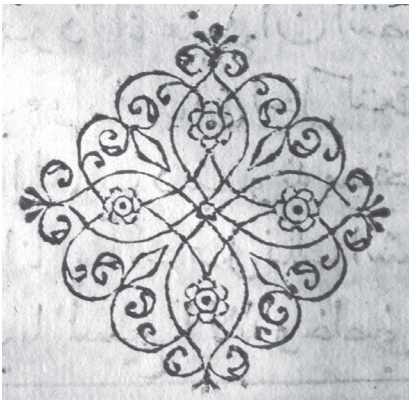

Fig. 6: Diamond-shaped tailpiece in arabesque pattern (tailpiece B). Psalter, Aleppo, 1706, detail of Fig. 5 (B.A.R).

Fig. 7: Diamond-shaped tailpiece in arabesque pattern. Greek-Arabic Book of the Divine Liturgies, Snagov, 1701, detail of Fig. 8 (B.A.R.).

Fig. 8: Composition with a diamond-shaped woodcut in arabesque pattern and combinable ornaments in black and red ink. Book of the Divine Liturgies, Snagov, 1701, p. 205 (B.A.R.).

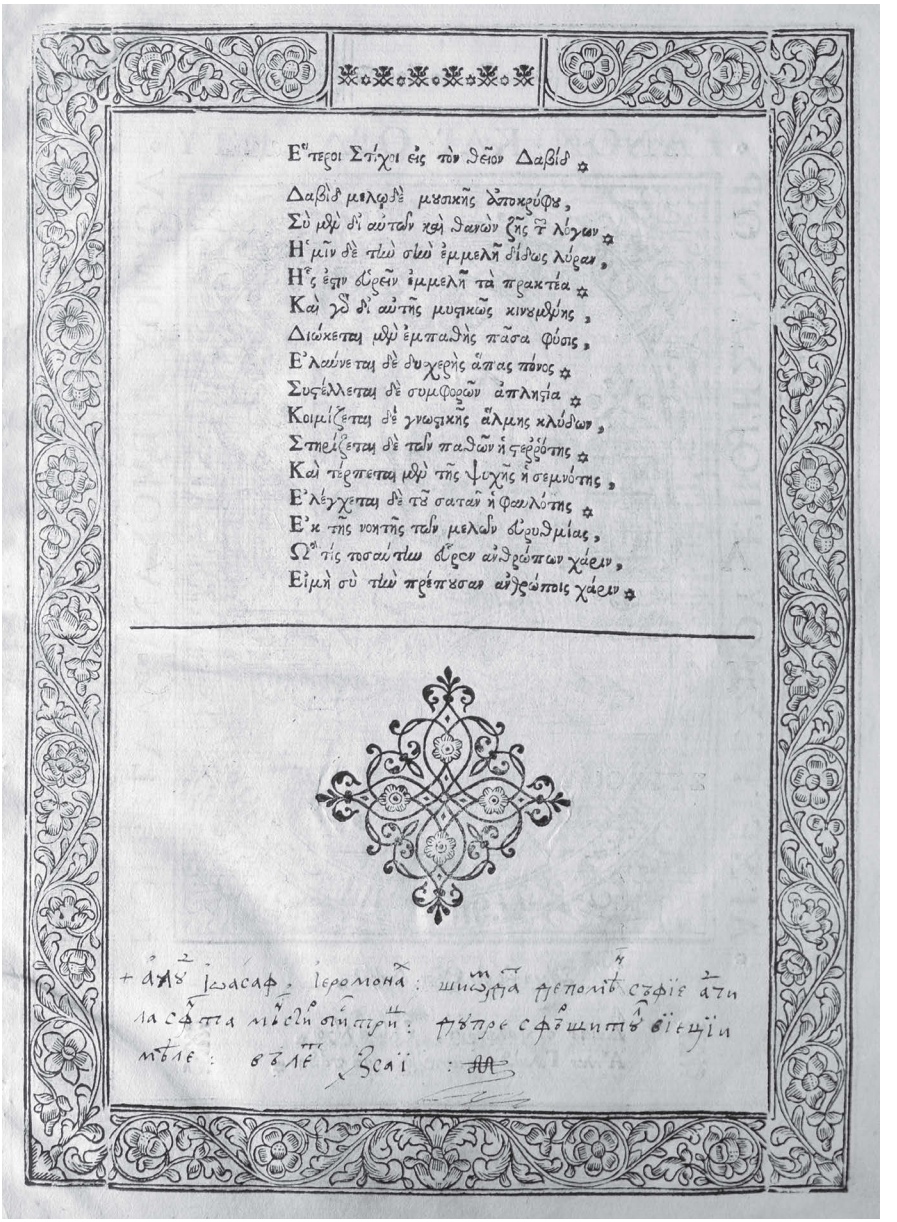

Fig. 9: Diamond-shaped tailpiece in arabesque pattern printed below the Greek epigram dedicated to "the divine David". Greek Psalter printed by Antim the Iberian, Snagov, 1700, p. [3] (B.A.R. Photo Oana Iacubovschi).

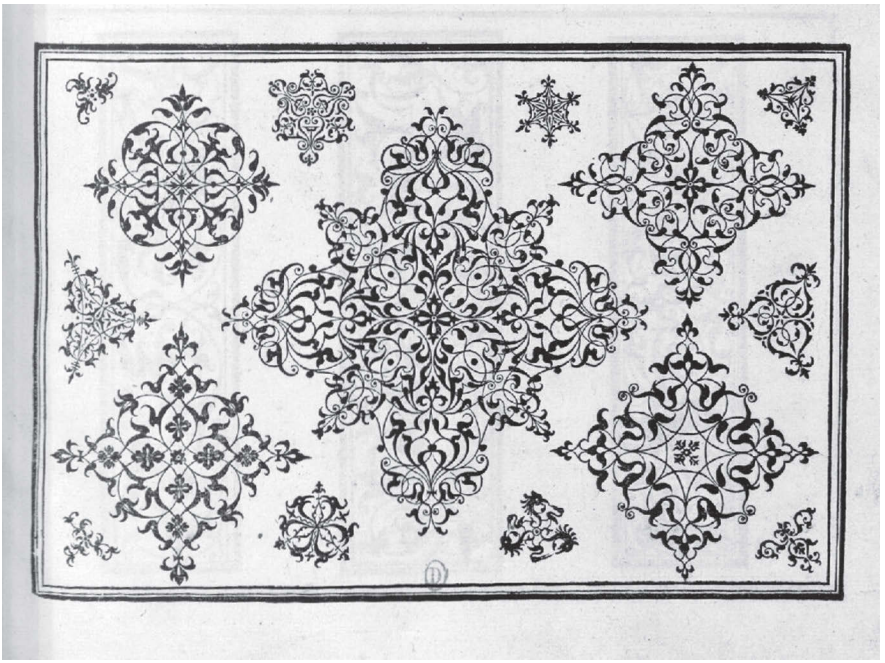

Fig. 10: Plate with arabesque patterns from Peter Flötner's pattern book, Zürich, 1549, detail of pl. [XVII] (Institut national d'histoire de l'art, Paris. Public Domain).

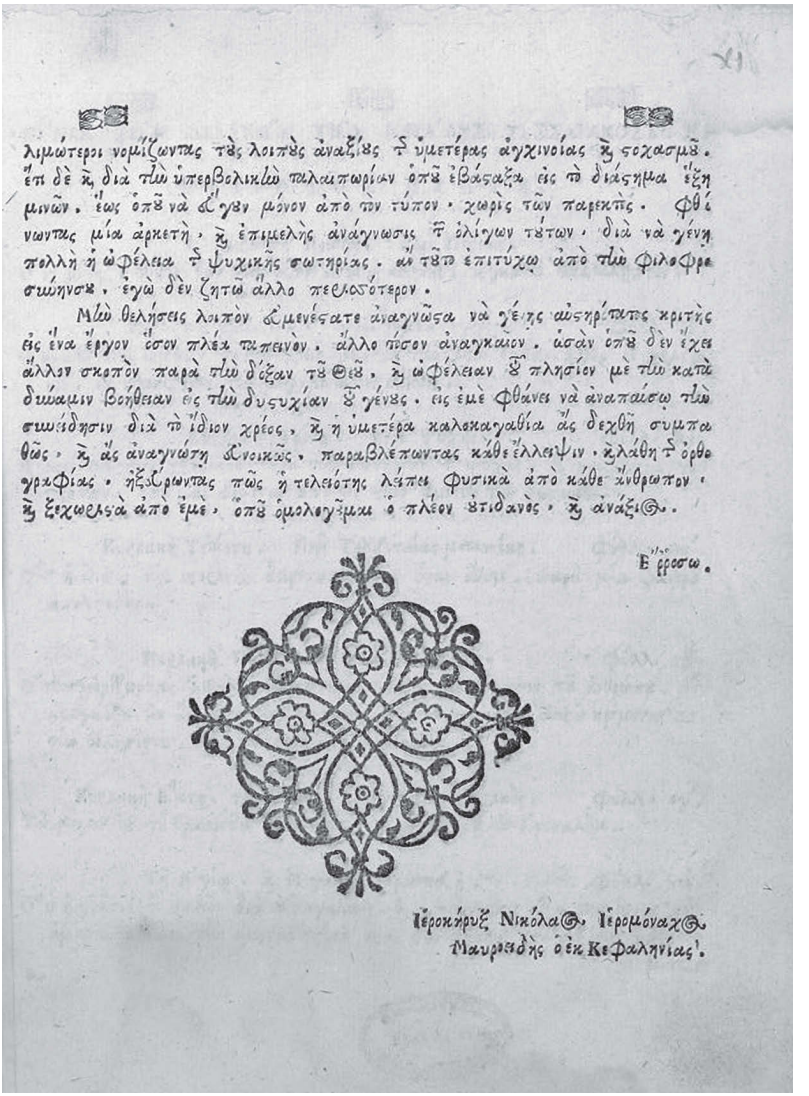

Fig. 11: Diamond-shaped tailpiece in arabesque pattern, printed in Nikolaos Mauroeidēs, *Tò ἀποστολικόν δύκτιον (The Apostolic Net)*, Iași, 1756, preface, p. [11] (B.A.R.).

Fig. 12: Woodcut fleurons on p. 82 of the Psalter, Aleppo, 1706, details of Fig. 5 (B.A.R).

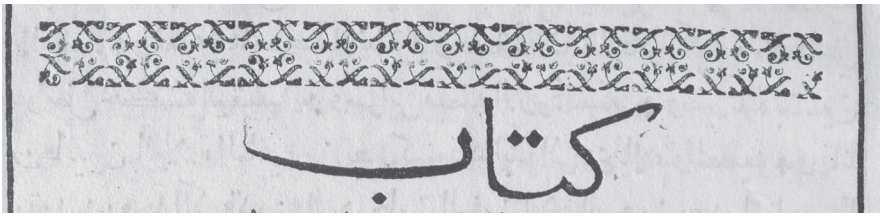

Fig. 13: Headpiece made up of a single type of fleuron, Gospel, Aleppo, 1706, title page, detail of Fig. 1 (B.A.R).

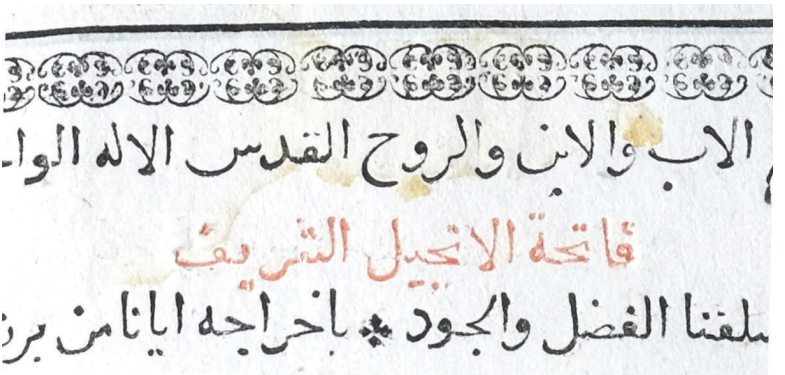

Fig. 14: Headpiece made up of a single type of fleuron. Gospel, Aleppo, 1706, detail of the first page of the preface, CRV 154A (B.A.R. Photo Oana Iacubovschi).

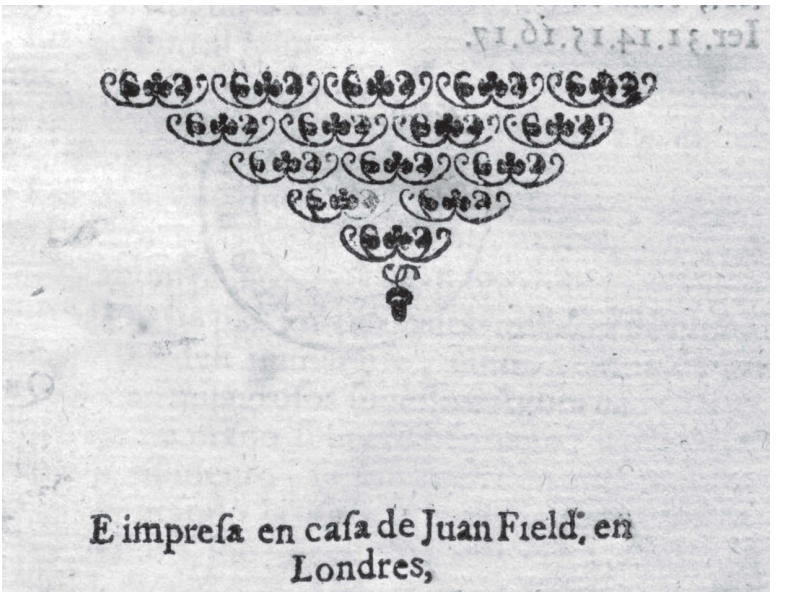

Fig. 15: Title-page vignette made up of fifteen fleuron units and an acorn arranged in an inverted triangle shape. Edward Nicholas, *Apologia por la noble nacion de los Iudios* (London, 1649) (by permission of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).

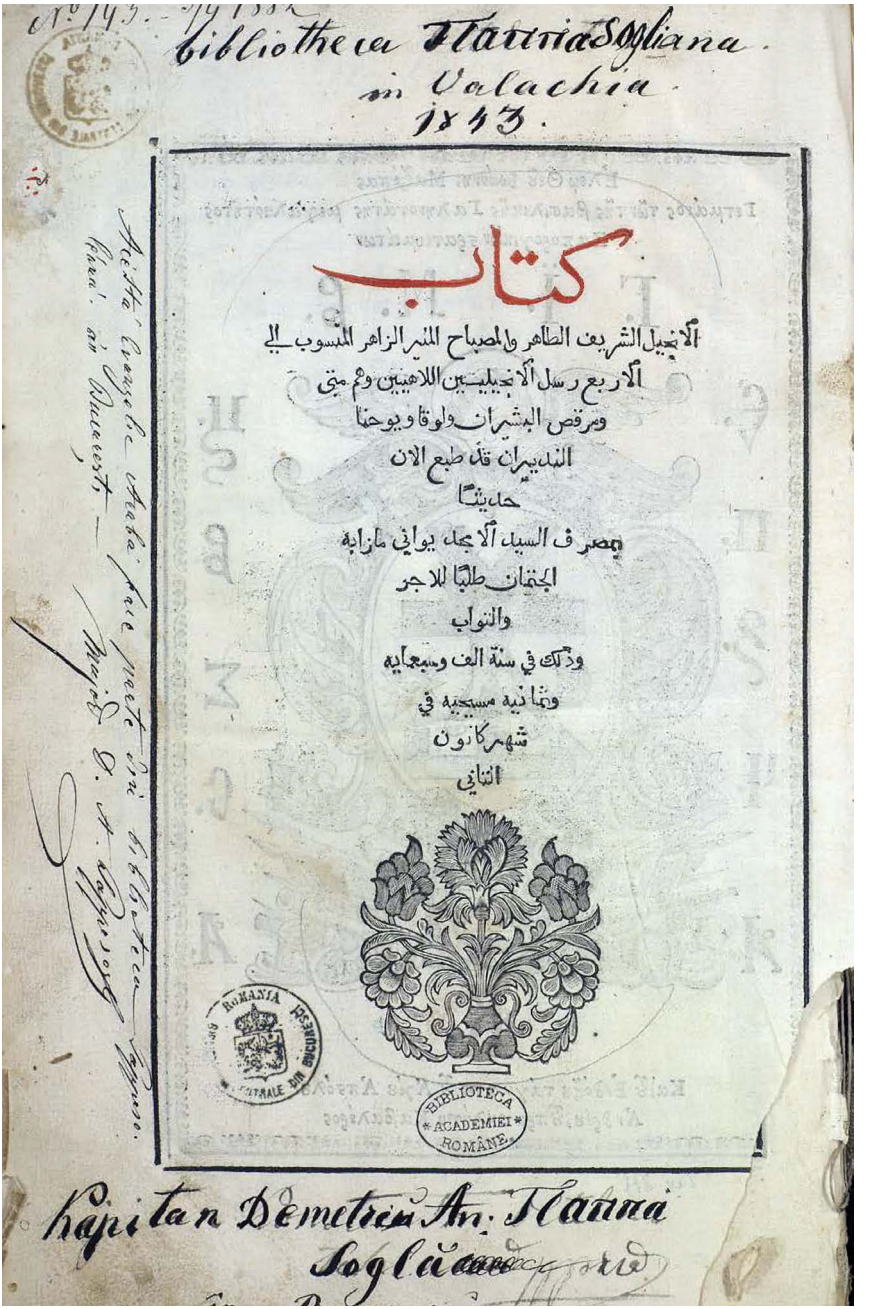

Fig. 16: Floral tailpiece on the title page added in 1708 to the first edition of the Gospel, Aleppo, 1706, CRV 155A (B.A.R.).

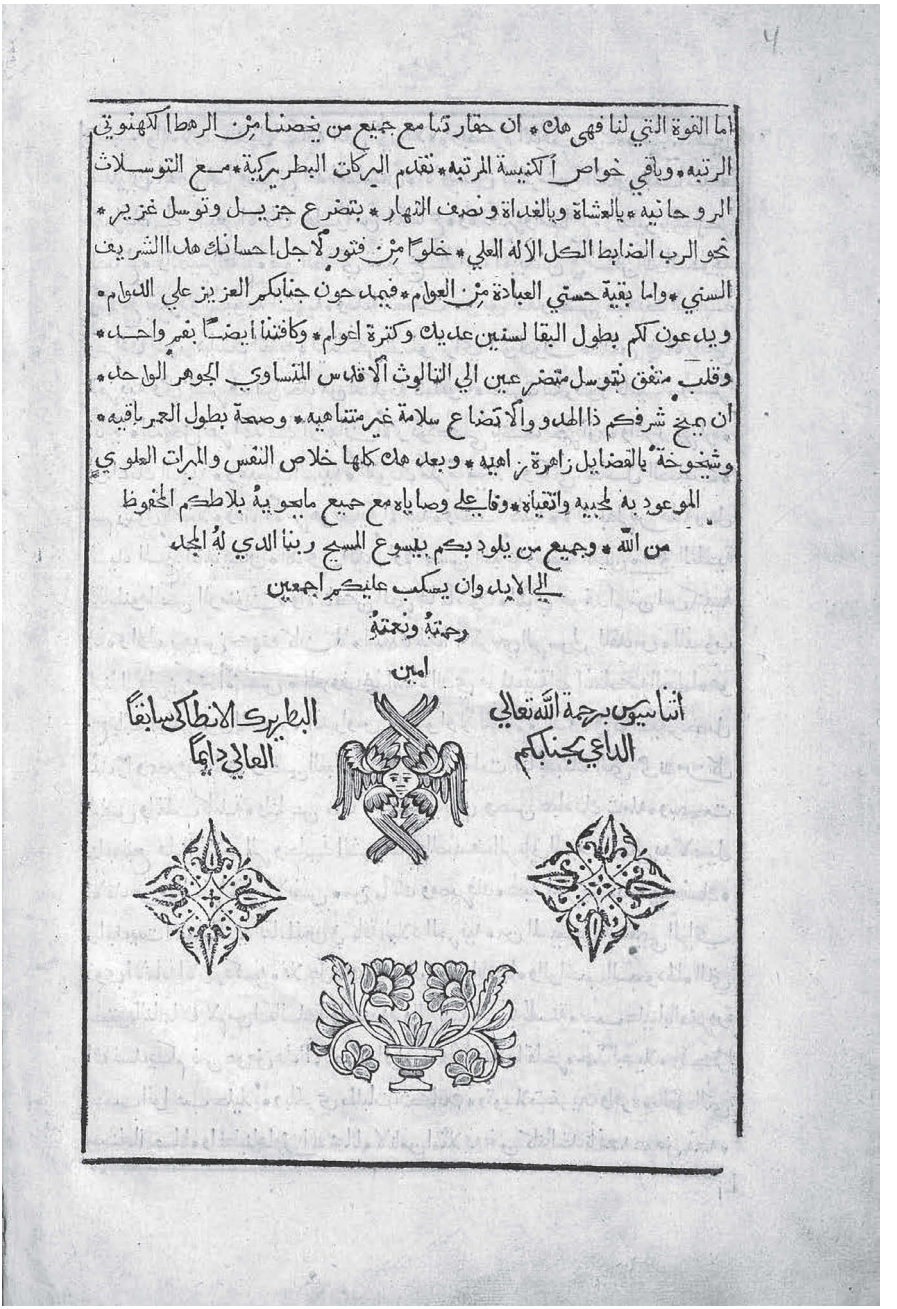

Fig. 17: Woodcut ornaments grouped on the final page of the preface added in 1708 to the first edition of the Gospel, Aleppo, 1706 (B.A.R.).

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The Transfer of Ukrainian Engraving Models to Presses of the Romanian Lands in the 18th Century

1 Introduction

Guided by cultural aspirations, the Romanian people was receptive to multiple and diverse artistic tendencies, promoted in the different parts of Europe that they were in contact with – due to their geographical position at the crossroads of important communication routes between the East and the West – which they creatively assimilated, achieving a specific style of art with high spiritual value. Printing and engraving appeared in the Romanian area at the beginning of the 16th century, more precisely at Târgoviște, in 1508, outrunning, in this respect, countries like Russia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey.[1]

If in the 16th century the Romanian art of printing and woodcutting was under Italian influence, towards the mid-17th century German influence, via Ukrainian books and craftsmen, became manifest in Wallachia and Moldavia.

The voivodes Matei Basarab (1632–1654) in Wallachia and Vasile Lupu (1634–1653) in Moldavia set up printing presses with the support of Petru Movilă, the metropolitan of Kyiv, son of a Moldavian ruler. Therefore, the prelate sent them typographic materials, master typographers, and skilled engravers from Ukraine.[2]

1 See especially M. Tomescu, *Istoria cărţii româneşti de la începuturi până la 1918*, Bucharest, 1968, p. 26–37; C. Tatai-Baltă, "Grafica de carte din Țara Românească în secolele XVI–XVII", in R. Theodorescu, M. Porumb (eds.), *Arta din România. Din preistorie în contemporaneitate*, vol. I, Bucharest, 2018, p. 393–395.

2 N. Iorga, "Tipografia la români", *Almanahul graficei române*, 8, 1931, p. 36–40; Gh. Racoveanu, *Gravura în lemn la Mănăstirea Neamţul*, Bucharest, 1940, p. 12; V. Molin, "Ilustraţia în vechea carte bisericească", *BOR*, 78, 1960, 7–8, p. 706–708; Tomescu, *Istoria cărţii româneşti*, p. 79–83; C. Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj (1750–1830)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2023 (2nd ed.), p. 45–49; S. Földvári, "Petro Mohyla's Cultural Transmission between the Ukrainian and Romanian Cultures. His Life

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Thus, starting in 1635, ecclesiastical books, in both Romanian and Church Slavonic,[3] started to be published at Câmpulung, Govora, Dealu Monastery, and Târgoviște, while the first press in Moldavia was set up in Iași at the Three Hierarchs (Trei Ierarhi) Monastery in 1641.

Among the Ukrainian craftsmen who illustrated Romanian books in the 17th century,[4] we mention Ilia, with *Cazania lui Varlaam* (*Varlaam's Book of Homilies*), Iași, 1643, Teodor Tișevici, *Îndreptarea legii* (*Law Codices*), Târgoviște, 1652, and Ivan (Ioanichie) Bakov, *Cheia înțelesului* (*The Key to Meaning*), Bucharest, 1678, and the Triodion, Buzău, 1700. These engravers, as well as some Romanian ones, resorted to illustrated books of Kyiv and Lviv. Both Ukrainian and Romanian books often include title page frames decorated with religious imagery bordered by architectural elements.

Generally speaking, the illustration, with its decorative and explanatory function, reached a high artistic standard while Constantin Brâncoveanu was prince of Wallachia (1688-1714). The woodcuts influenced by Ukrainian art represent varied suggestive scenes with numerous expressive figures, and architectural and landscape elements arranged on multiple levels.[5]

We must emphasize that Romanian engravers did not only resort to Ukrainian sources but also to others, which were assimilated more or less creatively. By all means, during the 18th century as well as in the following one, Ukrainian woodcuts influenced different typographic centres from Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania,[6] a fact which we intend to demonstrate in the present essay. Without

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and Activity", in E. Lomia (ed.), *4th International Black Sea Modern Scientific Research Congress, June 6–7, 2023*, Ankara, 2023, p. 1374–1391.

3 The Slavonic books printed in the Romanian lands starting with 1508 are considered early printed Romanian books. All the examples presented in this article pertain to books printed in the Romanian language with Cyrillic type.

4 About this subject, see C. Tatai-Baltă, A. E. Tatay, "Ukrainian Influence on the Romanian Xylographs in the Seventeenth Century", in L. Novikova et al. (eds.), *From the Dnipro to the Danube: War, Diplomacy and Political, Cultural and Social Relations between the Romanian Principalities and the Ukrainian Lands in the Early Modern Era*, Berlin/New York (forthcoming). For the first three decades of the 19th century, see A. E. Tatay, C. Tatai-Baltă, "Ukrainian Influence on the Engravings in Romanian Books Printed in Buda (the Beginning of the 19th Century)", in S. Kahamlyk, D. Palii (eds.), *Ukrainian Writing and Language in Manuscripts and Printing. In Honor of the 50th Anniversary of the Museum of the Book and Printing of Ukraine*, Kyiv, 2022, p. 39–56.

5 Iorga, "Tipografia la români," p. 41–42; Racoveanu, *Gravura în lemn la Mănăstirea Neamțul*, p. 12–13; Molin, "Ilustrația în vechea carte bisericească", p. 709–712; Tomescu, *Istoria cărții românești*, p. 80–81, 83–84; Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 50–54.

6 See especially G. Ștrempel, "Sprijinul acordat de Rusia tiparului românesc în secolul al XVII-lea", *Studii și cercetări de bibliologie*, I, 1955, p. 15–42; C. Tatai-Baltă, "Receptarea xilogravurii ucrainene

claiming to exhaust the subject, we will refer to the following engravers: Ioanichie Bakov (Buzău); Popa Mihai Râmniceanu Tipograf (Râmnic); Grigorie T. and Sandul T. (Rădăuți, Iași); Mihail Strilbițchi (Iași, Dubăsari); Vlaicu (Blaj); and Petru Papavici Râmniceanu (Blaj).

2 Ivan Bakov

Ivan Bakov (Ioanichie, as a monk), an artist of European level, produced, signed and dated engravings between 1678 and 1705, which appear in books printed in Bucharest, Buzău, Snagov, Râmnic,[7] and Tibilisi in Georgia.[8] It is worth mentioning that most researchers have asserted that Bakov is of Ukrainian origin.[9] Nestor Vornicescu, the Metropolitan of Oltenia, believed that Bakov was a Moldavian from Bacău who learned the technique of engraving from Ukrainian craftsmen,[10] a statement that we do not agree with. The art historian Alexandru Busuioceanu appreciates Ioanichie Bakov in the following way:

> A great archaic purity of lines and a sense of decoration, full of emotion, are eloquent in these plates as well as in the others by Ioanichie Bakov, who was never surpassed by any of his contemporaries in similar narrative compositions. It is the purity of a primitive artist who imagines the sacred stories with an almost idyllic feeling, by drawing them with clear, simplified and almost graceful lines.[11]

At the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th, Ioanichie Bakov worked hard in the bishopric press at Buzău, managed by the bishop Mitrofan. The 1700 Triodion (Triod) and the 1701 Pentecostarion (Penticostar) were published in the aforementioned press. Some woodcuts signed by Ioanichie Bakov are dated to 1700: *The Raising of Lazarus* and *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* (in the Triodion), *Christ's*

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la Blaj", *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 4, 1994, p. 97–113; C. Tatai-Baltă, "Cunoașterea xilogravurii ucrainene în diferite centre tipografice românești (sec. XVII–XIX)", *Transilvania*, 4–5, 2017, p. 7–15.

7 A. E. Tatay, C. Tatai-Baltă, *Xilogravura din cartea românească veche tipărită la Bucureşti (1582–1830)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2015, p. 17–22.

8 I. Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands. The East-European Connection*, Berlin/Boston, 2023, p. 322.

9 N. Iorga, "L'ornementation du vieux livre roumain. Communication faite au Congrès des bibliographes et bibliophiles à Paris", *Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe Sud-Orientale*, 10, 1923, p. 56; Ștrempel, "Sprijinul acordat de Rusia tiparului românesc", p. 33–34; Tomescu, *Istoria cărţii româneşti*, p. 72.

10 N. Vornicescu, *Biruit-au gândul. Studii de teologie istorică românească*, Craiova, 1990, p. 224–233.

11 Al. Busuioceanu, *Scrieri despre artă*, Bucharest, 1980, p. 61.

Descent into Hell and *The Holy Women at the Sepulchre* (in the Pentecostarion). In the former book, Bakov signed scenes from Joseph's life, while *The Wise and Foolish Virgins* and *The Crucifixion* are attributed to him as well. The latter book also includes the following images signed by Bakov: *The Healing of the Paralytic*, *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman*, *The Ascension*, *The Vision of Peter of Alexandria* and *The Descent of the Holy Spirit*, while *The Healing of the Man Born Blind* and *The Sunday of All Saints* can also be assigned to him. In order to accomplish these engravings, use was made of Ukrainian books: Pentecostarion, Kyiv, 1631, and Teaching Gospel, Kyiv, 1637 (a book edited by Petru Movilă).[12]

In what follows, we shall discuss two illustrations, *The Healing of the Paralytic* and *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman* (Fig. 1), created by Bakov for the 1701 Pentecostarion of Buzău.[13] Their likeness to the images in the Ukrainian books (Fig. 2) is convincing,[14] although there are differences as well.

In the former illustration, Jesus, followed by his disciples, comes close to the disabled man's bed, asking him: "Do you want to get well?" The man replies: "Lord, I have no one to help me into the pool when the water is stirred up!" Then, Jesus says to him: "Get up! Pick up your bed and walk!" (*John* 5:6-8). Many other persons and sick people lie down near the disabled man's bed. In the upper part of the image, to the right, one can notice the man who has been healed, carrying the bed on his back, heading towards Jerusalem. To the left is depicted the angel who stirred the water, having in front of him the disabled man who succeeded in getting the first into the pool near the Sheep Gate (Bethesda). Therefore, if one compares the woodcut of Buzău to that of Kyiv, one will find that the former is superior to the latter regarding their artistic merit. Namely, it has more blank space judiciously distributed, while the clusters of vegetation are better composed. The architectural representation in the background is different, as is the number of persons.

In the latter image, Jesus addresses the Samaritan woman at Jacob's Well, asking for water: "Will you give me a drink?" (*John* 4:7). At the top, to the right and to the left, there are his disciples, who have come back from town. On the whole, the Ukrainian engraving is more obscure, while the Samaritan woman, with a more animated attitude, is not as delicate.

Most of Bakov's woodcuts for the books of Buzău mentioned above are repeated in books printed at Snagov and Bucharest. It was Mihai Râmniceanu, in the 1743

12 Tatay, Tatai-Baltă, *Xilogravura din cartea românească veche tipărită la Bucureşti*, p. 22.

13 Tatay, Tatai-Baltă, *Xilogravura din cartea românească veche tipărită la Bucureşti*, fig. 333, 334.

14 *Украинские книги кирилловской печати XVI-XVIII вв. Каталог изданий, хранящихся в Государственной библиотеке СССР имени В. И. Ленина*, Vol. I. *1574 г.–1 половина XVII в.*, ed. T. K. Kameneva et al., Moscow, 1976, p. 25, 27, figs. 549, 551.

Pentecostarion printed at Râmnic, and Petru Papavici, in the 1768 Pentecostarion printed at Blaj, as well as the author who signed with the initials "G. F." similar illustrations in the 1805 Pentecostarion printed at Sibiu, who benefitted from Ivan Bacov's exceptional graphic achievements.[15]

3 Popa Mihai Râmniceanu Tipograf

Between 1733 and 1750, the skilled engraver and typographer Popa Mihai Râmniceanu Typograf of Râmnic, the son of Atanasie Papavici, produced woodcuts that reveal a high decorative and artistic sense, which reflects the Byzantine-Balkan and Byzantine-Russian styles.[16] The Ukrainian impact on his works was indirect, through the 1701 Pentecostarion of Buzău, but also direct, which we shall demonstrate on the basis of two examples.

The Raising of the Cross (Fig. 3), dated to 1736, published in the 1737 Anthologion at Râmnic,[17] is a small-size woodcut. Patriarch Zacharias, helped by a deacon, raises the Savior's cross, brought from Persia to Jerusalem by the Emperor Heraclius, on a double oval pedestal, in order to be venerated. The event occurred in the Church of the Anastasis. The cross is placed under vaults supported by pilasters. Related to the architectural elements, the figures are more logically dimensioned, partly avoiding the traditional incongruities. On the other hand, the figures' size corresponds to the hierarchic criterion. Thus, the patriarch is taller than the deacon, and the former is haloed. Moreover, the clothes worn by the members of the clergy and the imperial couple are specific to the Byzantine fashion.

Mihai Râmniceanu's woodcut is very much like the one signed "СЕЛИВЕСТРЪ ЕРОДІА РОКУ 1666 И" ("Selyvestr Erodia in the year 1666") in Lazar Branković's *Mech dukhovny* (*The Spiritual Sword*), Kyiv, 1666 (Fig. 4).[18] In its turn, Mihai Râmniceanu's illustration was copied at Blaj by Petru Papavici, who dated it to 1770 in the 1781 Menologion.[19]

15 C. Tatai-Baltă, "Grafica de carte în Țara Românească în secolele XVI-XVII", p. 399.

16 Tatai-Baltă, "Grafica de carte din Țara Românească în secolul XVIII", p. 55–56; Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 55.

17 Tatai-Baltă, "Cunoașterea xilogravurii ucrainene în diferite centre tipografice românești", p. 9, fig. 7.

18 Tatai-Baltă, "Cunoașterea xilogravurii ucrainene în diferite centre tipografice românești", p. 9, fig. 8; *Украинские книги кирилловской печати XVI-XVIII вв. Каталог изданий, хранящихся в Государственной библиотеке СССР имени В. И. Ленина*. Vol. II, t. 1. *Киевские издания 2-й половины XVII в.*, ed. A. A. Guseva et al., Moscow, 1981, p. 14–15, 37, 62, fig. 1281.

19 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 141, fig. 64.

In the same *Anthologion* of Râmnic (1737), Mihai Râmniceanu signed the woodcut *Saint John Chrysostom*[20] inspired by the similar work in the 1697 Psalter of Kyiv.[21] The woodcut of Râmnic was used as a model for a woodcut in the 1781 Menologion printed in Blaj,[22] attributed to Petru Papavici. The three images portray Saint John Chrysostom full front, wearing the vestments of an archbishop, profiled against a landscape with churches.

4 Grigorie T. and Sandul T.

The 1745 Horologion (Ceaslov) of Rădăuți occupies a special place in the context of Romanian graphic art in the 18th century, as far as its illustrations are concerned. The five images in the book (*Saint Nicholas*, *The Annunciation*, *Jesus in Glory*, *The Guardian Angel*, and *The Eucharist*) were signed by Grigorie T. and Sandul T., sometimes with the additional initials "G. S.". They are, in fact, Grigorie Stan Brașoveanul and Sandu (son of Ieremia Marco) from Iași, who worked there as typographers.[23]

The woodcut *The Guardian Angel* [Raphael] signed "G. S."[24] is especially interesting (Fig. 5). The antithesis between the angel's calm attitude of great purity, guided by divine power, and the absurd aggressiveness of the monster with fiery eyes, sharp fangs, and a huge mouth that sends out flames and an arrow, is truly remarkable, recalling similar representations in Western art. The angel tenderly protects a child, pointing to Heaven with his right hand.

This theme is hardly encountered in early Romanian books, as it comes from the Catholic milieu. The copper engraving drawn and executed before 1619 by the Flemish engraver Hieronymus Wierich[25] constitutes eloquent proof that Grigorie and Sandu's engraving was based on Western models.

It is worth emphasizing that the woodcut of Rădăuți is similar, in some aspects, to the one produced in Lviv by N(ikodym) Z(ubrytskyi) for the 1699 Akathistos (Fig. 6).[26] The angel, the child, and the monster are disposed in the image in the

20 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, fig. 286.

21 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 145, fig. 287; *Украинские книги*, II.1, p. 31, fig. 1646.

22 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 145, fig. 72.

23 Tatai-Baltă, "Grafica de carte din Moldova în secolul XVIII", p. 77.

24 Tatai-Baltă, "Cunoașterea xilogravurii ucrainene în diferite centre tipografice românești", p. 9, fig. 10.

25 C. Tatai-Baltă, A. E. Tatay, "Hypostases of Representation of the Guardian Angel in the Graphics of Early Romanian Books (18th-19th Centuries)", *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 25–26, 2015–2016, p. 151–160.

26 Tatai-Baltă, "Cunoașterea xilogravurii ucrainene în diferite centre tipografice românești", p. 9, fig. 10; *Украинские книги кирилловской печати XVI-XVIII вв. Каталог изданий, хранящихся в*

same way. There are also obvious differences. In the Ukrainian engraving, the main characters are profiled against a landscape in which, in the lower part, one can perceive a haloed angel who seems to protect a person wearing a hat. In the woodcut of Rădăuți, a small-sized angel, with the child in his arms, is placed at the top right in a white spotlight (alluding to the fact that the light comes from God), whereas the rest of the surface is covered by a compact network of parallel horizontal lines, a result of the so-called *horror vacui*.

We feel bound to highlight the fact that the master craftsmen Grigorie T. and Sandul T. produced an important title page frame, recurrent in other books published in the capital of Moldavia, for the 1755 *Anthologion* printed in Iași (Fig. 7).[27]

This title page frame, accurately drawn, represents a large size border shaped like a baroque altar niche. The two pilasters are decorated with eight medallions that show saints highly esteemed in the Orthodox milieus. The crowning, depicted as a circle segment, is split in the middle, where there is a large baroque cartouche flanked by scrolls. Jesus Christ in bishop's vestments, blessing with both hands, accompanied by angels, is placed in the cartouche. At the base of the niche is represented the scene of *The Presentation of the Lord*, while in the four corners of the frame are depicted the symbols of the Evangelists: the angel and the winged lion, at the top, the winged calf and the eagle at the bottom. In the upper part of the image are rendered the figures of two saints in medallions and eight angels in various places. If the ornaments are of Baroque origin, the iconographic representation pertains to the Orthodox area, while the way of treating the composition is traditional.

Grigorie T. and Sandul T. followed the model of an image in the 1632 *Anthologion* of Lviv signed by "ГЕОРГІИ ІЄРОДІАКОН ВЪ ЛВОВѢ РО БОЖ 1632" ("Georgiy Hierodeacon in Lviv in the year of God 1632") (Fig. 8), repeated in the 1639 and the 1644 Octoechos printed at the same press.[28] Among the differences, we have remarked that *The Dormition of the Mother of God* at the base of the frame was replaced by the scene of *The Presentation of the Lord* in the woodcut of Iași (the churches are dedicated to these feasts).[29] The cruciform nimbus on Jesus's head

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Государственной библиотеке СССР имени В. И. Ленина. Vol. II, t. 2. *Львовские, новгород-северские, черниговские, уневские издания 2-й половины XVII в.*, ed. A. A. Guseva, I. M. Polonskaya, Moscow, 1990, p. 34, 61, 65, fig. 2173.

27 Here, Grigorie T. signed „Gligorie". See Tatai-Baltă, "Grafica de carte din Moldova în secolul XVIII", p. 77–78; Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 56.

28 Tatai-Baltă, "Cunoașterea xilogravurii ucrainene în diferite centre tipografice românești", p. 9; Tatai-Baltă, "Grafica de carte din Moldova în secolul XVIII", p. 78; *Украинские книги кирилловской печати*, I, p. 26, 28, 31, 34, 66, fig. 806.

29 I.-A. Guriță, *Gavriil Callimachi, Mitropolit al Moldovei (1760–1786)*, Iași, 2017, p. 177.

was replaced by a bishop's miter, while the triangular pediment above his head was eliminated. On the whole, the engraving of Iași places more emphasis on the decorative elements.

Furthermore, Petru Papavici also took over this title page frame as a model for the 1768 Pentecostarion of Blaj, following the Moldavian version and not the one of Lviv.[30] The differences between Iași and Blaj refer to certain saints that decorate the pillars, as well as to the rendering, at the bottom of the page, of *The Annunciation* scene, this being the feast to which was dedicated the monastery where the press functioned.

5 Mihail Strilbițchi

Mihail Strilbițchi (ca. 1730-1805/7), probably born in Myrhorod, in the county of Poltava (today in Ukraine), a graduate of the Theological Academy of Kyiv, distinguished himself as a typographer, editor, engraver, book binder, translator, and author, as well as a secret agent in the Russian tsar's service.[31] Mihail Strilbițchi is certain to have been the most important typographer and engraver in Moldavia in the second half of the 18th century. By publishing numerous ecclesiastical and secular books in Iași, Dubăsari, and Movilău,[32] he made a remarkable contribution to the modernization of Romanian culture.

As an engraver,[33] he gave up the models of Byzantine tradition, with some exceptions, persistently resorting to works of Western type, particularly German ones, found in the Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian regions, which came from the Late Gothic, Renaissance, or Baroque epochs. Consequently, he focused on turning the religious scenes more human by emphasizing the volumes and the sense of depth. Consequent to the investigations we have undertaken so far, we have identified some models that derive from the Ukrainian area, which could have influenced Mihail Strilbițchi.[34] We shall comment henceforth on a part of them. Further on, we should mention that at the beginning of his career, Mihail Strilbițchi executed a

30 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 122, fig. 30.

31 E. Pavel, *Strilbițchi, Mihail*, in E. Simion (coord. ed.), *Enciclopedia literaturii române vechi*, Bucharest, 2018, p. 853–855.

32 Today, Dubăsari is a city in the Republic of Moldavia, while Movilău is a city in Ukraine.

33 For details, see A. E. Tatay, C. Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorul Mihail Strilbițchi (a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2023.

34 C. Tatai-Baltă, A. E. Tatay, "Considerations concerning Mihail Strilbițchi's activity as an engraver (second half of the 18th century)", in A. Chiriac et al. (eds.), *Re-Configuring Romanian Culture on its Way towards Modernity. Romanian Translation Practice in the Age of Enlightenment (1770–1830)*, Konstanz, 2022, p. 295–325.

metal engraving, the portrait of Nikolaos Mavroidis of Kefalonia, for the latter's book *Τὸ ἀποστολικόν δίκτυον* (*The Apostolic Net*), composed in Greek and printed at Iași in 1756.

In 1761, together with the Monk Teofan, he represented the four Evangelists, each on a full page, reproduced in the Gospel (Evanghelie) of Iași, 1762. The solemn figures, of a monumental aspect, are profiled against an ample background conveyed in perspective. We noticed that *Luke the Evangelist* (Fig. 9) looks like the portrayal of this figure by Grigorie T[ipograf] and Sandul T[ipograf] for the Acts of the Apostles of Iași, 1756, based, we suppose, on the Ukrainian engraving signed by I[eromonah] Macarii in the *Acts* of Kyiv, 1738 (Fig. 10).[35] Even if, in the case of Strilbițchi, the Evangelist sits in a different background, the character's posture is similar to the one of Kyiv. The Ukrainian artist represents the Evangelist in a Baroque manner, thus rendering the character's feelings, while he is caught in motion, as well as the ample and heavy folds of his clothes. It is worth pointing out that the other three *Evangelists* derive from the same source, the *Acts* of Kyiv.

The Virgin with the Child on the Crescent Moon (the variant with eight angels), signed by Mihail Strilbițchi, appeared for the first time in the 1777 Horologion of Iași and was repeated in other books. Since the Horologion of Iași of 1786 (Fig. 11), we have encountered another representation of the same theme (also signed by Strilbițchi) in which six of the angels, formerly represented by head and wings, do not appear anymore, and only two of the angels remain, kneeling in an attitude of prayer. The Virgin appears to be happy and looking lovingly at her child. She is the bright Queen of Heaven, holding a sceptre in her hand and standing on the crescent moon. She wears a crown, surrounded by rays of light. The source of inspiration for the image of 1786 is the homonymous one existent in the *Kanonyk* (a collection of religious dogmas), Kyiv, 1763 (Fig. 12).[36]

This iconographic theme of Western origin, widespread from the Late Gothic to the Baroque age,[37] is seldom found in illustrations of early Romanian books. Starting with the Horologion, Iași, 1797, the theme was taken over by the engraver Simeon [Isoteschi], Strilbițchi's son-in-law.[38] This time, the composition is pyra-

35 Tatai-Baltă, Tatay, "Considerations concerning Mihail Strilbițchi's activity as an engraver", p. 301, fig. 3, 4; V. Bochovska, L. Haukha, *Зібрання українських стародруків XVI–XVIII століть*, Kyiv, 2012, p. 243, with a fig.

36 Tatai-Baltă, Tatay, "Considerations concerning Mihail Strilbițchi's activity as an engraver", p. 302, fig. 6–7; Arhim. P. Chițulescu, *Cartea slavă din Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod, secolele XVI–XVIII*, Bucharest, 2020, p. 172.

37 H. Sachs, E. Badstübner, H. Neumann, *Christliche Ikonographie in Stichworten*, Leipzig, 1980, p. 261.

38 Tatai-Baltă, Tatay, "Considerations concerning Mihail Strilbițchi's activity as an engraver", p. 302.

midal, of Renaissance type. The theme is known in the Western European Art as the *Madonna on the Crescent Moon* (*Mondsichelmadonna*), or the *Apocalyptical Madonna*, in connection with the text of the *Apocalypse* (Ch. 12). The Madonna is a female figure, the Savior's Mother, threatened by a monster and saved by the Archangel Michael.[39]

The Entombment, a well-drawn and skillfully engraved image in the Horologion, Iași, 1792, also confirms the influence of German graphics during the Renaissance.[40] All the figures surrounding the dead Christ, laid on a stone slab, express deep love and discreet grief, with obvious variety and sincerity in their attitude. In order to demonstrate its Renaissance source, we mention Albrecht Dürer's woodcut of 1509 in *Die Kleine Holzschnittpassion* (*Small Cycle of Passions*)[41] and Lucas Cranach the Elder's woodcut of 1509 in the *Passion Christi* (*Cycle of Christ's Passion*), to which we shall return.[42] However, Mihail Strilbițchi must have been familiar with the woodcut signed "M. F." in the *Kanonyk* of Kyiv, 1763,[43] because the two woodcuts are alike.

The *Bucvar* (*Alphabet Book*) of Dubăsari, 1792, contains Strilbițchi's woodcut *The Trinity*,[44] which follows a Western model but is, as a matter of fact, frequently encountered in the Romanian and Eastern art: God the Father sitting on the clouds near His Son, while the Dove of the Holy Spirit hovers above.[45] Mihail Strilbițchi's engraving is similar to the representation found in the Horologion of Sibiu, 1790.[46] The similarity is even more convincing if one compares this woodcut to that in the book written by Athanasios, the Patriarch of Alexandria, *Оглавленіє книг священнаго писанія* (*The Headings of the Books of the Holy Scriptures*), Kyiv, 1755.[47] Accordingly, God the Father, with a triangular nimbus around His head, holds the globe in His left hand, while to His right His Son, with a round halo, upholds a big cross in His left hand and blesses with His right. The two holy figures are shown

39 Sachs, Badstübner, Neumann, *Christliche Ikonographie*, p. 261.

40 Tatai-Baltă, Tatay, "Considerations concerning Mihail Strilbițchi's activity as an engraver", p. 309, fig. 20.

41 *Das Albrecht Dürer Hausbuch. Auswahl aus dem graphischen Werk*, ed. W. Hütt, G. Forberg, Munich, 1975, fig. at p. 488; Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii* în *lemn de la Blaj*, fig. 210.

42 Al. Avram, *Gravura europeană din secolele XVI-XVII*, Oradea, 1974, p. 6, fig. at p. 15; Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii* în *lemn de la Blaj*, fig. 211.

43 Chițulescu, *Cartea slavă din Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod*, p. 172.

44 Tatay, Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorul Mihail Strilbițchi*, p. 75–76, fig. 63.

45 Tatai-Baltă, Tatay, "Considerations concerning Mihail Strilbițchi's activity as an engraver", p. 309, fig. 23.

46 A. E. Tatai, *Xilogravura de la Sibiu (sfârşitul secolului al XVIII-lea – începutul secolului al XIX-lea)*, Alba Iulia, 2007, p. 15–16, fig. 4.

47 Bochovska, Haukha, *Зібрання українських стародруків*, p. 268, with a fig.; Tatay, Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorul Mihail Strilbițchi*, p. 76, fig. 173.

on stylized clouds, while the Dove of the Holy Spirit hovers above. One can notice the same kind of clouds in the works of Iași and Kyiv, but in the 1790 Horologion of Sibiu there are fluffy clouds. At the bottom of the woodcut there is a partly unfolded phylactery supported by two angels, which alludes to the fact that in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit are One – the Triune God (*1 John* 5:7). It is worth mentioning that at the base of the famous painting *The Sixtine Madonna* signed by Raphael around 1513, and held by the Gallery of the Old Masters at Dresden, there are two angels as well, in a similar scene.[48]

The Resurrection, another engraving signed by Mihail Strilbițchi, this time for the 1794 Horologion printed in Dubăsari, is also of a Western type. Jesus Christ, inscribed in a mandorla and surrounded by clouds, is portrayed emerging victorious from the tomb, holding in His left hand the banner of Resurrection, on which the sign of the cross is visible. His garment is flying in the wind, making the composition more dynamic. The two guards at the tomb, holding shields and swords, seem to be asleep. The black spots at the base of the mandorla suggest the dark of night, when the Resurrection occurred.[49] This way of conveying the event is characteristic of Western iconography and was also spread in the Balkan area.[50] It is well known that in Byzantine representations Jesus descends to Hell, crashes its gates, and saves the doomed people.

As a matter of fact, the Gospels neither described the Resurrection of Christ from the tomb with a standard in his hand nor mentioned that the Roman soldiers were the first witnesses of the event. On the other hand, the representation of the sealed sepulchre follows the works of the Fathers of the Eastern Church. Saint John Damascene stated that "Christ came out of the tomb while it was sealed".[51] The woodcut created by Mihail Strilbițchi resembles the one in the 1763 *Kanonyk* of Kyiv.[52]

The Horologion of Dubăsari, 1794, is also decorated (among sixteen other illustrations) with the *Annunciation* theme. The scene occurs in a simple framework suggested by a drapery to the left of the image, a hardly discernible pillar to the right, and the pavement represented in perspective. Placed to the right, on the clouds, which also suggest his celestial character, the Archangel Gabriel announces the Virgin that she is to give birth to the Savior, blessing with his right hand, while

48 G. Sgarzini, *Raphael*, Rome, 2006, fig. at p. 70–71.

49 C. Tatai-Baltă, "Les illustrations de Mihail Strilbițchi du *Ceaslov* de Dubăsari de 1794", *Études bibliologiques/Library Research Studies*, 3, 2021, p. 92, fig. 1.

50 L. Ouspensky, V. Lossky, *The Meaning of Icons*, New York, 1999, p. 185–192.

51 C. Cavarnos, *Guide to Byzantine Iconography*, Boston, MA, 1993, p. 111.

52 Chițulescu, *Cartea slavă din Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod*, p. 172.

in the other one he holds a lily, the symbol of purity, as shown in Western art.[53] Placed to the left of the picture, the Virgin appears kneeling, with her arms crossed over her chest, in sign of acceptance or submission. On the desk, in front of her, there is an open book that indicates the wisdom and piety of the Virgin, who was permanently praying and meditating, in the Western view.[54] The Dove of the Holy Spirit hovers above, casting rays of light upon the Virgin Mary.

The composition, which is prevalently disposed in a diagonal line, along with the dramatic atmosphere, the manner in which the clouds are depicted, the Virgin's attitude of fear and the Archangel's solemnity remind of the ambience of the Late German Renaissance.[55] This theme was approached in Blaj several times: in the 1763 Akathistos, by Endrédi, and in the 1769 Catavasier (Brief Octoechos)[56] and the 1774 Akathistos, by Petru Papavici.[57] In fact, one can remark that all of them were based on Ukrainian woodcuts: for example, their homonyms in the *Kanonyk*, Kyiv, 1763, signed "M. F.", or in the *Molytvoslov* (Prayer Book), Kyiv, 1778,[58] undoubtedly published in former works in the 16th-18th centuries. Consequently, we believe that the two woodcuts created by Petru Papavici served as models for the craftsmen of Sibiu in the Horologion, 1790, and the Akathistos, 1792,[59] as well as for those of Buda in the Akathistos, 1807, and *Polustav* (Breviary), 1807 (a copper engraving).[60] The monk Ghervasie approached the theme in the same way in the 1823 Akathistos of Bucharest.[61]

In conclusion, as four out of the six illustrations signed by Mihail Strilbițchi that we have discussed are similar to their homonyms in the 1763 *Kanonyk*, it is obvious that the engraver in Iași manifested a certain interest in the woodcuts contained by the books printed at Kyiv.

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53 Tatai-Baltă, Tatay, "Considerations concerning Mihail Strilbițchi's activity as an engraver", p. 311–312, fig. 28.

54 Ouspensky, Lossky, *The Meaning of Icons*, p. 172–174.

55 See, e.g., the engraving of Lucas Cranach the Elder for the book of Adam von Fulda *Ein sehr andächtig christenlich Büchlein*, Wittenberg, 1512; cf. H. Claus, "Buchgraphik", in *Gotteswort und Menschenbild. Werke von Cranach und seinen Zeitgenossen*, Vol. 1. *Malerei, Plastik, Graphik, Buchgraphik, Dokumente*, Gotha, 2000, p. 178, fig. 3.2.

56 The Catavasier (Brief Octoechos), also known as the *Anastasimatarion*, is a service book of the Eastern Orthodox Church that contains the hymns of the Resurrection and other hymns for Vespers and Sunday services. The hymns are arranged according to the eight modes of the Octoechos.

57 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, fig. 14, 40, 51.

58 Chițulescu, *Cartea slavă din Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod*, p. 172, 203.

59 Tatai, *Xilogravura de la Sibiu*, p. 13–14, 25–26, fig. 2, 14.

60 A. E. Tatay, *Din istoria şi arta cărţii româneşti vechi: gravura de la Buda (1780–1830)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2011, p. 84–85, fig. 32; p. 88–89, fig. 41.

61 Tatay, Tatai-Baltă, *Xilogravura din cartea românească veche tipărită la Bucureşti*, p. 66, fig. 460.

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In the second half of the 18th century, Blaj became the most important Romanian centre of woodblock engraving in Transylvania. This assertion is based on both the qualitative and the quantitative criteria in assessing the woodcuts produced here.[62] It is worth mentioning that Blaj was the centre of the Greek-Catholic Bishopric, which played an important role in the region from a cultural and political perspective.

In 1737, the Greek Catholic Church set up its residence in Blaj, which brought about the social development of the town. Under the circumstances, the engravers active here granted a new dimension to the city of Blaj: the artistic one. The engravers used models that had been printed in books beyond the Carpathians: Râmnic, Bucharest, Buzău, Târgoviște, Snagov, Iași, Rădăuți, etc. They successfully continued the best traditions of Romanian wood engraving, which reached its peak during the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu. As far as the iconographic and stylistic aspects are concerned, the engravers Vlaicu, Ioanițiu Endrédy, Sandu Tipograf, and some anonymous artists were influenced by Western art, particularly by the German Late Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque, much more than other Romanian artists who were active at that time or earlier. One should remember that the town of Blaj had close relationships with the Western countries, which enabled the engravers to stay in contact with European art. The numerous Western books, as well as famous libraries, offered permanent and direct information on graphic art achievements throughout the centuries.

The wood engravers of Blaj were influenced either directly by Ukrainian original works (illustrated books, woodcut collections), or indirectly by Romanian books that contained woodcuts of Ukrainian inspiration.[63]

Popa Iancu from Sâncel, who is known to have become a Basilian monk at Blaj, under the name of Isaia (before 1762), went to Kyiv, where he learned Slavonic and, according to Romanian sources, translated into Romanian the book *Visions of Saint Gregory*.[64] When he came back to Blaj, he certainly brought along Ukrainian books, some of them illustrated, which may have been used subsequently as sources of inspiration by the wood engravers, particularly by Petru Papavici. It is important to

62 See their list in Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 198–205.

63 See, for details, Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*.

64 T. Cipariu, *Acte și fragmente*, Blaj, 1855, p. 107; I. Rațiu, "Din trecutul Ordului Bazilitan", *Anuarul institutelor de învăţământ grecocatolice din Balàzsfalva (Blaj): Gimnaziu superior, Institutul Pedagogic, Școala Civilă şi Elementară de Fete, Școala de Aplicaţie, Școala Învăţăceilor de Meserii şi Negustorii pe anul scholastic 1911–'12*, Blaj, 1912, p. XIII; Șt. Manciulea, *Biblioteca Centrală din Blaj*, Blaj, 1939, p. 18.

mention that in 1777 the library of Blaj owned, among others, 18 Ukrainian books, in 30 copies.[65]

We intend to discuss henceforth a series of woodcuts that decorate the printed books of Blaj, which were based on Ukrainian engravings.

6 Vlaicu

The first wood engraver in Blaj, Vlaicu, had an inborn artistic disposition, approaching religious scenes passionately and sometimes with naïve delicacy. He preferred to rely on Western models, often mediated by Ukrainian woodcuts found in the dissemination area of German or Italian art. Vlaicu contributed to making the Romanian woodcut more realistic. On the other hand, he was under the influence of German Renaissance woodcuts, imbued for a long time with elements of Late Gothic art, painting included. It should be added that Albrecht Dürer played an overwhelming part in its spread and celebrity.[66]

The 1751 Horologion of Blaj was decorated by Vlaicu with several illustrations, of which we will discuss only two.

The figures in the scene *Christ Nailed on the Cross* have varied and mobile postures. In the lower part of the image, several soldiers are shown nailing Christ's hands and feet on the cross, which is placed on the ground. The diagonal position of the cross stresses the dynamic aspect of the composition. The vegetation itself, as well as the basket of nails, seem to take part in the run of events. Whirling clouds menacingly float above, while the hill to the left seems to fall in. The buildings with pointed towers in the background, suggesting Jerusalem, also contribute to creating a gloomy atmosphere in which only Jesus keeps calm, expressing dignity and resignation.[67]

The first representations of *Christ Nailed on the Cross* are present in Byzantine illuminated Psalters of the 11th century, in two variants. The first shows Jesus nailed on the cross, laid down, while in the second the Savior is nailed on the erected cross. In the 13th century, Italian art approached the latter variant. Germany and the Low Countries often adopted the former, sometimes adding new elements.[68]

65 C. Dima-Drăgan, "Un ensemble bibliologique roumain de Transylvanie daté de l'année 1777 (D'après un manuscrit latin inédit)", *Studia bibliologica*, 4, 1980, 1, p. 43.

66 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 86.

67 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 79–80, fig. 5.

68 Sachs, Badstübner, Neumann, *Christliche Ikonographie in Stichworten*, p. 222.

With reference to German art, we will cite three examples: a woodcut found in a book entitled *Schatzbehalter* (*Treasure Chest*) published by Anton Koberger at Nürnberg in 1491,[69] with illustrations attributed to Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, and two others signed by Albrecht Dürer. The former, *Grüne Passion* (*Green Passion*), 1504, is a drawing in ink and brush on paper, the prime color green, preserved in the Albertina collection in Vienna. The latter belongs to *Die Kleine Passion* (*Small Cycle of Passions*), 1509.[70] It is worth mentioning that Dürer contributed to the dissemination of the respective theme over a vast geographical area, as his work served as a model for several artists.

The similarity of Vlaicu's woodcut with the one in the 1758 *Molytvoslov* of Pochaiv[71] is evident. It is certain that the Ukrainian woodcut was previously printed in other books. The diagonal position of the cross on which Jesus was nailed, the number of characters and their attitude, as well as the vegetal and architectural elements are alike.

The Entombment depicts the full drama of the scene. Joseph of Arimathea, helped by Nicodemus and another figure, lay Christ's body in a tomb. The Virgin Mary, her hands in an attitude of prayer, and Saint John are also present. All the persons around Jesus express deep grief and true love. The naturalness and diverse postures are convincing. Thus, the pathetic exteriorization of feelings specific to Gothic art is absent. It is only the tumultuous, depressing nature which seems to collapse and the darkness that recall the Gothic manner of interpretation. But somewhere to the right, above the towery buildings suggesting Jerusalem, one can catch a glimpse of light, a vague allusion to the moment of Resurrection.[72]

The illustration attests again to the influence of the German Renaissance drawing. To demonstrate that, we will evoke Albrecht Dürer's woodcut of 1509 in the *Kleine Passion* (*Small Cycle of Passions*)[73] and Lucas Cranach the Elder's engraving, also in 1509, part of the *Passio Christi* (*Cycle of Jesus Christ's Passions*).[74] Much closer to the Blaj illustrations is the woodcut in the 1776 *Molytvoslov* of Pochaiv, which was also printed in previous books.[75]

69 H. Kunze, *Geschichte der Buchillustration in Deutschland. Das 15. Jahrhundert*, vol. [I]. *Text Band*, Leipzig, 1975, fig. at p. 365.

70 *Das Albrecht Dürer Hausbuch*, fig. at p. 126 (*Grüne Passion, 1504*), 483 (*Die Kleine Passion*, 1509).

71 Bochovska, Haukha, *Зібрання українських стародруків*, p. 402, with a fig.

72 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 83–84, fig. 9.

73 *Das Albrecht Dürer Hausbuch*, fig. at p. 488.

74 Avram, *Gravura europeană*, p. 6, fig. at p. 15.

75 Bochovska, Haukha, *Зібрання українських стародруків*, p. 429, with a fig.; Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 84, fig. 212.

7 Petru Papavici Râmniceanu

The most prolific typographer and engraver of Blaj in the second half of the 18th century was, undoubtedly, Petru Papavici Râmniceanu, whose works are dated to 1764, 1768, 1770, 1773, 1779, and 1780. A skillful and sensitive draughtsman, he was overall a traditionalist, frequently appealing to engravings printed in Romanian books, particularly at Râmnic. Nevertheless, he sometimes drew upon Renaissance or Baroque models, probably of German provenance.[76]

The fact that Petru Papavici Râmniceanu was familiar with the Ukrainian books decorated with woodcuts that circulated in the Romanian lands is also demonstrated by the representation of the *Crucifixion* and *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* or *Palm Sunday* in the 1773 *Strastnic*[77] of Blaj (Fig. 13).

The Crucifixion stands out by its solemn character. Jesus crucified dominates the scene, while the Virgin (hierarchically portrayed in proportion to the other biblical characters – Mary Magdalene, Salome, Joseph, Nicodemus, and the Roman officer Longinus) and Saint John flank him. The characters' garments are either ancient or Byzantine. One may notice that the persons and the decorative elements of the composition are disposed symmetrically to the verticality of the cross. The darkened sun and moon, on either side at the top, hint to the two natures of Jesus, the sun representing his divinity and the moon, his humanity. The two convicted criminals are placed on either side of the Crucified Jesus. To the right, in the lower part of the woodcut, is presented the scene in which the Roman soldiers, who make up an animated group, cast lots for Christ's garment that was "without seam, woven in one piece" (*John* 19: 23).[78] At the bottom left is shown a grave in which the Savior is to be buried. At the foot of Christ's cross are depicted a skull and two bones (belonging to Adam), which symbolize death defeated on the Cross. The small-size walls of Jerusalem are placed in the background.[79]

The analogy of this illustration signed by Petru Papavici with the one achieved by Ilia for the *Acts of the Apostles* of Lviv, 1639, repeated in other books, including

76 See for details Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 115–151.

77 A service book that is used in the Orthodox Church during the Holy Week. For the 1773 edition of Blaj, see *BRV* II, p. 203; I. Chindriș et al., *Cartea românească veche în Imperiul Habsburgic (1691–1830). Recuperarea unei identități culturale. Old Romanian Book in the Habsburg Empire. Recovery of a cultural identity*, Cluj-Napoca, 2016, p. 228–229.

78 G. Duchet-Suchaux, M. Pastoureau, *Flammarion Iconographic Guides. The Bible and the Saints*, Paris/New York, 1994, p. 105–108.

79 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 131–132, fig. 47.

the 1665 Gospel of Lviv,[80] is convincing. A certain influence of the German Late Gothic can be noticed in both images. There are only slight differences between the engraving of Blaj and that of Lviv.

In contrast with the preceding work, in the woodcut *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* (*Palm Sunday*), dated to 1773, the landscape represented by hills and buildings (the walls of Jerusalem) takes up more space. The plans of the composition are more sensibly and plainly executed. The group of disciples and Jews which accompany or wait for Jesus at the gate of Jerusalem is animated by his presence. In front of the gates, four children welcome the Savior with palm branches. One of them spreads his vestment before Christ, who rides a mule, his legs on the same side, in the eastern manner. One can remark the disposition of characters with their heads at the same level, according to the Byzantine style. In the upper part of the image is rendered a man up in a Palm tree, with an axe in his hand, cutting branches, which are collected by a boy who is standing under the tree.[81]

Even if Petru Papavici knew of some other representations of this scene, it is obvious that he used Ilia's work in the 1639 *Acts* of Lviv as a prototype (Fig. 14).[82] The differences between the two engravers consist of the fact that the former used more characters who follow Jesus or meet him at the gates of Jerusalem, while the buildings to the right and the left top corners are drawn more elaborately. The buildings rendered to the left are not similar at all. Moreover, in the woodcut of Blaj there is an explanatory inscription at the top.

For the woodcuts that represent Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Basil the Great, and Saint Gregory the Theologian in the 1775 Liturgikon (Liturghier) of Blaj, each on a full page,[83] Petru Papavici must have followed Ukrainian models, possibly those in the Liturgikon of Kyiv printed in 1620, then 1629 and 1639, or in the one of Stratyn in 1604.[84] Nevertheless, their framework is different.

80 O. Yurchyshyn-Smith, *The Monk Ilia (fl. 1637–1663). Catalogue. Ukrainian and Romanian Baroque Engraving*, Kyiv, 2021, p. 30, fig. 44.

81 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 132–133, fig. 48.

82 *Украинские книги кирилловской печати*, I, p. 28, fig. 699; Yurchyshyn-Smith, *The Monk Ilia*, p. 31, fig. 47.

83 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 138–139, fig. 59, 60, 61.

84 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 139-140, fig. 276, 277; *Украинские книги*, I, p. 14, 55, fig. 357, 358, 359; p. 57, fig. 406, 407, 408.

8 Conclusions

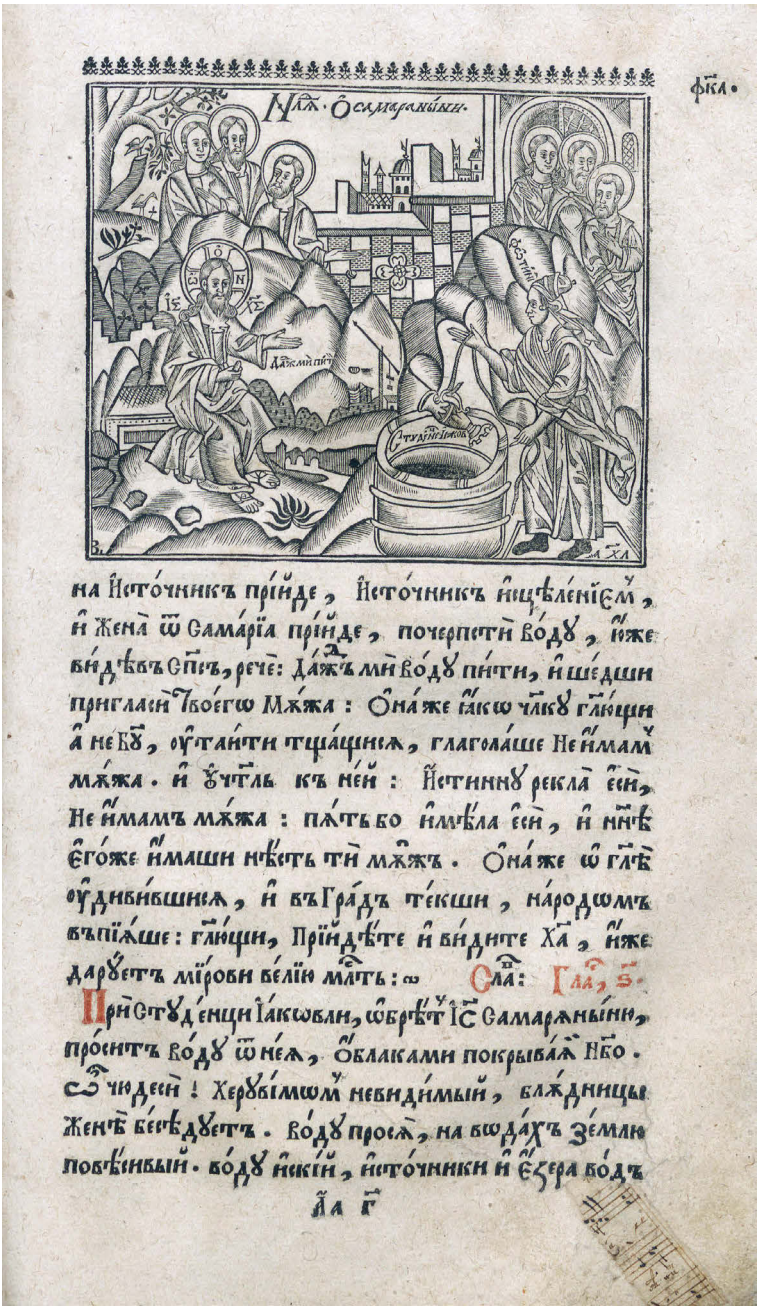
The intense circulation of Ukrainian illustrated works in the Romanian lands[85] was favorable to the art of drawing in the early Romanian books. In the 17th century, Ukrainian models were particularly disseminated abroad via Ukrainian engravers who carried out their activity in Iași (Ilia), Târgoviște (Teodor Tișevici), Bucharest and Buzău (Ioanichie Bakov),[86] whereas in the 18th century important engravers trained in the Romanian lands took over Ukrainian prototypes: Mihai Râmniceanu at Râmnic; Grigorie Tipograf together with Sandul Tipograf at Rădăuți and Iași; Mihail Strilbițchi at Iași and Dubăsari; Vlaicu and Petru Papavici Râmniceanu at Blaj, etc.

Starting in the 17th century, inspired by Ukrainian woodcuts, which in turn were influenced by Western ones, Romanian printed books were endowed with engraved title pages and illustrations, which steadily improved in style and technique. Ukrainian engravings of high aesthetic quality contributed to cultivating an exquisite taste. These illustrations, in conjunction with other elements, led to the dissemination of certain Western themes and stylistic features, especially German ones of the Renaissance and Baroque periods.

Even if the engravers Ioanichie Bakov (Pentecostarion, Buzău, 1701) and Petru Papavici Râmniceanu (*Strastnic*, Blaj, 1773) resorted to Ukrainian models, the manner of execution of their works was sometimes superior to the latter, as far as their artistic achievement goes. Moreover, Ukrainian engravings drew the attention of church[87] and icon[88] painters, as well as of artists from other fields.

85 Tatai-Baltă, "Cunoașterea xilogravurii ucrainene în diferite centre tipografice românești", p. 7–15.
86 Tatai-Baltă, "Grafica de carte în secolele XVI-XVII", p. 396 (Țara Românească), 503 (Moldova).
87 C. Popa et al., *Repertoriul picturilor murale brâncovenești.* I. *Județul Vâlcea*, vol. II. *Ilustrații*, Bucharest, 2008, p. 101, fig. 6, p. 242, fig. 65, 66; D. D. Filip, *Programul iconografic din bisericile de lemn maramureșene. Document istoric și discurs teologic*, Cluj-Napoca, 2023, p. 132–136, fig. 36 (a, b, c), 42, 50.
88 C. Tatai-Baltă, A. E. Tatay, "Reprezentarea *Duminicii tuturor sfinților* în icoana pe lemn, xilogravura de carte și icoana pe sticlă românească (sec. XVI–XIX)", *Transilvania*, 5–6, 2014, p. 126–133; D. S. Pârvulescu, *Pictura bisericilor ortodoxe din Banat între secolul al XVII-lea și deceniul trei al secolului al XIX-lea*, Timișoara, 2003, p. 162.

Fig. 1: Ioanichie B[akov], *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman*, Pentecostarion, Buzău, 1701 (B.A.R.).



на Ѝсто́чникъ при́йде, Ѝсто́чникъ ѝщѣле́нїемъ,
и́ жена́ ѿ Самарі́а при́йде, почерпти́ во́ду, и́же
ви́дѣвъ Спсъ, рече́: Да́ждь ми во́ду пи́ти, и́шедши
пригласи́ Твоего́ мужа: Она́же ѓакѡ чл҃ку гл҃ющи
а҃ не Бу҃, оу҃тани́ти тща́щися, глаго́лаше Не и́мамъ
мужа. и́ ѯ҃тлъ къ не́й: Ѝстинну́ рекла́ е҃сѝ,
Не и́мамъ мужа: пя́ть бо и́мѣла е҃сѝ, и́ нн҃ѣ
е҃гоже и́маши нѣ́сть ти́ мужъ. Она́же ѿ гл҃ѣ
оу҃дивѝшися, и́ въ Гра́дъ те́кши, наро́домъ
въпїя́ше: гл҃ющи, Прїи́дѣте и́ ви́дите Ха҃, и́же
дарова́тъ мі́рови бе́лїи мл҃ть: ѡ Сла: Гла҃, Б҃.
Прѝстѹ́денци Ѝаковли, ѡ҃брѣ́тше І҃с Самаря́нынѝ,
про́сятъ во́ду ѿ не́я, о҃блаками покрыва́я не́бо.
С҃ѣ чюдесѝ! Херуві́мѡмъ невиди́мый, блаждницы
женѣ́ бесѣ́дуетъ. во́ду проси́, на вшда́хъ землю
повѣ́ваѧй. во́ду ни́кїй, Ѝсто́чниче и҃ е҃зера во́дъ
Ла҃ Г҃

Fig. 2: *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman*, Pentecostarion, Kyiv, 1631 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine).

Fig. 3: Mihai Râmnic[eanul], *The Raising of the Cross*, *Anthologion*, Râmnic, 1737 (B.A.R.).

Fig. 4: Selyvestr' Erodia, *The Raising of the Cross*, in Lazar Branković, *The Spiritual Sword*, Kyiv, 1666 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine).

Fig. 5: G[rigorie Tipograf] and S[andul Tipograf], *Guardian Angel*, Horologion, Rădăuți, 1745 (B.A.R.).

Fig. 6: N[icodym] Z[ubrytskyi], *Guardian Angel*, Akathistos, Lviv, 1699 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine).

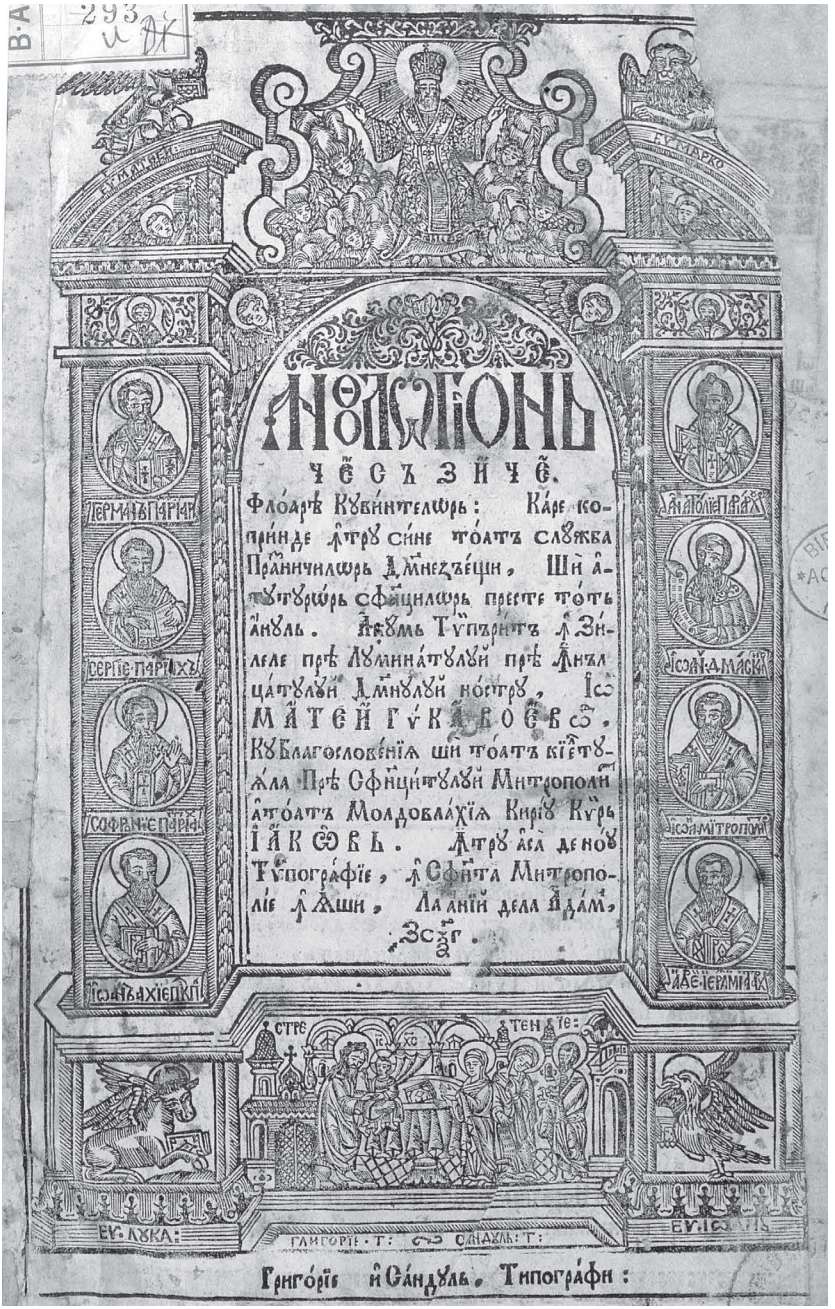


Fig. 7: Gligorie T[ipograf] and Sandul T[ipograf], title page in the *Anthologion*, Iași, 1755 (B.A.R.).

Fig. 8: Georgiy Hierodeacon, title page in the *Anthologion*, Lviv, 1632 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine).

Fig. 9: Ierei Mihail [Strilbițchi] and monk Teofan, *Luke the Evangelist*, Gospel, Iași, 1762 (B.A.R.).

Fig. 10: I[eromonah] Macarii, *Luke the Evangelist*, Epistles, Kyiv, 1738 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine).

Fig. 11: Ierei Mihail [Strilbiţchi], *The Virgin with the Child on the Crescent Moon*, Horologion, Iaşi, 1786 (B.A.R.).

Fig. 12: *The Virgin with the Child on the Crescent Moon*, *Kanonyk*, Kyiv, 1763 (Library of the Holy Synod, Bucharest).

Fig. 13: Petru P[apavici] Tip[o]graf, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, in the *Strastnic*, Blaj, 1773 (B.A.R.).

Fig. 14: Ilia, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, *Acts of the Apostles*, Lviv, 1639 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine).

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Alina Kondratiuk

Patriarchs' and Bishops' Emblems in Printed Books. The Journey of Prototypes from the West to the East

This chapter examines the transfer of models of patriarchs' and bishops' coats of arms, stemmata and emblems from the West to the East in the early modern age. The main focus is on heraldic signs of church hierarchs and images of an emblematic nature that were placed in printed books. We clearly state from the start that we are primarily interested in emblems found in books of an ecclesiastical nature and content, or emblems containing pictorial elements of church paraphernalia.

To fully cover this topic, we have considered different types of heraldic and emblematic compositions and defined their features. We also believe it is important to demonstrate the interaction and mutual influence of these two spheres – emblematics and heraldry in European culture. In the context of the general topic, we would like to emphasize the important role of early modern Kyiv and the printing press of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra in transferring models from the West to the East.

There are two main challenges before us: studying the iconography of church books printed in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra in the 17th–18th centuries and tracing the circulation of models and patterns between the Ukrainian and South-Eastern European regions. This essay presents our preliminary observations on these issues.

It should be noted that the printing activity of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra has been studied quite well.[1] The question of the artistic design of the early modern books of the Lavra press has also been studied in depth.[2] The bibliography on these

1 The first fundamental work on the subject appeared already at the beginning of the 20th century: F. Titov, *Типография Киево-Печерской Лавры: Исторический очерк (1606–1616–1916 г.г.)*, vol. I, Kyiv, 1916. See also: G. E. Varvarich, *Славянские книги кирилловской печати XVII—XX вв. Каталог: книги, изданные в типографии Киево-Печерской лавры*, ed. N. P. Rud', N. P. Vizir', Kyiv, 1981. A comprehensive list of literature and sources on the subject can be found in O. I. Marchenko, *Матеріали до бібліографії Києво-Печерської лаври. Науково-допоміжний бібліографічний показчик*, ed. S. Krolevets, V. Kolpakova, Kyiv, 2006, p. 46–51.

2 See, e.g.: IA. P. Zapasko, "Видання друкарні Києво-Печерської лаври", *Мистецтво книги на Україні в XVI–XVIII ст.*, ed. P. Zholtovs'kyĭ, Lviv, 1971; T. N. Kameneva, A. A. Guseva, *Украинские*

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issues is quite extensive. Nevertheless, the aspect we wish to draw attention to here – heraldic and emblematic images in the books of the Lavra press – has not been studied comprehensively. This topic is important in the context of the research of the TYPARABIC project, since some emblematic images in the corpus list, which includes ca. fifty 18th-century Arabic books surveyed by the project team, may indicate an iconographic connection with Kyiv.

Coats of arms have most often been considered in the context of the issues of special historical disciplines, while emblems have largely been the field of study of literary scholars. This statement fully applies to the study of coats of arms of Ukrainian church hierarchs and emblems placed in printed books of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra press. We can only mention selected studies on this subject.

Among the current significant publications on the subject, the works of the Ukrainian scholars Khrystyna Zavaryns'ka[3] and Oksana Zhmurko[4] should be mentioned, as well as those of European researchers who have touched on the subject of the design of the publications of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra. The latter group of scholars includes Waldemar Deluga, Ioana Feodorov, Anca Elisabeta Tatay, and Cornel Tatai-Baltă.[5] Martin Erdmann's monograph *Heraldische Funeralpanegyrik*

книги кирилловской печати XVI–XVIII веков: Каталог изданий, хранящихся в Гос. б-ке СССР им. В.И. Ленина: В 3-х вып., vol. I. *1574 – 1 половина XVII в.*, ed. A. Sidorov, I. Polonskaia, Moscow, 1976 [1977]; T. N. Kameneva, A. A. Guseva, *Украинские книги кирилловской печати XVI–XVIII веков: Каталог изданий, хранящихся в Гос. б-ке СССР им. В.И. Ленина*, vol. II, Part 1: *Киевские издания 2-й половины XVII в.*, ed. A. Sidorov, I. Polonskaia, Moscow, 1981; IA. P. Zapasko, IA. D. Isaievych, *Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва. Каталог стародруків, виданих на Україні*, vol. 1. *1574–1700*, Lviv, 1981; IA. P. Zapasko, IA. D. Isaievych, *Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва [Текст]. Каталог стародруків, виданих на Україні*, vol. II, Part 1. *1701–1746*, Lviv, 1984; IA. P. Zapasko, IA. D. Isaievych, *Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва [Текст]. Каталог стародруків, виданих на Україні*, vol. II, Part 2. *1765–1800*, Lviv, 1984; Marchenko, *Матеріали до бібліографії Киево-Печерської лаври*, p. 48–50.

3 Kh. Zavaryns'ka, "Панегіричні топоси в гравюрах київських геральдично-емблемних стародруків першої половини XVII ст.", *Вісник Львівської національної академії мистецтв*, 22, 2011, p. 236–248; Kh. Zavaryns'ka, "Гравюри київських геральдично-емблемних панегіриків першої половини XVII ст.", *Матеріали Міжнародної наукової конференції 'Мистецька культура: історія, теорія, методологія' (Львів, 28.11.2014),* Lviv, 2014, p. 5–6; Kh. Zavaryns'ka, "Емблеми у гравюрах другої половини XVII ст. на честь православного українського духовенства", *Матеріали Міжнародної наукової конференції 'Мистецька культура: історія, теорія, методологія' (Львів, 25.11.2016)*, Lviv, 2016, p. 11–13; Kh. Zavaryns'ka, "Епцедій 'Żal ponowiony' (1647): проблема взаємодії тексту й ілюстрацій у панегіричному творі", *Вісник Харківської державної академії дизайну і мистецтв*, 1, 2017, p. 85–93.

4 O. Zhmurko, "Герби духовних осіб у кириличних стародруках Галичини XVII століття: художні особливості зображення", *Вісник Львівської національної академії мистецтв*, 28, 2016, p. 205–222.

5 W. Deluga, "Kijowskie druki emblematyczne XVII i XVIII-wiecznych wydań polsko- i łacińskojęzycznych", in O. Tolochko, N. IAkovenko (eds.), *Medievalia Ucrainica: ментальність та*

des ukrainischen Barock[6] deserves special attention. This work presents an in-depth analysis of the well-known panegyric work of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra Press, *Столп цнот знаменитых в Богу зешлому яснепревелебного єго милости господина отца и пастыра Сильвестра Коссова…* (*The Pillar of Virtues of His Grace Reverend Father and Pastor Sylvester Kossov, Who Has Gone to God…*), an epitaph in prose and verse on the virtues of the Metropolitan of Kyiv Sylvester (Kossov).[7] The *Pillar of Virtues* was addressed and presented to Sylvester's successor on the Metropolitan See, Dionisy Balaban-Tukalsky.

An example of this separate panegyric work by an unknown 17th-century Ukrainian preacher clearly shows the process of Western influences on Ukrainian panegyric literature both in terms of content and design. The famous 19th-early 20th-century Kyivan scholar Sergeĭ Golubev was the first local researcher to address this topic.[8] He examined some of the coats of arms of secular and clerical élites placed in ecclesiastical publications. He also indicated the difference between the heraldry of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Southern Rus' (present-day Ukraine), on the one hand, and Western Europe, on the other. However, he looked at the subject from a historical perspective. The images of the coats of arms themselves were not the subject of his research.

Despite the valuable remarks and conclusions drawn by all these scholars, we believe that this subject has not been sufficiently researched. In our work, we plan to emphasize precisely the art-historical aspect of the issue, using an interdisciplinary approach.

At the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, printing activity began to develop in Ukraine. In 1616, through the efforts of Archimandrite Ielyseĭ Pletenets'kyĭ, a

istoriя ideĭ, vol. 2, Kyiv, 1993, p. 69–97; A. E. Tatay, C. Tatai-Baltă, *Xilogravura din cartea românească veche tipărită la Bucureşti (1582–1830)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2015; I. Feodorov, "Peter Movilă's Portraits Preserved in Museums and Collections of Kyiv", *RESEE*, 54, 2016, 1–4, p. 171–188; I. Feodorov, "La Kiev, pe urmele portretelor Mitropolitului Petru Movilă", in C. Manolache (ed.), *Istorie și cultură. In honorem acad. Andrei Eșanu*, Chişinău, 2018, p. 712–728; I. Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands. The East-European Connection*, Berlin/Boston, 2023.

6 M. Erdmann, *Heraldische Funeralpanegyrik des ukrainischen Barock. Am Beispiel des Stolp Cnot Syl'vestra Kossova*, Munich, 1999.

7 [*Stolp tsnot... Sylvestra Kossova*]: *Столп цнот знаменитых в Богу зешлому яснепревелебного єго милости господина отца и пастыра Сильвестра Коссова, архіепископа митрополита Кіевского, галицкого и всея Россіи, екзархи свят҃йшого апостол[с]кого Константинополского трону, з сѵ҃том раздѣленнаго, на подѣленіє жалю, през музы коллекгиум Кіево-Могилеанского раздѣленые. На раздѣленіє Косовіаньских гербов*, Kyiv, 1658.

8 S. T. Golubev, "Описание и истолкование дворянских гербов южнорусских фамилий в произведениях духовных писателей XVII в.", *Труды Киевской духовной академии*, 10, 1872, p. 295–382.

printing press was founded in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra.[9] The printing activity was supported by his successor, Metropolitan Peter Mohyla (Movilă), who was engaged in book printing not only in Kyiv. He helped the ruler of Wallachia, Matei Basarab (1632–1654), to achieve the publication of books in Slavonic and Romanian in the Principality of Wallachia, and then sent printing equipment and craftsmen to Iași, the capital of the Principality of Moldavia.[10] In 1632, he united the Lavra gymnasium (established in 1631) with the Kyiv Brotherhood school, laying the foundation for the celebrated Kyiv Mohyla Collegium.[11] Active development of printing, the establishment of the Kyiv Collegium, educational activities of the archimandrites of the Lavra and the Ukrainian clergy in general, and personal and printers' libraries – these were the factors that contributed to the penetration of various Western European ideas and imagery into the Ukrainian culture.

We can imagine the collection of Peter Mohyla's library[12] as well as those of some other hierarchs of the epoch – Antonii Tarasevych,[13] Stefan IAvors'kyĭ[14] and others. The descriptions testify to the presence of many Western European printed books, including illustrated ones. Grigorii Koliada presented information about the library of one of the first printing presses in Ukraine, the Striatyn press house of Gideon and Fedir Balaban: the library was needed for proofreading purposes, to check the books that were intended for publication. It contained not only South Slavic Venetian editions (*Trebnyk*, Psalter of 1519 by Bozhydar Vukovic, etc.), but

9 S. T. Golubev, "О начале книгопечатания в Киеве", *Киевская старина*, vol. II/6, 1882, p. 382–400; V. M. Goncharuk, "Начало книгопечатания в Киеве", in L. Eremina, N. Alekseeva (eds.), *Памятные книжные даты*, Moscow, 1991, p. 236–239.

10 D. Bădără, "The Beginning of Printing and Print Culture in the Romanian Principalities", in R. Dipratu, S. Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond. First Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project*, Berlin/Boston, 2024, p. 125.

11 M. Bulgakov, *История Киевской академии. Сочинение воспитанника ее иером. Макария Булгакова*, St. Petersburg, 1843, p. 38; I. Shevchenko, "The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 8, 1984, 1–2, p. 13; M. V. IAremenko, "Києво-Могилянська академія, Київська братська школа, Київський колегіум, Київська академія, Київська духовна академія, Національний університет 'Києво-Могилянська академія'", in V. Smolii (ed.), *Енциклопедія історії України*, vol. IV, Kyiv, 2007, p. 183.

12 S. T. Golubev, "О составе библиотеки Петра Могилы", *Труды III Археологического съезда в России, бывшего в Киеве в августе 1874 года*, vol. II, Kyiv, 1878, p. 257–268.

13 M. P. Istomin, "Обучение живописи в Киево-Печерской лавре в 18 в.", *Искусство и художественная промышленность*, 10, 1901, p. 293, n. 2.

14 S. I. Maslov, "Библиотека Стефана Яворского", *Чтения в Историческом обществе Нестора Летописца*, 24, 1914, 1, Part 2, p. 99–162; Part 3, p. 17–102.

also an eight-volume edition of the Plantin Bible published at Antwerp. There were also other Western European editions.[15]

The ornamentation of Balabaniv's prints already stands out among the East Slavic books of the time. They contain many Western European elements. Most of them were included in the Service Book of 1604 (*Божественныя Літургїя Иже въ святыхъ отцъ нашихъ…*): "Its ornamentation is dominated by book decorations that have a pronounced Renaissance character: cupids, newts, harpies, sirens, centaurs, and other motifs derived from Greco-Roman mythology".[16]

Renaissance elements can be found not only in the headpieces but also in the initial letters of this publication. The latter also introduced a "pictorial element": creatures of Greco-Roman mythology, scenes from the Bible, birds and animals were presented in the foreground. Many of these images were based on the initials of Plantin's Bible.[17] Later, copies of the initials from the Plantin Bible are found in the publications of the Kyiv Pechersk Monastery, which acquired the equipment of the Striatyn printing press,[18] in particular, in the Anthologion of 1619, the Service Book of 1620, the Discourses on the Acts of the Apostles of 1623, etc.[19] According to Liudmyla S. Miliaeva, in the early 17th century, Ukrainian masters joined the pan-European practice of "using engravings from different countries in book printing".[20]

Another typical example is a series of biblical illustrations by the engraver Ilia, whose images come from a Dutch album of engravings published by Piscator. The Ukrainian master freely copied the large sheets of the copperplates in a reduced "book" format and gave a "translation of the translation".[21]

This treatment of European patterns was typical for Ukrainian engravers. Such a rapid acquaintance of Ukrainian artists with the latest "novelties" of Western European graphic art is simply amazing. The fact that the biblical illustrations of Ilia appeared in 1645–1649, i.e., immediately after the publication of Piscator's album, is surprising and revealing.

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15 G. I. Koliada, "Балабановские друкарни", in A. Sidorov (ed.), *Книга и графика. Сборник статей*, Moscow, 1972, p. 155–156.

16 Koliada, "Балабановские друкарни", p. 158.

17 Koliada, "Балабановские друкарни", p. 159.

18 F. Titov claimed that the Lavra archimandrite IEliseĭ Pletenets'kyĭ bought the Striatyn printing press in 1606. See Titov, *Типография Киево-Печерской Лавры*, p. 72–77.

19 Koliada, "Балабановские друкарни", p. 160.

20 L. S. Miliaieva, "Переддень бароко", *Мистецтвознавство України: збірник наукових праць Академії мистецтв України*, t. 1, Kyiv, 2000, p. 41–42.

21 Kameneva, Guseva, *Украинские книги кирилловской печати*, vol. II, Part 1, p. 9. See also O. Yurchyshyn-Smith, *The Monk Ilia (fl. 1637-1663). Catalogue. Ukrainian and Romanian Baroque Engraving*, Kyiv, 2021 (2nd ed.).

Ilia's biblical illustrations have become as popular in Ukraine as their patterns. Some of his woodcuts were used by various Ukrainian presses for many decades. This contributed to the entry of new themes and images into the "mass consciousness". The Ukrainian reader also became accustomed to new types of compositions, including emblematic ones.

Other types of early modern Ukrainian visual art also reveal a good acquaintance with Western European emblematic collections. In this context, the monumental ensembles of the Kyiv Pechersk painting workshop should be mentioned first. Unfortunately, most of these paintings are not preserved today.[22] The murals of the Trinity Gate Church of the Lavra dating from the early 18th century are the only complete ensemble that has survived.[23] This ensemble gives grounds to assert that Ukrainian icon painters were well acquainted with Western European illustrative engravings. Among the prototypes of the compositions depicted in this church are illustrations of European Bibles printed by Piscator, Weigel, Merian, and Dankertz.[24] There are several emblematic images that allow us to identify the Western European pattern very accurately.[25] We could argue that Western models reached other Central and Eastern European countries too but were first adapted in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra. This applies to different types of art.[26]

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22 V. D. Ėrtel', "О стенописи великой церкви Киево-Печерской Лавры", *Труды Киевской духовной академии*, 4, 1887, p. 521–522; N. I. Petrov, "Об упраздненной стенописи великой церкви Киево-Печерской Лавры", *Труды Киевской духовной академии*, 4, 1900, p. 579–610.

23 A. IU. Kondratiuk, *Монументальний живопис Троїцької надбрамної церкви Києво-Печерської лаври. Семантика. Стилістика* [Monograph], in V. Kolpakova (ed.), *Лаврський альманах*, 13/Special Issue 5, Kyiv, 2004, p. 5.

24 Kondratiuk, *Монументальний живопис Троїцької надбрамної церкви*, p. 95–118; A. IU. Kondratiuk, *Монументальний живопис Троїцької надбрамної церкви Києво-Печерської лаври: Каталог*, Kyiv, 2005, p. 41–42, 88–89, 94–96, 100–101, 107–109, 116, 119–121, 122–124, 192–195, 230–231, 233–238; A. IU. Kondratiuk, "Європейські лицеві Біблії як іконографічне джерело розписів лаврської живописної школи барокової доби", *Музеї та реставрація у контексті збереження культурної спадщини: актуальні виклики сучасності. Матеріали VI Міжнародної науково-практичної конференції 23–24 вересня 2021*, Kyiv, 2021, p. 198–200.

25 A. IU. Kondratiuk, "До питання європейських зразків барокових розписів лаврської школи (за матеріалами колекції Національного заповідника 'Києво-Печерська лавра')", *Церква – наука – суспільство: питання взаємодії. Матеріали Дев'ятнадцятої Міжнар. наук. конф., м. Київ, 26-28 травня 2021*, Kyiv, 2021, p. 191–205.

26 In particular, several compositions from the iconographic program of the Trinity Gate Church of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra of the 20s and 30s of the 18th century, which were based on emblematic engravings, became models for the paintings of the Krušedol Monastery in Serbia in the 1760s. See, e.g., Kondratiuk, *Монументальний живопис Троїцької надбрамної церкви*, p. 99–102; Kondratiuk, "До питання європейських зразків", p. 191–205; D. Dinko, "Украјински утицаји на српску уметност средине XVIII века и сликар Василије Романович", in *Зборник*

In the field of book decoration, we notice similar processes. Various examples of church panegyric literature, built according to the same scheme as European secular etiquette poetry, appeared in Ukraine. Researchers point to several varieties of panegyric compositions in Ukrainian printed books of that time: traditional drawings of coats of arms, combined heraldic compositions, coats of arms, heraldic symbols and elements incorporated into graphic illustrations, and some other forms.[27] In the 1630s and 1640s, these congratulatory cycles had already reached their full extent, combining a rather long poetic eulogy with a series of engraved images of an emblematic nature and the use of coat of arms elements. These were works that glorified the majestic and admirable deeds of the ecclesiastical nobility, such as the *Eucharisterion* (1632) by Sofronii Pochas'kyĭ[28] in honor of Metropolitan Peter Mohyla.[29] There are also mournful eulogies, such as *Żal ponowiony* (1647) by Józef Kalimon, on the death of Peter Mohyla,[30] or the above-mentioned *Pillar of Virtue*, on the death of Metropolitan Sylvester Kossov. They combined the art of words with the art of images.

Certain scholars believe that emblematic and heraldic poems have much in common in their writing and character, especially the similar three-part structure, and refer to poems on coats of arms as an emblematic genre of Baroque poetry.[31] It has also been argued that heraldry preceded, and to some extent contributed to, the development of emblems.[32] Some aspects of the relationship between emblematic art and heraldry were addressed by Alan R. Young.[33] However, this is a question that needs to remain open to further exploration.

за ликовне уметности Матице српске, *5. Споменица Радослава Грујића*, Novi Sad, 1969, p. 119–137; D. Medaković, "Зидно сликарство манастира Крушедола", in *Путеви српскога барока*, Belgrade, 1971, p. 126–127.

27 Zavaryns'ka, "Панегіричні топоси в гравюрах", p. 237.

28 Sofronii, whose secular name was Stefan S. Pochas'kyĭ (ca. 1600 – after 1642, Kyiv), was a Ukrainian writer and church leader, a major writer of ancient Ukrainian literature, and head of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (1638–1640).

29 S. Pochas'kyĭ, *Евхарістиріон, албо вдячность... Петру Могилі: од студеов Гимназіум єго милости з школы реторіки*, Kyiv, 1632.

30 J. Kalimon, *Żal ponowiony po pogrzebie J. Przewielebności Jem. O. Piotra Mohiły Archiep. Metrop. Kiow. Halic. y wszystkiey Rossiey Archimandryty Pieczar. a Jem. Panu Adamowi Borissowi z Woroniec Markiewiczowi. Przez Mon. Ord. S. Bas. Josepha Kalimona, Aud. Phis. dedikowany 1647. April 9*, Kyiv, 1647.

31 IU. V. Mynenko, "Емблематичний та панегіричний струмені української геральдичної поезії", *Вісник Житомирського державного університету імені Івана Франка*, 51, 2010, p. 207.

32 Deluga, "Kijowskie druki emblematyczne", p. 69–97.

33 A. R. Young, "The Emblem and Flags", in P. M. Daly (ed.), *Companion to Emblem Studies*, New York, 2008, p. 469–473.

In any case, by the beginning of the 17th century, such concepts as the coat of arms, *stemma*, emblem and *impresa* had become embodied in Ukrainian culture. But before we deal with this issue, let us outline the most popular collections of Western European emblems with which the Ukrainian reader of the early modern period would likely have been familiar.

It is thought that Andrea Alciati's collection of emblems was very popular in Ukraine.[34] Researchers often credit Alciati's *Book of Emblems* (Augsburg, 1531) with creating emblems as a genre in its own right.[35] This book quickly gained popularity and underwent epigonal and creative modifications. It was to have an enormous impact on the culture of the Mannerist and Baroque periods. Alciati's book was first published in Latin and went on to be reprinted and translated into Italian, French, Spanish, German, and English. It consists of allegories and symbols reproduced in woodcuts and explained by short texts written in Latin verse, intended to introduce moral lessons. Other emblematic books that preceded Alciati's collection, and those that followed it, quickly spread in Poland, Czechia, and Ukraine.[36]

The library of the famous poet, hieromonk, philologist, orator, and theologian of Ukrainian origin IEpifaniĭ Slavynets'kyĭ contained an edition of *The Egyptian Symbolism* by Giovanni Pietro dalle Fosse.[37] The libraries of the church hierarchs Stefan Jaworski and Feofan Prokopovych included emblematic collections by Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, Hermann Hugo and others. One of the most popular collections of emblems, which had a significant impact on Ukrainian culture, was *Symbolorum et emblematum* by Joachim Camerarius (1590).[38]

Some authors of emblematic books, like Alciati, presented their collections as guides for different craftsmen.[39] This contributed to the fact that, over time, the content and structure of emblematic books became more and more ordered. In contrast to similar editions from earlier periods, Western European emblematic collections of the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries

34 Mynenko, "Емблематичний та панегіричний струмені", p. 206.

35 D. A. Zelenin, "'Quid sit emblema': эволюция семантики эмблемы от античности до Андреа Альчиато", *Новый филологический вестник*, 3 (34), 2015, p. 34, 41; E. S. Danilov, "Антикизированные эмблемы Альциата", *Ученые записки Казанского университета. Серия "Гуманитарные науки"*, 2020, 162, Part 1, p. 186.

36 Mynenko, "Емблематичний та панегіричний струмені", p. 207.

37 Mynenko, "Емблематичний та панегіричний струмені", p. 206. Pierio Valeriano (1477–1558), born Giovanni Pietro dalle Fosse, an Italian Renaissance humanist, was an expert in Egyptian hieroglyphs, most famous for his work *Hieroglyphica, sive, De sacris Aegyptiorvm literis commentarii*.

38 Mynenko, "Емблематичний та панегіричний струмені", p. 206.

39 Zelenin, "'Quid sit emblema': эволюция семантики эмблемы от античности до Андреа Альчиато", p. 38.

already have a clear structure and thematic division, because here the emblems are systematized.

A very good example of a systematic publication of this kind is Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia overo descrittione dell'Imagini universali cavate dall'Antichità* (Rome, 1593). This book is considered as one of the greatest publications to influence early modern European culture and art. The first illustrated edition of the book was published in Rome in 1603.[40] *Iconologia* was reprinted dozens of times in most European languages. The collection consists of hundreds of allegorical representations of abstract concepts, virtues, vices, arts, sciences and other subjects, using human figures, animals, plants, objects and symbols. Ripa's work was a popular source of inspiration and guidance for artists and writers, both in Western and Eastern Europe. Its illustrations and texts often served as models in choosing the iconography of personifications over the next two centuries.

Emblemata Sacra, Das ist: Fünfftzig Geistliche in Kupffer gestochene Emblemata, oder Deutungsbilder, aus der Heiligen Schrifft, von dem süssen Namen und Creutz Jesu Christi (Frankfurt am Main, 1622) by Daniel Cramer, a German theologian and emblem writer, is another publication worth mentioning in the context of our topic. This collection consists of dozens of emblems that illustrate various aspects of Christian doctrine and morality, using biblical verses, allegorical images, and Latin mottoes. They circulated widely and were influential in Protestant Europe, and some of them were spread and adopted in Eastern Europe as well. The engravings in this collection were popular in the early modern period as models for artisans and craftsmen.[41] That this work was also popular in Ukraine is revealed by artistic practice. We will come back to this later.

We also believe that *Symbola divina & humana pontificum, imperatorum, regum* by Jacobus Typotius (1st ed., Prague, 3 vols., 1601) was popular in early modern

40 The 3rd edition, printed in 1603 in Rome in the press of Lepido Facio, contains numerous additions. Ripa corrected certain errors in the first edition and added an illustrative apparatus of woodcuts, which tradition attributes to Cavalier d'Arpino. The *Iconology* was later re-published with significant expansions and modifications in numerous editions and translations as late as the 19th century. The most recent translation is L. C. Pastor's 1866 Mexican edition. On the influence of this work on European art, see E. Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente: étude sur l'iconographie de la fin du XVIe siècle, du XVIIe et du XVIIIe siècle: Italie, France, Espagne, Flandres*, Paris, 1932, p. 387–390; E. W. Kleinbauer, Th. P. Slavens, *Research Guide to the History of Western Art*, Chicago, 1982, p. 60.

41 P. J. Götz, "Rätselhafte Bilder und altertümliche Zitate. Barocke Malereien in den evangelischen Kirchen zu Dorla und Werkel nach den 'Emblemata sacra' des Daniel Cramer", *Schwälmer Jahrbuch*, 2023, p. 118–123. Daniel Cramer's *Emblemata Sacra* was the most frequently used emblem book in Protestant churches.

Ukraine. There is also evidence of this in the practice of art and in some of the analogies that will be mentioned later. This collection contains dozens of emblems illustrating various aspects of Christian spirituality and devotion. The emblems were intended to inspire and instruct the members of the Society of Jesus and other religious orders.

These are just a few examples, although the list could continue. It should be noted that the editions I mentioned have certain common features. Their authors were often concerned with similar subjects. These themes and motifs would also become popular in Ukrainian art.

It was not until 1712 that the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra press published its own collection of emblems.[42] The book resembled the European collections mentioned above. Its title is *Iphika Hieropolitica or Moralizing Philosophy*….[43] The name comes from two Greek words: ἠθικός, which means "concerning morality", and ἱερός – "great, sacred". There is a hypothesis that the author of *Iphika* was Athanasios (Myslavs'kyĭ), the archimandrite of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra.[44]

The text contains 67 allegorical illustrations on copper drawn by Nikodim Zubritskiĭ.[45] The subjects of the engravings are allegorical. They are taken from ancient history and mythology, biblical books and popular fables – that is, from all the sources used by scholars of the time.[46] This collection of moralistic sermons testifies to its Kyivan authors' close acquaintance with Western European emblematic editions. Famous European prototypes are featured here in several images.

For example, the illustration of *The False Hope of Life* in the *Iphika* shows a well-known story about the absurd death of the famous playwright Aeschylus (Fig. 1).[47] One of the earliest prototypes of this composition is the 15th-century drawing of the *Florentine Picture-Chronicle* (*Cronaca pittorica fiorentina*), attributed to Maso Finiguerra.[48] However, the theme reappears in other works over the next few cen-

42 [A. Myslavs'kyĭ] (?), *Ифика иерополитика или Философия нравоучительная символами и приподобленіи изъяснена к наставленію и пользе юным*, Kyiv, 1712.

43 T. A. Bykova, M. M. Gurevich, Описание *изданий, напечатанных кириллицей. 1689 – январь 1725 г.*, ed. P. Berkova, Moscow/Leningrad, 1958, p. 184–185, no. 91; P. M. Zholtovs'kyĭ, Художнє життя на Україні в *XVI–XVIII* ст., Kyiv, 1983, p. 24–25.

44 Bykova, Gurevich, Описание *изданий, напечатанных кириллицей*, p. 184; Zholtovs'kyĭ, *Художнє життя на Україні в XVI–XVIII ст.*, p. 24–25.

45 Bykova, Gurevich, *Описание изданий, напечатанных кириллицей*, p. 185.

46 Zholtovs'kyĭ, *Художнє життя на Україні в XVI–XVIII ст.*, p. 24.

47 Zholtovs'kyĭ, *Художнє життя на Україні в XVI–XVIII ст.*, p. 18.

48 This album of drawings made in black chalk, then ink and brush with blurring, is an unusual and ambitious attempt to create a "pictorial history of the world". See S. Colvin, *A Florentine picture-chronicle; being a series of ninety-nine drawings representing scenes and personages of ancient history, sacred and profane, by Maso Finiguerra. Reproduced from the originals in the British*

turies. This plot would appear in further editions with very close compositional solutions. Finally, it appears in the Kyiv book in a version that is quite recognizable. The source of the image itself is quite revealing. This is also characteristic of similar works in Western Europe.

Iphika became one of the most popular emblematic collections in the Slavic world. The book was republished three times in St. Petersburg (1718, 1728, 1729), Lviv (1760), Moscow (1796), and Vienna (1774).[49] The engravings for the St. Petersburg editions were copied from the Kyivan one, although some are mirrored.[50] They were made in the workshop of Peter Pikart (1668–1737), a Dutch master who worked in the press of St. Petersburg.[51] Various editions of *Iphika* contain between 64 and 70 engravings with accompanying poems.[52]

The iconography of the *Iphhika* was widely used for frescoes painted in houses and churches. A typical example is the painting of the parish priest's house in the village of Kurashivtsi (Ukraine).[53] This mural survived until the beginning of the 20th century, when it was lost.

In early modern Ukraine, as in Western Europe, fascination with emblems was pervasive. The use of emblems reflected the intellectual and aesthetic needs of the period, a love of puzzles, and symbolic representations of states and events. Alongside emblems, heraldic compositions were an integral part of early modern European (including Ukrainian) ecclesiastical publications. These compositions consisted of a coat of arms and an epigram, and their structure resembled that of emblems.

Since the Renaissance, their creation has been influenced by heraldry. During the Late Renaissance and Baroque, with the growing role of the emblem in art, this influence was reversed, and it was the emblem that began to influence heraldry. *Stemmata* and emblems were used to construct panegyric concepts based on heraldic signs. The coats of arms of church hierarchs and their elements were

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Museum by the Imperial Press, Berlin. With many minor illustrations drawn from contemporary sources and a critical and descriptive text by Sidney Colvin, M.A., keeper of the prints and drawings in the British Museum, London, 1898; H. Chapman, M. Faietti, *Fra Angelico to Leonardo: Italian Renaissance Drawings*, London, 2010, p. 166–171.

49 Bykova, Gurevich, *Описание изданий, напечатанных кириллицей*, p. 185; Zholtovs'kyĭ, *Художнє життя на Україні в XVI–XVIII ст.*, p. 24.

50 Bykova, Gurevich, *Описание изданий, напечатанных кириллицей*, p. 203–204, no. 115, and p. 267, no. 204.

51 Bykova, Gurevich, *Описание изданий, напечатанных кириллицей*, p. 203.

52 Zholtovs'kyĭ, *Художнє життя на Україні в XVI–XVIII ст.*, p. 24.

53 Zholtovs'kyĭ, *Художнє життя на Україні в XVI–XVIII ст.*, p. 29, 32–33.

incorporated into complex compositions of so-called "occasional works," combining images and texts.[54]

The role of coats of arms in late medieval and early modern society cannot be overestimated. It is thus no coincidence that we come across them very often in the design of printed publications. Coats of arms could be placed in different parts of the book: on the title page, on its verso, with illustrations and other variations possible. The widespread use of coats of arms was a sign of the times. "No one of rank or prestige could remain without a coat of arms. Coats of arms were assigned to ancient kings and emperors, such as Alexander the Great or Julius Caesar, as well as to the heroes of medieval romances. Even Jesus Christ and God Himself were given their own heraldic bearings".[55]

Since the Ukrainian context is important for us in this case, it will not be superfluous to recall the image of the coat of arms of Jesus Christ in the book of the famous Ukrainian preacher Ioanykiĭ Haliatovs'kyĭ *Messiah the True* (*Месія правдивый, Іисус Христос, Сын Божій, от початку свѣта през всѣ вѣки людем от Бога обѣщанный*), printed in the Lavra press in 1669.[56] On the back of the title page, there is a picture of "the most radiant, the world's brightest coat of arms of Messiah the True, in a round shield whose field is studded with stars, and a central cross".[57]

Another famous Ukrainian theologian and preacher, Archbishop Lazar Baranovych, in his book *Lutnia Apollinowa Kożdey Sprawie Gotowa* (*Apollo's Lute, Ready for Every Deed*, Kyiv, Lavra press, 1671),[58] attributed to Jesus Christ the following coat of arms: three letters in a heart-shaped shield – I. H. S. – and a cross with two nails on each side.[59]

This is where the question of terminology and the characteristics of the different types of emblematic and heraldic compositions come in. In this chapter, we have repeatedly used such expressions and terms as coat of arms, emblem,

54 Zavaryns'ka, "Панегіричні топоси в гравюрах", p. 236–237.

55 H. Torsten, "Research Project: Coats of arms in practice. The history of heraldic communication in late medieval culture and society (12th to 15th centuries)", *Heraldica Nova*, published 12/06/2013; updated 05/10/2017. Access at: https://heraldica.hypotheses.org/149 (accessed March 20, 2024).

56 I. Haliatovs'kyĭ, *Месія правдивый, Іисус Христос, Сын Божій, от початку свѣта през всѣ вѣки людем от Бога обѣщанный и от людей очекиванный и в остатныи часы для збавеня людского на свѣт посланый*, Kyiv, 1669.

57 Golubev, "Описание и истолкование дворянских гербов", p. 319–320, n. 1.

58 Ł. Baranowicz, *Lutnia Apollinowa Kożdey* [*sic*] *Sprawie Gotowa: Na Błogosławiącą Rękę Iako Na Takt Iaki Patrząc* [...] *Oyca Łazarza Baranowicza* [...], Kyiv, 1671; accessible on the website of the Jagiellonian University Library: https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/publication/175825/edition/167347/content?ref=desc (accessed March 25, 2024).

59 Golubev, "Описание и истолкование дворянских гербов", p. 319–320, n. 1.

impresa and *stemma*, which became an integral part of early modern European and Ukrainian culture. We used them without prior interpretation. And there are objective reasons for this. They are all connected to the emblem, and they are interrelated. Often one term is defined by another, leading to terminological confusion.

Moreover, when we speak of heraldic compositions, we could consider the following possibilities: traditional drawings of arms, composite heraldic compositions, and symbols and elements of arms in graphic illustrations, etc. The same thing happens when we try to define the concept of an emblem. This tends to become vague. To avoid inaccuracies, we will try to clarify some aspects of this problem.

According to the *Merriam-Webster's Dictionary*, the definitions of "emblem" are as follows: 1) an image with a motto or set of verses intended as a moral lesson; 2) an object or the figure of an object that symbolizes and suggests another object or idea; 3) a symbolic object used as a heraldic device; 4) a device, symbol, or figure adopted and used as an identifying mark.[60]

The variety of these meanings means that the term itself is not clearly defined. To be clear, the emblem is a combination of symbolic visual images and text that was widely in use in early modern Europe for a diversity of purposes. It is a type of heraldic badge indicating the allegiance or ownership of an individual, family, or corporate body. In the 17th century, an emblem was also a literary genre, consisting of a symbolic image accompanied by a motto and a verse.[61] These emblems were intended to convey moral lessons or allegorical meanings. Having explained above the role of emblems in the early modern Ukrainian culture and the popular collections of emblems, we will now pay more attention to the coats of arms.

The term "coat of arms" refers to distinctive heraldic elements.[62] Coats of arms are permanent emblems of persons, families, offices or companies, whose design follows certain formal rules. Their function is generally considered to be that of a visual aid that refers to or identifies their owner.[63] There are a great many other definitions as well.

Those who are familiar with Ukrainian publications of the 17th century are aware of the important role played by coats of arms, their description, and interpretation. According to Sergeĭ T. Golubev, engraved coats of arms and explanatory

60 https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/emblem (accessed March 20, 2024).

61 A. Fowler, *Remembered Words: Essays on Genre, Realism, and Emblems*, Oxford, 2021, p. 146–163.

62 M. Clarke, *The Concise Dictionary of Art Terms*, Oxford, 2010 (2nd ed.), online at: https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780199569922.001.0001/acref-9780199569922 (accessed March 20, 2024).

63 D. Hey (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Family and Local History*, Oxford, 2009, online at: https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780199532988.001.0001/acref-9780199532988 (accessed March 20, 2024).

epigrams were placed on the back, and sometimes front title pages of almost every book published during that period, regardless of its content. The interpretation of the coat of arms as one of the essential elements was included in eulogies, sometimes in dedicatory prefaces honoring magnates in books, as well as in epitaphs and some other small works. Preachers often referred to the coat of arms of the deceased and interpreted the symbolic meaning of its elements and attributes in the sermons given at the nobles' funerals. A characteristic example of this is the *Pillar of Virtues*, an epicedium on the death of Sylvester Kossov, the metropolitan of Kyiv.[64]

The Ukrainian heraldry of the early modern period developed in connection with the heraldic tradition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and held significant differences from Western European heraldry. The researcher Sergeĭ Golubev, cited above, has carefully studied this issue. However, several general principles need to be set out. This applies, among other things, to the arms of Ukrainian ecclesiastical hierarchs. They mostly belonged to aristocratic families, whose members did not change their coat of arms after gaining rank, only adding to the shield a staff, a cross, or a miter.

One of the most famous and recognizable coats of arms is undoubtedly that of Peter Mohyla, Metropolitan of Kyiv and Galicia, who was also the archimandrite of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra (Fig. 2). Various modifications of his coat of arms can be seen in different Kyiv and Lviv editions of the first half of the 17th century. Ioana Feodorov provided a comprehensive description of these variants in the above-mentioned articles, pointing out that Peter Mohyla's coat of arms is personal. Its composition varies from edition to edition. Nevertheless, the emblems of Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as the ancestral coat of arms of the Mohyla family and the families to whom they were related can be found everywhere.[65]

It is believed that Mohyla's coat of arms influenced the composition of the personal coat of arms of the Patriarch Nikon of Moscow. Nikon came from the lower classes and had no family coat of arms. This one was made especially for him. Nikon's coat of arms is depicted on the back of the title page of the book *Рай мысленный (The Mind's Paradise),* published in 1659 by the private printing press of Patriarch Nikon in the monastery in Valdai (Novgorod region), dedicated to the Icon of the Mother of God in Iviron. In the first quarter of the shield there is a Gospel book, in the second, a blessing hand, in the third, a key, in the fourth, a five-branch candlestick. The outer decoration of the coat of arms consists of objects of

64 Golubev, "Описание и истолкование дворянских гербов", p. 295.

65 Feodorov, "Peter Movilă's portraits preserved in museums and collections of Kiev", p. 179; Feodorov, "La Kiev, pe urmele portretelor Mitropolitului Petru Movilă", p. 719.

religious character: a miter, a cross, a staff, etc. However, such an example is the only one of its kind in Muscovy, as far as we know.[66]

There is also little doubt that there are compositional similarities between the personal coat of arms of Peter Mohyla and the ecclesiastical arms of the Romanian Principalities. This issue deserves a detailed study, also from an art historian's point of view. But for now, we shall limit ourselves to the following remarks.

We can see borrowed elements from Western heraldry in the coat of arms of Peter Mohyla. In particular, the hat-galero is of a characteristic shape with ribbons, typical of the coats of arms of Catholic clergy. This is also characteristic of the arms of some other Ukrainian leaders of the Church of that period. Despite the originality of Ukrainian heraldry, several features brought it closer to that of Western Europe. In a similar manner, the coats of arms of Ukrainian metropolitans and bishops were characterized by the division of the shield. There are attributes of ecclesiastical power – an archbishop's staff and miter, which in heraldic compositions indicate the corporate affiliation of the armiger. Ecclesiastical headgear was placed in the obverse part of the coat of arms of church officials. Often, both in Ukraine and in Western Europe, a reduced formula of the armiger's titles was placed on both sides of the shield. It should also be noted that there was no difference in the composition of the arms of Ukrainian Orthodox and Greek Catholic church officials. As examples, we can present the coats of arms of Arsenii Zheliborskii, the bishop of Galicia (published by Mykhailo Slozka in the 1654 edition of the *Apostolos*, or *Epistolarion*) and the coats of arms of Iosyf Tryzna, archimandrite of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra (published in the Triodion by the Lavra press in 1648) (Fig. 3).

The next term that needs to be clarified is *impresa*. The *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* contains a brief definition: it is a device with a motto used in the 16th and 17th centuries.[67] The *Concise Dictionary of Art Terms* has the following definition: "*Impresa* is an emblem used in Italy during the Renaissance as a personal badge by princes, scholars, and other prominent persons".[68] The *Oxford Dictionary of the Renaissance* notes that *impresa* differed from other emblems in being controlled by academies. The idea of the *impresa* was originally French and was brought to Italy during the French occupation of Milan in the early 16th century.[69] However, the difference between emblem and *impresa* is not entirely clear.

66 Golubev, "Описание и истолкование дворянских гербов", p. 318, n. 2.

67 https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/impresa (accessed March 20, 2024).

68 M. Clarke, *The Concise Dictionary of Art Terms*, Oxford, 2010 (2nd ed.), online at https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780199569922.001.0001/acref-9780199569922 (accessed March 20, 2024).

69 G. Campbell, *The Oxford Dictionary of Renaissance*, Oxford, 2005, online at https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780198601753.001.0001/acref-9780198601753 (accessed March 20, 2024).

In early modern Europe, *impresa* collections were as popular as emblem collections. One of the most popular was Paolo Giovio's *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose* (published posthumously in Rome in 1555 and later reprinted). In his book, Giovio formulated five rules of an *impresa*. This book was known and used in Kyiv in the 17th and 18th centuries, as revealed by some analogies between Giovio's editions and images in Ukrainian panegyric engravings.

In particular, we believe that the figure of Mucius Scevola, the legendary ancestor of Peter Mohyla presented in the above-mentioned Kyiv Pechersk Lavra edition of the *Eucharisterion* by Sofroniĭ Pochas'kyĭ (1632), was inspired by an engraving in Paolo Giovio's book.[70]

In the Lavra edition, Mucius Scevola is depicted as a knight, wearing an armor and a helmet. He is placing his right hand on the burning altar. In Giovio's book of 1574, the Roman god Mercury is shown in knightly attire. He holds a rod-caduceus in his outstretched right hand. The Kyivan engraving shows a cloud in the upper right corner. Two hands emerge from the cloud, holding a scepter, a crown and a cross. The engraving in Giovio's book also shows a cloud at the top, covering Mercury's head, and the knight's helmet is depicted in the lower right.

Although there is no literal borrowing here, the postures, gestures and elements of clothing of the two figures are very similar. We know that the Lavra engravers were good compilers and may have used only the details of another master's engraving that suited their intention.

There is also some confusion regarding the term "*stemma*". In Italian, the word *stemma* means "coat of arms". It is also the name of one of the most popular genres of eulogies in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Therefore, it also became popular in Ukrainian lands. Some researchers note that the term *stemma* usually refers to epigrams built around an allusion to a motif visible in the coat of arms of a particular person or family.[71]

In our opinion, the most clear-cut analysis of this concept was proposed by Bartłomie Czarski.[72] He notes that stemmata similar to emblems consisted of an illustration depicting a coat of arms and an epigram, which often appeared on the back of the title page of texts printed in the Old Polish period. Sometimes, under the influence of emblems, devices (mottos or lemmas) were incorporated into the structure of *stemmata*.[73] Czarski also points out that they had an important

70 See the title before the section "Imprese Heroiche et Morali..." on p. 168 in the Lyon edition of 1574.
71 J. Pelc, *Słowo i obraz na pograniczu literatury i sztuk plastycznych*, Kraków, 2002, p. 15.
72 B. Czarski, "Lemmas in the Old-Polish Armorial Poetry", *Terminus*, 21, Special Issue 1, 2019, p. 53–80.
73 Czarski, "Lemmas in the Old-Polish Armorial Poetry", p. 56.

panegyric function in the literary and publishing life of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It should be noted that stemmata did not usually constitute independent works but functioned as one of the elements of a larger whole. They could, for example, be part of a collection of panegyrics of various forms.

According to certain researchers,[74] one of the most illustrative works of this type in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was *Leopardus* (1624), composed by students at the Jesuit College in Kalisz in honor of the Metropolitan of Gniezno Henryk Firley.[75] The illustrations of the book were made up of some elements of a coat of arms and a structurally simple emblem. These elements can be compared with the *impresa* from *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose* by Paolo Giovio and simple emblems from *Symbola divina et humana pontificum, imperatorum, rerum* by Jacobus Typotius.[76]

If we consider examples of *stemmata* in Ukraine, the most representative work is the *Pillar of Virtues* by Sylvester Kossov. This epicedium includes a cycle of graphic illustrations that contain the elements of Metropolitan Kossov's coat of arms. These elements were used in allegorical compositions of complex content. The extended text of the epicedium also interprets the meaning of metropolitans' coats of arms. That is, the same principle is used here as in the above-mentioned *Leopardus*. The *Pillar of Virtues*, however, is a funeral hymn, while *Leopardus* is an ode to a living bishop.

The most representative panegyrics, which can be compared to their Western European counterparts, were created to honor Metropolitan Peter Mohyla and his collaborators. We have already mentioned the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra edition of the *Eucharisterion* (1632) by Sofroniĭ Pochas'kyĭ. The visual part of this eulogy is a variation on the theme of the coat of arms of Peter Mohyla. Many of the elements used in Mohyla's coat of arms allowed other components to come to the fore, depending on the intended purpose. The main part of the text is the glorification of Helikon and Parnassus with the garden of the "seven liberal arts" and theology. Mohyla is portrayed as the shepherd who revived these arts. The main purpose is to subordinate the secular principle to the religious one.

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74 Czarski, in the above-mentioned passage; Pelc, *Słowo i obraz na pograniczu literatury i sztuk plastycznych*, p. 310; Zavaryns'ka, "Панегіричні топоси в гравюрах", p. 237–238.

75 *Leopardvs Illvstrissimi Ac Reverendissimi Domini D. Henrici Firley Archiepiscopi Gnesnensis* [...] *Gnesnensem primum Archidiœcesim ingredientis Ab Animantibvs Salvtatvs: Qvœ Gnesnensium Archiepiscoporum stemmatibus incisa claruerunt, Hic Mvsarvm Alvmni In Collegio Karnkouiano Calissiensis Societatis Iesv Accessere Salvtandi Svffragatores. M. DC. XXIV*, [Kalisz], 1624.

76 J. Bednarska, *Z dziejów polskiej ilustracji panegirycznej pierwszej połowy XVII wieku. Cz. 2: Problematyka stylistyczno-formalna polskiej panegirycznej ilustracji książkowej*, Katowice, 2005, p. 158; Zavaryns'ka, "Панегіричні топоси в гравюрах", p. 237–238.

The archimandrite is depicted with a staff (signifying his "pastoral mission"), cross ("faith"), tree branch ("wisdom"), mantle, crown, and scepter, throwing them at the foot of the mountain. It is a visual cliché: a man of noble birth chooses a spiritual rank. In particular, this idea is present in the engravings of the *Kyiv Pechersk Paterikon* (*Патерікъ или отечникъ Печерскій*, both the 1661 and the 1702 Kyiv Pechersk Lavra editions). One of the engravings shows the prince of Lutsk, Nikola Sviatosha, who renounced power and became a monk of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra. The depiction of the hustle and bustle of power (both ecclesiastical and secular) is a common theme in the engravings found in Western European collections of emblems and *impresa*.

The engravings in Gabriel Rollenhagen's book *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum*... (Cologne, 1611) are possible models for this type of representation. Several illustrations in this edition depict the abandoned attributes of secular and ecclesiastical power: crown, scepter, sword, papal tiara, bishop's miter, etc. Paolo Giovio's *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose*... contains similar images. Comparable depictions of the attributes of secular and ecclesiastical power are also found in the above-mentioned book *Symbola divina et humana*... by Jacobus Typotius.

It is not always possible to find a specific prototype for a given composition. The issue is aggravated by the fact that the composition of the model was not always transmitted unchanged. In several cases, Ukrainian masters created new compositions based on the motifs of European engravings. Moreover, several patterns could be used at the same time. Various emblematic editions contained a set of favorite subjects, and compositions for individual subjects often shared common characteristics. Ukrainian engravers joined the pan-European practice of borrowing artistic ideas. They often created compositions by combining the necessary elements.

Chorea bini solis et lunae by Filip Bajewski, printed in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra press in 1645,[77] is also a revealing example. The eulogy in prose and verse (in Latin and Polish) was written by a student of the Kyiv Mohyla Collegium on Janusz Radziwiłł's marriage to Maria, daughter of the ruler of Moldavia, Vasile Lupu (1634–1653). Here, the insignia of secular and ecclesiastical power are combined as a testimony to the glory and greatness of the *fratry* ("brotherhood") house, the family.[78] Glorifying the clan and the family is a central theme of panegyrics

77 F. Bajewski, *Choreae bini solis et lunae aulae et ecclesiae in serenis nuptiis illustrissimorum sponsorum principis Janussii Radivil archicamerarii M. D. L. et Mariae illustrissimae Jo. Basilii palatini et despotae Moldaviae filiae applaudente Collegio Mohiliano Kioviensi*, Kyiv, 1645; available on the website of the National Library of Poland, online at: https://www.europeana.eu/item/0940435/_nhXSfXc (accessed March 25, 2024).

78 Zavaryns'ka, "Панегіричні топоси в гравюрах", p. 239.

during this period. Such works allow us to understand why representative heraldic elements were introduced into graphic compositions. They were essential for the acquisition and conservation of power.

We have given above an outline of the main types of emblematic composition and the literary genres in which they are present. However, in addition to the main types mentioned, there were intermediate forms. Several other elements of book design were widely used at this time, following similar compositional principles to emblems and often incorporating elements of heraldry. These were vignettes and stamps. The question of the influence of the West and of borrowing in the area of book design has yet to be clarified.

In this context, we shall present the case of an emblem from one of the Arabic books in the TYPARABIC corpus. This is the so-called emblem of Patriarch Sylvester placed in an Arabic Akathistos possibly published in Bucharest in 1747 (Fig. 4). This attribution belongs to Archim. Policarp Chiţulescu, who kindly allowed me to read the manuscript of his article before publication.[79] This composition is identified as the emblem of Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch because in the central part there are Greek letters quite clearly placed so as to suggest the name "Sylvester".[80]

Researchers have not come to a clear opinion as to what this image is: an emblem, a coat of arms, a vignette, or whether the best definition for this decorative element is simply a "composition." The history of the book itself, as well as the main hypotheses concerning the iconographic patterns of the image mentioned, are presented by Ioana Feodorov and Archim. Policarp Chiţulescu in their above-mentioned publications.

The study of this image has just begun, and the question of the creator of the emblem is very important. Initially, there was a suggestion that Patriarch Sylvester's emblem might have been influenced by Ukrainian heraldic art.[81] The most probable hypothesis, however, seems to be the one put forward by Archim. Policarp Chiţulescu. In his opinion, the creator of the design was the Greek publisher and engraver Duca Sotiriovici, who worked in Iași and Bucharest in the first half of the 18th century.[82]

This image itself is very interesting, if only because it allows us to raise the question of familiarity with Kyivan engravings in the Arab-Christian East. It

79 Archim. P. Chiţulescu, "Noutăți despre întâia tipografie arabă din Moldova și despre activitatea tipografului Duca Sotiriovici din Thassos", *Apulum*, S. *Historia & Patromonium*, *Supplementum*, LXI, 2024, p. 79–116.

80 I. Feodorov, "New Data on the Early Arabic Printing in the Levant and its Connections to the Romanian Presses", *RESEE*, 56, 2018, 1–4, p. 219.

81 Feodorov, "New Data on the Early Arabic Printing in the Levant", p. 219.

82 Chiţulescu, "Noutăți despre întâia tipografie arabă din Moldova", p. 96.

is precisely this image that we mentioned at the beginning of this contribution. Waldemar Deluga, a well-known researcher of the arts of Central and Eastern Europe, expressed his opinion that the inscription and the image itself could have been printed with two different woodblocks. Be that as it may, we believe that this image is of a composite nature. Perhaps the configuration went through several stages before it acquired its current appearance.

First, let's describe this engraving. It cannot be fully called either a coat of arms or an emblem, although it has attributes of both. It interestingly combines an inscription with the general character of the emblem. It does not, however, fully correspond to the emblematic engravings in Western European collections of the 16th–18th centuries. Nor is it a coat of arms, of course, since there is no shield. However, at the top of the composition, there are signs of distinction of power – an archbishop's miter, a staff, and a cross.

The cartouche with the patriarch's name is surrounded by two crowned anthropomorphic creatures. These are female half-figures in full clothing of the classic type. They resemble shield bearers. The lower parts of the figures resemble a cornucopia, narrowing down towards the bottom. The characters are placed against a background of stylized floral and geometric elements that play the role of a mantle.

The master who executed it in the first half of the 18th century certainly knew both Western and Eastern European book ornamentation and compiled this composition from several disparate elements. This is a combination of motifs of Western European ornament, features of ancient art, and attributes of the Orthodox clergy. For early modern times, this combination was not unusual; rather, it was typical. But in this case, the heterogeneous elements do not combine very organically. It seems like they were hurriedly chosen for a specific order. Perhaps the master was limited in time and could not make the composition more harmonious. Patriarch Sylvester (if he was the client) may have commissioned this emblem from the engraver, which was to appear in his later editions. But the death of the patriarch prevented this, and the use of the emblem with his name anywhere else lost its relevance.

We believe that this image belongs to a series of intermediate compositions that were placed everywhere in the context of the general fascination with emblems in early modern times. In the field of book design, the influence of emblems also touched other elements of book decor. Ioana Fedorov arrived at the conclusion that the emblem was created in a press in Moldavia or Wallachia,[83] which is in line with Archim. Policarp Chiţulescu's hypothesis. We agree too, since no contacts between

83 Feodorov, "New Data on the Early Arabic Printing in the Levant", p. 218–219.

Patriarch Sylvester and the Orthodox Church of Kyiv, or Ukrainian printers, are documented.

As already mentioned, in the upper part of Sylvester's emblem there is an Orthodox crozier and an X-shaped cross under the Orthodox miter. This resembles the upper part of some coats of arms of the rulers of the Romanian Principalities (secular rulers, not church leaders). The Book of Divine Liturgies in Arabic and Greek printed by Antim the Iberian in Snagov (1701) is one of the best examples. Here we can see a prince's crown that looks exactly like the bishop's miter in Sylvester's emblem. The cruciform arrangement of the attributes of princely power corresponds to the same composition of episcopal insignia. The coats of arms of metropolitans and bishops in Ukrainian books of the 17th and 18th centuries resemble much less the placement of episcopal attributes in this composition. This can be seen by comparing Sylvester's emblem with the coat of arms of Varlaam IAsyns'kyĭ in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra edition of *Arctos et antarctos caeli Rossiaci in Gentilitijs Syderibus* (1690) (Fig. 5).

We also asked for the opinion of the Romanian expert heraldist Dr Tudor-Radu Tiron, who remarked that the composition gives the idea of a coat of arms, but it is not a coat of arms, as there is no shield.[84] Dr Tiron doubted that we can use the term "emblem" in this case. He stated that an emblem implied the acceptance of a particular graphic symbol for identification. However, it was not clear to him whether the image was being used in terms of identification (i.e., in the first person) or respect (i.e., for someone who was a contributor to the printing of the text). Based on this, Tiron suggested using the term "composition" to refer to this image.

One argument in favor of this is the image itself. If we look at it layer by layer, we can see that it is a cartouche vignette. It contains some architectural and botanical details. Following a tradition dating back to the Renaissance, this vignette was supplemented with two side panels but adapted to Eastern tastes. Similarly, if the author had intended to create a coat of arms or an emblem, the central part of the picture would not have been loaded with all these curves and strokes. Therefore, according to Dr Tiron, the origin of the image should be sought in a decorative vignette that was copied, filled with ecclesiastical symbols, personalized with an inscription, and then carved in wood, to be printed.

Regarding the actual heraldic elements, the expert noted that in this case there could be correspondences with the official heraldry of Moldavia and Wallachia. On the other hand, when there are two long objects (i.e., a staff and a cross), they are crossed, and this arrangement logically culminates at the top with an object

84 We are deeply grateful to Dr Tudor-Radu Tiron for his expert comments on this visual composition and his approval for their publication here.

resting on the head (i.e., a miter). This is traditional for heraldry. He concluded that this composition was designed to give the impression of individual decoration. However, the artist's knowledge was limited and the result falls into an ambiguous category: somewhere between a sign and a decorative model.

Dr Tiron's analysis is certainly a worthy contribution to the study of this complex engraving. Nevertheless, we believe that the use of the term "emblem" is entirely appropriate in this case. In the early modern period, the emblems influenced the other elements of book decoration. Different types of vignettes could also have a similar compositional structure (Fig. 6). European stamps could in many cases contain coats of arms, or certain elements in them. Like emblems, they often contained various inscriptions.

We believe that the origin of the anthropomorphic figures placed on the sides of Sylvester's emblem are also related to typographical stamps. They appeared on the stamps of various publishers in several European cities. Images of this kind are particularly common in Italian printed works of the 16th and 17th centuries (Fig. 7, 8). Sometimes these figures are dressed, other times they are naked. Compositions are of very different content: a religious scene, a mythological scene, etc. could be placed in the center of the cartouche.

Sometimes heraldic compositions were placed on the title page instead of the typographic stamp. An illustrative example is found on the title page of the book *Emblemata anniversaria Academiae Noribergensis* by Abraham Wagenman (Nuremberg, 1617). Such an image is presented at the bottom of the title page (Fig. 9). There are some elements here that remind us of Sylvester's emblem: female half-figures are flanking the coat of arms, and stylized plant elements surround the figures. As in the emblem of the Patriarch of Antioch, a crown was placed above the composition. This example may have been one of the sources of inspiration for the artist who created Sylvester's emblem.

We do not know the reason for the creation of this emblem, possibly for Patriarch Sylvester. But the fact itself is not surprising. The patriarch may have needed such a sign to assert his influence and authority, or his book-printing works.

We could assume that the presentation of this emblem was to boost sales. We know that Ukrainian printers of the 17th and 18th centuries, especially those in Lviv, used episcopal coats of arms on their books to increase sales. Archival evidence suggests that they tried in this way to make their publications more attractive to potential clients.[85] However, Patriarch Sylvester did not sell the books he printed in

85 V. Vuĭtsyk, "Нові документальні відомості про українського ґравера і друкаря століття Івана Филиповича", in *Записки НТШ. Праці комісії образотворчого та ужиткового мистецтва*, vol. CCXXXVI, Lviv, 1998, p. 460.

Moldavia and Wallachia, so this is not a valid reason for the presence of his emblem in the Akathistos.

Summing up the preliminary results, we take note that the transfer of models of emblematic and heraldic images from the West to the East is a topic that requires further research. The digitization of many library and museum collections, as well as private book collections, makes it possible to bring many unknown early printed books into scholarly use. This is a great widening of the research horizon, but at the same time a challenge of many hypotheses, each of them requiring support. Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch's emblem, if confirmed as such, is very instructive in this regard. Undoubtedly, discoveries lie ahead in the study of the first Arabic edition of the Akathistos of the Mother of God.

Fig. 1: Nikodim Zubritskiĭ, *The False Hope of Life*, in *Iphika Hieropolitica*, Kyiv, 1712 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine. Photo Olena Derevska. By permission of the Library).

Fig. 2: Peter Mohyla's coat of arms in Abba Dorotheos, *Teachings*, Kyiv, 1628 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine. Photo Alina Kondratiuk. By permission of the Library).

Fig. 3: Joseph Tryzna's coat of arms in the Triodion, Kyiv, 1648 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine. Photo Alina Kondratiuk. By permission of the Library).

Fig. 4: Emblem of Patriarch Sylvester (?) in the Arabic Akathistos, Bucharest (?), 1747 (?) (Private collection. Cf. Ioana Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands. The East European Connection*, Berlin/Boston, 2023, p. 418).

Fig. 5: Varlaam IAsyns'kyĭ's coat of arms in Stefan IAvors'kyĭ, *Arctos and Antarctos*, Kyiv, 1690 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine. Photo Alina Kondratiuk. By permission of the Library).

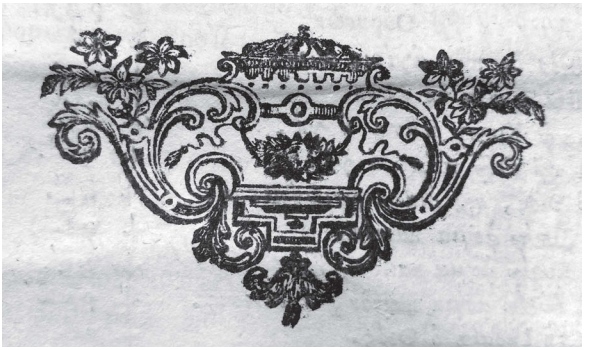

Fig. 6: Tailpiece, Psalter, Venice, Antonio Bortoli Press, 1755, p. 211 (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Photo Alina Kondratiuk. By permission of the Library).

Fig. 7: Francesco Ziletti, typographical stamp, *Trattato di Christoforo Acosta africano medico, & chirurgo*..., Venice, 1585 (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Photo Alina Kondratiuk. By permission of the Library).

Fig. 8: Roberto Meietti, typographical stamp, *Offese et diffuse delle citta, et fortezze da Giacomo Lanteri Bresciano & Gieronimo Zanco da Pesaro*, Venice, 1601 (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Photo Alina Kondratiuk. By permission of the Library).

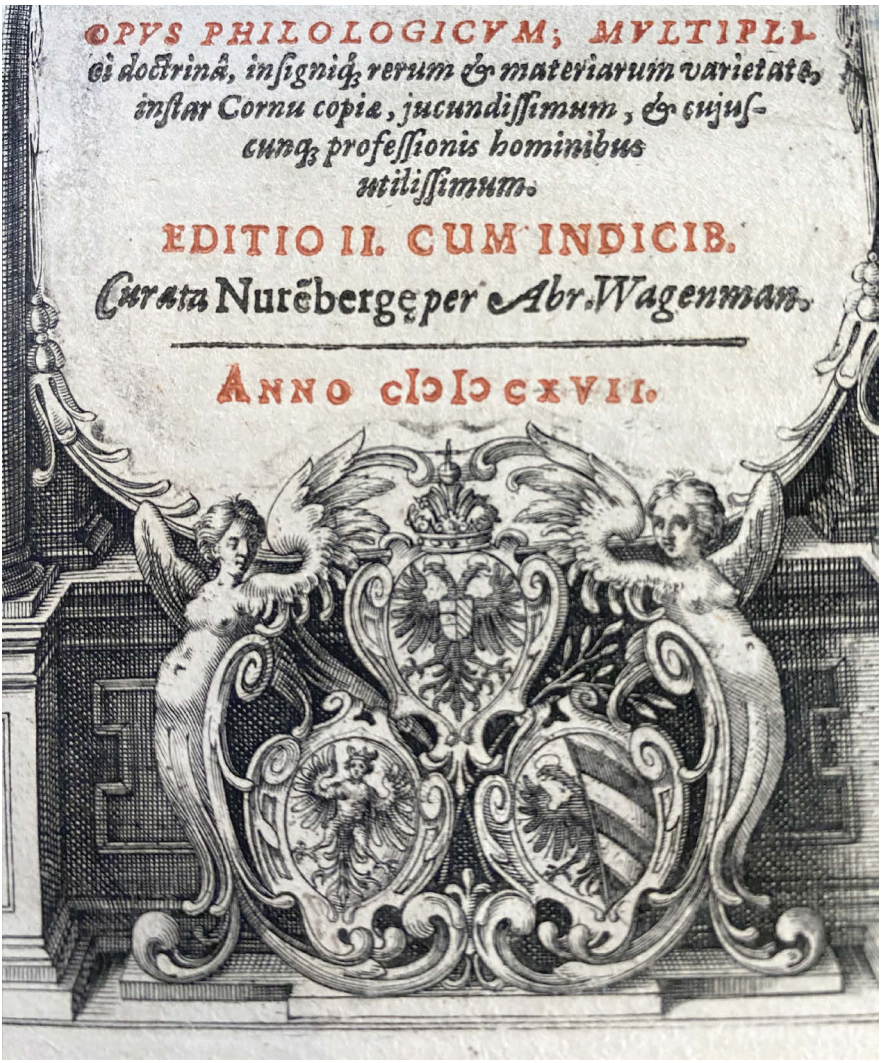

Fig. 9: Heraldic composition in Abraham Wagenman, *Emblemata Anniversaria Academiae Noribergensis...*, Nuremberg, 1617. Detail of the title page. (Public domain, https://dn790003.ca.archive.org/0/items/emblemataanniver01univ/emblemataanniver01univ.pdf, accessed March 24, 2024).

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Part 5. **Patrons of Printing in the 18th and 19th Centuries: the Phanariot Princes and Their Like**

Mihail-George Hâncu

Serbian-Romanian Relations in the Typographical Activity of the 16th–18th Centuries

The relationship between the Serbs and the Romanians from the Middle Ages until the early modern era has repeatedly elicited interest on the part of researchers of both nationalities. This is in no small measure due to the nearly complete lack of military conflict between the various Serbian states and the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, since, as noted by Đorđe Sp. Radojičić, "in thirteen centuries not even once was there a military confrontation between them", in what may be considered a "rare example of peaceful cohabitation between peoples".[1] Radojičić goes on to qualify this statement as referring strictly to the relationship between the Serbian and Romanian *states*, discounting the cases in which either side was part of a foreign, suzerain army (most notably in the Battle of Velbazhd of 1330 and the Battle of Rovine in 1395),[2] but it is doubtless that there were strong – sometimes dynastic – ties between these Orthodox lands. Nevertheless, this research is concerned with neither military nor political connections, but with the mutual support offered by Serbs and Romanians in the development of typographies from the earliest printing presses of the 16th century to the joint efforts made under Austrian rule in the 18th century.

The present study is therefore divided into four subsections: the first will discuss the role played by the first Serbian typographer, Makarije of Cetinje (modern-day Montenegro), in the printing of the first Wallachian Slavonic books between 1508 and 1512. The second subsection refers to Dimitrije Ljubavić from Goražde (modern-day Bosnia), whose efforts ensured the resumption of typographical culture in the Romanian Principalities in the fifth decade of the 16th century, and whose books contain the first clear mention of the actual place where they were printed. The third subsection refers to a particular book printed under Matei Basarab, namely the Triodion of 1649, which is notable for containing what is believed to be the first use of the Polish alexandrine verse in Serbian literature. The final part of this study is dedicated to an important milestone in the history of Serbian culture and of Serbian-Romanian relations, namely the printing of Russian primers and

1 Đ. Sp. Radojičić, "Srpski-rumunski odnosi XIV-XVII veka", *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, I, 1956, p. 13.

2 Radojičić, "Srpski-rumunski odnosi", p. 13.

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grammars at the press of Râmnic during the Austrian rule of Oltenia (1718–1739) and in the decades that followed, which helped endow the newly founded Serbian school of Sremski Karlovci with manuals. This series of printed books would contribute to the introduction of Russian Church Slavonic elements in the Serbian language, which in turn would evolve into Slaveno-Serbian (a mix of Serbian Slavonic, Russian Slavonic and vernacular Serbian) in the latter half of the 18th century, followed by the thorough orthographic reform of the Serbian literary language by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864).

1 The First Printing Press in Wallachia and Its Vicinity: Makarije of Cetinje

The name of the hieromonk Makarije is tied to the beginnings of printing in both Serbia and one of the Romanian Principalities, namely, Wallachia. Born in Montenegro, Makarije studied the art of printing in Venice, from where the voivode of Zeta, Đurađ Crnojević, bought a printing press, which he placed in the capital city of Cetinje. In Cetinje, Makarije prints the Octoechos (1494), which is the first printed book in Serbian, followed by the Psalter in 1495. The activity of this press was cut short by the fall of Zeta under Ottoman rule in 1496.[3]

Makarije's arrival in Wallachia around 1507 was likely tied to that of the former despot of Serbia, Maksim Branković,[4] whose strong ties to the Wallachian prince Radu IV the Great had earned him his election as metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia and may have led to Makarije being charged to print the first books in the Romanian Principalities (although one should not discount the fact that Radu's wife may have been a member of the Crnojević family).[5] In his press, Makarije would print three books under four different rulers: the Book of the Divine Liturgies (1508), which he starts under Radu the Great and finishes under Mihnea the Wrongdoer, the Octoechos (1510) under Vlad V the Young, and the Tetraevangelion (1512) under Neagoe Basarab. For illustrative purposes, we provide here a transcription of the Slavonic text containing information on who ordered the book, who worked on it, and when it was printed:

3 G. Mihăilă, "Epilogurile celor trei cărți tipărite de ieromonahul Macarie (1508–1512)", in G. Dumitrescu (ed.), *Liturghierul lui Macarie 1508/2008 – Studii introductive și traducere*, Târgoviște, 2008, p. 178.

4 P. P. Panaitescu, *Contribuții la istoria culturii românești*, ed. S. Panaitescu, Bucharest, 1971, p. 57.

5 M. Cazacu, "Dimitrije Ljubavić (c. 1519–1564) et l'imprimerie slave dans l'Europe du Sud-Est au XVIe siècle. Nouvelles contributions", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol" din Iași*, XXXII, 1995, p. 190.

Почеше сѧ сїе сѓтыѫ книгы, гл҃емыѧ Лутоургїа· повелѣнїемь г(с)подина Іѡ҃ Ра(д)ула воеводѣ, емѹ҃же бѫди вѣчнаа памѧть. И съвръши сѧ сїа книга повелѣнїемь въ Хр̃а Бг̃а бл̃говѣрнаго и Хр̃олюбиваго и Бг̃w(м) хранимаго и прѣсвѣтлаго г(с)подара Іѡ҃ Михнѣ великаго воеводы въсеѫ Земли Оугровлахїискои и Подоунавїю, сн̃ь великаго Іѡ҃ Влада воеводы, въ прьвое лѣто господ(с)тва его. Троуди же сѧ w семь смѣренїи мни(х) и сщ̃енникь Макарїе. Въ лѣто ·ѕ̃ѕ̃ї· кржгь слн̃цоу ·ѕ̃ї·, лоунѣ ·ē·, индиктїwнь ·а̃ї·, мц̃а ноемврїа, ·ї· дн̃ь.[6]

These holy books, named the Liturgy, were started at the order of the ruler Io[an] Radul voivode, may his memory be eternal. And this book was finished at the order of the pious, Christ-loving, and by God protected ruler Io[an] Mihnea, the great voivode of the entire land of Ungro-Wallachia and Podunavia, son of the great voivode Io[an] Vlad, in the first year of his rule. The humble hieromonk Makarije strove to achieve this. In the year 7016 [1508], solar cycle 16, lunar cycle 5, *indiction*[7] 11, the month of November, the 10th day.[8]

As can be seen, the first book printed by Makarije after his arrival in Wallachia was only finished almost seven months after the death of Radu the Great (1495–1508), in the early days of the short-lived reign of his successor, Mihnea the Wrongdoer, who would be overthrown the following year. Makarije does not specify anything about himself other than the fact that he is a hieromonk.

The second book printed by Makarije for the Wallachian prince is the Octoechos (1510):

Понеже иже въ [sic] троици покланѣемїи бъ бл̃гоизволи цр̃ковь своѧ исплънити различними книгами въ славословїе и полѕѫ прочитаѧщи(м). Сего ради и азь въ Хр̃а бг̃а бл̃говѣрнии и Бг̃w(м) храними и самодрьжавни г(с̃)пдарь Іѡ҃ Вла(д) велики воевода и гн̃ь въсее земле Оугровлахїискои и Подѹнавїю, сн̃ь великаго и прѣдобраго и мл(с̃) тиваго гн̃а, Іѡ҃, Влада воеводи, възревновахь поспѣшенїемь Сг̃го Дх̃а и любовїѧ еже къ бж(с)тъвни(м) и сг̃и(м) цр̃квамь и написахь сїѧ дшесп(с)нжѧ кнугѹ҃ wсмогла(с)никь, въ исплъненїе славословїю трисл̃нечнаго въ единьствѣ покланѣемаго бж(с)тва. [...] Повелѣнїемь г(с)пдара Іѡ҃ Вла(д) великаго воеводи. азь Хѹ҃ рабь сщ̃енноинокь макарїе

6 The Slavonic text is transcribed after the final two pages of the facsimile version of 2008, published alongside G. Dumitrescu (ed.), *Liturghierul lui Macarie 1508/2008 – Studii introductive și traducere*, Târgoviște, 2008. I have opted to write superscript letters between parentheses and leave the original Slavonic abbreviations.

7 The *indiction* was a cycle of 15 years, beginning on September 1, 312. While it was originally used as a tax cycle, it was ultimately adopted by the Byzantine Orthodox Church. See Anthony Bryer, "Chronology and Dating", in R. Cormack, J. Haldon, E. Jeffreys (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, Oxford, 2008, p. 33.

8 All the English translations from Slavonic are my own.

трѹди(х) се ѡ семь и съвръшихѡ(м) сїе книги. Въ лѣто ·з҃йі· кржгь сл҃нцѹ ·йі· лѹнї ·з҃· индиктиѡн, в҃і· мц҃а августа ·к҃s· дн҃ь.[9]

Because God who is worshipped in the Trinity willed to fill His church with various books so that its readers may speak words of praise and use them, it is for this reason that I, the autocratic ruler who believes in Christ and is protected by God, Io(an) Vlad, great voivode and lord of the entire land of Ungro-Wallachia and Podunavia, son of the very good and merciful ruler, the voivode Io(an) Vlad, have desired at the urging of the Holy Spirit and with love towards the divine and holy church and have written this soul-saving book, the Octoechos, to fulfill the praising of the thrice-shining Divinity, worshipped as one […]. On the order of Io(an) Vlad, the great voivode, I, the servant of Christ, the hieromonk Makarije, strove for this and we finished these books. In the year 7018 [1510], solar cycle 18, lunar cycle 7, *indiction* 12, the month of August, the 26th day.

The voivode who patronized the printing of this second book was Vlad V the Younger (1510–1512), the son of Vlad IV the Monk (1481, 1482–1495), while Makarije, once again, has relatively few words to say about himself, although one might want to draw attention to the manner in which the Wallachian prince explains the motivation for the printing of this church book. This, as shall be seen, may perhaps be contrasted with Dimitrije Ljubavić, who claims to have printed the Acts of the Apostles (Apostolos) after having seen *for himself* that the available books were very few.

The third book was printed only a few months after the end of Vlad V's reign and the beginning of the reign of Neagoe Basarab (1512–1521).

Понеже иже въ троици покланѣемїи бъ бл҃гоизволи цр҃ковь своѫ исплънити сѫтыими книгами въ славословїе и полѕѫ прочитаѧщи(м). Сего ради и азь въ Хр҃а бл҃говѣрнїи и Бг҃омь хранимїи и самодръжавни господарь Іѡ҃ Басараба великыи воевода и г(с҃) пдїнь въсеи земли Оугровлахїискои и Подоунавїю, сн҃ь прѣдобраго и великааго г(с҃) пдїна, Іѡ҃ Басараба воеводѣ, възревновахь поспѣшенїемь Сѫто Дх҃а и любовїѧ еже къ бж(с)тъвни(м) и сѫти(м) цр҃квамь· написахь сїѧ дшесп(с)нѫѧ кнугѫ, четворобл҃говѣстїе· ѧже дх҃ъ сѫтыи ап(с҃)льскими оусти ѿригнѫ въ познанїе и исплъненїе славословїю трисл҃нечнаго въ единьствѣ покланѣемаго бж(с)тва. […] Повелѣнїемь г(с)пдара Іѡ҃ Басараба великааго воеводы. азь Хр҃у рабъ сщ҃енноинокь Макарїе трѹди(х) се ѡ семь и съвръшихомь сїе книгы. Въ лѣто ·з҃к҃· кржгь сл҃нцоу ·к҃· лоуни ·ѳ· индиктїѡнь, дї· мц҃а іоунїа ·к҃е· дн҃ь.

Because God who is worshipped in the Trinity willed to fill his church with holy books so that its readers may speak words of praise and use them, it is for this reason that I, the autocratic ruler who believes in Christ and is protected by God, Io(an) Basaraba, great voivode and lord of the entire land of Ungro-Wallachia and Podunavia, son of the very good and great lord, the voivode Io(an) Basaraba, have desired at the urging of the Holy Spirit and with love

9 The Slavonic text is transcribed after the final page of the facsimile version of 2010, published alongside G. Dumitrescu (ed.), *Octoihul lui Macarie 1510/2010. Studii*, Târgoviște, 2010.

> towards the divine and holy church and have written this soul-saving book, the Tetraevangelion, which the Holy Spirit spoke through the mouths of the Apostles to know and to fulfill the praising of the thrice shining Divinity, worshipped as one. […] On the order of Io(an) Basaraba, the great voivode, I, the servant of Christ, the hieromonk Makarije, strove for this and we finished these books. In the year 7020 [1512], solar cycle 18, lunar cycle 7, *indiction* 12, the month of June, the 25th day.[10]

The title applied to each of his Wallachian patrons has elicited comments from Romanian historians, as the reference to their control over Podunavia was inconsistent with any of the contemporary chancery documents. P. P. Panaitescu notes the presence of Podunavia *and* the absence of the titles pertaining to Amlaș and Făgăraș (in Transylvania) and goes on to build the argument that the reference to Podunavia was due to Makarije having encountered older documents (as a result of his working in some monastery) from the time of Mircea I the Great (1386–1394; 1397–1418), which still referred to the Danubian possessions in Dobrogea and to Chilia.[11] Ion-Radu Mircea, however, argued against Panaitescu's assertion that the title "Prince of Podunavia" was completely absent from the titles of contemporary Wallachian princes, as he cites examples from documents from the time of Neagoe Basarab (1512), Radu of Afumați (1525), Radu Paisie (1536), and Mircea the Shepherd (1551). Instead of Makarije having taken the title from the old documents of Mircea I, it is suggested that this title was in fact one of the Serbian elements included in Makarije's Wallachian prints (aside from references to Saints Simeon and Sava Nemanjić in the Book of the Divine Liturgy), as the title "Prince of Podunavia" was also used by Serbian despots in the 15th century.[12] Damaschin Mioc argued for the Serbian origin of this title, believing it to be mutually exclusive with Panaitescu's assumption.[13] In a recent study, Marian Coman suggested that the two hypotheses were rather complementary and that Makarije would not have included the Serbian Podunavia in the title of the Wallachian princes had it not been used by their predecessors.[14] On the other hand, Coman discusses the geographical identification of Makarije's Podunavia, arguing against the generic meaning of "Danubian shores," instead, considering that it represented more likely the same geographical

10 The Slavonic text is transcribed after the final page of the facsimile version from 2010, published alongside G. Dumitrescu (ed.), *Tetraevangheliarul lui Macarie 1512/2012. Studii*, Târgoviște, 2012.

11 Panaitescu, *Contribuții la istoria culturii românești*, p. 281–282.

12 I.-R. Mircea, "Relations culturelles roumano-serbes au XVIe siècle", *RESEE*, 1, 1963, 3–4, p. 402.

13 D. Mioc, "Date noi cu privire la Macarie tipograful", *Studii. Revistă de Istorie*, XVI, 1963, 2, p. 429–440.

14 M. Coman, "Podunavia și relațiile sârbo-muntene în secolele XIV-XVI", in R. Păun, O. Cristea (eds.), *Utopie amintire şi proiect de viitor. Studii de istorie oferite Profesorului Andrei Pippidi la împlinirea a 65 de ani*, Iași, 2013, p. 255.

territory as the Serbian Podunavlje that Lazar Hrebeljanović conquered from the Rastislalić family, which was later claimed by Stefan Lazarević and Mircea I the Great. As for the reasoning for the adoption of Makarije's formula in Wallachian court documents, Coman links it to the question of Wallachia's patronage over Athonite monasteries.[15]

Another visible common trait of the epilogues of all three books is that no mention is made of the exact *place* they were printed in, which led to some debate among researchers as to whether the press was in Wallachia. Đorđe Radojičić believed that the church that was drawn on the opening pages of the Octoechos was, in fact, a representation of the printing press in the Wallachian capital of Târgoviște, following the argument that Makarije had done similarly with the image of Cetinje Monastery in the Octoechos of 1494, and that another example of similar practices was to be found in the Octoechos of Gračanica Monastery (1538/1539), which showed a drawing of this monastery.[16]

The origin of the letters used by Makarije was an important factor in this debate, as Virgil Molin attempted to demonstrate that not only were they of Venetian origin, but the typographical process itself took place in a Venetian printing press, namely that of Andrea Torresano and Aldo Manuzio, which also specialized in Glagolitic prints. Molin goes on to claim that Makarije did not work in Wallachia or in the Cetinje printing presses, but instead acted as a liaison between Venice and the Orthodox world of the Balkans.[17] This line of argumentation was countered by Lájos Demény and Lidia A. Demény, who noted that it would be difficult to believe that a commercial printing press like that of Torresano and Manuzio would have limited itself to printing three Cyrillic books before dismantling the printing press (even assuming that the books had been a special order from the Wallachian princes). Demény instead followed the opinion expressed by Hasdeu, Hodoș, Iorga, and Panaitescu, namely, that the letters used by Makarije were produced locally in the Romanian Principalities, based on Wallachian and, possibly, Moldavian manuscripts.[18] Be it as it may, the question of where exactly Makarije printed his books remains open, with a recent study by Doru Bădără narrowing the possibilities suggested in the currently available bibliography to two: the Dealu Monastery near Târgoviște and the Bistrița Monastery in Oltenia.[19]

15 Coman, "Podunavia", p. 256–257.

16 Đ. Sp. Radojičić, "Srpski-rumunski odnosi", p. 20.

17 L. Demény, L. A. Demény, *Carte, tipar și societate la români în secolul al XVI-lea*, Bucharest, 1986, p. 36.

18 Demény, Demény, *Carte, tipar și societate*, p. 42–43.

19 D. Bădără, "The Beginning of Printing and Print Culture in the Romanian Principalities", in R. Dipratu, S. Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond. First Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project*, Berlin/Boston, 2024, p. 123.

The circumstances in which Makarije's printing activity in Wallachia stopped have raised just as many questions and answers among researchers. P. P. Panaitescu assumed that Makarije had simply died shortly after printing the Tetraevangelion, as "only this way could one explain how the press ceased its activity under Neagoe Basarab, a culture-loving prince".[20] This opinion is followed by G. Mihăilă, who argues, based on Mircea Păcurariu's assumption that Makarije was born around 1450–1455, that the typographer was already quite old and that it was not at all unexpected that he died in the first year of Neagoe Basarab's rule, in 1512, shortly after having printed the Tetraevangelion.[21]

Ștefan Ciobanu, on the other hand, asserted that Makarije probably became metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia under Neagoe Basarab, a high position that may have prevented him from continuing to edit and print books in his typography, which would have struggled to function during the internal conflicts that shook Wallachia between Neagoe's death and the rule of Radu Paisie (1535–1545).[22] Mircea Păcurariu follows the line of argument that Makarije is to be identified with the Metropolitan Macarie II and that following the four years after the death of the previous metropolitan, Maksim Branković, he would have been preoccupied with organizing the Wallachian Orthodox Church and he did not have any disciples who could continue his typographical activity in his stead (which results from Makarije not mentioning anyone else as having worked with him on the three books he printed in Wallachia). Păcurariu also points to Neagoe Basarab's own construction projects having taken their toll on his treasury, so that he would have been unable to cover the costs of printing new books.[23]

The theory that the Metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia was to be identified with the printer Makarije was questioned in 1967 by Petre Ș. Năsturel, who believed that this was instead Macarie, abbot of the Bistrița Monastery (a position attested in a document from 1494), who might have become Bishop of Râmnic around 1504 (likely due to his ties with the Craiovescu family), before being appointed by Neagoe to the Metropolitan See at the beginning of his rule.[24] This hypothesis is described as being "justified" by Dan Zamfirescu in the chronological study preceding the edition of Neagoe Basarab's works published in 2020, arguing that it is this Macarie – and not

20 Panaitescu, *Contribuții la istoria culturii românești*, p. 333.

21 Mihăilă, "Epilogurile celor trei cărți", p. 179.

22 Ș. Ciobanu, "Tiparul în țările românești", in G. Dumitrescu (ed.), *Tetraevangheliarul lui Macarie*, p. 113–114.

23 M. Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, Bucharest, 1991, p. 445–446.

24 P. Ș. Năsturel, "Recherches sur les rédactions gréco-roumaines de la « Vie de Saint Niphon II, patriarche de Constantinople »", *RESEE*, 5, 1967, 1–2, p. 56.

the printer – whom Neagoe is addressing in his *Letter to the Bones of His Mother Neaga*, given that the Wallachian prince had studied under his guidance at Bistrița.[25]

Đorđe Radojičić[26] suggests that Makarije the printer left Wallachia and became abbot of the Hilandar Monastery at some point before 1525, when he travelled once more to Wallachia in order to obtain the annual help for the Athonite monastery (for which he would also travel to Moldavia in 1533). Radojičić also refers to Makarije as having penned a geographical work between 1526 and 1529, in which he also refers to the "Dacian lands".[27] Năsturel questions this theory (which had also been mentioned by Damaschin Mioc in 1963),[28] arguing that the documents in the chancery of Radu of Afumați, the Wallachian prince at the time of his visit in 1525, referred to him in the donation acts neither as "our Father, the abbot kyr Macarius, former metropolitan", nor as "our Father, the hieromonk Macarius", which would have been inconceivable if the Athonite abbot had been the Metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia.[29]

2 "The Grandson of Božidar": Dimitrije Ljubavić's Printing Press in Târgoviște

The second typographical center founded on South Slavic territory after the Crnojević typography in Zeta was established in 1519 at the Church of Saint George in Sopotnica, near Goražde, an important commercial center on the Drina during the rule of the Grand Duke of Bosnia, Sandalj Hranić (1392–1435). Its founder was Božidar Ljubavić, a prominent merchant whose activity is attested in the year 1496 in archival documents from Dubrovnik (under the name *Boxus Gliubauich de isgorasda, partium Turchie*), although the trade he engaged in according to that document did not involve buying or selling books. His commercial activity would have a role to play in his decision to start his own press, as during his travels through Dubrovnik and across various Serbian territories under Turkish rule he would have personally seen the serious "lessening of holy and divine books" in monasteries and churches.[30] In 1518, Božidar Ljubavić sent his two sons, Đurađ and the hieromonk Teodor, to Venice, where they would buy a printing press and learn

25 Neagoe Basarab, *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Teodosie*, ed. D. Zamfirescu, I. Mihăilă, Bucharest, 2020, p. CXCIV.

26 Radojičić, "Srpski-rumunski odnosi", p. 20.

27 Radojičić, "Srpski-rumunski odnosi", p. 20–21.

28 Mioc, "Date noi", p. 431–432.

29 Năsturel, "Recherches sur les rédactions", p. 56–57.

30 M. Pantić, "Српска књига у Горажду и Дубровнику до средине 16. века", in D. Barać, *Гораждански штампарија 1519–1523*, Belgrade, 2008, p. 17–18.

the art of printing. Đurađ, however, died in Venice in March 1519, an event that is recorded by his brother in the epilogue to the first printed book of the Goražde printing press, the Book of Divine Liturgies (Služabnik) finished in the month of June of the same year, with two further books printed in 1521 (the Psalter) and 1523 (the Molitvenik).[31]

Following the closing of the press in Goražde in 1523, another member of their family, Dimitrije Ljubavić, moved to Wallachia before 1544, when, as a logothete, he would establish a printing press in Târgoviște. In his printed books, he refers to himself as "the grandson of Božidar", which has prompted the question as to whether he was related to the more famous typographer of that time, Božidar Vuković. For instance, Agnes Terezia Erich describes him as "the grandson of Božidar Vuković, who had found refuge in Venice, where he edited multiple books in Church Slavonic between 1518–1540", but also as "the son of Teodor Ljubavić (who had printed a Liturgy, a Psalter and a Molitvenik in Goražde Monastery in Herzegovina, between 1519–1523)".[32] In this, she follows Mircea Păcurariu's assumptions concerning Dimitrije's ascendance,[33] which are likely based on the argument that the Božidar that Dimitrije referred to in his prints had to have been the famous Serbian typographer and that his father had to equally be the other known printer in his family (in other words, the key argument appears to have been that of fame and relevance). Similarly, Matei Cazacu argues in favor of Božidar Vuković being Dimitrije's grandfather (an opinion also held by Emil Turdeanu),[34] despite Dimitrije not featuring in Božidar's testaments of 1531 and 1539. He proposes instead that the Goražde Liturgy of 1519 referred to Božidar *Vuković* (and not Božidar Ljubavić of Goražde) as the typographer's parent.[35] It is, however, more probable that he was the son of Đurađ Ljubavić, or someone else, and, more importantly, the grandson of the founder of the Goražde press, Božidar Ljubavić.

The first book printed after Ljubavić's arrival was the Molitvenik (1545), based on the last book printed in the typography of Goražde. This book was ordered by the Wallachian ruler Radu VII Paisie, the son of Radu IV (although it should be noted that he is referred to in the Molitvenik by his baptismal name, as "Petru, the son of Radu").

31 D. Barać, "Горажданска штампарија – прва међу штампаријама у Херцеговини и српским земљама у 16. веку", in D. Barać, *Горажданска штампарија 1519–1523*, Belgrade, 2008, p. 42–43.
32 A. T. Erich, "Dimitrie Liubavici and the Printing Art of Târgoviște", *Journal of Romanian Literary Studies*, 5, 2014, p. 361.
33 Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, p. 540–541.
34 E. Turdeanu, "Din vechile schimburi culturale dintre români și jugoslavi", *Cercetări literare*, 3, 1939, p. 161.
35 Cazacu, "Dimitrije Ljubavić", p. 191–192.

> Повелѣнїемь г(с̄)подара, Іѡ̃ Петроу великааго Воеводѣ· азь грѣшныи и мьнші въ сщенноинокwхь Mwvси· троудих се w семь писанїю· съ мадрами Димитра Любавикѫ· и начехь при вьсе w сщенномь митрополите Влашкомь, курь Варлаамѣ· а съврьшихь при вьсе wсщенномь митрополите Влашкомь Ананїе. ѡ̃ бытїа въ лѣто ⸗з̃ѧ̃ѓ· ѡ̃ рождьства Х(с̄)ва тисѵ̑ща, ф̃м̃ē· кроуть слн̃цоу, к̃ē· лоу̃, д̃· ѳемелїе, з̃ї· златw число, ѕ̄, индиктїw(ѧ̃), ѓ, м(с̄)ца, ге(ѧ̃), ї, дн̃ь. Въ настwлныи градь Трьгwвище.[36]

> On the order of the ruler, Io(an) Petru, the great voivode, I, the sinful and humble among hieromonks Moise, strove for this work with the matrices of Dimitar Ljubavić, and I started in the time of the all-holy Metropolitan of Wallachia kyr Varlaam, and I finished in the time of the all-holy Metropolitan of Wallachia Anania. In the year of creation 7053, the year 1545 from the birth of Christ, solar cycle 25, lunar cycle 4, *themelion*[37] 17, golden number[38] 7, *indiction* 3, the month of January, the 10th day. In the capital city of Târgoviște.

In 1547, Dimitar Ljubavić also printed the *Acts of the Apostles*, based on a template in the Serbian recension, although he used the local Middle Bulgarian orthography for this version. Four copies of this book are conserved in the Library of the Hilandar Monastery, under call numbers 17, 18, 19 and 20. Serbian scholars expressed their disagreement concerning the differences between these copies; however, in 1896, Sava Hilandarac argued that the four copies belonged to two different editions, one printed during the rule of the Wallachian prince Mircea V the Shepherd (call numbers 17 and 18), the other printed for Ilie III of Moldavia and his mother, Jelena Branković, Petru Rareș's wife. Conversely, Dejan Medaković, the author of the *Katalog ćirilskih rukopisa manastira Hilandara*, argued in 1978 that all four copies were printed in the press of Dimitrije the Logothete, with the help of his disciples Oprea and Petre, during Mircea' rule. Miroslav A. Lazić, who cites the two descriptions in his study on these four copies, expresses surprise at Medaković's statement that this was one and the same edition without mentioning any of the differences, even though he had noted them twenty years earlier in *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*. Lazić also refers to the description of the *Acts of the Apostles* of

36 The Slavonic transcription was made after the facsimile provided in C. Olar, "Штампарија Димитрија Љубавића из Трговишта у румунској историографији", *Годишњак Библиотеке Матице Српске за 1991*, Novi Sad, 1992, p. 121.

37 Known in Western Europe as *epactae lunares*, *epactae minores*, and *adiectiones lunae*, the *themelion* is a chronological element that, in Wallachian documents, shows the age of the moon at a particular date of the year. See I. Ionașcu, "Cronologia documentelor din Moldova și Țara Românească", in *Documente privind istoria României. Introducere*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1956, p. 427.

38 The *numerus aureus*, a 19-year cycle, is identical to the lunar cycle in Western European chronologies but has a different value in Wallachian prints and documents, as it starts in 1 BC, as opposed to 3 AD for the lunar cycle. See Ionașcu, "Cronologia documentelor", p. 427.

1547 in the *Bibliografia românească veche* by Ioan Bianu and Nerva Hodoș,[39] noting that they had reconstructed the text of the colophon of the edition intended for the Wallachian prince based on the remarks of Šafarik, Karataev, and Picot, on the one hand, and on the news they had recently received of a version of these *Acts of the Apostles* with the Moldavian coat of arms preserved at the Royal Serbian Academy. As a result of this development and following their consultation of Sava Hilandarac's aforementioned catalog, they concluded that two editions were printed, one for the Wallachian prince and the other for the Moldavian prince.[40]

Miroslav Lazić went further and achieved a comparative typographical and morphological analysis of the Hilandar copies of these two editions (which are well preserved), concluding that the differences consist in the contents and structure of the colophon and in certain graphical elements (most notably, the headpieces featuring the coats of arms of Wallachia and Moldavia, respectively), with one edition intended for Mircea IV of Wallachia and the other ordered by Ilie III of Moldavia and his mother.[41] Nevertheless, the books were printed with the same type and the same date features in the preface of both editions.

> Исписаше се сїе сѓіе и бжстьвнїе книги гл҃еми· праꙋи Вь дн҃и бл҃го вернаго и б҃гѡмь рханимаго и самодрь жавнаго Iѡ̃ Мирьча воеводе и г(с̃)подарь вьсои земли Оугровлахи искои и Подꙋнавїю· сн҃ь великагѡ и прьдобраго· Ра(д)ула воеводи. Темже ꙋбо азь грьшни· и мьнше вь чл҃вцехь· Димитриѥ лѡгофеть вьнꙋкже· Божидаровь· видевшеже ꙋмаленїе Сѓты(х) и бжк(с)тьвнихь книгы въжделѣхь трѡудолюбьзно. Елико ваьзмогохь оумо(м) постигохь бѓоу поспешьствꙋющꙋми сьписахь и сьврьшы(х) дїе пользные книгы сїе праꙋи еже оубо дх̃о(м) сѓти(м) ап(с)лы наоучише и проповѣдаше, и просїаше· вьсьи вьселеньи конце земльніе. Троудихсе ѡ семь и сь оученикыи моимы· Опрѣ и Петрь· [...] ѡ̃ бытїа в лѣто ⁘з҃н҃ё· а ѡ̃ ро(ж)дьства Х(с̃)ва тисꙋща, ф̾мз· кроугь слн҃цꙋ, к҃з· лоунь, ѕ· златѡ число, ѳ· индитiѡ(н҃), ѕ· ѳемелїе бі· епахѳа, ē Почеше се сїе сѓїе книгы писати м(с̃)ца авгꙋста, йі· дн҃ь а сьврьшишесе м(с̃)ца мр̃ йі днь вь настолне гра(д) Трьгови(шт). ичслꙋнꙋчѕвꙋвѱцлинꙋчꙋлесꙋхꙋчꙋм[42]

> These holy and divine books called the *Acts of the Apostles* were written in the days of the faithful and God-protected and sole ruler Io(an) Mircea, voivode and prince of the entire land of Ungro-Wallachia and Podunavia, son of the great and most good voivode Radul. And so, I, the sinful and humble among men, Dimitrije the logothete, grandson of Božidar, having seen the lessening of the holy and divine books, yearned industriously. As much as I could, I suc-

39 *BRV* I, p. 514–516.

40 M. A. Lazić, "Прилог познавању штампарства Димитрија Љубавића", *Археографски прилози*, 36, 2014, p. 93–94.

41 Lazić, "Прилог познавању", p. 97.

42 The Slavonic transcription was made after the facsimile of folios 1r and 1v of copy 17 at Hilandar Monastery, provided in Lazić, "Прилог познавању", p. 106 and 108.

> ceeded due to my mind and, with God's help, wrote and finished these books that are useful to the spirit, the *Acts of the Apostles*, which, thanks to the Holy Spirit, taught and preached and illuminated the Apostles to the whole world to its ends. I strove for these books with my disciples, Oprea and Petre […], in the year of Creation 7055, and from the birth of Christ 1547, solar cycle 27, lunar cycle 6, golden number 9, *indiction* 6, *themelion* 19. These books started to be written in the month of August, the 18th day, and were completed in the month of March, the 18th day, in the capital city of Târgoviște. ичслѣнѹчсвѣвψцлинѹчѹлесѹхѹчѹм

Once again, Dimitrije Ljubavić clearly specifies that the book was printed in Târgoviște, which has contributed to a less ambiguous view of his activity in Wallachia (unlike in Makarije's case, where questions were raised as to whether his books were even printed in the Romanian Principalities). Nevertheless, one will have to draw attention to a peculiar feature of this colophon, namely the seemingly random sequence of Cyrillic letters at the bottom of the page (right after the date and place of printing). As noted by Ioan Bianu and Nerva Hodoș in the earlier fascicles that would form *Bibliografia românească veche*, this passage is most certainly a cryptogram that could not, however, be deciphered with any of the known Slavonic keys.[43] A much-needed update on its decryption was provided in the addenda,[44] as the authors referred to the partial success of Aleksandr I. Yatsimirsky[45] in 1898 and Ljubomir Stojanović[46] in 1901, both of whom were only able to decipher, with a Greek key, the first two thirds, as Въ домѣхъ Дшмитровѣхъ (corrected by the latter scholar as вь домехь Димитровехь, which is the form cited by Bianu and Hodoș as well), i.e., "In the houses of Dimitrije". Conversely, the last part (ѹлесѹхѹчѹм) was incompatible with the Greek key identified for the first part and was thus considered to be "incomprehensible". Stojanović's reading – which has the benefit of making sense on its own, as it states that the book was printed in Dimitrije's establishment – is still cited by Serbian historiographers,[47] without many other attempts being made to read the remainder of the line.

Nevertheless, in 1913, Dragutin Kostić[48] argued that the undeciphered part might not even have been encrypted, and that it could be read quite literally as ѹ лесѹ Хѹчѹм, "in the Hucium forest," which had the disadvantage that the toponym is completely unattested, as demonstrated by Alexandru Mareș.[49] Aside from this

43 *BRV* I, p. 30.

44 *BRV* I, p. 514.

45 A. I. Yatsimirsky, *Новый трудъ по старой славянской библиографии*, St. Petersburg, 1898, p. 20.

46 Lj. Stojanović, "Zur altserbischen Bibliographie", *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XXIII, 1901, p. 311.

47 See, for instance, Lazić, "Прилог познавању", p. 99.

48 D. Kostić, "Тајно писање у јужнословенским ћириловским споменицима", *Глас Српске Краљевске Академије*, XCII, 1913, p. 52.

49 A. Mareș, "Considerații pe marginea unei criptograme", *Limba română*, XL, 1991, 1–2, p. 65–66.

literal reading, the Serbian researcher suggested that the consonants may have been written in reverse order in each word, leading to a possible reading of ꙋ селꙋ Мꙋчꙋх as "in the village of Muciuh," with a further permutation being proposed for the final word as Хꙋмчꙋ, "Humciu." Kostić believed that the location of Dimitrije Ljubavić's press might be identified based on one of the combinations he proposed, following a collation with a detailed map of Târgoviște and its surroundings. Emil Vârtosu mentioned Kostić's attempt at deciphering the final part of this cryptogram, citing the Serbian scholar's efforts and, puzzlingly, summarizing his conclusion in terms of this being "a cryptogram of the name of the city of Târgoviște", without directly explaining the solutions he applied.[50]

In 1991, however, the Romanian researcher Alexandru Mareș proposed a new solution for the undeciphered part, arguing that it *was* encrypted, albeit with a different code – the Tarabaric code[51] – wherein the first ten consonants of the Cyrillic alphabet were replaced by the last ten and vice-versa (without any inversions between the vowels, which is similar – even if only in principle – to some of the solutions proposed by Kostić). Thus, the final part would read ꙋ селꙋ Жꙋгꙋр, "in the village of Jugur", which led the Romanian scholar to the initial conclusion that the entire cryptogram had to be read as a part of the final sentence, starting from "Почеше се", thereby making it a more detailed indication of the place where the book was printed. This place was theoretically identifiable as a village located around 60 kilometers from the Wallachian capital, which would make the entire sentence describing the "writing" (i.e. printing) and "completion" of the book sound contradictory: how could the typographical activity have taken place in two relatively distant places at the same time?

One possible answer is provided in the corresponding passage from the copies of the *Acts of the Apostles* that were intended for the Moldavian prince Ilie II Rareș:

> Повеленіемь г(с̑)подара Іѡ̃ Илїашко воево(д)и· и мт̑рыи его, Г(с̑)пожде Еленыи. Азь оубо грѣшныи и мьнші въ чловецехь, Димитрїе Логѡфеть·вьноукже Бѡжыидаровь·Трꙋдихсе о семь съписанїи еликѡ възмѡгохь, оумѡмь постигноути бг̑оу поспешьстбꙋющꙋ мы доспехо(м) до съврьшенїе сїи сг̑ые книгы ѡ̃ бытїа в лѣто ⁘з̃н̃ё· а ѡ̃ ро(ж̑)дьства Х(с̑) ва тысꙋща, ф̃мз· кроу(г) слн̑цꙋ, к̑з̃· а лоунь, s̃· златѡ число, ѳ· индитїѡ(н̑), s̃· ѳемелїе бі· епахта, ē почешесе сїе сг̑їе книгы писати м(с̑)ца ау(г̑), йі· дн̑ь а съврьшишесе м(с̑)ца мр̃ йі днь. ичслz̃нꙋчѕвz̃вѱцлинꙋчꙋлесꙋхꙋчꙋм[52]

50 E. Vârtosu, "Din criptografia românească", *Studii teologice*, XVIII, 1966, 5–6, p. 282.

51 See E. Kalužniacki, "Beiträge zur älteren Geheimschrift der Slaven", in *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 102, Wien, 1883, p. 289–290, and A. Mareș, *Scrierea tainică la români*, Bucharest, 2007.

52 The Slavonic transcription was achieved based on the facsimile of folio 1v of copy 20 at the Hilandar Monastery, provided in Lazić, "Прилог познавању", p. 109.

> On the order of the ruler Io(an) Iliașco, the voivode, and his mother lady Elena, I, the sinful and humble among men, Dimitrije the logothete, nephew of Božidar, strove for this writing as much as I could, in order to succeed due to the mind, and, with God's help, we managed to complete these holy books in the year of Creation 7055, and from the birth of Christ 1457, solar cycle 27, lunar cycle 6, golden number 9, *indiction* 6, *themelion* 19. These books started to be written in the month of August, the 18th day, and were completed in the month of March, the 18th day.

The final sentence, containing the information pertaining to the dates when the printing of the book started and ended, respectively, is essentially identical between the two versions, with the only differences being formal (i.e., the abbreviation of the word for August in the Moldavian version versus its writing *in integro* in the Wallachian version). On the other hand, however, while no mention is made of the capital city of Târgoviște in this second version, the cryptogram itself is preserved at the bottom of the page. Mareș underlines its presence in both versions as a strong point in favor of it containing a geographical indication.[53]

If Jugur is to be considered the actual place where the two versions of the *Acts of the Apostles* were printed, one would have to raise the question of why Dimitrije Ljubavić did not continue his activity in Târgoviște. Alexandru Mareș proposes an answer based on the political context of Mircea the Shepherd's reign, notably his massacre of the boyars in the spring of 1545 and the attack of the exiled boyars in August 1546 – the very month when, as stated, the *Acts of the Apostles* started to be printed. These events secured Mircea the Shepherd a negative reputation among contemporary writers, with one Bulgarian hagiographer even qualifying him as "the new Julian the Apostate". It would be in these troubled and unstable times that Dimitrije Ljubavić would have chosen to move to the more secluded village of Jugur, from where he could have escaped to Transylvania, should the political situation have worsened even further.[54]

Conversely, Mareș mentions two objections that could be raised, based on the research of previous scholars: first, Nicolae Iorga had argued that the reason for Ljubavić receiving the book order from the Moldavian prince should be tied to the fact that Mircea the Shepherd's wife was Chiajna, the daughter of Petru IV Rareș (albeit from his first marriage, which made her the stepdaughter of Elena Rareș and the stepsister of Iliaș), which would then help construct an image of Mircea the Shepherd's positive relations with his Moldavian neighbors, and Petru Rareș's family in particular and, on the other hand, it would also place doubt on the argument that Dimitrije Ljubavić had lost the favor of Mircea the Shepherd. Mareș, however, finds this application of Iorga's argument doubtful in this context, as it would still fail to

53 Mareș, "Considerații", p. 69.
54 Mareș, "Considerații", p. 70.

explain why the Serbian typographer moved away from the capital and, additionally, why he failed to mention Chiajna's patronage in his books.[55] Yet another theory was proposed by Matei Cazacu, who identified Dimitrije Ljubavić with the Serbian deacon Dimitrije, a later collaborator of the Moldavian prince Despot Vodă, whom he supposedly met in Brașov in 1558.[56] Unlike in the above cases, it is quite difficult to ascertain whether this is still the same grandson of Božidar and, furthermore, it does not clarify *why* his printing press (or presses) was closed in 1547.

The books printed by Dimitrije Ljubavić, aside from their obvious use in the two Romanian Principalities, also circulated across the *Slavia Orthodoxa*: as pointed out by Emil Turdeanu, copies were found in Russia and at Mount Athos, and yet another copy was found in Serbia, in the Hopovo Monastery.[57] Ljubavić's contribution to the history of Romanian typography also consisted in his influence on Deacon Coresi, who learned his trade from him, and later used his type to print the Small Octoechos in Brașov, in 1557, with the help of Oprea the logothete, another one of Ljubavić's disciples.[58]

3 With Rhyme and Reason: the Triodion Printed in Târgoviște in 1649

Meanwhile, the 17th century was a considerably more difficult time for Serbian typography, as the last Serbian printing press in Venice was closed in 1638, following the publication of the Psalter by Bartolo Ghinami. Nevertheless, Romanian printing presses would go on to benefit from the services of typographers and monks throughout the 17th century. Such is the case of Meletije the Macedonian from the Athonite monastery of Zograf, who had studied the art of printing in Russia and ended up contributing – as hegumen of the Govora Monastery in Wallachia – to the printing of the Horologion in 1638. In 1643, an Anthologion was printed in Câmpulung, this time through the efforts of Stefan, a Serbian typographer (likely Stefan of Ohrid, who had contributed to the printing of the Horologion in 1638), and Ivan Kuntovich, a Russian typographer.[59] Radojičić draws particular attention[60] to the

55 Mareș, "Considerații", p. 71.
56 Cazacu, "Dimitrije Ljubavić", p. 197.
57 Turdeanu, "Din vechile schimburi", p. 161.
58 L. Čurčić, "Видови и огранци раног словенског штампарства", in M. Pantić (ed.), *Пет векова српског штампарства 1494–1994. Раздобље српскословенске штампе XV-XVII в.*, Belgrade, 1994, p. 20.
59 Čurčić, "Видови и огранци раног словенског штампарства", p. 20.
60 Radojičić, "Srpski-rumunski odnosi", p. 26.

Slavonic Triodion printed in Târgoviște in 1649, by order of Matei Basarab's wife, Elena:

> Тріѡдіѡн, си естъ трипѣснецъ, сѓои великои Піетдесіеницы, пентикостаріон, еже естъ піетдесіетница нареченый. ѿ двою писменоу сею, ѫ ѧ. по ѡбычаю и бл҃говолномоу раченїю сръбскаго народа, ѡпа(с̄)нѡ изчищенный. Повелѣніем и иждивеніем Всесвѣтлые Кніегины Елены Бѫ̄кіею Мл(с̄)тїю, нача(л҃)ницы и вл(д)цы зе(м)ліе вла(ш҃)коіе, Соупроужницы Пресвѣтла(г҃) госп(д)ра Іѡ Маѳеа Басарабы въ Господарской их тѵпографїи ꙗже в столечним град Терговищи. Въ лѣто бытїа мїра ⁘зрнз. ѿ рож Хва ⁘ахмо[61]

> The Triodion, which is to say the book of three odes of the holy Pentecost, the Pentecostarion, which is to say, "the Fifty," which was carefully cleansed of these two letters, ѫ and ѧ, following the customs and the good-willing endeavor of the Serbian people. On the order and with the money of the most illustrious princess Elena, by the mercy of God the mistress and lady of the Wallachian land, the wife of the very illustrious ruler Io(an) Matei Basarab, in their princely typography that is in the capital city of Târgoviște. In the year of Creation 7157, from the birth of Christ 1649.

The title page emphasizes that the text had been corrected and adapted to the needs of a Serbian readership, reflected in the elimination of the two nasal vowels of Old Slavonic, which were conserved with relative consistency in the Romanian recension of Slavonic, but had been replaced by denasalized vowels in the Serbian recension. This task was undertaken by a Bosnian Athonite monk:

> Трудих же сѧ о семъ съписанїи, азъ грѣшный и меншїй въ иноцѣхъ Іѡаннъ іеромонах, сѓогорец ѿ Босны, ѿ мѣста Каменградъ, монастыра же Гомиѡници, въ немже прїехъ иноческїй образъ. Възлюблѥнїи о Х҃ѣ ѡци и братїѧ и чъстнїи господїе молим вы Бг҃а ради и колѣнома касаею сѧ чътѹщїи сїю книгѹ, аще что бѹдетъ погрѣшенно, дѹхомъ кротости исправлѧите. […] Хрстолюбїе же ваше бл҃годатное мл҃имъ вси трѹдившесѧ о семъ дѣлѣ, Прока Тѵпарникъ съ въсѣми прочими своими трѹдолюбци аще что всихъ ꙗко чл҃ци дѣлавше погрѣшихом или добрѣ не тѵпарисахом, прощенїю иѭіа насъ грѣшнихъ сподобыте.[62]

> I, the sinful and lesser among monks, Jovan the Athonite, a hieromonk from Bosnia, from the place called Kamengrad, hailing from Gomionica Monastery, where I also took the monastic vows, strove for this work. Beloved fathers and brothers in Christ and honorable lords, we pray you in God's name and I beg you on my knees that, should there anything mistaken be [found] when you read this book, you shall correct it with consideration. […] We, who strove for this work, namely Proca the typographer and all his other coworkers, ask of your Christ-

61 The Slavonic transcription is from *BRV* I, p. 171.

62 The Slavonic transcription is from *BRV* I, p. 173–174.

loving good will that if we, who worked like all men, made any errors or did not print well, you will deem us sinners worthy of forgiveness.

As can be seen, a clear distinction is made between the corrector of the Serbian text (Jovan Svetogorac) and the typographer himself (Proca), as they ask for the readers' forgiveness for their own respective mistakes separately from one another, on the same final page dedicated to the reader.

It would be worth drawing attention to one particular feature that has attracted the attention of Serbian researchers, namely, the poem on the verso of the title page, under the coat of arms of Wallachia. This *Епиграмма* (*Epigram*) is dedicated to the meaning of Elena's name:

Знаменати чтw хощетъ имѧ се Елена
В д҃ши моеи възыскахъ и бысть wбрѣтена
ѣже оу грекъ Елеwс, сказаема млc̃ть.
Добрѣ рече иногда, Платонскаѧ хитрость
Именъ положенїю, не по воли быти
По вещиже естествꙋ, сказанье носити.
Виждъ какw съгласнw сѧ бо съчетаваетъ,
Елена съ Елеwс, еюже бываеть,
Млc̃тъ нн́ѣ Тракїискимъ, всѣмъ цр̃квам толика
Памѧть еиже безсмертна, w̃нихъ и велика.
Пентикостар пѧт десѧтъ, число съвръшенно,
Инословнѣ реченно, и преоукрашеннw,
Бг̃ословомъ превышномъ, тым бо печатасѧ
Иею бл̃го wбразнw, и оуготовасѧ[63]

What does this name Elena mean?
I searched my soul and there it was revealed
That in Greek it is *Eleos*, which means mercy.
Well spoke once Plato's wisdom
That names are given not by will
But through the essence of things
See how the agreement and matching is
Between Elena and *Eleos*
For such is her mercy towards all Thracian churches
And their memory of her is undying and great.
Penticostar means fifty, a perfect number
Spoken in other words and with great beauty
By the great theologian. And that is why it was printed
And it was prepared to be in good form.

63 The Slavonic transcription is from *BRV* I, p. 172.

In 1910, Pavle Popović analyzed this poem and noted that its verses were in a thirteen-syllable meter known as the Polish alexandrine (the *trzynastozgłoskowiec*, in Serbian literature – the *poljski trinaesterac*). This metrical choice attracted even more interest from the Serbian scholarship due to its frequent use in Serbian poetry in the 18th century, which raised the question of whether the author was Serbian. Milorad Pavić[64] argues that this is the first known use of the *trinaesterac* in Serbian literature, later used more and more often by Serbian poets, doubtlessly also in conjunction with the inclusion of numerous poems using this meter in several school manuals of Russian origin that were brought to Serbian schools after 1730. The view that the *trinaesterac* was first used in the Wallachian Triodion of 1649 is equally reflected in more recent studies, such as Miloslav Ž. Čarkić's overview of Serbian-Polish relations, published in 2018.[65]

Despite the relative absence of a doubt among Serbian researchers that this is the first known use of the *trinaesterac* in Serbian literature, the question of the Serbian *authorship* of these particular verses is far from having received a definitive answer. Lazar Čurčić, who presents the 1649 Triodion as "the most Serbian book in the Romanian typography of the 17th century",[66] refers to Jovan Svetogorac as having composed the *Epigram* himself (in addition to the aforementioned editorial work that is referred to *expressis verbis* in the opening lines of the Triodion), once again citing Pavle Popović's study on this first use of the *trinaesterac*. Meanwhile, Đorđe Sp. Radojičić includes the *Epigram* in his anthology of Old Serbian literature published in 1960,[67] but opts to separate the author of the verses from the figure of Jovan Svetogorac, referring to him instead as *pesnik iz Trgovišta*, "the poet of Târgoviște". In his brief note on the author, Radojičić mentions Udriște Năsturel's translation of *De imitatione Christi* from Latin to Slavonic, printed at the Dealu Monastery two years earlier, in 1647. The Serbian historian notes that Năsturel was a logothete and a relative of Elena Basarab's and wonders whether, given that the translation of 1647 was also accompanied by verses in the opening pages, it would not be possible to identify him as "the poet of Târgoviște".[68] The question of author-

64 The entirety of Milorad Pavić's treatise on the Serbian Baroque has been digitized and is accessible on the website of the Rastko project. The chapter pertaining to Serbian poetry and, therefore, to the specific case of the *Epigram* of 1649 can be accessed at http://www.rastko.rs/knjizevnost/pavic/barok/barok_tokovi.html#_Toc514838183 (accessed on June 20, 2024).

65 M. Ž. Čarkić, "O serbsko-polskich kontaktach (krótki chronologiczny przegląd do kónca XIX wieku", *Przegląd Wschodnioeuropejski*, IX, 2018, 1, p. 89.

66 Čurčić, "Видови и огранци раног словенског штампарства", p. 20.

67 Đ. Sp. Radojičić, *Antologija stare srpske književnosti (XI-XVIII veka)*, Belgrade, 1960, p. 271.

68 Radojičić, *Antologija stare srpske književnosti (XI-XVIII veka)*, p. 361.

ship remains unanswered in the recent contribution of Svetlana Tomin and Ivana Ivanić dedicated to Jovan Svetogorac.[69]

Nicolae Iorga argues, with conviction, that only Udrișteă Năsturel could have written this epigram containing references to Plato's wisdom and the Thracian churches of the Serbs, especially within the context of the dedicatory preface he penned for the same book (which was not reproduced by Bianu and Hodoș and whose Slavonic text was provided by Iorga himself), which equally contains numerous allusions to Greek literature.[70] Panaitescu follows the same line of argumentation, pointing out that this introductory letter, with its mythological references, "was written so unintelligibly that it did not even make sense in many places", thus underlining the pedantic character of Udrișteă Năsturel's style, which was addressed to an élite, not to the ordinary people that would have benefited from a printed book.[71] Virgil Cândea, who published a French translation of the *Epigram* and the dedicatory preface in 1968, asserted he found no basis for refuting the attribution made by Iorga and Panaitescu, noting instead that Năsturel – who had penned other prefaces for printed books during the reign of Matei Basarab – could not reject his sister's request to do the same for the Triodion she had sponsored. Cândea argues that the Slavonic erudition, the customary rhetoric of Năsturel's works, as well as the abovementioned circumstances force us to accept the opinion of Iorga and Panaitescu as being correct.[72]

Finally, Dan Horia Mazilu, the author of a monograph on Udrișteă Năsturel, refers to him as the author of the verses in the Prayer Book printed in Câmpulung (1635), in the Govora *Code of Law* (1640), and the Triodion (1649), also citing G. Călinescu's description of him[73] as *primul stihuitor cult din literatura română*, "the first literary versifier in Romanian literature".[74] Nevertheless, he disagrees with Călinescu's assessment that the concept of accompanying the patrons' coats of arms with verses was of Greek origin (by a South Slavic intermediary), suggesting that this source could be found in Ukrainian printed books (possibly via a Polish intermediary).[75] Mazilu also underlines the remarkable discipline Năsturel showed

69 S. Tomin, I. Ivanić, "Јован Светогорац из Гомионице", in Z. Nikitović (ed.), *Српско писано наслеђе и историја средњовјековне Босне, Хума и Травуније*, Banja Luka, 2021, p. 461–478.

70 N. Iorga, "Doamna Elina a Țerii-Românești ca patroană literară", *AARMSI*, S. III, t. XIII, 1932, p. 62.

71 P. P. Panaitescu, *Începuturile și biruința scrisului în limba română*, Bucharest, 1965, p. 194.

72 V. Cândea, "L'humanisme d'Udrișteă Năsturel et l'agonie des lettres slavonnes en Valachie", *RESEE*, 6, 1968, 2, p. 259–260.

73 G. Călinescu, *Istoria literaturii române de la origini până în prezent*, Bucharest, 1941, p. 52.

74 D. H. Mazilu, *Udrișteă Năsturel*, Bucharest, 1974, p. 73.

75 Mazilu, *Udrișteă Năsturel*, p. 80–81.

in his use of the long, thirteen-syllable verse in the translation of the *De imitatione Christi*, with a consistent caesura after seven syllables.[76]

4 Serbian Books and Books for Serbs Printed in Râmnicu Vâlcea

The fourth and final episode of the Serbian-Romanian collaboration in book printing takes place in the first half of the 18th century, in a time of political and administrative upheaval for the Serbian lands and for a part of Wallachia. As bishop of Râmnic, Antim the Iberian founded a press in Râmnicu Vâlcea in the year 1705, having brought typographic material and typographers from Snagov. However, its activity stopped in 1708, once he became metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia and moved the press from Râmnic to Târgoviște, from where it was once again moved to the Metropolitan See in Bucharest in 1715.[77] The Bishopric of Râmnic, on the other hand, was a part of Oltenia, the territory that was ceded to the Austrian Empire following the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718, thereby entering the jurisdiction of the Serbian Metropolitan See of Karlovci. Nevertheless, Antim the Iberian's successor, Damaschin Voinescu, resumed the typography's activity in 1724 with the printing of a Romanian book on the Seven Sacraments.[78]

Less than two months after the Treaty of Passarowitz, the Metropolitan of Belgrade Mojsije Petrović (1677–1730), having realized that the Austrian state would not be the like-minded Christian savior he had hoped for, decided to send a letter to the Russian tsar Peter the Great, dated September 1, 1718, in which he asked for support for the Serbian people and the Serbian Orthodox Church. This letter, however, received no answer, which eventually prompted Mojsije Petrović to write a second letter, on October 20, 1721, sending it, accompanied by a copy of the first letter, to the tsar himself. Among his many requests, one may note matters such as the construction of a Serbian cathedral, with Peter the Great as its founder, or the Belgrade eparchy's need for concrete items that were required for the divine liturgy (including priestly vestments), but the questions that are most relevant to the present research pertain to the lack of church books and the absence of teachers of the Latin and Slavonic languages.[79] In order to ensure that this letter reached

76 Mazilu, *UdrișteNăsturel*, p. 85.

77 A. Andreescu, *Cartea românească în veacul al XVIII-lea*, Bucharest, 2004, p. 27–28.

78 *BRV* II, p. 22.

79 A. Mladenović, *Историја српског језика. Одабрани радови*, Belgrade, 2008, p. 177–178.

its destination, he relied on the services of the secretary of the Metropolitan See, who is known in Serbian historiography as "Vladul Malaescu."[80]

This secretary, whose name betrays his Romanian origins, has been identified as Vlad Boțulescu of Mălăiești,[81] while the name used in Serbian historiography stems from his depiction in the autobiography of Partenije Pavlović, who remembers him from their days at the Princely Academy in Bucharest, where they studied rhetoric and Aristotelian philosophy together.[82] As noted by Emil Turdeanu, Vlad Boțulescu had likely left Wallachia in 1716, following the execution of the Wallachian prince Ștefan Cantacuzino, and had been recommended to the Metropolitan of Karlovci Vikentije Popović by Mojsije Petrović himself (then, metropolitan of Belgrade and future successor of Vikentije in the newly established Metropolitan See of Belgrade and Karlovci). In his letter of recommendation, Mojsije Petrović refers to Boțulescu as a former logothete of the late "bey" of Wallachia, Ștefan Cantacuzino,[83] although he ultimately ended up personally hiring him as secretary. Given that Vlad Boțulescu could find in Petrograd boyars of the Cantacuzino family and, naturally, Dimitrie Cantemir, the question has been raised as to whether his possible connections at the Russian court were significant in Mojsije Petrović's decision to entrust him with this second and final attempt to obtain the Russian help his Church and people required. Emil Turdeanu notes that no extant document expressly confirms this hypothesis, which is, in his own words, "nevertheless tempting".[84]

Whether or not Vlad Boțulescu's personal relations directly contributed to the subsequent events, it is a fact that Mojsije Petrović's second letter did not fall upon deaf ears, as Peter the Great made the decision to help the Serbian Orthodox Church through the efforts of the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church. As a result, Vlad Boțulescu returned to Serbia in 1724, bringing the church books and items requested for the twelve churches mentioned by the Serbian metropolitan. More importantly, the Russian Synod sent Maxim Suvorov – who would later become the director of the Moscow Synod printing press – as a professor of Russian Slavonic and Latin. Suvorov brought with him ten copies of the *Slavonic-Greek-Latin Dictionary* of Fedor Polikarpov-Orlov (published in 1704), 70 copies of Meletios Smotrytsky's

80 Mladenović, *Историја српског језика*, p. 177.

81 Mălăiești is a toponym indicating where he came from, although Romanian researchers are not certain as to where that was. Nevertheless, according to the editors' introduction to the 2013 edition of the *Life of Skanderbeg* penned by Vlad Boțulescu of Mălăiești, it is assumed that this place was in Prahova. See Vlad Boțulescu de Mălăiești, *Scrieri. I. Viața lui Scanderbeg*, ed. E. Timotin, O. Olar, Bucharest, 2013, p. 14.

82 Boțulescu de Mălăiești, *Scrieri*, p. 14–15.

83 Turdeanu, "Din vechile schimburi", p. 184.

84 Turdeanu, "Din vechile schimburi", p. 185.

Slavonic Grammar (namely, the edition published by the same Polikarpov in 1721), as well as 400 copies of a book titled *First Teaching for Children* (*Первое ученuе отроком*), a primer penned by the Russian Archbishop Theophan Prokopovich in 1722. Mojsije Petrović expressed his gratitude towards his Russian benefactors in a letter dated August 27, 1726, and, from October 1 of the same year, Maxim Suvorov started his activity at the newly founded Slavonic school in Sremski Karlovci.[85]

However, these 400 copies of the Russian primer were likely insufficient for the needs of this new school, thereby prompting the need for a reprint. It was in this context that Mojsije Petrović requested and funded the printing of the *First Teaching* in 1726 in Râmnic. As noted by Cornelia Olar, a number of Serbian scholars (including Đorđe Rajković, Jovan Bošković, Jovan Skerlić, and Milorad Pavić) considered that this choice may have been prompted by the fact that the only other Cyrillic typography in the Austrian Empire was in Trnava (modern-day Slovakia), which was, however, Greek Catholic by design, and thus would have been unfit for Mojsije Petrović's needs.[86] Furthermore, Lazar Čurčić assumes that asking the Russian Empire for more copies may have been out of the question following the death of Peter the Great in 1725, as the Russian Synod did not endorse the export of Prokopovich's primer to the same extent as the late emperor – who had been the Serbian metropolitan's staunchest supporter – most certainly had.[87]

Unlike its model, this edition of the *First Teaching* also contained a *testo a fronte* in Romanian, although the text of the colophon and the preface remain exclusively in Russian Slavonic:

> Первое ѹченiiе отрокѡмъ, в немже Бѹквы, и Слоги. Таже Краткое толкованiе законнагѡ Десѧтословiѧ, Мл҃твы Г(с̑)нѧ, сумвола Вѣры, и девѧти Бл҃женствъ. Напечатасѧ же повелѣнiемъ, и бл҃гословенiемъ, и всѧкимъ иждивенiем Преч(с̑)тнѣишагѡ, и Пречсщеннѣйшагѡ Г(с̑)дна Мѡvсеѧ Петровича Православнагѡ Архiеп(с̑)копа и Митрѡполита Белиграда и инныхъ странъ, въ еп(с̑)копiи Рымнической. Лѣто Г(с̑)дне: ·ѯ҃ãѱкѕ. Илiа ѿ Чернаводы: Тѵпографъ.[88]

85 Mladenović, *Историја српског језика*, p. 179.

86 C. Olar, "Епикопска штампарија у Римнику у XVIII веку", in L. Čurčić, C. Olar et al., *Штампарија у Римнику и обнова штампања српских књига 1726. Tipografia din Râmnic și reluarea tipăririi cărților sîrbești la 1726*, Novi Sad, 1976, p. 25–27.

87 L. Čurčić, "Обнова штампања и издавање српских књига у 18. веку у епископској штампарији у Римнику", in Čurčić, Olar et al., *Штампарија у Римнику и обнова штампања српских књига 1726*, p. 51.

88 The Slavonic text was transcribed from the scanned copy accessible in the Digital Library of the Matica Srpska: http://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/publications/view/731 (accessed on June 20, 2024).

> The *First Teaching for Children*, in which there are letters and syllables, and then a short interpretation of the Ten Commandments, of the Lord's Prayer, of the Symbol of Faith, and of the Nine Blessings. It was printed on the order and with the blessing and with the money of the Most Venerable and the Most Holy Master Mojsije Petrović, the Orthodox Archbishop and Metropolitan of Belgrade and other parts, in the Bishopric of Râmnic. The year of the Lord 1726. Ilia of Chernavoda: typographer.

The identity of the Romanian translator remains uncertain: Emil Turdeanu expresses skepticism towards the possibility of Vlad Mălăescu himself undertaking this task, suggesting instead that it was perhaps achieved by the abbot of the Govora Monastery, who would become bishop of Râmnic that same year, as Damaschin Voinescu's successor.[89] The book was reprinted twice, in 1727 and 1734, although neither of these editions contained Romanian counterparts for the original Slavonic text. It has been assumed that the first edition had been intended for Serbian *and* Romanian schools, although it is not entirely clear whether the change in direction one year later was politically motivated (possibly stemming from the Romanians' reluctance to rely on Russian primers).[90] While the 1727 edition was reprinted on Mojsije Petrović's orders, the 1734 edition was ordered by his successor, Vikentije Jovanović (1731–1737):

> Первое ѹченїіе отрокѡмъ, в немъ же бѹквы, и слоги: Таже Краткое толкованїе законнагѡ Десѧтословїа, Мл҃твы Г(с̄)ни, Сумвола Вѣры, и девѧти Бл҃женствь. Повелѣнїемъ и бл҃гословенїемъ, и всѧкимъ иждивенїем Прewсщ̑еннѣйшагѡ Г(с̄)на, Г(с̄)дна Викентіа Іѡанновича, Православнагѡ Архїепи(с̄)кѡпа, и митрополита Бѣль Градскагѡ. и совѣтника Цесарскагѡ. Напечатасѧ въ Епи(с)кѡпїи Ры(м)ниче(с̄)кой. Лѣтѡ Г(с̄)дне· аѱлд, м(с̄)ца Се(р̄).[91]

> The *First Teaching for Children*, in which there are letters and syllables, and then a short interpretation of the Ten Commandments, of the Lord's Prayer, of the Symbol of Faith, and of the Nine Blessings. On the order and with the blessing and with the money of the Most Holy Master Vikentije Jovanović, Orthodox Archbishop and Metropolitan of Belgrade and imperial councilor, this book was printed at the Bishopric of Râmnic. The year of the Lord 1734, the month of September.

Even though Oltenia was returned to Wallachia after 1739, the Serbian ties with the press of Râmnic continued many years after the possible jurisdictional obligations had ceased to exist. Thus, following the printing of the various editions of the *First*

89 Turdeanu, "Din vechile schimburi", p. 186.

90 Čurčić, "Обнова штампања", p. 51.

91 The Slavonic text was transcribed from the scanned copy accessible in the Digital Library of the Matica Srpska: http://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/publications/view/128 (accessed on June 20, 2024).

Teaching, Pavle Nenadović, metropolitan of Karlovci from 1749 to 1768, would rely on the services of the printing press in Râmnic twice more, in 1755 and 1761.

The first of them was Meletios Smotrytsky's *Slavonic Grammar*, which was reprinted in Wallachia for the first time since Antim the Iberian's edition of 1697. The introduction specifies, however, that the Râmnic edition was intended "for Serbian children".

> Во славꙋ ст҃ыѧ единосꙋщнаѧ, животворѧщїѧ и нераздѣлимыѧ Троицы, Оц҃а, и Сн҃а, и Ст҃агѡ Дх҃а: Настоѧнїемъ Прилѣжанїемъ: и иждевенїемъ Прewсщеннѣйшагѡ и превосходителнѣйшагѡ Архїеп(с̑)копа Карловачкагѡ, и всегѡ в державѣ ихъ Цесаро Кралевскагѡ Величества wбрѣтающагѡсѧ Славенно, Сербскагѡ, и Валахїйскагѡ Народа Митрополита, и обоихъ ихъ Цесаро Кралевскихъ Величествъ Тайннагѡ Совѣтника, и прѡ(ц̑): Г(с̑)дина ПАУЛА НЕНАДОВИЧА, Книга сїѧ Грамматика в по(л)зꙋ и оупотребленїе wтрокwвъ Сербски(х) желающыхъ wснователнагѡ наꙋченїѧ Славенскагѡ дїалекта. Напечатасѧ в Еп(с)копїи Рымнической. Лѣта Г(с̑)днѧ ѯаѱ҃е·[92]
>
> For the glory of the Trinity, one in being, life-giving and undivided, of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Through the insistence, diligence and the money of the All-Holy and Most High Archbishop of Karlovci and the Metropolitan of the Slavonic Serbian and Wallachian people in the lands of his Imperial Majesty and Privy Councilor of both Imperial Majesties, etc., Pavle Nenadović, this book, the *Grammar*, to the benefit and use of the Serbian children who desire a fundamental learning of the Slavonic dialect, was printed in the Bishopric of Râmnic in the year of the Lord 1755.

It it worth mentioning that the Serbian interest in grammatical texts had some influence on the printing policy of the Râmnic printing press, given that in 1787, Ianache Văcărescu would go on to print his own Romanian grammar in Vienna and Râmnic.[93] Văcărescu's grammatical treatise, unlike that of Dimitrie Eustatievici Brașoveanul's unpublished manuscript (1757), was not based on Smotrytsky's, but on a number of Italian and Greek grammars, thus creating a morphological terminology that was closer to the modern Romanian one.[94]

Finally, it should be noted that one copy of the 1755 reprint of Smotrytsky's *Grammar* was presented in September of the same year to Rafail, a monk at the

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92 The Slavonic text was transcribed from the scanned copy accessible in the Digital Library of the Matica Srpska: http://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/publications/view/746 (accessed on June 20, 2024).

93 I. Văcărescu, "Observații sau băgări-de-seamă asupra regulelor și orânduelelor grammaticii rumânești", in Poeții Văcărești, *Opere*, ed. C. Cîrstoiu, Bucharest, 1982, p. 27.

94 This is a subject I discussed in my article "Staico's Grammar: A 17th-Century Romanian Translation of a Grammatical Treatise in a Bilingual Manuscript", soon to be published in *Scripta & e-Scripta*, in which I compared the two 18th-century grammars of the Romanian language with Staico's translation of a fragment from Smotrytsky's *Slavonic Grammar*.

Hurezi Monastery, by his older brother, Ștefan. Rafail was studying Slavonic at the time, which, as noted by Daniar Mutalâp, can be seen from his note on the inner cover of the *Slavonic-Romanian Lexicon* of Mardarie of Cozia (Rom. MS 450 in the Library of the Romanian Academy). Mutalâp equally notes that Rafail's progress must have been quite rapid, as in the same year 1755, the monastery's archimandrite, Dionisie Bălăcescu, entrusted him with collating and correcting a "badly written copy" of the *History of Russia* and the *Life of Peter the Great* at the Bishopric of Râmnic. Thereafter, in 1763, Rafail becomes a sacristan of the Bishopric and – more importantly from the point of view of the present research – he was appointed corrector at the typography of Râmnic, where he proofread the Romanian Octoechos printed there the same year.[95] Even though the *Grammar* circulated in various forms – including printed – in Wallachia, this edition intended for the "Serbian children" was the one that was used for the formation of a Romanian proofreader at the printing press that had provided to the Serbian Metropolitan See a much-needed help.

The last Serbian book to be printed in Râmnic was the so-called *Srbljak* (or *Prayer Rule of the Holy Serbian Enlighteners*), in 1761, once again with the blessing of Pavle Nenadović and at the request of the Bishop of Arad, Sinesije Živanović:

> Во славꙋ сѣтыѧ единосꙋщныѧ, животворѧщїѧ и нераздѣлимыѧ Тр(о̑)цы, Оц̑а, и Сн̑а, и Сѣагѡ дх̑а: Книга сїѧ ПРАВИЛА МОЛЕБНАѦ Сѣыхъ сербскихъ Просвѣтителей в себѣ содержащаѧ: По Бл̑гословенїю Прєѡсщєннѣйшагѡ и превосходителнѣйшагѡ Г(с)дна ПАУЛА, Православнагѡ Арїепи(с̑)кпа Карловачкагѡ, и всегѡ в державѣ ихъ цесарокрале(в̑): величества ѡбрѣтающагосѧ славеносербскагѡ и валахійскагѡ народа Митрополіта и обоихъ цесарокралевскихъ величествъ тайнагѡ совѣтника. Трꙋдомъ и всѧкимъ прилѣжнымъ тщанїемъ собраннаѧ и по возможности во всемъ исправленнаѧ неменше же и настоѧнїемъ и иждивенїемъ Прєѡсщєннагѡ Г(с̑)дна СУНЕСІА, Православнагѡ Еп(с̑)кпа Арадскагѡ, Іенополскагѡ, Великоварадскагѡ и Халмадскагѡ: и цесарокралевскагѡ величества дворнагѡ совѣтника. Въ честь сѣопомѧнꙋтыхъ сѣителей, в ползꙋ же и бг̑омолство сѣыхъ обителей и цр̑квей сербскихъ, во воспоминанїе же и подражанїе православнагѡ сербскагѡ рода: напечатасѧ во еп(с̑) кпїи Рымнческойвъ лѣто ѡ̑ сотворенїѧ міра· ⁘зс̑о: ѡ̑ рж(с̑)тва же по плоти бг̑а слова, ⁘аѱ̑а· При Архїереи тоѧжде сѣѣйшїѧ Еп(с̑)кпїи Кѵ(р) ГРИГОРІЙ.[96]
>
> To the glory of the Holy Trinity, one in being, lifegiving and undivided, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, this book containing the *Prayer Rule* of the Holy Serbian Enlighteners, with the blessing of the Most Holy and Most Excellent Lord Pavle, the Orthodox Archbishop of

95 D. Mutalâp, "Viața și opera monahului Rafail de la Mănăstirea Hurezi (I)", *Revista istorică*, XXXIII, 2022, 4–6, p. 364.

96 The Slavonic text was transcribed from the copy available in the Digital Library of the Matica Srpska: http://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/publications/view/169 (accessed on June 20, 2024).

> Karlovci and Metropolitan of the entire Slaveno-Serbian and Wallachian people residing on the lands of His Imperial Highness and Privy Councilor of both Imperial Majesties. Gathered with the effort and the entire diligent endeavor, and corrected, as much as possible, in all things, and, not least of all, with the perseverance and money of the Most Holy Lord Sinesije, the Orthodox Bishop of Arad, Ieud, Oradea, and Hălmagiu, and Court Councilor of His Imperial Highness. Dedicated to the Enlighteners of Holy Memory, for the use of the Serbian holy monasteries and churches, to the reminder and incentive of the Orthodox Serbian people, this book was printed at the Bishopric of Râmnic, in the year of Creation 7270, and in the year from the bodily birth of God the Word 1761, in the time of the bishop of the same Bishopric, Kyr Grigorie.

Once again, the contents of the book are directly intended for a Serbian monastic and ecclesiastic readership. While the previous books printed at Râmnic were essentially reprints of Russian grammars and primers, the *Prayer Rule* focuses on the saints hailing from the Serbian lands, thereby continuing a tradition as old as the sanctification of the first Serbian archbishop (Sava Nemanjić), the first king (Stefan Prvovenčani), and their father (Stefan Nemanja). As noted by Lazar Čurčić, this is the first printed book that set the Serbian religious service apart from Greek and Russian Orthodox Church rituals.[97] The manuscript used by Sinesije as the base for the Râmnic edition is believed to be the *Srbljak* composed in the Rakovac Monastery in Srem in 1714. This final Serbian print at Râmnic would be reprinted four years later in Venice.[98]

5 Conclusions

The strong ties between the Serbs and their neighbors in the Romanian Principalities are reflected both in the Serbian contribution to the earliest printed books on Romanian territory and in the support offered by the Romanian press of Râmnic in disseminating teaching material for Serbian pupils residing in the Austrian Empire. This collaboration is also reflected, to some extent, in the existence of the bilingual edition of the *First Teaching for Children*, although the change in editorial policy shows that there was probably not as high a demand for the Russian teaching material in Romanian schools as there was in the newly founded Serbian schools.

The Russian linguistic influence on the Serbian texts of the 18th and early 19th centuries led to the rise of Slaveno-Serbian, a blend of Serbian Slavonic,

97 Čurčić, “Обнова штампања”, p. 69.

98 G. Mihăilă, *Între Orient și Occident. Studii de cultură și literatură română în secolele al XV-lea – al XVIII-lea*, Bucharest, 1999, p. 177.

Russian Slavonic, and vernacular Serbian, which, according to the introduction to the *Slavenosrpski magazin* composed by Zaharije Orfelin in 1768, was intended to be a means of helping the Serbian readership understand Russian Slavonic words that would have felt foreign to them, either phonetically or lexically.[99] While the inconsistent introduction of Russian words in the Serbian language would ultimately be condemned and corrected by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić's substantial orthographic reform of the Serbian language, one would have to agree with Aleksandar Mladenović's assessment that Mojsije Petrović's initiatives in the third decade of the 18th century were vital in the development of the modern Serbian language as it exists today.[100] It is in this context that one would understand the role played by the Romanian typographers of Râmnic in the metropolitan of Belgrade's endeavors: indeed, without the long tradition of Serbian-Romanian collaboration in typography, it is quite possible that the development of Serbian written culture and schools in the 18th century would have encountered even more obstacles. As it stands, Râmnic was the place where *Serbian* printing resumed after nearly one century, and it was there that the valuable books brought to Serbia by Vlad Boțulescu were reprinted for the school in Karlovci, later followed by Smotrytsky's *Slavonic Grammar*, and, more importantly, for the Serbian national identity, the *Srbljak*. The history of Serbian-Romanian relations is doubtlessly a vital part of the history of printed culture in both Serbia and the Romanian Principalities, which, in turn, had long-term consequences in the construction of their respective literary languages in the Age of the Enlightenment and beyond.

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99 Mladenović, *Историја српског језика*, p. 181.

100 Mladenović, *Историја српског језика*, p. 182.

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Daniela Lupu

The Princely Patronage of Printing in Wallachia under Phanariot Rule

Our paper analyzes the way in which the princely patronage over printing functioned in Wallachia during the rule of the Phanariot princes (1716–1821). In the early historiography of Romanian printing, the assumption was that the Phanariot princes were less interested in printing than the indigenous princes who ruled in Wallachia in the 17th century. They were criticized for failing to set up printing presses and for leaving the printing of books to the metropolitans of Ungro-Wallachia. The Phanariots were also accused of having banned the Romanian language from their court and the schools of the Principality and for having supported the establishment of the Church monopoly on printing.[1]

As research into the early printed Romanian books has progressed, it has become clear that most of these accusations were unfounded. It is true that the establishment of the Phanariot rule in the Principality of Wallachia brought about a change in the attitude of the princes towards their responsibilities in the domain of printing. The Phanariot princes were less involved than their predecessors in the establishment of printing presses and editing books, but they did not neglect printing. The way in which they supported printing was in some ways different from the past. We will show here how the princely patronage functioned in this period, and which printing presses and books the Phanariot princes helped to establish and publish.

The main reference source for the books printed during the Phanariot reigns is the monumental work by Ioan Bianu, Nerva Hodoş, and Dan Simonescu, *Bibliografia românească veche* (*Bibliography of the Early Printed Romanian Books,* henceforth: *BRV*) published in four volumes between 1903 and 1944. For our topic, the information contained in volumes II and III (which include the books printed between 1716 and 1821) and IV (with corrections and additions to the first three volumes) is essential. For books discovered after 1944, corrections, and additions to the *BRV* book descriptions, we used the new data published by Daniela Poenaru.[2]

1 V. Popp, *Disertaţie despre tipografiile româneşti în Transilvania şi învecinatele ţări de la începutul lor până la vremile noastre, Sibiu, 1838*, ed. E. Mârza, I. Mârza, Cluj-Napoca, 1995, p. 134–141; C. D. Fortunescu, "Istoria tiparului în ţările româneşti. Secolul al XVIII-lea", *Almanahul Graficei Române*, 2, 1925, p. 112–124; C. Erbiceanu, *Bibliografia greacă sau cărţile greceşti imprimate în principatele române în epoca fanariotă şi dedicate domnitorilor şi boerilor români. Studii literare*, Bucharest, 1903, p. 96.

2 D. Poenaru, *Contribuţii la Bibliografia românească veche*, Târgovişte, 1973.

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A very important source for the subject of this study is the corpus of documents issued by Phanariot rulers and metropolitans regarding the printing presses, granting tax exemptions to printers, as well as the regulations regarding the authorization of book printing in Wallachia. These documents have survived in rather small numbers and are present in several funds in the Central National Historical Archives (Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale, henceforth: ANIC) and the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest (B.A.R.). Some of the documents were published at the end of the 19th century, through the efforts of the historians Constantin Erbiceanu[3] and Vasile Alexandrescu Urechia.[4] Others were edited by various authors in the 20th century.[5] Particularly valuable are the monographs dedicated to the printing houses or printing centers of the time.[6]

To understand the importance of printing as part of the cultural policies of the Phanariot rulers, it is necessary to study historical works,[7] as well as the history of books and printing itself.[8]

If from a political, fiscal, and economic point of view the Phanariot rule had several negative features, in the field of culture the Phanariot princes' policies did

3 C. Erbiceanu, "Documente privitoare la istoria bisericească și politică a românilor", *BOR*, 23, 1899, 2, p. 126–156.

4 V. A. Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1774–1786*, t. I, Bucharest, 1891; V. A. Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1786–1800*, t. III, Bucharest, 1892; V. A. Urechia, *Memoriu asupra perioadei din istoria românilor de la 1774–1786*, Bucharest, 1893; V. A. Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1774–1800*, t. VII, Bucharest, 1894; V. A. Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1800-1830*, t. VI, Bucharest, 1898; V. A. Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1800–1830*, t. X, Part A, Bucharest, 1900.

5 A. Lapedatu, "Un cuvânt asupra Gramaticei lui Ienăchiță Văcărescu", in A. Lapedatu, *Un mănunchiu de cercetări istorice*, Bucharest, 1915, p. 34; I. Ionaşcu, *Documente bucureştene privitoare la proprietăţile mănăstirii Colţea*, Bucharest, 1941; A. Sacerdoţeanu, "Documente de cultură românească veche", *Mitropolia Olteniei*, 16, 1964, 5–6, p. 450–457.

6 D. Simonescu, "Din activitatea tipografică a Bucureştilor", *Bucureştii Vechi. Buletinul Societăţii Istorico-Arheologice «Bucureştii-Vechi»*, 1–5 (1930–1934), Bucharest, 1935, p. 118–135; T. Simedrea, "Tiparul bucureştean de carte bisericească în anii 1740–1750", *BOR*, 83, 1965, 9–10, p. 845–942; T. G. Bulat, "Tipografia Mitropoliei Bucureştilor în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea (1754–1810)", *BOR*, 87, 1969, 7–8, p. 791–816.

7 N. Iorga, *Istoria românilor*, vol. VII: *Reformatorii*, [Vălenii de Munte], 1938; Vl. Georgescu, *Istoria românilor. De la origini până în zilele noastre*, Bucharest, 1992, p. 84–132; P. Cernovodeanu, N. Edroiu (eds.), *Istoria românilor*, vol. VI: *Românii între Europa Clasică și Europa Luminilor (1711–1821)*, Bucharest, 2012.

8 N. Iorga, "Tipografia la români", *Almanahul Graficei Române*, 8, 1931, p. 32–55; M. Tomescu, *Istoria cărţii româneşti de la începuturi până la 1918*, Bucharest, 1968; C. Papacostea-Danielopolu, L. Demény, *Carte și tipar în societatea românească și sud-est europeană (secolele XVII–XIX)*, Bucharest, 1985; D. Bădără, "Consideraţii privind tipografiile din Ţările Române în prima parte a epocii fanariote", *Buletinul Societăţii Române de Studii Neoelene*, 2000–2001 [2002], p. 18–23.

not have the disastrous consequences that were long attributed to them. Various studies have emphasized the importance of printing as part of the cultural policy of the Phanariots. Our approach goes along with the research that has emphasized the fact that, from a cultural perspective, the age of the Phanariot rule was not one of stagnation or regression.[9] On the contrary, it represented a period of development and progress, preparing the national revival of the first half of the 19th century.

1 Reform Policy and Printing

Since the beginnings of printing in Wallachia, princely patronage functioned both as protection and as financial support to cover the significant costs of printing. Historiography has approached the subject mainly from a financial point of view, especially since for two centuries (the 16th and 17th) the establishment of printing presses was largely funded by princes, and the rulers were also important publishers. The books printed at their expense were mostly religious texts, with few exceptions. Many of them were donated to monasteries and churches across the country, as well as to Orthodox communities in Transylvania and various provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

However, the contribution of the Phanariot princes to financing printing was gradually reduced, as the historical context of their reigns also changed. Their political position, as "officials" of the Ottoman Empire, and their own pecuniary situation led them to pay greater attention to both the public and personal incomes and expenses.[10] Their primary responsibility was to ensure the fulfillment of the country's duties to the Ottoman Porte (in money and produce), which were constantly increasing.[11] Failure to fulfill these duties on time frequently resulted in the prince's removal from power. They also had to collect money for their own interests: for the purchase and reconfirmation of their position, for gifts to Turkish dignitaries, for the payment of debts to their creditors, as well as for increasing their own revenues.

9 Many historians and philologists (Dimitrie Popovici, Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, Alexandru Duţu, Paul Cornea, Virgil Cândea, Florin Constantiniu, Vlad Geogescu, Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu, Ştefan Lemny, Andrei Pippidi) have contributed over time to the "rehabilitation" of the Phanariot princes and their rule. This work was started in 1898 by Nicolae Iorga, who aimed to make "those stigmatized in textbooks respectable figures". See N. Iorga, "Cultura română supt fanarioţi. Conferinţă din 8 februarie 1898", in Gh. Buluță (ed.), *Cultură şi civilizaţie. Conferinţe ţinute la tribuna Ateneului Român*, Bucharest, 1989, p. 211–228.

10 Cernovodeanu, Edroiu (eds.), *Istoria românilor*, p. 227; S. Columbeanu, "Birul în Țara Românească (1775–1831)", *Studii și materiale de istorie medie*, 7, 1974, p. 263–264.

11 Cernovodeanu, Edroiu (eds.), *Istoria românilor*, p. 259–276.

Many of the Phanariot princes ascended the throne while in a poor material situation, they did not possess any significant personal wealth, but at the end of their reigns, some of them came to possess impressive fortunes (such as Constantin Hangerli[12] and Ioan Caragea).[13] Increasing both public and personal revenues was a constant concern of the Phanariot princes, some of them abusing their power in order to achieve these objectives.[14]

Reformist policies were a defining feature of the Phanariot century, and their initial impetus was the need to increase state revenues by expanding the number of taxpayers, organizing an efficient taxation system, and massively reducing fiscal privileges. Important sources of income were the taxes and duties imposed on the common people, who represented the majority of taxpayers. However, this fiscal policy also included exceptions. Numerous exemptions, whether unlimited or temporary, were primarily granted to the nobility, the monasteries and the clergy, but also to other social categories.[15]

Some of these tax exemptions or privileges had an indirect effect on printing. Representative in this regard is the tax reform introduced by the large-scope charter (*hrisov*) that reorganized the country's institutions and was devised by Constantin Mavrocordat and promulgated on February 7, 1741, by the general assembly of Wallachia (*Adunarea obștească*).[16] One of the provisions of this statute was the exemption of the clergy and monasteries from paying the capital tax (*dajdie*). Constantin Mavrocordat exempted priests from paying some of the taxes they owed to the state,[17] a measure applied during his ten successive reigns in Wallachia and Moldavia (between 1730 and 1769).[18] The provision was maintained, with slight modifications, by some of the rulers who succeeded him.

12 The treasure of Constantin Hangerli (1797–1799) confiscated by the de Ottoman Porte after he was deposed and beheaded on February 19, 1799, was carried from Bucharest to Constantinople in seven chariots, three of which carried coins, while the other four, various types of goods. See V. Mischevca, "Alexandru Hangerli – un principe filolog cu o domnie efemeră", in L. Rotaru, S. D. Șipoș (coord. eds.), *Latinitate, Romanitate, Românitate*, Chișinău/Oradea, 2022, p. 120–134.

13 After a six-year reign (1812–1818), Ioan Caragea left Wallachia and took refuge in Italy, crossing the territory of the Habsburg Empire. His fortune was estimated by his contemporaries at around 123 million thalers. See A. Oțetea, "Fuga lui Caragea", in C. Daicoviciu, Em. Condurachi, A. Oțetea (eds.), *Omagiu lui P. Constantinescu-Iași: cu prilejul împlinirii a 70 de ani*, Bucharest, 1965, p. 386–387.

14 Cernovodeanu, Edroiu (eds.), *Istoria românilor*, p. 227–228.

15 Cernovodeanu, Edroiu (eds.), *Istoria românilor*, p. 224–229.

16 F. Constantiniu, *Constantin Mavrocordat. Reformatorul*, 2nd revised ed., Bucharest, 2015, p. 60–73.

17 Priests still had the obligation to pay the church dues: taxes for the installation of the metropolitan, the local bishop, etc. See Cernovodeanu, Edroiu (eds.), *Istoria românilor*, p. 347–348.

18 Constantin Mavrocordat ruled six times in Wallachia (1730; 1731–1733; 1735–1741; 1744–1748; 1756–1758; 1761–1763) and four times in Moldavia (1733–1735; 1741–1743; 1748–1749; 1769).

Exemption from taxes was very tempting for many well-to-do peasants, so, some joined the ranks of the clergy, though they hardly had any theological education.[19] Constantin Mavrocordat launched a genuine campaign against those who could not prove that they had the knowledge and qualities required of a priest. Priests and candidates at priesthood were examined by commissions composed of their hierarchical superiors and the prince's representatives, and impostors were removed. The situation is described by a contemporary Moldavian chronicler: "We cannot describe the fear the poor priests were seized by, which made them start learning to read, old as they were".[20]

In return for granting tax exemptions, Constantin Mavrocordat demanded that the priests respect the values of Christian morality, be educated, and be able to teach their parishioners as well. To ensure their access to education and create better conditions for the divine services, Constantin Mavrocordat made sure that the number of printed books increased. He ordered that metropolitans and bishops establish schools and printing presses and publish liturgical and theological books in Romanian with the money saved by the Church due to the tax exemptions it benefited from. This policy was applied by most of the rulers who succeeded him.

In the prefaces to the books they edited, the hierarchs urged priests to memorize the fundamental teachings of Orthodox dogma, threatening with excommunication those who were found to be ignorant. An example is the foreword address to priests and deacons by Clement, the bishop of Râmnic (1735–1749), in *Întrebări şi răspunsuri pentru şapte taine* (*Questions and Answers for Seven Sacraments*), printed at Râmnic in 1747. Clement stated that Prince Constantin Mavrocordat reproached him that when the priests showed up for trial at the princely court, their behavior was contradictory: "Before His Highness the Prince, you are very clever and answer [quickly], and you are ready to vouch for others, but when His Highness, or one of the boyars, asks you about faith, you turn humble and silent and fail to answer". Because of this, they risked the cancellation of their exemption from taxes: "His Lordship will withdraw the mercy he has shown you, and you will again be counted among the commoners and have to pay heavier duties".[21]

19 This exemption was not entirely new. It had been granted by Ștefan Cantacuzino in 1714 but cancelled by Nicolae Mavrocordat in 1726.

20 Pseudo-Enache Kogălniceanu, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovii de la domnia întâi şi până la a patra domnie a lui Constantin Mavrocordat voevod (1733–1774)*, ed. A. Ilieş, I. Zmeu, Bucharest, 1987, p. 204.

21 Poenaru, *Contribuţii la BRV*, p. 31.

2 Princely Patronage in the Field of Printing

The Phanariot princes were educated men. Some of them owned important libraries, others were writers themselves. They were willing to support the printing activity in the country, but in such a way that their "cash" contribution would be as small as possible. The princely patronage of printing continued, even though the financial support for the establishment of printing presses and the publication of books was greatly diminished.[22] The responsibility for financing the printing of church books was taken over by the upper clergy. Most of the liturgical and theological books were printed at the Metropolitan printing press in Bucharest, at the printing press of the Bishopric of Râmnic (County of Vâlcea) and in Buzău (Bishopric of Buzău), with costs covered by the respective metropolitans and bishops.

The princely protection was manifested through tax exemptions granted to the church presses, both for printers and for unskilled workers (*posluṣnici*). The documents that survive refer to the workers of printing presses of the Metropolitan See in Bucharest and the Bishopric of Râmnic, but similar exemptions must have been granted to other presses in Wallachia.

Mihai Suţu granted an exemption from taxes (*dijmărit* and *vinărici*) to Stanciu Tomovici, the printer of the Metropolitan printing press, on February 29, 1784,[23] which was renewed in 1797 by Alexandru Ipsilanti.[24] Ion, another printer of the Metropolitan printing press, was exempted from taxes by Alexandru Ipsilanti on December 30, 1796.[25] Constantin Hangerli granted a tax exemption to the Metropolitan printing press for all its 25 workers on September 16, 1798. These exemptions were renewed by Alexandru Moruzzi for 21 people on January 22, 1801.[26] Four priests and printers who worked as typesetters (*zeṭari*) at the Metropolitan press are mentioned in a list drawn up on January 15, 1815, as having received princely documents for tax exemptions (*pecetluituri*) from Ioan Caragea.[27]

Nicolae Mavrogheni granted the printing press of the Râmnic Bishopric a tax exemption (*dajdie*) for six people, who were "to serve at the printing press". The prince issued the document on April 12, 1787, at the request of the great treasurer (*mare vistiernic*) Ienăchiță Văcărescu, as a reward for having completed the printing of his *Grammar* in this press (in the months of January-April). The document

22 Bădără, "Consideraţii privind tipografiile", p. 18–23.
23 Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1774–1786*, t. I, p. 400.
24 Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1774–1800*, t. VII, p. 46, 86.
25 Erbiceanu, "Documente", p. 135.
26 Erbiceanu, "Documente", p. 134–135.
27 ANIC, Fond *Manuscrise*, MS 157, f. 55r.

states that the printing press needed additional workers, so that it could print more books "necessary and useful to the Romanian nation".[28] The exemption was renewed by Mihai Suţu on June 28, 1792,[29] by Alexandru Ipsilanti on October 27, 1797,[30] by Ioan Caragea on December 13, 1813,[31] and by Alexandru Suţu on October 25, 1819.[32]

Of the ten printing presses that operated between 1716 and 1821 in Wallachia,[33] three were established by princely contribution. Constantin Mavrocordat opened the printing press of the Greek school at Văcărești Monastery in 1741, and in 1745 he reactivated the princely press in Bucharest. They were endowed with typographic tools transferred or borrowed from presses that had not been functioning for a long time (such as the princely press in Bucharest), or were temporarily inactive (the Metropolitan printing press). In 1767, Alexandru Scarlat Ghica established a Greek printing press in Bucharest for the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, which was meant to publish books for the Orthodox communities in the Ottoman Empire.

The Phanariot princes encouraged private initiatives in the field of printing. Three of them granted permission to laymen to open private printing presses in Bucharest. These were mainly meant to publish books of a secular content: textbooks, science or fiction books. Nicolae Caragea, in 1783, and Nicolae Mavrogheni, in 1789, authorized the establishment of the Greek printing press of the brothers Lazaru from Ioannina. In 1817, Ioan Caragea approved the request of Doctor Constantin Caracaș and his associates to establish a printing house, granting them the "privilege" of operation for 20 years.[34]

The patronage of printing was just one aspect of the Phanariot princes' cultural patronage. They also provided financial support to the Princely Academy and schools in Bucharest, awarded scholarships to young people who wished to study and provided stipends to scholars for publishing books abroad. Significant sums were

28 Lăpedatu, "Un cuvânt asupra Gramaticei", p. 34.
29 Lăpedatu, "Un cuvânt asupra Gramaticei", p. 36.
30 Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1774–1800*, t. VII, p. 46.
31 Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1800–1830*, t. X, Part A, p. 432.
32 Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1800–1830*, t. VI, p. 104–109.
33 D. Lupu, *Tiparul şi cartea din Ţara Românească în epoca domniilor fanariote (1716–1821)*, Bucharest, 2014, p. 93–156.
34 See, in the present volume, the chapter signed by Ștefan Petrescu.

granted to support schools, monasteries and churches in Constantinople,[35] in the Greek territories of the Balkan Peninsula, and the Middle East.[36]

3 Presses Founded by the Phanariot Princes

3.1 The Văcărești School Printing Press (1741)

Founded in 1741, during the third reign of Constantin Mavrocordat in Wallachia (1735–1741), the printing press of the Văcărești Monastery near Bucharest had a short existence. From January to September, three church books were printed with the mention "at the Văcărești School printing press", all of them in Romanian. In 1741, it was the only printing press operating in Bucharest, because the Metropolitan press was in a process of reorganization since 1739 and would only reopen in 1742.

The first historians of Romanian printing believed that the school mentioned on the title pages, and therefore the printing press itself, had been founded by the Văcăreşti boyars.[37] However, as documents regarding the old schools in Bucharest were more carefully studied, it became clear that a "college" had been founded within the Monastery of Văcărești. The monastery was constructed by Prince Nicolae Mavrocordat starting in 1716 and became a *metochion* of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in 1721.[38] The school, where classes were taught in Greek, had been established by Nicolae Mavrocordat during his second rule in Wallachia (1719–1730). It was designed as a school for the study of philosophy and mathematics, with teachers recommended by Chrysanthos Notaras, the Patriarch of Jerusalem (1707–1731).[39]

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35 A. Camariano-Cioran, "Aides pécuniaires fournies par les Pays Roumains aux écoles grecques (I)", in L. Rados (ed.), *Relaţii româno-elene. Studii istorice şi filologice (Secolele XIV–XIX)*, Bucharest, 2008, p. 703–732.

36 A. Camariano-Cioran, "Aides pécuniaires fournies par les Pays Roumains aux écoles grecques (II)", in L. Rados (ed.), *Relaţii româno-elene. Studii istorice şi filologice (Secolele XIV–XIX)*, Bucharest, 2008, p. 733–754.

37 M. Gaster, "Tipografia în România", *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, XV, 1868, p. 145 (cf. Simedrea, "Tiparul bucureştean", p. 847, n. 15); G. Ionescu, *Călăuza tipografului, cu un rezumat din istoria tipografiei de la invenţiune şi până în zilele noastre*, Bucharest, 1906, p. 132.

38 The construction works began in 1716, were interrupted in 1718, then resumed in 1719. According to an inscription, the monastery was finished in September 1722. However, it was probably already completed in June 1721, when it was dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher based on a donation charter issued by Nicolae Mavrocordat. See O.-D. Marinescu, *Mănăstirea Văcărești din București. De la origini până astăzi*, Bucharest, 2012, p. 65–68.

39 Simedrea, "Tiparul bucureştean", p. 848–849.

Nicolae Mavrocordat's son, Constantin Mavrocordat, continued the construction of the monastic complex and had a chapel built, which was completed in 1736, as well as a second enclosure and a second gate tower. The Văcărești Monastery also housed part of the famous library of the Mavrocordat family.

As indicated on some of the title pages of the books that came out of the Văcărești press, the printing house was not located at the Văcărești Monastery, but at the Monastery of Saint Sava (also a *metochion* of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem), where the Princely Academy functioned. At Saint Sava, a place had been especially designed for a printing press since the rule of Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688–1714).[40]

In 1741, the printing press of the Văcărești School published the Book of Divine Liturgies (*Liturghier*, see Fig. 1) and two booklets from which priests and candidates for priesthood could learn dogmatic and pastoral theological concepts: *Învăţătură bisericească a vlădicăi Antim* (*Church Teaching of Bishop Antim*),[41] and *Întrebări bogosloveşti și răspunsuri* (*Theological Questions and Answers*).[42] *The Church Teaching* is the second edition of a work written by Metropolitan Antim the Iberian (1708-1716), published in 1710 in Târgoviște,[43] which defined the main duties of the priests. *Theological Questions* is a collection of writings by Saint Athanasios the Great, translated from Greek by Ianache, formerly, the second seneschal of the Wallachian court *(postelnic*). To be easily memorized, these "teachings" were presented in a catechetical form, as questions and answers.

The Euchologion (Molitvenic) was published in 1741, after Constantin Mavrocordat's rule in Wallachia ended and he was replaced, in September, by Mihai Racoviță (1741–1744). The book only indicates that it was published "in the city, in Bucharest",[44] which means that the printing press was closed after Constantin Mavrocordat's departure.

All four books were printed by the priest (*popa*) Stoica Iacovici, a printer highly esteemed by the Mavrocordat family. Funding for the printing of these books was not provided by Constantin Mavrocordat. The Book of Divine Liturgies and the Euchologion, books used in liturgical services, were published with the financial support of Ananias, the Metropolitan of Caesarea in Palestine (Fig. 2). He was also the administrator of the monasteries dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre in Wallachia

40 The prince had a "stone house" built there between 1710–1714, meant to host the library of the monastery and the Greek printing press of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The press was operational between 1714–1719. See Simedrea, "Tiparul bucureştean", p. 850–856.

41 *BRV* II, p. 54; *BRV* IV, p. 238.

42 *BRV* II, p. 54–55.

43 *BRV* I, p. 481.

44 *BRV* II, p. 55–56; *BRV* IV, p. 239.

and a trustworthy person for the Mavrocordat family.[45] The booklets for the instruction of priests do not mention the printer. The cost of publishing was probably covered by the priest Stoica Iacovici.[46]

On July 20, 1742, the Prince of Wallachia Mihai Racoviță granted the Metropolitan Neophytos of Crete (1738–1753) written permission to "search for" and take over all the printing materials existing in different places in Bucharest that belonged to the Metropolitan printing press.[47] It follows from this document that the Văcărești School printing press used material borrowed or rented from the Metropolitan press.

3.2 The Princely Printing Press (1745–1746)

After returning to Bucharest to become the ruler of Wallachia for the fourth time (1744–1748), Constantin Mavrocordat opened the princely printing press in 1745.[48] It was suggested that the matrices for Cyrillic type and the printing woodblocks for illustrations were transferred to the new press from one of the three main printing presses in Bucharest: that of the Văcărești school,[49] the Metropolitan printing press,[50] or the printing press founded by Constantin Brâncoveanu.[51] Since there is no evidence of an order for printing equipment to be acquired from abroad, which would not have been kept secret if issued, the only viable hypothesis is that the equipment of the princely printing press was supplemented by tools previously used by other typographers.

The first book printed at the princely printing press in 1745, "by order of the prince", was *Pravoslavnica mărturisire* (*The Orthodox Confession*),[52] composed by Petru Movilă, the metropolitan of Kyiv (1632–1646), which was also the inaugural publication of the princely press founded by Constantin Brâncoveanu in Buzău in

45 In 1730, Anania was appointed hegumen of the Văcăreşti Monastery by Nicolae Mavrocordat. In 1736, he was appointed by Constantin Mavrocordat as a steward (*ispravnic*) charged with the construction of the monastery chapel.

46 Simedrea, "Tiparul bucureştean", p. 903.

47 Simedrea, "Tiparul bucureştean", Annex VII, p. 931–932.

48 During the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu, several presses held the official title of Princely Printing Press: the press of Bucharest, between 1690 and 1705, the press of the Buzău Bishopric, between 1691–1704, and the press of the Snagov Monastery, between 1696 and 1701.

49 Ionescu, *Călăuza tipografului*, p. 132; Ionaşcu, *Documente bucureştene*, p. 142; Tomescu, *Istoria cărţii*, p. 97.

50 Simonescu, "Din activitatea tipografică", p. 129, n. 6.

51 Simedrea,"Tiparul bucureştean", p. 866–867.

52 *BRV* II, p. 87–88.

1691. Constantin Mavrocordat entrusted the management of the printing press to the priest Stoica Iacovici, a protegé of the Mavrocordat family, who was the most important master printer in Bucharest between 1715 and 1749. He printed four liturgical and theological books in Romanian, without mentioning the editor's name (Fig. 3). Two other books were published in 1746 without any mention of the press. There are strong arguments that these books were printed with costs covered by the priest Stoica Iacovici.[53]

The princely press operated until 1746 at the Colțea Monastery. From there, the Metropolitan Neophytos of Crete took over part of the equipment on October 6, 1748, after Constantin Mavrocordat had ascended the throne of Moldavia in April.[54] His successor in Wallachia, Prince Grigore II Ghica (1748–1752), handed over the rest of the equipment to the metropolitan on April 3, 1749.[55]

Constantin Mavrocordat was one of the Phanariot princes who paid special attention to printing (Fig. 4). Studying the dynamics of book printing in this period, we noticed that he ordered the reopening of the printing press of the Văcărești school and the princely press in Bucharest just when the printing press of the Metropolitan See was not operational, in 1739–1741 and 1744–1746. We believe that this is not a coincidence, but evidence of the ruler's interest in ensuring a steady pace of printing books, in sufficient copies to meet the needs of the local Orthodox clergy and those beyond the borders of Wallachia.

3.3 The Greek Printing Press (1767–1769)

In 1767, at the request of Patriarch Ephrem of Jerusalem (1766–1771), Prince Alexandru Scarlat Ghica (1766–1768) set up a new printing press in Bucharest, endowed with tools acquired from Western Europe.[56] The activity of the press began in 1767 with *Ὀρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία*,[57] a new edition of the *Orthodox Confession*, a fundamental work of Orthodox dogmatic literature. The title page mentions that it was printed "in the recently established printing press of the Orthodox nation of the Rhomaioi" ("Ἐν τῇ Νεοσυσταθείσῃ Τυπογραφία τοῦ Ὀρθοδόξου Γένους τῶν Ῥωμαίων"). The

53 Simedrea,"Tiparul bucureştean", p. 899–903.

54 Simedrea,"Tiparul bucureştean", Annex XV, p. 935.

55 Simedrea,"Tiparul bucureştean", Annex XVII, p. 937–938.

56 The printing tools were brought to Bucharest by the scholar Gheorghe Constantin (A. Decei, "Din tipăriturile orientale la Bucureşti, în secolul al XVIII-lea", *Revista istorică română*, XV, 1945, III, p. 370).

57 *BRV* II, p. 176.

title page of the book *Διδασκαλία χριστιανική* (*Christian Teaching*)[58] published in 1768, which mentions that the printing press "was founded by His Highness, our Lord, Prince Alexandru Scarlat Ghica, out of his great generosity", confirms that he was the founder.[59] The prince thus fulfilled the wish of the Patriarch Ephrem of Jerusalem to revitalize the support for the Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire and to fight Catholic proselytism among the Orthodox communities of Asia Minor.

In three years, six liturgical, theological, and didactic books were published, most of them edited by Patriarch Ephrem to be "distributed as gifts" on behalf of the Holy Sepulcher. Among them there is a catechism for the Christian Orthodox communities in Anatolia and Trebizond whose mother tongue was Turkish. The *Christian Teaching*[60] belongs to the class of books known as *karamanlidika*, a generic term for books published in Turkish using the Greek alphabet instead of the Arabic one.[61] This was the first *karamanlidika* book printed in Bucharest.[62]

The press continued its activity under Grigore III Ghica (1768–1769), who succeeded Alexandru Scarlat Ghica in October 1768. The printing equipment (punches and matrices for Greek typefaces) may have been presented by Grigore III Ghica to the Metropolitan Grigore II (1760–1787), as Nicolae Iorga suggested.[63] The press closed in 1769, when Bucharest was occupied by the Russian troops, during the Russian-Turkish War (1768–1774).

58 Some authors doubt that this was a new press, considering that it was a Greek section of the Metropolitan printing press. See Tomescu, *Istoria cărţii*, p. 98; Papacostea-Danielopolu, Demény, *Carte şi tipar*, p. 178.

59 Decei, "Din tipăriturile orientale", p. 369–370.

60 *BRV* II, p. 184–188.

61 Decei, "Din tipăriturile orientale", p. 369–371; C. Giurescu, "Livres turcs imprimés à Bucarest (1701–1768)", *Revista istorică română*, 15, 1945, III, p. 280.

62 D. Simonescu, "Cărţi arabe tipărite de români în secolul al XVIII-lea (1701–1747)", *BOR*, 82, 1964, 5–6, p. 549–550; D. Simonescu, "Impression de livres arabes et karamanlis en Valachie et en Moldavie au XVIII[e] siècle", *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, 5–6, 1967, p. 68–69.

63 Iorga, "Tipografia la români", p. 49.

4 The Private Presses Founded under the Protection of the Phanariot Princes

4.1 The Printing Press of the Lazaru Brothers of Ioannina (1783–1784, 1789)

Nicolae and Ioan Lazaru of Ioannina (Epirus), printers by trade, founded a Greek press in Bucharest in 1783, under the protection of Prince Nicolae Caragea (1782–1783).[64] The *Μέγα Αλφαβητάριον* (*Great Alphabet Book*), the first book printed there on March 1, 1783, tells us more about the founding of the printing press: "This new press of the Greek Orthodox people was established under the brilliant princely patronage and protection of our pious Prince".[65]

Shortly after, the business ran out of money, and they asked the prince's help. The way this aid was provided illustrates the system of the princely protection. On May 5, 1783, Nicolae Caragea ordered the boyars in charge with the schools' administration to give Nicolae Lazaru the amount of 250 thalers from the "coffer" (funds) of the schools. In exchange, he was to provide the schools with an unspecified number of *Alphabet Books*.

> The printing press here has been established by Nicolii Lazăru, with our knowledge and will, at great expense and with much labor, for the use and benefit of the country [...]. And to print other useful books and cover its expenses, we order that you, trustee boyars [...], provide 250 thalers to [...] Nicolii Lazăr and receive copies of this [*Alphabet Book*].[66]

The next year, the Lazaru brothers printed a scientific work entitled *Σημειώσεις Φυσιολογικαί* (*Physical Writings*, or *Notes on Nature*),[67] written by the hierodeacon Iosif Moesiodax (1725–1800), professor of Sciences at the Princely Academies in Iași and Bucharest. We believe that the great debts that Nicolae Lazaru accumulated over time (almost 1,000 thalers)[68] and the legal actions that his creditors took against him led to the closing of his printing press in 1784.[69]

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64 See D. Lupu, "The Lazaru brothers of Ioannina, paper merchants, editors and owners of a print press in Wallachia (second half of the 18th century)", in Arch. P. Chițulescu, I. Feodorov (eds.), *Culture manuscrite et imprimée dans et pour l'Europe du Sud-Est*, Brăila, 2020, p. 67–74.

65 Note on the back of the title page, *BRV* II, p. 283.

66 Urechia, "Memoriu", p. 385–386.

67 *BRV* II, p. 300.

68 Urechia, "Memoriu", p. 590–591, 1089–1090.

69 On the debts of Nicolae Lazaru, see D. Lupu, "Tipografia grecească a fraţilor Lazaru din Bucureşti (1783–1784, 1789)", *Revista română de istorie a cărții*, 8, 2011, p. 50–51.

In 1789, the Lazaru brothers reopened the press with the support of Nicolae Mavrogheni (1786–1790). The prince offered them new headquarters near his recently founded monastery (1786–1787), dedicated to the Mother of God of the Life-Giving Spring (*Izvorul Tămăduirii*), on the northern outskirts of Bucharest (today, the Mavrogheni Church).[70] The press was located next to the monumental fountain on the monastery grounds, also built by Mavrogheni, and commonly called *Cişmea* ("fountain", a word borrowed from Turkish) or *Cișmeaua Mavrogheni* ("Mavrogheni Fountain"), which explains why the Lazaru brothers' press became known as "the Printing Press at the Life-Giving Spring near the *Cişmea*", or "The Fountain Printing Press" (Rom. *Tipografia de la Cișmea*).

In February 1789, a booklet was published, entitled *Συνοπτικὴ Περίληψις τῶν ἡρωϊκῶν κατορθωμάτων τοῦ... Μαυρογένη Βοεβόδα* (*Mavrogheni's Acts of Bravery*, see Fig. 5), to celebrate the prince's victories in the ongoing Austrian-Russian-Turkish War (1787–1792).[71] The Lazaru brothers dedicated it to Nicolae Mavrogheni, indicating in the preface that it was printed "in our new printing house, the one established with the princely and brilliant support of Your Highness, at the holy and princely monastery of the Life-Giving Spring".[72] The volume includes a poem composed by Manolache (Emanuel) the Persian, the prince's secretary, and eulogies written by high officials (laymen and clerics), as well as teachers and students of the Princely Academy (Fig. 6).

In July, they published *Περιγραφή τῆς Βλαχίας* (*The Description of Wallachia*),[73] an anonymous translation from French into Modern Greek of part of General Friedrich Wilhelm Bauer's book *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur la Valachie* (published in 1778 "at Francfort et Leipsic"). After this date, the press ceased its activity.

4.2 The Privileged Printing House of Doctor Constantin Caracaș and Associates (1817-1821)

In 1817, Ioan Caragea (1812–1818) approved the request of the physician Constantin Caracaș and his associates, the former great *stolnic* (steward) Răducanu Clinceanu and the former *great sluger*[74] Dumitrache Topliceanu, to establish a press in

70 C. C. Giurescu, "Istoricul ctitoriilor bucureştene ale lui Nicolae Vodă Mavrogheni", *BOR*, 80, 1962, 3–4, p. 339–363.

71 *BRV* II, p. 333–334.

72 Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1786-1800*, t. III, p. 543.

73 *BRV* II, p. 332–333.

74 The boyar who was in charge with the supplies necessary to the princely court.

Bucharest. As they had received a princely privilege to operate for 20 years, it was called "The Privileged Printing House" (Rom. *Tipografia privilegiată*). The printing press was placed near the fountain of the Mavrogheni Monastery. This is why on the title pages of a few books it was named also "The Press at the Mavrogheni Fountain" (Rom. *Tipografia privilegiată de la Cișmeaua Mavrogheni*).

The charter by which the press was founded, issued by Prince Ioan Caragea on November 3, 1817, is a seminal documentary source for the history of book printing in Romania.[75] Its ten articles include information on the equipment of the printing press, the way the printing of books was authorized, and the duties the owners had in relation to the state. The privilege was renewed by the following prince, Alexandru Suțu, on May 25, 1820.[76]

The associates were authorized to publish books in Romanian and Greek on both religious and "political" (secular) subjects that fell into the categories "philological" (science), or "*phillada*" (textbooks) for the education of children. By the end of the Phanariot era, 25 books and brochures were published, 14 in Romanian and 11 in Greek.[77] As the story of this press is discussed in detail by Ștefan Petrescu in this volume, I shall not insist on it.

5 The Books Published by the Phanariot Princes

There is no explicit mention on the title pages of church books that they were printed with princely funds. The prefaces to some liturgical books mention that they were printed at the behest or at the suggestion of a prince ("with the good advice and the will of Your Highness"), but not with his money.[78]

Of the approximately 311 books published in Wallachian printing presses during this period, only two directly mention that they were published by a ruling prince. Nicolae Mavrocordat published in 1716 the work of his father Alexandru Mavrocordat *Ἱστορία Ἱερά ἤτοι τά Ἰουδαϊκά* (*Sacred History: That Is, the Jewish One*),[79] and his own work, *Περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων* (*On Duties*), in 1719.[80] Both were printed in Bucharest in the press of Antim the Iberian at the Monastery of All Saints (now known as the Monastery of Antim).

75 V. A. Urechia, "Domnia lui Ioan Caragea, 1812-1818", *AARMSI*, S. II, t. XX, 1898, p. 89–92.

76 Urechia, *Istoria românilor. Seria 1800–1830*, t. XII, p. 105–109.

77 On the activity of this press, see D. Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 124–129.

78 From the preface to the Gospel (Râmnic, 1746) dedicated by the editor of the book, Bishop Clement, to Constantin Mavrocordat (cf. *BRV* II, p. 90).

79 *BRV* I, p. 509–512.

80 *BRV* II, p. 1-2.

It is likely that the official administrative and law books printed at the princes' behest were published in Bucharest with princely funds: *Așezământul sfintelor mănăstiri* (*The Settlement of the Holy Monasteries*) by Constantin Mavrocordat,[81] and the two law codices of the Phanariot era: *Συνταγμάτιον Νομικόν/Pravilniceasca condică* (*The Small Handbook of Laws*) of Prince Alexandru Ipsilanti, published in a bilingual Greek-Romanian edition in 1780,[82] and Caragea's *Code of Laws*, first published in Greek in 1818, at Vienna.[83] The Romanian version of *Legiuirea lui Caragea* (*Caragea's Code of Laws*) was also printed in 1818, possibly with funds coming from the owners of the Privileged Printing Press, Doctor Caracaș and his associates.[84]

After 1800, the custom was also introduced in Wallachia of publishing books based on the subscription system. Those interested in a book paid in advance the cost of one or more copies. The prince Alexandru Suţu (1818–1821) participated in this form of collective patronage, which was widely used in the Greek printing presses of Venice and Vienna.[85] He appears on the list of subscribers to the first church hymn books printed with musical signs in the Romanian Principalities, as well as in the entire Orthodox East, by Petros Ephesios (ca. 1770–1840). A teacher at the school of music of the church of Saint Nicholas Șelari in Bucharest, he published in 1820 the *Νέον Ἀναστασιματάριον* (*The New Anastasimatarion*)[86] and the *Σύντομον Δοξαστάριον* (*The Brief Doxastarion*).[87] The chants, transposed in *chrysantic* notation, the new notation system for psaltic music, were printed with musical note signs created by Petros Ephesios himself. Alexandru Suțu paid in advance for 100 copies of the *New Anastasimatarion* and an unspecified number of copies of *The Brief Doxastarion* (Fig. 7).

Printing was an important element in the reform policies of the Phanariot princes and in their strategies for enhancing their prestige abroad. Although they were in the service of the Ottoman Empire, princes looked more and more to the West and its scholars, whose appreciation they were striving to obtain.

Some of them used their resources to publish their own works abroad: in 1722, the book *On Duties* by Nicolae Mavrocordat was published in Leipzig in a Latin and Greek edition, under the Latin title *De officiis*. As mentioned above, in 1818, Ioan Caragea published his code of laws in Greek at Vienna (Fig. 8). Others used printing to make their reforms known in the West. The Charter of Constantin Mavrocordat

81 Without the year of publication.
82 *BRV* II, p. 246–249.
83 *BRV* II, p. 271–276.
84 *BRV* III, p. 225–227; *BRV* IV, p. 304.
85 Papacostea-Danielopolu, Demény, *Carte și tipar*, p. 241–250.
86 *BRV* III, p. 351–356.
87 *BRV* III, p. 358–361.

of February 7, 1741, which included reforms in the fiscal, agrarian, administrative, and judicial domains, was published in July 1742 in the famous magazine *Mercure de France*, titled *Constitution*.[88]

Many princes, such as Constantin Mavrocordat, Alexandru Ipsilanti, Grigore III Ghica, and Nicolae Mavrogheni, supported the publication of several books (scientific, educational, or theological) at the Greek presses of Venice, Vienna, and Leipzig. The prefaces to these books praised them and presented them as learned princes who were reformers and protectors of the letters and sciences.[89]

6 The Phanariot Princes and Censorship

It was in this period that the first documents were issued authorizing the printing of sacred and secular books. Mihai Racoviță formalized the Church censorship of liturgical, theological, and Christian reading books (ethical and sapiential) by two acts issued upon the demand of Metropolitan Neophytos of Crete: the princely order of December 3, 1741, and the charter of July 20, 1742.[90]

The metropolitan was authorized to examine the contents of the church books and to approve their printing ("to give his blessing") in the territory under his ecclesiastical jurisdiction (princely order of December 3, 1741).[91] The liturgical and dogmatic books had to be checked before printing: "lest, by deviating from the straight line and the truth, Christians who read and listen be harmed instead of benefit" (charter of July 20, 1742).[92]

The first act of princely censorship in Wallachia is the order issued by Mihai Suțu in 1784, addressed to Metropolitan Grigore II (1760–1787) on July 25, and to the Bishop of Râmnic, Filaret (1780–1792), on August 1. The prince ordered them to ask for his approval before printing any Greek work, "because it is appropriate for me as a ruler to know what is being printed at the Greek press, both here in Bucharest and in the country".[93] It is difficult to believe that church presses could have printed anything against the interests of the court. We believe that the document focused especially on the Lazaru brothers' Greek printing press, which closed in

88 A-M. Cassoly, "Autour de l'insertion dans le « Mercure de France » de la « Constitution » de Constantin Mavrocordato", *RESEE*, 19, 1981, 4, p. 751–753, 759.

89 Erbiceanu, *Bibliografia greacă*, p. 93–136.

90 The documents were published by Simedrea, "Tiparul bucureştean", p. 924–932.

91 Simedrea, "Tiparul bucureştean", Annex VII, p. 931.

92 Simedrea, "Tiparul bucureştean", Annex VI, p. 930; A. Sacerdoţeanu, "Documente de cultură românească veche", p. 454.

93 Urechia, "Memoriu", p. 516.

1784. Because they printed lay books, they could be suspected of printing texts that would harm the authority of the prince and the Ottoman Empire, or the Christian morals. The princely order was not followed by regulations for verifying the texts or, if they were issued, they are not known.

For secular publications (didactic, scientific, and literary), Ioan Caragea introduced the princely censorship in 1817 (Fig. 9). The rules for inspection and approval were included in the charter by which the "Privileged Printing Press" was established. The authorization for printing was issued by the prince after the text was verified by his chamberlain (*marele postelnic*).[94]

7 Conclusions

The analysis of the documents that concern the printing activity in Wallachia and the books that were published in this period led us to the following conclusions.

Although from a political, fiscal, economic, and military perspective, the Phanariot rule *did* have some negative aspects, from a cultural perspective it initiated an opening to the Western European, most particularly French, civilization, especially after 1774. The Phanariot princes were the patrons of printing activities in ways that were sometimes different from the earlier ones, more in tune with the times in which they lived and the Western European model they wanted to follow.

The Phanariot princes transferred the responsibility of publishing church books to the metropolitans and bishops. They asked Church leaders to set up printing houses and finance the printing of religious books, granting priority to liturgical books in Romanian. They successfully accomplished this task until the end of the Phanariot era. Most of the ecclesiastical books, necessary both for the clergy's training and the people's education, were printed at church printing presses.

Though the contribution of the Phanariot princes to the financing of printing activities decreased, they did not neglect typographic activities. Some of them founded printing presses and edited or contributed to the publication of certain books. They encouraged private initiatives in the field of printing, granted tax exemptions to printers and people working in church presses, and issued rules regarding the authorization to print church and secular books in Wallachia.

Schools and presses, both Romanian and Greek, were founded under their patronage, and more books were published in Romanian than in Greek. During their rule, the process of introducing the Romanian language in the divine services was finalized, with Romanian editions of all liturgical books published.

94 Urechia, "Domnia lui Ioan Caragea", p. 92.

Some of the princes financially supported scholars to publish their books in the country or abroad (Venice, Vienna, and Leipzig) and were patrons of literary societies. The publishers and editors of the various editions dedicated books to them and praised them as customary with the princes of yore. Engravings representing their princely coats of arms were printed on the verso of the title pages of the books that were published through their generosity or goodwill.

The Phanariot princes considered printing to be a valuable instrument in their projects of reforming society, mainly in the field of education. It was used as a means of disseminating literacy, consolidating Orthodoxy at home, as well as supporting Orthodoxy in Transylvania and support the Orthodox Christians south of the River Danube and in the Near East.

Note: All reproductions are published by permission of the Municipal Museum of Bucharest, owner of the books presented below.

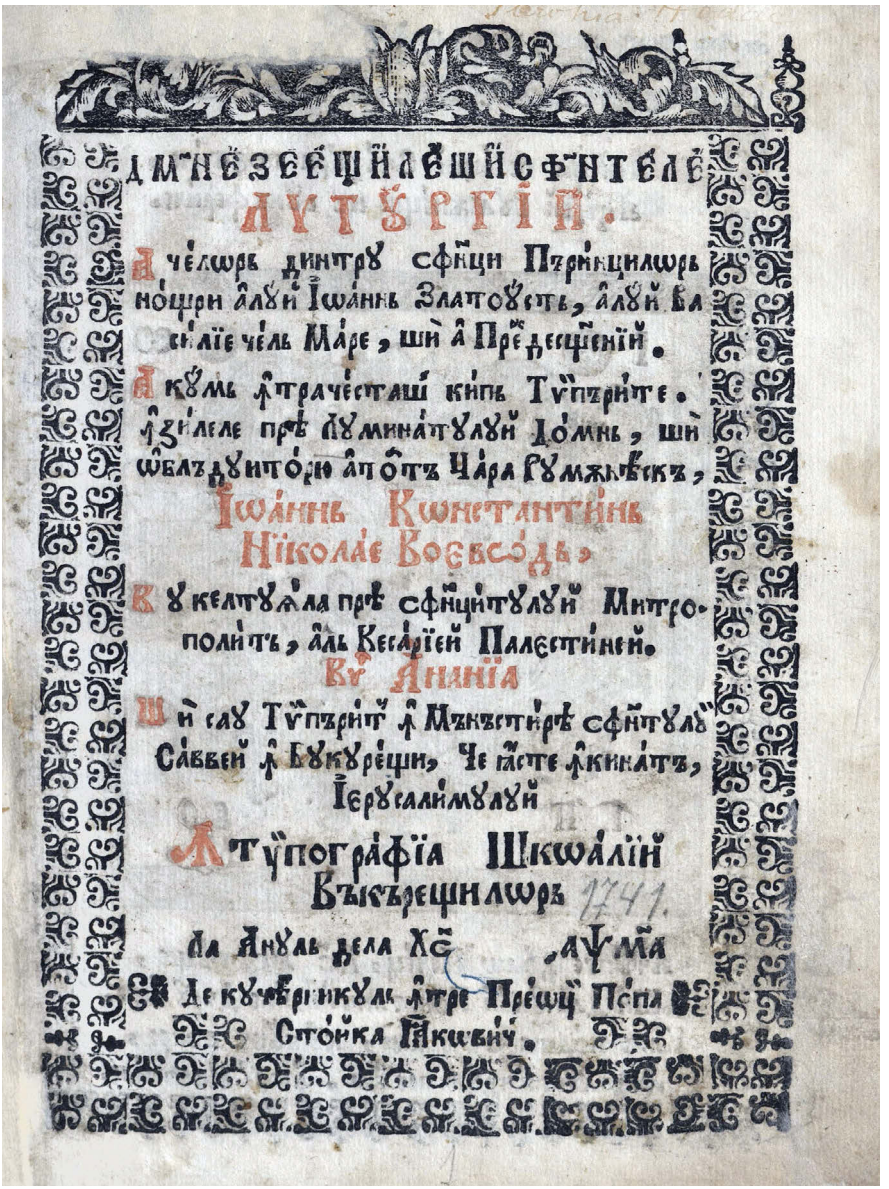

ДМНЕЗЕЕЩЙЛЕШЙСФНТЕЛЕ
ЛУТЎРГІЙ.
А чѣлоръ динтрў сфѧци Пърінцилоръ
но҃щри ал҃ъй Іѡаннъ Златоўстъ, ал҃ъй Ва
сі́лїе чѣль Маре, шй а҃ Пре҃десѣтій.
А кўмъ а҃трачѣсташ кі́пъ Тўпърите.
а҃зі́леле пре҃ лўмінатўлўй До́мнъ, шй
ѡ҃блъдўнто́ю а҃по҃тъ Чара Рўмънѣскъ,
Іѡа́ннъ Кѡнстантінъ
Нїколае Воєво́дъ,
К ўкелтўѧла пре҃ сфѧнтўлўй Мітро-
полі́тъ, ал҃ъ Кесарїей Палестінеі.
Кр҃ Ананїа
Шй слў Тўпърі́тъ а҃ Мънъсті́ре҃ сфѧнтўлў
Сáввей а҃ Вукўрещи, Че҃ сте а҃кі́натъ,
Іерўсалі́мўлўй
А тўпографі́а Шкоалїй
Въкърещилоръ 1741.
Ла Анўл дела Хр҃ ,аѱмѳ
Де кўвѣрнікўл а҃тре Пре҃ѡц҃ Пѣпа
Сто́йка Ѳкѡнѣ҃.

Fig. 1: Title page, *Liturghier* (Book of the Divine Liturgies), Bucharest, the Văcărești School Printing Press, 1741.

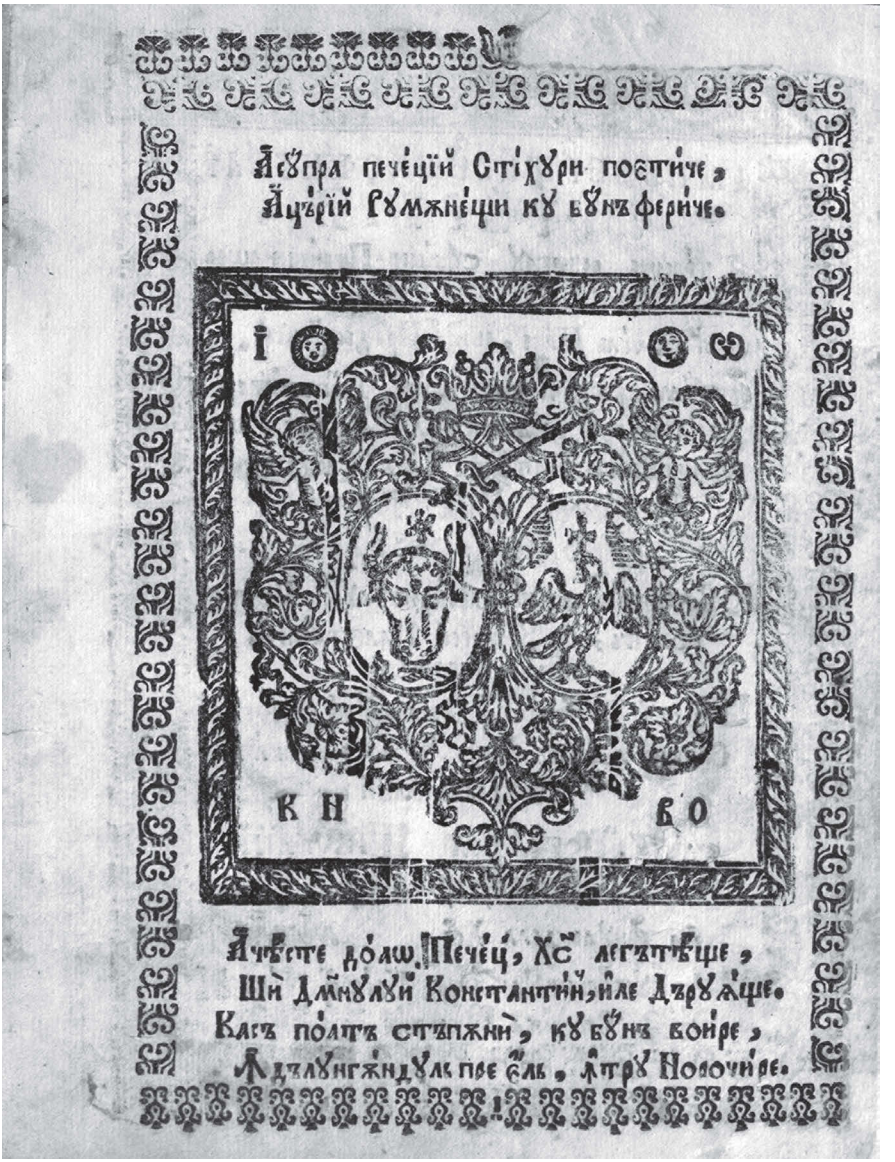


Fig. 2: Prince Constantin Mavrocordat's coat of arms and encomiastic verses in the *Liturghier*, Bucharest, 1741.

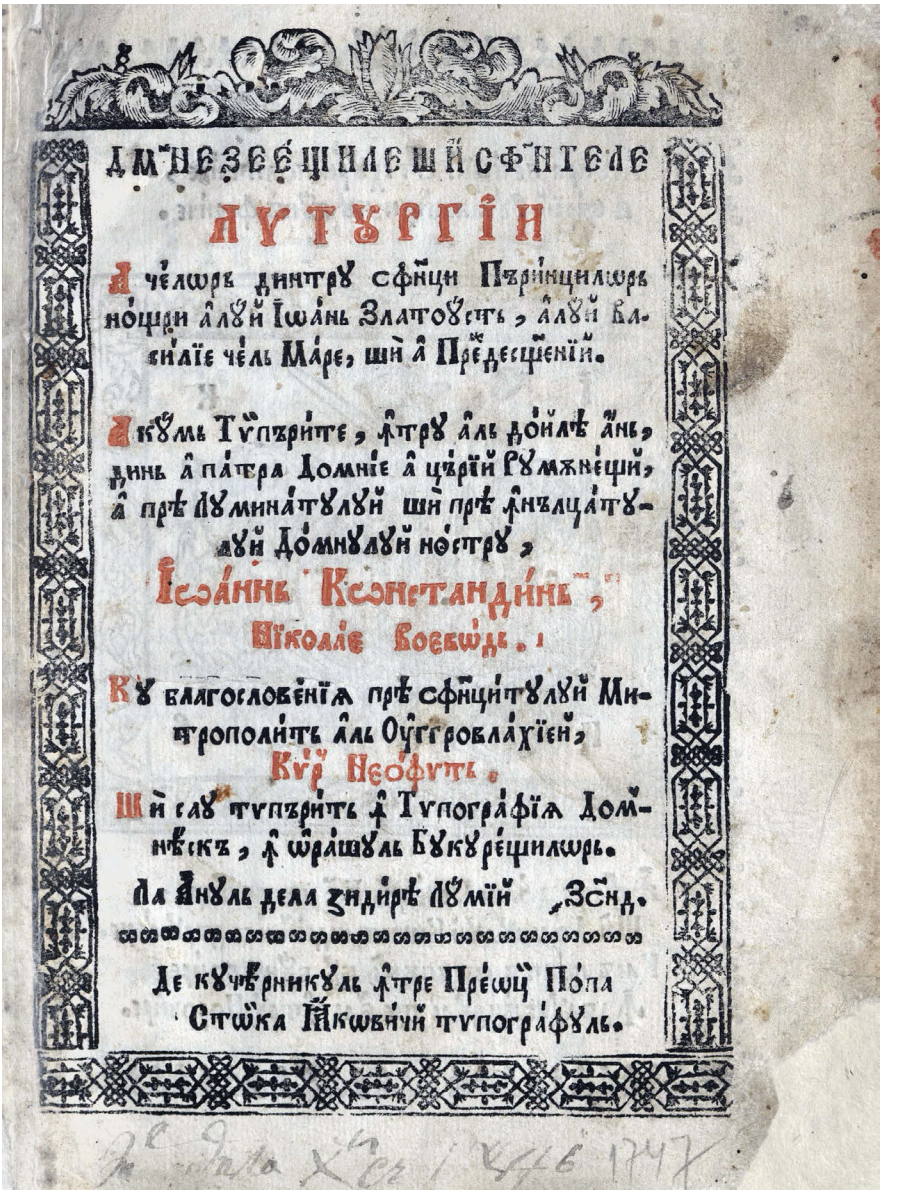


Fig. 3: Title page, *Liturghier* (Book of the Divine Liturgies), Bucharest, 1746.

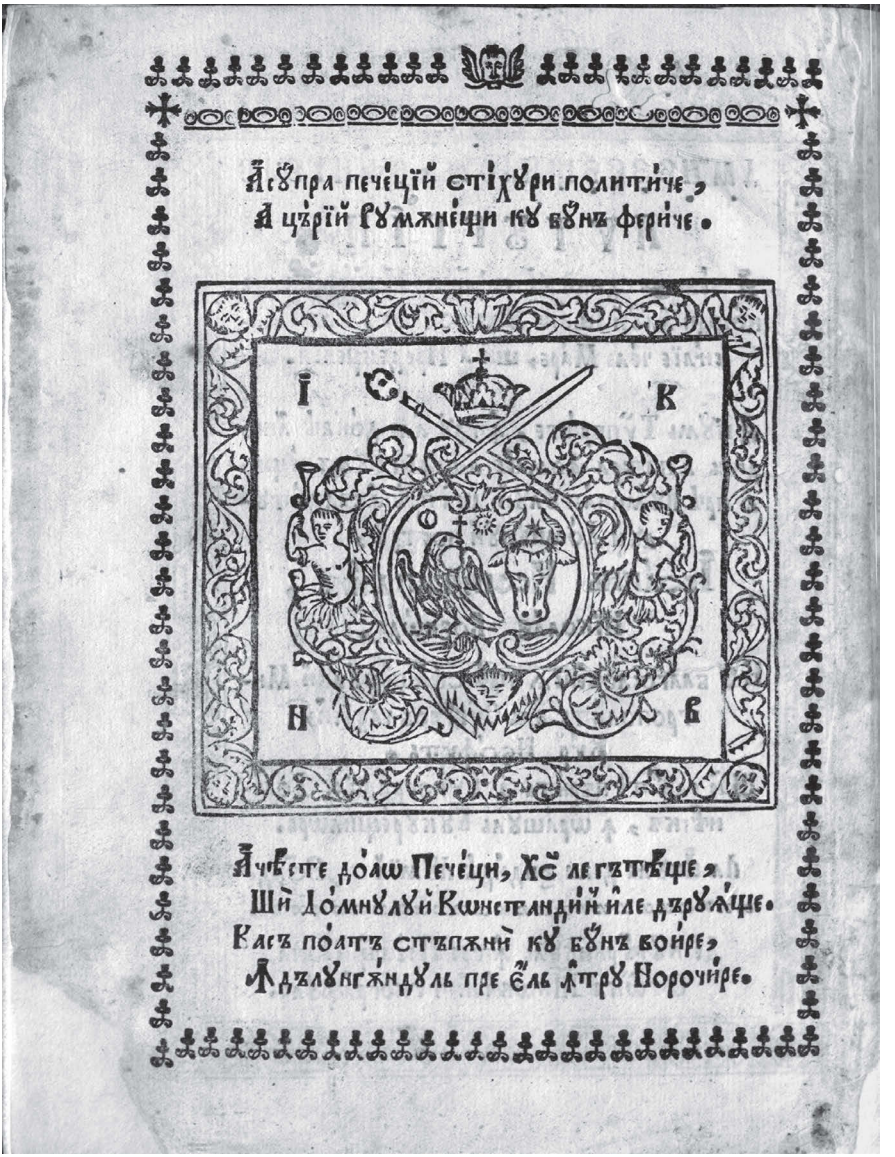
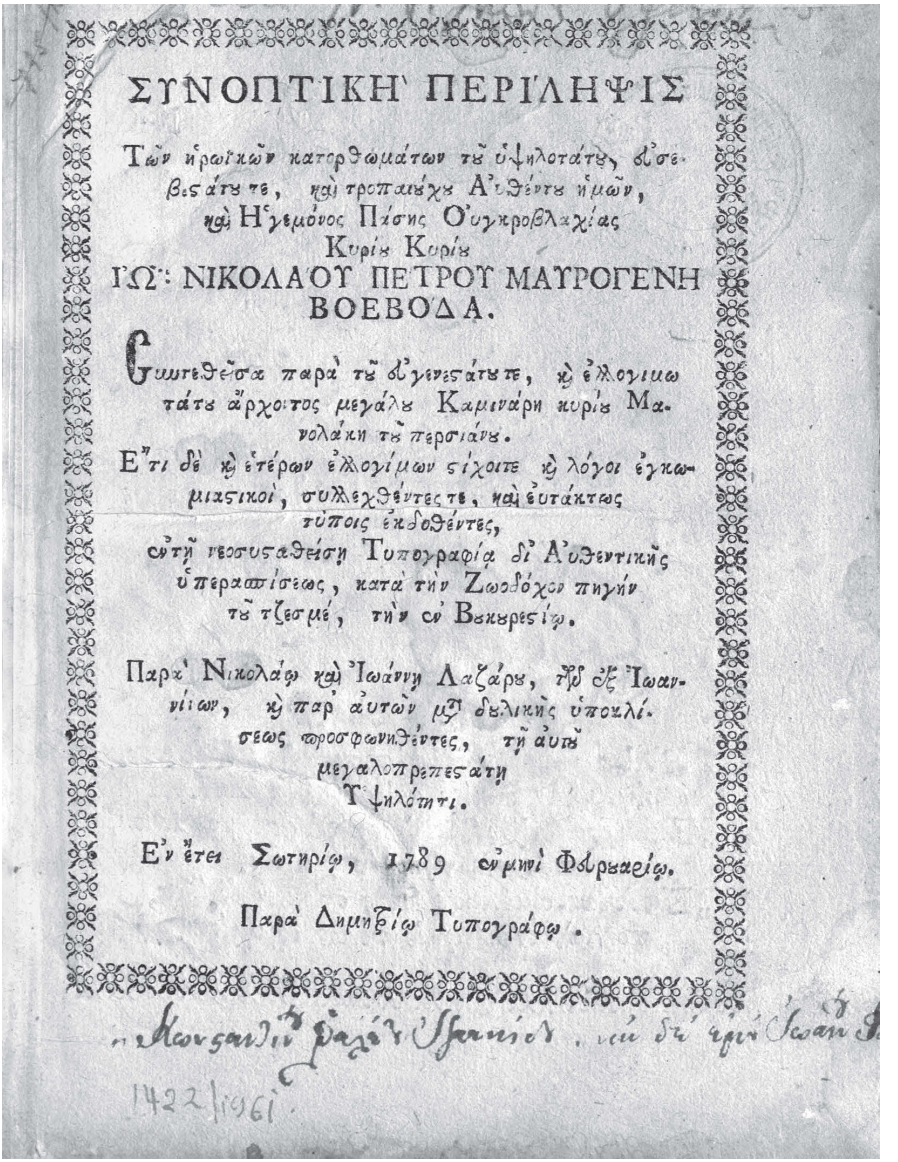


Fig. 4: Prince Constantin Mavrocordat's coat of arms and encomiastic verses in the *Liturghier*, Bucharest, 1746.



ΣΥΝΟΠΤΙΚΗ ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΙΣ

Τῶν ἡρωϊκῶν κατορθωμάτων τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου, δι' σε-
βεστάτου τε, καὶ τροπαιούχου Αὐθέντου ἡμῶν,
καὶ Ἡγεμόνος Πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας
Κυρίου Κυρίου
ΙΩ: ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ΜΑΥΡΟΓΕΝΗ
ΒΟΕΒΟΔΑ.

Συντεθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ δυγενεστάτου τε, καὶ ἐλλογιμω-
τάτου ἄρχοντος μεγάλου Καμινάρη κυρίου Μα-
νολάκη τοῦ περσιάνη.
Ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἑτέρων ἐλλογίμων σίχοιτε καὶ λόγοι ἐγκω-
μιαστικοί, συλλεχθέντες τε, καὶ εὐτάκτως
τύποις ἐκδοθέντες,
ἐν τῇ νεοσυστάθείσῃ Τυπογραφίᾳ δι' Αὐθεντικῆς
ὑπεραπίσεως, κατὰ τὴν Ζωοδόχου πηγήν
τοῦ τζεσμέ, τὴν ἐν Βουκρεσίῳ.

Παρὰ Νικολάῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ Λαζάρου, τῷ ἐξ Ἰωαν-
νίων, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν μὴ δεδικῆς ὑποχρε-
σεως φροσφωνηθέντες, τῇ αὐτοῦ
μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῃ
Τ ψηλότητι.

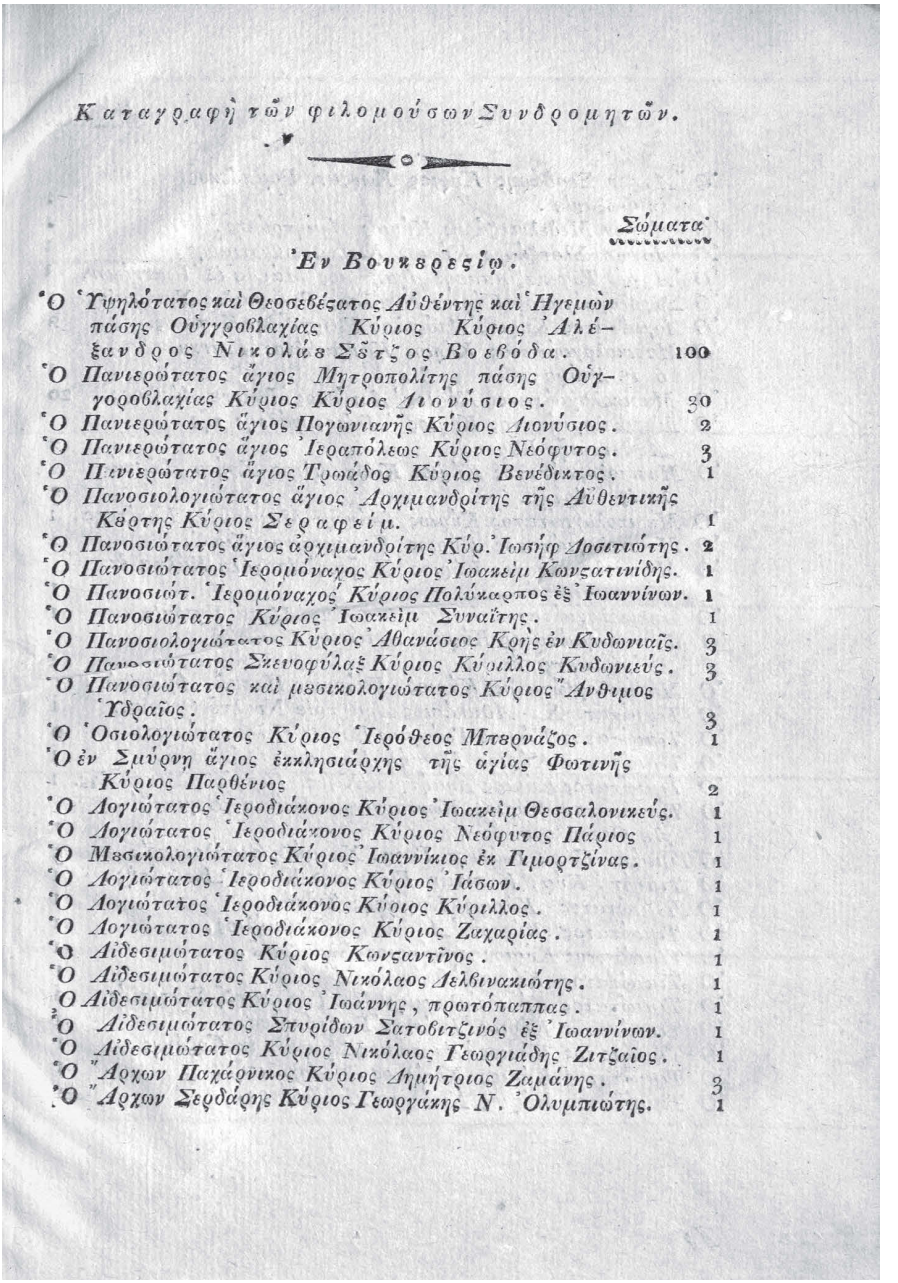
Ἐν ἔτει Σωτηρίῳ, 1789 ἐνμηνὶ Φεβρουαρίῳ.

Παρὰ Δημητρίῳ Τυπογράφῳ.

1422/1961

Fig. 5: *Συνοπτικὴ Περίληψις τῶν ἡρωϊκῶν κατορθωμάτων τοῦ... Μαυρογένη Βοεβόδα* (*Mavrogheni's Acts of Bravery*), Printing Press of the Lazaru brothers, Bucharest, 1789.

Fig. 6: Prince Nicolae Mavrogheni's coat of arms and encomiastic verses in *Συνοπτικὴ Περίληψις τῶν ἡρωϊκῶν κατορθωμάτων τοῦ... Μαυρογένη Βοεβόδα*, Bucharest, 1789.



Κ α τ α γ ρ α φ ὴ τ ῶ ν φ ι λ ο μ ο ύ σ ω ν Σ υ ν δ ρ ο μ η τ ῶ ν.

Σώματα.

Ἐν Βουκουρεσίῳ.

Ὁ Ὑψηλότατος καὶ Θεοσεβέστατος Αὐθέντης καὶ Ἡγεμὼν πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κύριος Κύριος Ἀλέξανδρος Νικολάου Σῶτζος Βοεβόδα.	100
Ὁ Πανιερώτατος ἅγιος Μητροπολίτης πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κύριος Κύριος Διονύσιος.	30
Ὁ Πανιερώτατος ἅγιος Πογωνιανῆς Κύριος Διονύσιος.	2
Ὁ Πανιερώτατος ἅγιος Ἱεραπόλεως Κύριος Νεόφυτος.	3
Ὁ Πανιερώτατος ἅγιος Τρωάδος Κύριος Βενέδικτος.	1
Ὁ Πανοσιολογιώτατος ἅγιος Ἀρχιμανδρίτης τῆς Αὐθεντικῆς Κόρτης Κύριος Σεραφείμ.	1
Ὁ Πανοσιώτατος ἅγιος ἀρχιμανδρίτης Κύρ. Ἰωσὴφ Λοσιτιώτης.	2
Ὁ Πανοσιώτατος Ἱερομόναχος Κύριος Ἰωακεὶμ Κωνσατινίδης.	1
Ὁ Πανοσιώτ. Ἱερομόναχος Κύριος Πολύκαρπος ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων.	1
Ὁ Πανοσιώτατος Κύριος Ἰωακεὶμ Συναΐτης.	1
Ὁ Πανοσιολογιώτατος Κύριος Ἀθανάσιος Κρὴς ἐν Κυδωνιαῖς.	3
Ὁ Πανοσιώτατος Σκευοφύλαξ Κύριος Κύριλλος Κυδωνιεύς.	3
Ὁ Πανοσιώτατος καὶ μεσικολογιώτατος Κύριος Ἄνθιμος Ὑδραῖος.	3
Ὁ Ὁσιολογιώτατος Κύριος Ἱερόθεος Μπερνάζος.	1
Ὁ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἅγιος ἐκκλησιάρχης τῆς ἁγίας Φωτινῆς Κύριος Παρθένιος	2
Ὁ Λογιώτατος Ἱεροδιάκονος Κύριος Ἰωακεὶμ Θεσσαλονικεύς.	1
Ὁ Λογιώτατος Ἱεροδιάκονος Κύριος Νεόφυτος Πάριος	1
Ὁ Μεσικολογιώτατος Κύριος Ἰωαννίκιος ἐκ Γιμορτζίνας.	1
Ὁ Λογιώτατος Ἱεροδιάκονος Κύριος Ἰάσων.	1
Ὁ Λογιώτατος Ἱεροδιάκονος Κύριος Κύριλλος.	1
Ὁ Λογιώτατος Ἱεροδιάκονος Κύριος Ζαχαρίας.	1
Ὁ Αἰδεσιμώτατος Κύριος Κωνσαντῖνος.	1
Ὁ Αἰδεσιμώτατος Κύριος Νικόλαος Δελβινακιώτης.	1
Ὁ Αἰδεσιμώτατος Κύριος Ἰωάννης, πρωτόπαππας.	1
Ὁ Αἰδεσιμώτατος Σπυρίδων Σατοβιτζινὸς ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων.	1
Ὁ Αἰδεσιμώτατος Κύριος Νικόλαος Γεωργιάδης Ζιτζαῖος.	1
Ὁ Ἄρχων Παχάρνικος Κύριος Δημήτριος Ζαμάνης.	3
Ὁ Ἄρχων Σερδάρης Κύριος Γεωργάκης Ν. Ὀλυμπιώτης.	1

Fig. 7: List of subscribers in *Νέον Ἀναστασιματάριον*, Bucharest, 1820.

ΝΟΜΟΘΕΣΙΑ

ΤΟΥ

Ὑψηλοτάτου, καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου, Ἀυθέντου
καὶ Ἡγεμόνος πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας,

ΚΥΡΙΟΥ, ΚΥΡΙΟΥ

ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΡΑΤΖΑ

ΒΟΕΒΟΔΑ.

ἘΝ ΒΙΕΝΝΗ, ΤΗΣ ΑΟΥΣΤΡΙΑΣ.

Ἐν τῇ Τυπογραφίᾳ τοῦ Ἰωάν. Βαρθ. Τζβεκίου.

1818.

Fig. 8: Title page, *Νομοθεσία Καρατζά* (*Caragea's Code of Law*), Printing Press of Ioannes Bartholomeo Zweck, Vienna, 1818.

Fig. 9: Blasius Höfel, *Prince Ioan Caragea* and his personal coat of arms in *Νομοθεσία Καρατζά*, Vienna, 1818.

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Andreea-Mihaela Badea

Nicolae Mavrocordat's Scholarly Preoccupations as Reflected in the Correspondence of Antonie Epis with Jean le Clerc

1 The Mavrocordat Family Library: An Encyclopedic Project in the Spirit of the Western Enlightenment

Nicolae Mavrocordat's bibliophilia, his passion for reading, and his desire to have the latest international editions in his library are attested by the books that have been preserved to this day, which contain his handwritten ex-libris. Fortunately, some important documentary sources have been preserved as well.

The major changes in the European mentality, particularly in France, England, the Netherlands, and Germany, which manifested at the end of the 17th century and throughout the 18th century, determined by the primacy of reason, which was meant to free man from superstition (the "disenchantment of the world", as Ritchie Robertson calls it in his work *The Enlightenment: The Pursuit of Happiness, 1680–1790*)[1] and to rationally explain phenomena on the basis of empirical knowledge. This also resonated in the Romanian lands, precisely because of the reading interests of some Phanariots who adopted, *avant la lettre*, the Kantian concept of *sapere aude*.

Scientific breakthroughs, starting with Newton's law of gravity, the invention of the compass, of the printing press, of gunpowder, as claimed by Francis Bacon, but also William Harvey's theory of blood circulation, or the discoveries of the botanist Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778), helped to shape a new philosophy, as did the changing perception of the monarch's role in pursuing the common good. The new ideas were disseminated in journals such as the *Philosophical Transaction*, the journal of the Royal Society, *Acta eruditorum*, *Journal des Sçavants*, the *London Gazette*, *Tatler* and Richard Steele and Joseph Addison's *Spectator*, with a French version published in Amsterdam. All these periodicals were devoted to cultural news and publications, such as the *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne* published in Amsterdam by the Geneva-born Dutch humanist, philologist, and theologian Jean le Clerc (1657-1736).[2]

Nicolae Mavrocordat (1680–1730) was born in Constantinople. He was the third child of Alexandru Mavrocordat, the grand dragoman from the Constantinople

1 R. Robertson, *The Enlightenment: The Pursuit of Happiness, 1680–1790*, London, 2022, p. 200.

2 Editor of the famous bibliographical journal published from 1686 to 1693 as *Bibliothèque universelle et historique*, from 1703 to 1713 as *Bibliothèque choisie*, and from 1714 to 1730 as *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne*.

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quarter of Fener, professor at the Great School of the Nation and the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople, privy counsellor to the sultan, ἐξ Ἀπορρήτων, mediator of the Treaty of Karlowitz (January 26, 1699), and author of *Ἱστορία ἱερὰ ἤτοι τὰ Ἰουδαϊκὰ* (*The Holy, or Jewish History*), published in 1716 in Bucharest, at the printing house of the Monastery of All Saints (Antim Monastery), by the printer Dionisie Floru.

Nicolae Mavrocordat's mother was of Greek and Romanian descent. Sultana was the daughter of Ioannis Chrysoskolaios and Cassandra Mușat, the daughter of Prince Alexandru Iliaș.[3] Scarlat, the first son of Alexandru Mavrocordat, had married Ilinca, daughter of Constantin Brâncoveanu, and his daughter Ruxandra married Matei Ghica Vodă, son of Grigorie Ghica.[4]

Nicolae had a good upbringing, as his first years were guided by Professor Iakovos Manos from Argos and the Jesuit Jacques Pipéri from Chios, with whom he learned Latin. Thus, when he was appointed great logothete of the Great Church of the Patriarchate in Constantinople on July 1, 1698, aged 18, he became an associate of his father at the rank of grand dragoman. He later became ruler of Moldavia (November 1709 – November 1710, 1711 – January 1715) and Wallachia (January 1715 – November 1716; March 1719 – September 1730). Nicolae Mavrocordat's reign in Wallachia was interrupted on November 14/26, 1716, for a period of three years because, following the boyars' intrigues and the incursion of Captain Dettine von Pivoda, under the command of General Steinville, he was taken prisoner and sent to Brașov, Sibiu, and Alba Iulia. He was released after the Treaty of Passarowitz,[5] on September 13/24, 1718.

His three marriages produced ten children. By his first wife, Lady Casandra Cantacuzino, Nicolae Mavrocordat had three children, namely Tarsia, Scarlat, and Ruxandra. Scarlat, born in Constantinople in 1701, died young, in 1726. Nicolae Iorga published a relevant exchange of letters between Ioan Scarlat and the Patriarch Chrysantos Notaras that demonstrates Scarlat's cultural preoccupations.[6] Nicolae Mavrocordat's second marriage, to Pulcheria Tzoukis, produced four children: Maria, born in 1706, who married Ioannes Scarlatos, treasurer of the Patriarchate of

3 Alexandru Iliaş, son of Alexandru Lăpuşneanu, was the ruler of Wallachia between 1616 and 1618, and of Moldavia between 1620 and 1621, then 1631 to 1633. See also E. Legrand, *Généalogie des Maurocordato de Constantinople rédigée d'après des documents inédits*, Paris, 1900, p. 10; M. D. Sturdza, *Dictionnaire historique et généalogique des Grandes Familles de Grèce, d'Albanie et de Constantinople*, Paris, 1999, p. 319–328.

4 Elected twice as ruler of Wallachia (1660 to 1664, and 1672 to 1673).

5 July 21, 1718.

6 E. de Hurmuzachi, *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor,* vol. XIV/1. *Documente greceşti privitoare la Istoria românilor publicate după originale, copiile Academiei Române și tipărituri de N. Iorga*, Partea I. *1320–171*6, Bucharest, 1915, p. 671, no. DCXLI, and p. 673–674, no. DCXLIV.

Constantinople; Constantin, born 1711, Bucharest, who reigned in Wallachia and Moldavia for a total of 24 years; Ioan, born 1712, Fanar, ruler of Moldavia between 1743 and 1747; and Toma. From his last marriage to Smaranda, the daughter of the great cupbearer (Rom. *paharnic*) Panagiotakis, were born Alexandru, Sultana, and Ștefan.

Among Nicolae Mavrocordat's important works, the best known is the treatise *Περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων* (*On Duties*) written during his imprisonment in Sibiu, which started on November 14, 1716. It was edited by Popa Stoica Iacovici in Bucharest at the printing house of the Monastery of All Saints, in December 1719, during Nicolae Mavrocordat's second reign in Wallachia. *Περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων* received international acclaim, leading to subsequent editions in Latin, Greek and Latin (bilingual edition), and German.[7] The text reflects a political vision in line with Enlightenment ideas, specifically emphasizing the importance of the "common good" and "enlightened despotism". It echoes the thoughts of influential Enlightenment thinkers such as Francis Bacon (1561–1626), Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), Samuel Puffendorf (1632–1694), Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704), David Hume (1711–1776), and François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651–1715). Works by these authors appear in the three surviving catalogs of the Mavrocordat family library.[8] They are also mentioned by the Phanariot prince in his extensive correspondence with European scholarly figures, which will be discussed in more detail below.

Περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων was said to be "the first Phanariot manual to deal with both sovereignty and the supremacy of law, as well as the duties of princes

7 Historiography records four editions of this work in the 18th century: the 1st edition, continued by the Greek-Latin one at Leipzig, 1722, translated by the Hellenist Ştefan Bergler, the London Greek and Latin one in 1724, and the German translation of Nuremberg, 1739.

8 Three book catalogs of Nicolae Mavrocordat's library at the Văcărești Monastery are known: 1) *Κατάλογος τῶν βιβλίων τῆς σεβασμίας καί αὐθεντικῆς μονῆς τῆς Παναγίας Τριάδος τοῦ Βακαρεστίοῦ, Ἔτει 1723, μηνί Ιουνίου (The Book Catalogue of the Holy and Princely Văcărești Monastery Dedicated to the Holy Trinity, 1723, June)*, ed. by N. Iorga, in E. de Hurmuzaki, *Documente greceşti privitoare la istoria românilor publicate după originale, copiile Academiei Române* şi *tipărituri*, vol. XIV, 3. *1560–1820*, Bucharest, 1936, p. 145–156. This catalog of 237 titles represents the voivod's inaugural donation to the Văcărești Monastery; 2) The book catalog of Constantine Mavrocordat's library, containing 625 titles, *Κατάλογος τῶν βιβλίων πάντων ἑλληνικῶν, γραικολατινικῶν, λατινικῶν, ιταλικῶν, γαλικῶν καὶ ἄλλων Κωνσταντίνου Μ.* [*sic*] *Μαυροκορδάτου τῶν εἰς χρήσιν αὐτοῦ,* [...], *αψκε* (*Constantine Mavrocordat's Catalogue of all the Greek, Greek and Latin, Latin, Italian, French, and other Books for His Use, 1725)*, ed. by N. Iorga, "Pilda bunilor domni din trecut faţă de şcoala românească", p. 85–120, in *AARMSI*, S. III, t. XXXVII, 1914, Mem. 2, p. 9–44; 3) The third is a book catalog in two sections found in the Greek and Romanian Miscellaneum MS 603 (B.A.R.) and titled *Κατάλογος τῶν βιβλίων τοῦ βακαρεστίου: πρῶτον μῆκος κατὰ ἀλφάβητον (The Book Catalogue of the Văcărești* [*Monastery*]*: First Alphabetical Part)*, p. 221r–225v, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἑλληνικῶν βιβλίων* (*The Catalogue of Greek Books*), p. 271r–289r, with manuscripts at p. 289r–294r.

and citizens".[9] The review published in volume XIV/1 of *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne pour servir de suite aux bibliothèques universelle et choisie* of 1720 sparked the beginning of a correspondence between the secretary Antonie Epis and the Swiss scholar Jean le Clerc.[10] Mavrocordat's *Περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων* was a very popular work at the time of its publication. We will have a look at other recorded testimonies of the international echoes of this work in the historiography dedicated to the subject, known to the Dominican scholar Michel Le Quien (1661–1733), author of the work *Oriens Christianus*. We are aware that Nicolae Iorga[11] found in the collections of the Marciana Library in Venice a letter of gratitude from Le Quien to Prince Nicolae Mavrocordat for a copy of *Περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων*. The same library holds the manuscript of the Latin translation of the work made by Forrosia (1723–1758), curator of the Imperial and Royal Library in Vienna.[12]

Regarding the Phanariot prince's second important work, *Φιλοθέου Πάρεργα* (*Philotheos's Diversions*), composed in the year 1718 and published only in the 1800,[13] we learn from the same correspondence that Antonie Epis intended to send a copy of the manuscript to the philologist in Amsterdam for a French translation.[14]

As an epistolographer, Nicolae Mavrocordat remains in the collective memory as the author of a corpus of six letters composed in the manner of Phalaris from Agrigentum, discovered in the 18th century Greek Miscellaneum 334, originating from the collections of the Central Seminary Library and edited by Jacques Bouchard.[15]

These letters were first mentioned by Ștefan Bergler[16] in his review of the work *Περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων* in the 1722 issue of *Acta eruditorum*, the academic

9 J. Bouchard, *Nicolae Mavrocordat. Domn şi cărturar al Iluminismului timpuriu (1680-1730)*, Bucharest, 2006, p. 69.

10 Jean le Clerc, *Epistolario*, vol. IV. *1719–1732 e indici generali*, ed. M. Grazia Zaccone-Sina, M. Sina, Florence, 1997, Epistle no. 672, p. 55–60.

11 N. Iorga, "O scrisoare a lui Le Quien către Neculai Mavrocordat", *Arhiva Societății Științifice și Literare din Iași*, 10, 1899, p. 132.

12 V. Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare. Creații românești și izvoare despre români în străinătate*, New Series, ed. I. Feodorov, vol. III. *India-Olanda*, Bucharest, 2011, p. 187.

13 The first edition came out in Vienna in 1800.

14 Letter of May 27, 1721. The French edition was achieved by J. Bouchard, *Les Loisirs de Philothée, texte établi, traduit et commenté*, preface by C. Dimaras, Montréal, 1989.

15 Bouchard, *Nicolae Mavrocordat*, p. 41–44.

16 Ștefan (Stephanus) Bergler (1680–ca. 1738), born in Hermanstadt (Brașov, present-day Romania), a Hellenist who studied in Lipsia. Editor of the classics, he collaborated in the period 1712–1713 on the famous *Acta Eruditorum.* He became Nicolae Mavrocordat's secretary and translated for him into Latin the work *De officiis*, Leipzig, 1722. There is also his testimony, in a letter of July 7, 1723, that he had compiled the catalog of Mavrocordat's library.

journal founded in 1682 in Leipzig to promote the Enlightenment. The series could be completed with 71 letters composed by Nicolae Mavrocordat, preserved in a miscellany,[17] and the two corpuses of Greek manuscripts containing 98 letters of Nicolae Mavrocordat[18] that were published by Émile Legrand in *Epistolaire grec* (Paris, 1888).

A manuscript of the prince devoted to meditations, containing the text *Νικολάου βοεβόδα γνῶμαι καὶ φροντίσματα* (*Prince Nicolae's Thoughts and Meditations*), is mentioned by Constantin Litzica.[19] The same work, with an abbreviated title, *Γνῶμαι καὶ φροντίσματα* (*Thoughts and Meditations*), is also present in the second section of Nicolae Mavrocordat's catalog of his library at Văcărești, included in the Greek and Romanian Miscellaneum MS 603 of the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest.

Among Nicolae Mavrocordat's other works, we should mention the small study *Λόγος κατὰ νικοτιανῆς* (*Speech against Smoking),* which is a response to *Ἔπαινος νικοτιανῆς (In Praise of Smoking*)[20] by the erudite Greek monk Metrophanes Gregoras from Dodona. Several other writings authored by Nicolae Mavrocordat,[21] considered lost by Jacques Bouchard, are mentioned by the secretary Antonie Epis in a letter to Jean le Clerc dated February 10, 1721.[22]

2 The Mavrocordat Family's Library: Configuration and Location of the Library and Ways of Enriching its Collections

The Mavrocordat family's library was held in the Monastery of Văcărești near Bucharest. This information is present in the three library catalogs that have been preserved.[23] The construction started in 1716 but was interrupted during

17 See A. Pippidi, "Un manuscris regăsit al Epistolarului lui Nicolae Mavrocordat", *Sud-Estul şi Contextul European. Buletin*, 5, 1996, Bucharest, p. 123–150.

18 C. Litzica, *Catalogul manuscriselor grecești*, I, Bucharest,1909, p. 23, no. 29 (84); p. 419, no. 683 (217).

19 Litzica, *Catalogul manuscriselor grecești*, I, p. 128, 263 (494).

20 C. Erbiceanu, "Catalogul istoric a ómenilor însemnați din secolul XVIII, dintre cariĭ marea majoritate au trăit în Ţările Române Valahia și Moldova, de Chesarie Daponte", in C. Erbiceanu, *Cronicariĭ greci cariĭ au scris despre români* în *epoca fanariotă*, Bucharest, 1888 [facsimile edition Bucharest, 2003], p. 125.

21 *Apparatus sobriae Imitationis, De Enthusiasmo specimen propositis exemplis ex sacra et prophana Historia, Temptamen concinnandae solidae Theologiae moralis ex genuinis Patrum Orientalis Epistolis, Norma vivendi mores, eruditio Photii ex ipsius Epistolis editis, et ineditis concinnata.*

22 Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, p. 70–71, letter no. 677.

23 See above, n. 8.

Mavrocordat's imprisonment. From 1719 to 1722, the first enclosure of the monastery was completed.

Nicolae Mavrocordat's foundation was a *metochion* of the Holy Sepulchre granted in 1721 by a charter issued by the great logothete Gheorghe Creţulescu and the second logothete Constantin Văcărescu.[24] The monastery was completed and consecrated several years later, on September 13, 1724, according to the testimony of the chronicler Radu Popescu, who mentions the fifth year of Mavrocordat's rule in Wallachia as the time when the construction was completed:[25]

> Întru al cincele an al domniei Măriei sale lui Nicolae vodă, săvârşindu-se mănăstirea Măriei sale de la Văcăreşti şi înfrumuseţindu-se cu toate podoabele şi pe din lăuntru şi pe den afară, praznic mare au făcut domnul în zioa de şfeta Troiţă, ce iaste hramul mănăstirii şi mergând cu toţi arhiereii şi egumenii şi cu toţi boiarii şi neguţătorii şi cu alt feliu de oameni din toată rânduiala. Pre toţi i-au ospătat, după cum să cade.
>
> In the fifth year of the rule of His Majesty Nicolae vodă, when the monastery of His Majesty at Văcăreşti was completed and adorned with all the embellishments both inside and out, the lord held a great feast on Holy Trinity Day, to which the monastery is dedicated, and going with all the bishops and hegumens and all the boyars and merchants and other sorts of people of all walks of life. They all feasted, as customary.

Affected by the earthquakes of 1801 and 1804, the Monastery of Văcărești was later transformed into a jail for convicts of the Revolution of 1848. From 1921 until 1944, it was a prison for communist detainees. Here, the same political regime also incarcerated representative figures of cultural life: Ioan Slavici, Tudor Arghezi, Liviu Rebreanu, etc. The monastery was demolished in 1986.[26]

The expansion of the library's book collection was done systematically through the transfer of books from other collections, fact-finding in the catalogs of publishing houses, printers, and bookstores, and research of annotated bibliographies, library catalogs, in letters exchanged, and the press of the time.

The core of the library was composed in Constantinople by the learned dragoman Alexandru Mavrocordat. The book collection was transferred from Constantinople to the Văcărești Monastery. Here, it was continuously enriched due

24 E. de Hurmuzaki, *Documente greceşti privitoare la istoria românilor publicate după originale, copiile Academiei Române* şi *tipărituri*, vol. XIV/2. *1716–1777*, ed. by Nicolae Iorga, Bucharest, 1917, p. 872–875, no. DCCCL.

25 R. Popescu, "Cronica lui Nicolae Mavrocordat", in D. H. Mazilu (ed.), *Cronicari munteni*, Bucharest, 2004, p. 820–821.

26 O. Dumitru-Marinescu, *Mănăstirea Văcărești din București de la origini până astăzi*, Bucharest, 2012, p. 102.

to the care of Nicolae Mavrocordat. With the help of his secretaries, who were responsible for the maintenance and expansion of the collection, the Phanariot ruler proceeded systematically, integrating the collections of other existing libraries, researching the catalogs of publishers, printers, and booksellers in Western Europe to acquire books, but also based on information obtained from the letter exchanges with illustrious personalities of the European cultural circles.

As for the holdings of the great libraries that were incorporated into his own collection, according to the anonymous chronicle discovered and edited by Nicolae Iorga *O descripţie a Ţerii Românesci* (*A Description of the Romanian Lands*), Nicolae Mavrocordat's collection was enlarged by the transfer of part of Constantin Cantacuzino's library of Mărgineni in 1720.[27] Subsequent research has shown, following the analysis of the bibliographic sources, that the collection also included books that had been part of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu's collection at the Monastery of Hurezi (Vâlcea County). Constantin J. Karadja published some rare excerpts from a work by Jencquel Kaspar Friedrich, *Museographia*,[28] published in 1727 in Leipzig and Bresslau, which contains references to the rich book collection of the Mavrocordat family, its location near Bucharest, and the transfer of books from Constantin Brâncoveanu's library in Hurezi to Mavrocordat's library at Văcăreşti.

Corneliu Dima-Drăgan compiled a rich list of catalogs of publishers, printers, and booksellers of Leipzig, Vienna, Leiden, the Hague, London, and Amsterdam,[29] but without mentioning notes or ownership marks, except for a few titles that clearly indicate their provenance from Nicolae Mavrocordat's library.

From a letter dated July 30, 1727, [30] written by Nicolaus Wolff,[31] we learn that Nicolae Mavrocordat was in possession of a catalog of the Marciana Library book collection, published in 1712, when this library was sold.[32] On August 12, 1724,

27 N. Iorga, *Studii şi documente cu privire la istoria românilor*, Vol. III. *Fragmente de cronici şi ştiri despre cronicari*, Bucharest, 1901, p. 56.

28 The respective excerpts from the *Museographia, oder, Anleitung zum rechten Begriff und nützlicher Anlegung der museorum, oder Raritäten-Kammern […] von C. F. Neickelio mit einigen Zusätzen und Anhang von D. Johann Kanold*, Leipzig/Bresslau, 1727, p. 384 and 396, were published by C. Dima-Drăgan, *Biblioteci umaniste româneşti: istoric, semnificaţii, organizare*, Bucharest, 1974, p. 194 (available online at: https://books.google.ro/books?id=YGLDwKMkQ_gC&printsec=frontcover&hl=ro&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=Hures&f=false, accessed June 10, 2024).

29 Dima-Drăgan, *Biblioteci umaniste*, p. 150–152.

30 Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, p. 379, letter no. 817.

31 Secretary to Nicolae Mavrocordat, who corresponded with Jean le Clerc from 1724 to 1727.

32 *Bibliotheca Marckiana, continens Theologicos, Oratores, Juridicos, Poetas, Politicos, Grammaticos, Philosophicos, Philologicos, Medicos, Criticos, Historiam Naturalem, Epistolographos, Mathematicos, Antiquarios, Geographicos, Symbola, Chronologicos, Emblemata, Historicos, Insignia,*

Nicolaus Wolff sent Jean le Clerc a letter from Nicolae Mavrocordat asking him to send the Wallachian ruler, who was very interested in the sale of the famous library of Cardinal Du Bois, the auction catalog prepared up by Abbot Bignon, which was probably circulating as a manuscript and was due to be published in 1725, according to an announcement in the *Journal des Sçavants* in October 1724.

The list of examples goes on. At Christ Church Library in Oxford, Jacques Bouchard researched a collection of 18 letters signed by Jean le Clerc and addressed to William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury. In the Library of the University of Amsterdam, 13 letters signed by Wake are also preserved.[33] Among them are two letters in Latin sent by Antonie Epis on behalf of Prince Nicolae Mavrocordat, supplemented by four drafts addressed to Mavrocordat by the Archbishop William Wake. The intermediary of this new relationship had been Jean le Clerc, who had asked the help of William Wake to acquire for the Phanariot ruler the Oxford edition of the Psalms of David published in Greek. This was a successful undertaking, as we learn from a subsequent letter, dated February 11, 1722,[34] that Nicolae Mavrocordat had indeed obtained the Greek edition of the Psalms.

An important source of information on the acquisition of books for the Phanariot ruler is provided, as I mentioned, by the auction catalogs of libraries sold in Western Europe. Based on the hypothesis formulated by Corneliu Dima-Drăgan,[35] I succeeded in identifying in the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest a copy of the *Catalogus Bibliothecae Thuanae* [....], Paris, 1703, as an item in Mavrocordat's collection.[36] Indeed, in a letter dated September 17, 1721,[37] Antonie Epis asked Jean le Clerc once again for a universal catalog of all books, very likely an edition of the famous catalog of Latin books *Catalogus Universalis librorum tam compactorum quam incompactorum in quavis facultate et lingua*, a catalog with monthly issues from January 1713 to May 1720, published at Amsterdam in 1711 by the printers Janson and Waesberg, an issue of which, we understand from the context, had already been sent to the Phanariot ruler via Hoffman.[38]

In the absence of an ownership mark, the presence of the ex-libris stamp of the St Sava College Library in Bucharest, to which many books were transferred from

Genealogicos Pompas, Heraldicos, Ceremonias, Vitas et Elogia, Lexicographos et Bibliothecarios. Quorum omnium Publica fiet Auctio. In taberna libraria Abrahami de Hondt., Bibliopolae. Ad diem 31 October. Et sequent, 1712, the Hague, 1712.

33 Bouchard, *Nicolae Mavrocordat*, p. 24–35.

34 Le Clerc, *Epistolario,* p. 149-152, letter no. 709.

35 Dima-Drăgan, *Biblioteci umaniste*, p. 154.

36 B.A.R. Bucharest, call number I30149.

37 Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, p. 96–100, letter no. 686.

38 Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, p. 114, letter no. 693.

the Metropolitan See[39] by a decision of Petrache Poenaru, director of the Ephorate of the Schools (Rom. "Eforia Școalelor"), provides clear proof of the journey of this book, and of the fact that it came most likely from the Mavrocordat family's collection. Nicolae Mavrocordat's son, Constantin Mavrocordat, who held the throne of Wallachia and Moldavia ten times in a row, had to pawn part of the library's books to pay off a debt of 16,000 *groshen*. In his *Testament* signed on February 20, 1748, the metropolitan of Wallachia Neophyte of Crete, or the Cretan (Rom. "Cretanul"), bequeathed his book collection to the library of the Metropolitan See.[40]

In 1833, Petrache Poenaru ordered the inventory of the Metropolitan See's books, an operation completed in 1836. An amount of 5,000 volumes, out of the total 8,200 registered in the catalog, had been transferred to the library of the St Sava National College and the Central School of Craiova, today, the "Carol I" National College.[41] The rest were transferred to the Central Seminary of Bucharest in 1868. The catalog completed in 1836[42] was drawn following a decision in the *School Regulations*[43] that required the transfer of the Metropolitan Library's collections to the St Sava National College library. A book collection from the Metropolitan See was taken to the Central State Library, which was founded in 1864 and operated until 1901, when the books were transferred to the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest.

In this context, it is worth mentioning that the Library of the Romanian Academy holds a copy of the library catalog of the Swiss naturalist Conrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca instituta et colecta, primum a Conrado Gesnero* [...].[44] In the center of the title page, the ex-libris in black ink of the treasurer Ioannes Scarlatos, Nicolae Mavrocordat's son-in-law, a passionate reader, and the ex-libris stamp of the St Sava National College library are sufficient evidence for the theory that the book came from Nicolae Mavrocordat's library.

39 Therefore, the books that were transferred from Mavrocordat's library bear the new ownership stamp of the St Sava College.

40 See C. Dima-Drăgan, "Biblioteca Mavrocordaţilor de la Mănăstirea Văcăreşti. Între legendă şi adevăr", *BOR*, 115, 1977, 9-12, p. 1042; Marinescu, *Mănăstirea Văcăreşti*, p. 238. Surveying the manuscript that contains Neophyte the Cretan's *Testament*, I have not found this information.

41 Romanian MS 4978, *Catalog de cărţile ce s-au găsit în biblioteca Sf. Mitropolii*, in G. Ştrempel, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești*, IV. *4414–5920*, Bucharest, 1972, p. 169; M. Anineanu, "Din istoria bibliografiei româneşti. Catalogul sistematic din 1836 al bibliotecii Mitropoliei din București", *Studii și Cercetări de Bibliologie*, 1, 1955, p. 118.

42 Anineanu, "Din istoria bibliografiei româneşti", p. 117.

43 *Regulament al Școalelor publice din Prințipatul Țări Românești*, Bucharest, 1832, p. 115–116, art. 246–249.

44 B.A.R. Bucharest, call number III 30588.

Furthermore, Corneliu Dima-Drăgan stated that a copy of the *Catalogus Bibliothecae Publicae Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae*, published in Leiden in 1716 at the printing press of Pieter van der Aa,[45] holding the ex-libris stamp of the St Sava College Library and the same notation system as that used in the *Catalogus bibliotheae Thuanae* (Paris, 1679), came from Nicolae Mavrocordat's library.[46]

Another confirmation of the way acquisitions were made is the preservation in the B.A.R. collections of bibliographies annotated by Nicolae Mavrocordat, such as that of the German scholar Johannes Henricus Boeclerus, *Bibliographia Historico-Politico-Philologica Curiosa* [...], [Frankfurt am Main], 1577, a copy that we had the opportunity to see and which has on the flyleaf Alexandru Mavrocordat's handwritten ex-libris. The book is profusely annotated in black ink. Most likely, as already hypothesized,[47] the comments belong to Nicolae Mavrocordat. On the title page, in a different ink from that used by Alexandru Mavrocordat, is the following note: *utilissimus Liber ad dirigendum studium, et ad eligendos meliores probatiores quae authores*. The second book, authored by the humanist Daniel Georg Morhof, *Polyhistor literarius philosophicus et practicus*,[48] with a handwritten note by Alexandru Mavrocordat (according to C. Dima-Drăgan), could not be identified in the B.A.R. collections.

As mentioned above, from the letter dated July 30, 1727,[49] signed by Nicolaus Wolff, we learn that Nicolae Mavrocordat owned a catalog of certain books that had been part of the Marciana Library, sold in 1716. Corneliu Dima-Drăgan, referring to the catalog of this publishing house dated 1716 and held by the B.A.R., stated that it came from Nicolae Mavrocordat's collection. It is just a supposition, as is not sure that the handwritten notes on its pages were written by the Phanariot prince.

The list of titles in Nicolae Mavrocordat's library can be completed by surveying the correspondence with Jean le Clerc carried out from 1720 to 1727 by Nicolae Mavrocordat's secretaries, Antonie Epis, Nicolaus Wolff, Ștefan Bergler, and the physician Daniel de Fonseca,[50] preserved in the Library of the University of Amsterdam. Interesting for the information they provide on requests and acquisitions, these letters were accompanied by sums of money to pay for the requested books. The transport from Vienna to the Romanian Principalities was initially

45 B.A.R., call number III 30551.

46 Dima-Drăgan, *Biblioteci umaniste*, 140–143.

47 Dima-Drăgan, *Biblioteci umaniste*, p. 141.

48 Lubecae, Sumptibus Petri Böckmanni, Anno MDCCXIV.

49 Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, p. 379, letter no. 817.

50 Daniel de Fonseca (1672-1740), born in Oporto, Portugal, of Jewish parents, was a physician to the French ambassador in Constantinople, then to the Sultan. He became Nicolae Mavrocordat's secretary in 1719, familiarizing him with the Hebrew language and culture.

facilitated by Hoffman, and later by the publisher Thomas Fritsch and a certain merchant Ninu.[51]

The Dutch publications edited by Jean le Clerc and the scientific journal *Acta eruditorum*, where reviews of his work were published, were part of Nicolae Mavrocordat's book collection and constitute veritable sources of bibliographic information. From *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne*,[52] Nicolae Mavrocordat learned of a new edition of Cicero's work, most likely the Oxford edition, which he requested for his collection. On July 24, 1721,[53] Antonie Epis thanked Le Clerc, on behalf of Nicolae Mavrocordat, for the second part of volume 15 of the *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne*, which he had already received.

3 The Correspondence between Antonie Epis and Jean le Clerc: The Years 1720-1721

These letters written in French, Latin, and Italian, whose signatories, as we have already mentioned, are four of the scholars who served as secretaries in the Bucharest princely administration at the beginning of the Phanariot epoch, provide information on the composition of Nicolae Mavrocordat's library. Thus, they contribute not only to form a complete image of the titles known to us from published and unpublished documentary sources, but also to compose a picture as close as possible to reality concerning the literary pursuits of the Phanariot ruler. The correspondence between Antonie Epis and Jean le Clerc is also a rich source of bibliographical information.

The collection relevant to us comprises, in chronological order, 28 letters in French, exchanged by Antonie Epis and Jean le Clerc: several written between 1720 and the beginning of 1722; a letter signed by Ștefan Bergler in 1723; another letter sent from Constantinople in the year 1724, written by Daniel de Fonseca; 14 letters signed by Nicolaus Wolff, two dated 1722, two – 1724, one – 1725, one – 1726, and six – 1727.

The correspondence between the chancellery of Prince Nicolae Mavrocordat and Jean le Clerc begins with the letter of November 8, 1720.[54] Antonie Epis, at the

51 Bouchard, *Nicolae Mavrocordat*, p. 17.

52 The editors of *Epistolario*, Maria Grazia Zaccone-Sina and Mario Sina, stated that in *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne*, tome XI/1, 1719, one may find a review of the 1706 edition of Cicero's speeches and letters: M. Tullius Cicero, *De Oratore ad Quintum fratrem. Ex Mss recensuit Tho. Cockman e Collegio Universitatis A. B. Editio Secunda*, Oxford, 1706.

53 Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, p. 104, letter no. 688.

54 Le Clerc, *Epistolario,* p. 55–60, letter no. 672.

request of the Phanariot ruler, clarifies the confusion related to the authorship of Περὶ καθηκόντων Βίβλος, wrongly attributed to Alexandru Mavrocordat by the editor of the journal *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne* in his review published in volume XIV/1 of 1720, Part II, p. 113–131.

This group of letters exchanged by Antonie Epis and Jean le Clerc is dated between November 1720 and April 24, 1722. As it is also the most consistent group, in which the bibliographical references are numerous, and as space does not allow me to carry out an exhaustive analysis of the entire corpus, I will discuss henceforth only the letters dated 1720 and 1721, focusing on the requested books of the most famous representatives of the Enlightenment and on books printed in Arabic, or by Arab authors.

The discourse in Antonie Epis's letters sent from Bucharest is that of an erudite. Rather than providing dry lists, Epis constantly makes scholarly comments, in a way that brings him closer to the well-known European concept of the *Republic of Letters* (*Res publica litterarum*).[55] He provides details regarding the requested writings, the contents of Nicolae Mavrocordat's library, the ruler's tastes for certain types of reading, and his own works. Of course, administrative issues related to the payment and transport of the requested volumes or ordinary issues could not be avoided. Accounts of daily events at the princely court, such as the conflict with the court physician, Michael Schend Vanderbek of Cefalonia,[56] grandson of the preacher Ioan Avramie, who conspired with a certain monk Spiridon in organizing a plot against the ruler,[57] are rooted in a cultural confrontation between the two, Nicolae Mavrocordat and Michael Schend Vanderbek. The purpose for which this story was disseminated in Western Europe by the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*,[58] with the help of the same Jean le Clerc, was not so much to inform on the plot itself, but to popularize the name of Nicolae Mavrocordat as a man of letters.

By analyzing the lists of books requested by Antonie Epis on behalf of the Phanariot ruler, with reminders at certain intervals, we can get a general idea of his taste for a certain type of reading: religious works, ancient authors, editions of the books authored by great representatives of the Enlightenment, studies on the Hebrew language and literature, especially bilingual dictionaries of Hebrew and

55 The concept defining an intellectual community in a constant dialog on cultural themes flourished from 1650 to 1750, but its origin lies in Renaissance Humanism. Erasmus of Rotterdam was an important personality involved in this discussion. See Robertson, *The Enlightenment*, p. 374.

56 Schend Vanderbek published a pamphlet against Nicolae Mavrocordat. See D. Russo, *Studii istorice greco-române: Opere postume*, t. II, Bucharest, 1939, p. 454.

57 Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, p. 138, letter no. 702, dated November 28, 1721.

58 A publication that, like the journal *Gazette de France* edited by Théophraste Renaudot, also reflected elements of foreign and home politics. We refer here to the issue of January 23, 1722.

Latin. As early as 1719,[59] the prince's passion for Hebrew, which he studied under the guidance of his doctor and secretary Daniel de Fonseca, was notorious.

The selection of works was dictated by Nicolae Mavrocordat's affinity for a certain literary genre and the linguistic criterion, since, as the doctor Demetrius Procopius Pamperi[60] testifies, he was familiar with Hebrew, in addition to Ancient and Modern Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Arabic, and Persian.[61]

An enthusiast of numismatics, the prince requested treatises in small editions, with images reproduced in the *taille-douce* technique.[62] Nicolae Mavrocordat's preoccupation with antiquities is reflected in the meticulousness with which he follows the editorial aspects of the ancient authors' published works, which he wants to have in his library, alongside the latest editions of modern authors' books.

Moreover, the statistical balance between the number of volumes of ancient authors' works – many of them lost, as Antonie Epis notes in a letter of September 9, 1721, without giving the reason[63] – and the modern authors' works is visible. The ancient *vs.* modern confrontation is part of an earlier controversy revived in the Western literary world as a feature of the new current, the Enlightenment, through the writings of Charles Perrault, the poem *Siècle de Louis le Grand*, Paris, 1687,[64] and Jonathan Swift in his satire on the "Battle of the Books".[65]

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59 Bouchard, *Nicolae Mavrocordat*, p. 16. Citing the catalog of A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταίς βιβλιοθήκαις* (vol. IV, St. Petersburg, 1899, vol. V, St. Petersburg, 1915), the author draws attention to the existence of a colligate containing the Scriptures in Hebrew and the translation and transliteration into vernacular Greek, probably the work of Nicolae Mavrocordat. The manuscript, which contains Mavrocordat's monogram, is held by the library of the *metochion* of the Holy Sepulcher in Constantinople. A similar manuscript was discovered by Papadopoulos-Kerameus at the Goumera Monastery in the ancient region of Chaldia (Gr. Χαλδία), in northeast Anatolia (today in Turkey). See Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ πληροφορία*, t. IV, St. Petersburg, 1899, p. 198.

60 A Macedo-Romanian scholar, Nicolae Mavrocordat's secretary.

61 D. Procopiu, "Ἐπιτετμημένη ἐπαρίθμησις τῶν κατὰ τὸν παρελθόντα αἰῶνα λογίων Γραικῶν, καὶ περί τινων ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶναι ἀνθουντων", in C. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη ἐπιστάσαι*, t. 3, Venice, 1872, p. 497. See also I. Th. Hoelber, *Oratio de litterarum studiis Ioann Nicolai Maurocordati Principis Valachiae*, Jena, 1755, p. VII. Accessible online at: http://kvk.bibliothek.kit.edu/view-title/index.php?katalog (accessed June 24, 2024).

62 Le Clerc, *Epsitolario*, p. 150, letter no. 709, dated February 11, 1722.

63 Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, p. 112, letter no. 692, dated September 9, 1721.

64 See Th. Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux ou Nouveau dictionnaire bibliographique*, vol. V, Milan, 1950, p. 206.

65 J. Swift, *A Tale of a Tub: with an Account of a Battle between the Ancient and Modern Bookes in St James Library*, London, 1704. See Th. Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares*, t. VI, p. 535; M. Călinescu, *Cinci fețe ale modernității: modernism, avangardă, decadență, kitsch, postmodernism*, Iași, 2005 (2nd ed.), p. 35; Robertson, *The Enlightenment*, p. 50.

The major works of European representatives of the pre-Enlightenment and Enlightenment were strongly requested. In a letter of February 11, 1721, Epis requests a copy of the French edition of a journal edited by David Mortier (1673–1728), published at Amsterdam in 1714, *Le Spectator, ou le Socrate moderne, ou l'on voit un portait naïf des moeurs de ce siècle*,[66] the Dutch version of the famous English periodical founded by the essayist Joseph Addison (1672–1719) and the writer Richard Steele (1672–1729). Epis included in the list of requests composed on behalf of Mavrocordat the major work of the French essayist Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721), a commentator on Origen's work *Demonstratio evangelica*, probably the Paris edition of 1679. I have identified in the catalog in MS 603 of the B.A.R. another work of the same author, *Origenis in S. Script. Commentaria* (Cologne, 1685). In a letter of May 10, 1721,[67] the prince's secretary expresses his regret upon learning the news of the death of Pierre-Daniel Huet from Jean le Clerc's letter of April 11.

A French edition of the seminal work of the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) *Le Droit de la guerre et de la paix* was requested by Epis for the Phanariot ruler. However, the year of the edition is not very clear. He definitely referred to one of the three editions published before 1724, i.e., of 1687, 1703, or 1721.

A representative of the Enlightenment educated in theology and law, the German publicist and essayist Samuel Puffendorf (1632–1694) was a professor of natural law in Lund, Sweden.[68] It was there that he published in 1672 his *magnum opus*, *De iure naturae et gentium*. Nicolae Mavrocordat wanted to acquire another edition of the translation of Puffendorf's work, noting that he already owned the Dutch version of 1706, in two volumes, achieved by J. Barbeyrac, with which he was not satisfied.[69]

From the work of the famous 17th-century orator, translator and commentator of the Psalms Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1628-1704), Antonie Epis requested, on behalf of the Phanariot prince, a copy of *Les Pseaumes de David en rime, revues par Jean Diodati* (Geneva, 1646).[70] This is just another significant example to illustrate the importance of the lists included in this epistolary exchange.

While studying this debut of an epistolary dialogue between scholars, our attention was also drawn to the identification of the titles of Arab authors' works that Nicolae Mavrocordat requested for his library. It is known from the accounts of Athanasios Comnenus Ipsilanti that his father was also "very learned in the

66 Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, p. 73, letter no. 677, dated February 10, 1721.

67 Le Clerc, *Epistolario,* p. 93, letter no. 683.

68 F. Hoefer, *Nouvelle biographie générale: Depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'*à *nos jours*, vol. 41, Paris, 1842, col. 170.

69 From the content of the letter, we learn that the second edition of Samuel Pufendorf's work was known to the Phanariot prince.

70 Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, p. 71, letter dated February 10, 1721.

Hellenic language, Latin, Arabic, and Persian, and in medicine" (*foarte învăţat în limba elinească, latinească, arabă şi persană şi în medicină*), a statement reinforced by Alexandru Papadopol-Calimach, who in turn claims that Alexandru Mavrocordat knew Turkish, Persian, Arabic, Classical Greek, Latin, French, English, and Slavonic.[71] The book orders inserted in these letters demonstrate that Nicolae Mavrocordat, who mastered Arabic, also read the works in the original. Moreover, the information provided by the letters completes the overall picture of the Mavrocordat family library, since Arab authors are under-represented in the surviving library catalogs.

In the letter signed by Epis and dated 1 September 1721,[72] Jean le Clerc is asked for a copy of the *Omnia opera* by the Arab philosopher Averroës (Ibn Rushd, 1126–1128), a well-known commentator of Aristotel's works, in a bilingual edition, Arabic and Latin, published in Argentorati (Strasbourg).

The prince was also interested in a copy of the *Geographia Nubiensis*, the Latin edition of the renowned Arab geographer and cartographer Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Idrīsī (1099–1166).[73] As the editors of the *Epistolario* have established, the letter most likely refers to the famous 1619 edition of Gabriel Sionita and Ioannes Hesronita *Geographia Nubiensis, id est Accuratessima totius Orbis in septem Climata divisi Descriptio* […] *recens ex Arabico in Latinum versa a Gabriele Sionita et Ioanne Hesronita* (Paris, 1619).[74]

In the letter he sent to Jean le Clerc on September 9, 1721,[75] in which he mentioned the loss of many early printed books, Antonie Epis conveyed the request of the Phanariot ruler to acquire, in addition to the ancient authors, of whom he would prefer bilingual editions in a small, easy-to-handle format, an Arabic-Latin edition of the *Annales* of Eutychius of Alexandria.[76] This was Eutychius's work commented in Latin by the famous English scholar of Arabic and theologian Edward Pococke

71 Al. Papadopol-Calimach, *Despre Alexandru Mavrocordat și despre activitatea sa politică și literară*, Bucharest, 1884, p. 13.

72 Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, p. 109–110, letter no. 691, dated May 10, 1721.

73 An Arab geographer born in Sabtah, Morocco, also known as Ceuta, a city administered at the time by Spain. He resided and composed his works at the court of Roger II of Sicily.

74 Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, p. 93, n. 20.

75 Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, p. 111–114, letter no. 692.

76 Eutychius of Alexandria (Ar., Saʿīd ibn Biṭrīq, 877–940), Melkite Patriarch of Alexandria in Egypt. He studied medicine and history. He is famous, among others, for his Latin chronicle of universal history, *Nazm al-Jawhar* (*The Row of Jewels*), also known by its Latin title *Eutychii Annales* (*The Annals of Eutychius*).

(1604–1691). The request for this work was reiterated in the letters of September 27 and October 29, 1721.[77]

In the letter of September 28, 1721, there are further requests for Arabic books. Two or three grammars were requested, as the prince wished to learn "Chaldean" (i.e., biblical Aramaic), Hebrew, and Syriac. He had also asked for the work of the famous astronomer al-Farghānī, known in the Western world as Alfraganus,[78] *Elementa astronomica Arabice et Latine* (Amsterdam, 1669).

The synthetic bibliographical reference used by Antonie Epis, *Drusii quae edidit Arab. Latine, vel Hebr. Lat.* was interpreted by the editors of the collection of letters as a reference to the first edition of the valuable anthology of Arabic and Hebrew literature by the Dutch orientalist Iohannes van den Driesche (1550–1616), *Apophtegmata Ebraeorum ac Arabum. Ex Avoth R. Nathan, Aristea, Libro selectarum Margaritarum et aliis auctoribus collecta, latineaque reddita, cum brevibus scholiis* (Franeker, 1591).

The same list includes the Arabic-Latin edition of the Elzevier editors, *elegantissimis typis*, of Georgius Elmacinus,[79] *Historia Saracenica*, in the translation of the Orientalist Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624): *G. Elmacinus, Historia Saracenica* […] *Latine reddita opera et studio Thomae Erpenii* (Leiden, 1625). Corneliu Dima-Drăgan has drawn attention to the copy in the Library of the Romanian Academy of *Bibliographia Historico-Politico-Philologica Curiosa*, a work by the German humanist Johannes Henricus Boeclerus, with the ex-libris of Alexandru Mavrocordat. In this catalog, next to the above-mentioned title of the book, which was erroneously attributed to Erpenius, a correction by the reader, Alexandru or Nicolae Mavrocordat, is visible.[80]

Among the works of Arab authors requested by the Wallachian prince is *Philosophus Autodidactus*,[81] a composition of the philosopher Ibn Ṭufayl.[82] The editors of the letters have determined that the book referred to is most likely the Oxford edition of 1671, which was translated by Edward Pococke.[83] The title of this

77 Jean le Clerc, *Epistolario,* p. 126–128.

78 Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Kathīr al-Farghānī (ca. 820-861), born in Trasoxiana, in northeast Uzbekistan, author of works on astronomy, the best-known being *Elements of Astronomy of the Celestial Motions*.

79 Ibn al-'Amīd, a 13th-century historian.

80 Dima-Drăgan, *Biblioteci umaniste*, p. 141.

81 Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, p. 128, letter no. 696, dated October 29, 1721.

82 Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭufayl al-Qaysī, known in the medieval times as Abentofal, or Abubacer (1105–1188), was a contemporary of Averroes active in Morocco and Spain, author of medical treatises in verse.

83 Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, p. 128–129, letter no. 696, dated October 29, 1721.

work is: *Philosophus autodidactus sive Epistola Abi Jaafar Ebn Tophail De Hai Ebn Yokdhan* [...]. *Ex Arabica in linguam Latinam versa ab Eduardo Pocockio*.

One of the few letters preserved in the library of Amsterdam, signed by Jean le Clerc and addressed to Antonie Epis, dates from April 11, 1721.[84] In addition to other useful information, the philologist expresses, under the motto *Non omnia possumus omnes*, his regret that he did not persist in the study of Arabic, the knowledge of which would have been useful in his exegesis of the Old Testament. From the same letter we learn that he had in his collection a manuscript of the Qur'ān copied by Davidus Clericus and a manuscript of *Nubii geographia*, mentioned in the *Catalogus librorum Joannis Clericis* (Amsterdam, 1735).[85]

The survival of this correspondence, in which the literary interests of the Phanariot prince Nicolae Mavrocordat are clearly expressed, represents a fundamental source of reflection both on his erudition and on the encyclopedic character of his book collection. An analysis of the entire correspondence from the point of view of the book requests sent by his secretaries to Western European scholars would help draw a more comprehensive picture of Mavrocordat's literary tastes. Even in the year that marks the beginning of their correspondence, there is a balance in the demand for works of ancient and modern authors, demonstrating both a taste for reading and a desire for acquiring encyclopedic knowledge. The prince's interest in the works of contemporary authors shows his strong attachment to the European cultural scene.

When assessing the content of the works requested by Nicolae Mavrocordat through his secretary Antonie Epis, according to his fields of interest, we notice a correlation between the useful and the pleasant, considering also the way he understood his political role.

The letters examined in this study demonstrate not only that Nicolae Mavrocordat was aware of the latest publications in Western Europe, but also the fact that he was in permanent contact with prominent figures of the Western academic circles. At the same time, the letters reveal the pragmatic approach of the prince and his secretaries to arranging the purchase, payment, and shipping of the books, until they reached the princely library at the Monastery of Văcărești.

84 Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, p. 80, letter no. 680.

85 *Librorum Joannis Clericis*, p. 2, no. 8 and 9. Accessible online at: http://picus.unica.it/documenti/Catalogus%20librorum%20Joannis%20Clerici.pdf (accessed March 17, 2024).

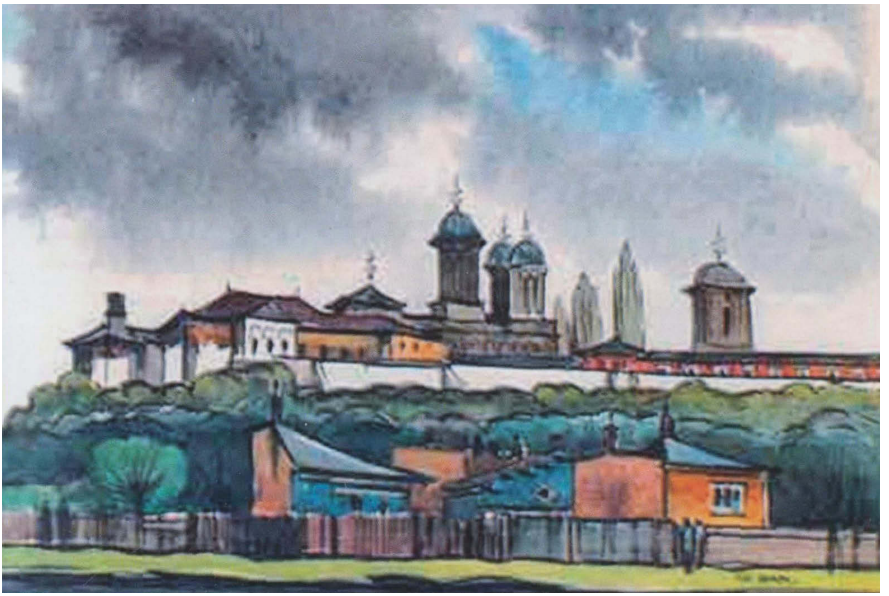

Fig. 1: Gheorghe Leahu, *Văcărești before the Storm*, watercolor, 1976 (in N. Mavrocordat, *Răgazurile lui Filotheos*, ed. J. Bouchard, Bucharest: Omonia, 2015, Fig. [3r]).

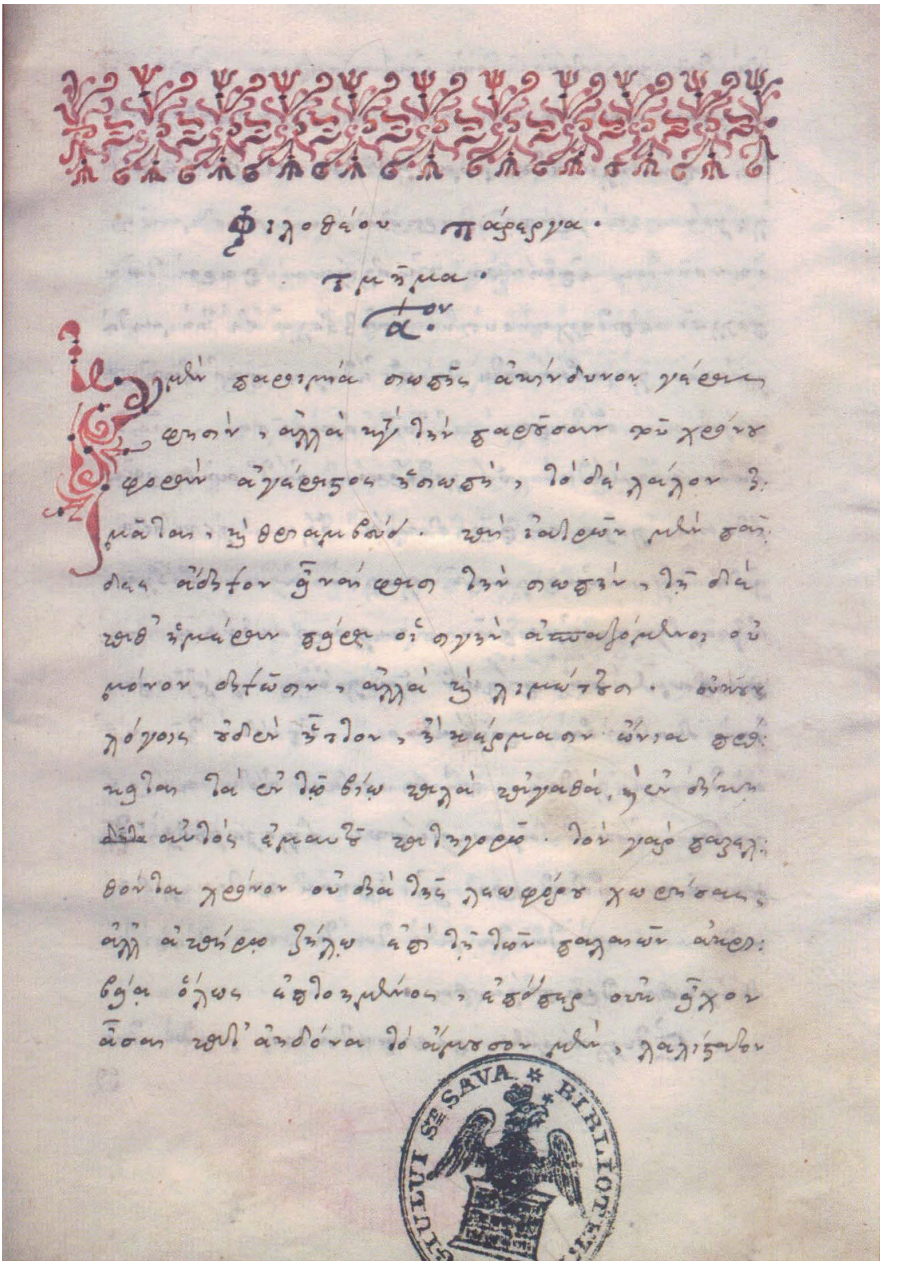

Fig. 2: *Răgazurile lui Filotheos*, Greek MS 455 of the B.A.R. (in N. Mavrocordat, *Răgazurile lui Filotheos*, ed. by. J. Bouchard, Bucharest: Omonia, 2015, Fig. [3v]).

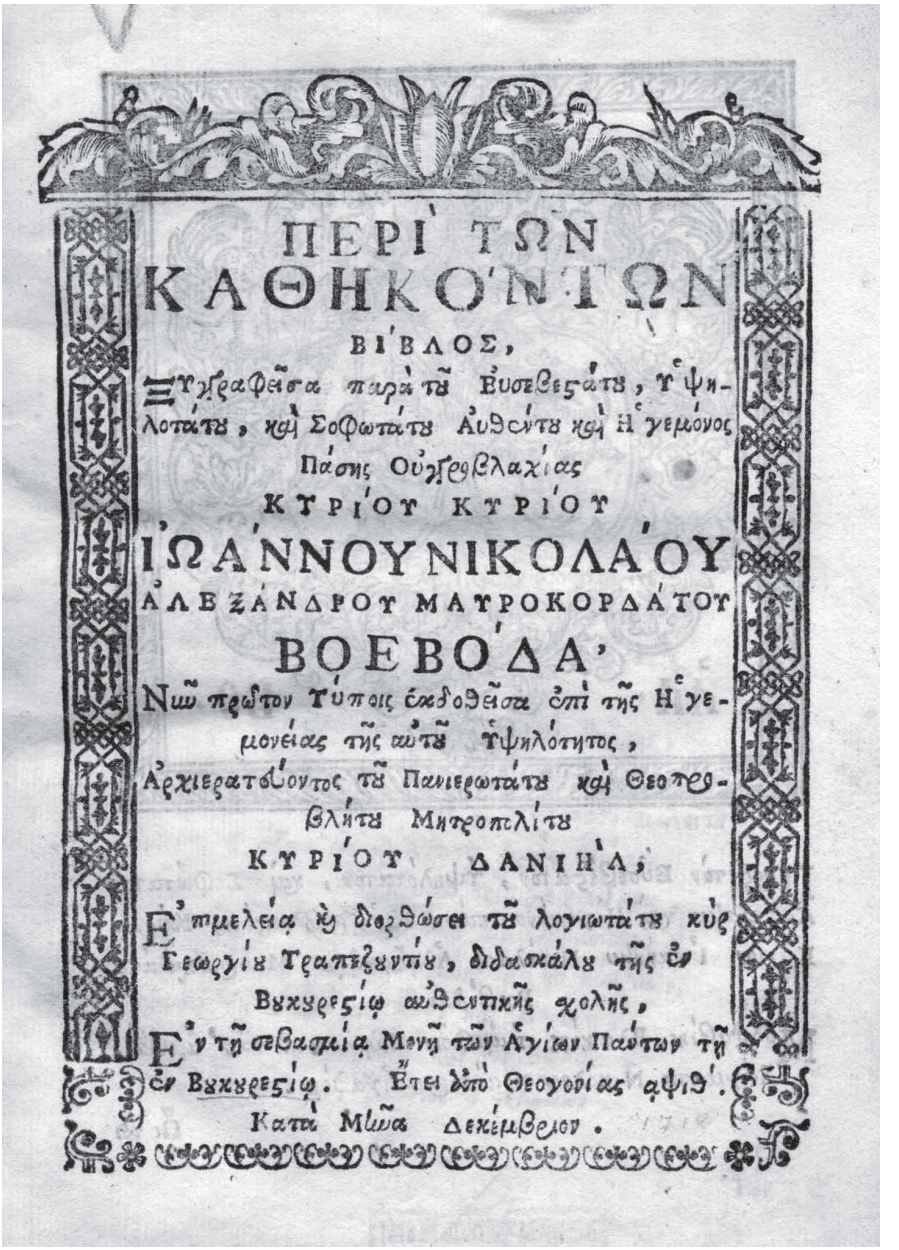
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ
ΚΑΘΗΚΟΝΤΩΝ
ΒΙΒΛΟΣ,
Ξυγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τῆ Εὐσεβεστάτη, Ὑψηλοτάτη, καὶ Σοφωτάτη Αὐθεντία καὶ Ἡγεμόνος Πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας
ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ
ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΜΑΥΡΟΚΟΡΔΑΤΟΥ
ΒΟΕΒΟΔΑ,
Νῦν πρῶτον Τύποις ἐκδοθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἡγεμονείας τῆς αὐτῆ Ὑψηλότητος,
Ἀρχιερατεύοντος τῆ Πανιερωτάτη καὶ Θεοσεβεστάτη Μητροπολίτη
ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΔΑΝΙΗΛ,
Ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ διορθώσει τῆ λογιωτάτη κυρ Γεωργίη Τραπεζουντίη, διδασκάλη τῆς ἐν Βυκουρεστίῳ αὐθεντικῆς σχολῆς,
Ἐν τῆ σεβασμίᾳ Μονῆ τῶν Ἁγίων Πάντων τῆ ἐν Βυκουρεστίῳ. Ἔτει ἀπὸ Θεογονίας ᾳψιθ'.
Κατὰ Μῆνα Δεκέμβριον.

Fig. 3: Nikolaos Mavrokordatos, *Περὶ τῶν Καθηκόντων Βίβλος*, Bucharest, 1719, title page (Biblioteca Centrală Universitară "Carol I", Bucharest. By permission of the Library).

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Ștefan Petrescu

Greek Printing in Wallachia: The Mavrogheni Printing Press in Bucharest (1818–1830)

1 Printing in the "Phanariot Century"

Between the years 1711 and 1821, during the "Phanariot century", the ruling princes of the Danubian Principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia, were appointed by the sultan and quickly replaced, like any provincial governor, although they enjoyed a certain regime of autonomy within the Ottoman Empire. But who the Phanariot rulers, Greek or Greek-identified families of Constantinople, were, and how they came to occupy the throne is not for us to discuss here. The condemnation of the Phanariots' reigns, an era of hegemony of the Greek culture, was a particular focus of the Romanian scholarship of the mid-19th century, usually integrated with the despotic system of government and the resentment of foreigners as a whole.[1] Until 1820, the language of education and culture in Wallachia was Greek, and Romanian was the language of administration and the Church. The first Romanian secondary school opened its doors in Bucharest in 1818. I would like to highlight the fact that, despite the negative fame they gained in the Age of Nations, the Phanariot princes were determined to do their job well, and, in the field of culture, they stood out as supporters of printing. In the early 19th century, there were only two printing presses operating in Wallachia, both of which belonged to the Church: the Metropolitan printing press and the press of the Bishopric of Râmnic. These were on the verge of insolvency; the Metropolitan printing press even found itself unable to print the required liturgical books. Evidently, the Church did not publish books of a secular content.[2]

1 Ş. Lemny, "La critique du régime féodal phanariote: clichés mentaux et perspectives historiographiques", in A. Zub (ed.), *Culture and Society. Structures, Interferences, Analogies in the Modern Romanian History*, Iași, 1985, p. 22; M. Chioveanu, "The Constitutive Other. Topical and Tropical Phanariot in Modern Romania", *Studia Politica. Romanian Political Science Review*, 9, 2009, 2, p. 213–229.

2 On the printing activity in the early 19th century, see D. Simonescu, *Din activitatea tipografică a Bucureștilor (1678–1830)*, Bucharest, 1935, p. 13, 16; N. Camariano, "Tipografii greceşti în Principatele Române", *Néa Ελλάς/Grecia Nouă*, March 31, 1946, p. 1; C. Papacostea-Danielopolu, L. Demény, *Carte și tipar în societatea românească și sud-est europeană (secolele XVII–XIX)*, Bucharest, 1985; E. M. Mârza, F. Bogdan, *Repertoriul tipografilor, gravorilor, patronilor, editorilor cărților românești: (1508–1830)*, Sibiu, 2013 (2nd ed.); D. Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea din Țara Românească în epoca domniilor fanariote (1716–1821)*, Bucharest, 2014, p. 124–125; Doru Bădără, *The Beginning of Printing and Print*

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2 The Founders of the Company

The story of the company starts in 1817 with the founders. Their purpose was to print secular books in the Romanian and Greek languages, mainly literary fiction and schoolbooks. One of the owners was Constantine Caracaș (Gr. Karakasas, 1773–1828), a prominent physician in Bucharest, a native of Macedonia, with medical studies in Vienna (Fig. 1).[3] He died of the plague on October 31, 1828.[4] The other partners were boyars, clerks, and merchants: the *stolnic* Răducanu Clinceanu (Fig. 2) and the *sluger*[5] Dumitrache Topliceanu (Fig. 3). Clinceanu had become rich by trading wood during the reign of Constantin Ipsilanti (1802–1806).[6] Topliceanu was a civil servant and judge,[7] and later, in the 1830s, he was appointed deputy inspector of the Danube Quarantine Committee, in charge with the sanitary supervision of the Principality at the border with the Ottoman Empire.[8]

Two members of the editorial board are mentioned in the books printed at Mavrogheni before 1830: Răducanu and Topliceanu. Caracaș's name is mentioned as a member of the editorial board (*ephor*) in a few books only. However, in 1830, when the printing press changed ownership, only one name appears on the sale-purchase contract: Irina, the widow of Doctor Caracaș, daughter of the physician Silvestru Filitti. Two years after Caracaș's death, on October 11, 1830, the widow, Irina, sold the printing press for 25 thousand lei, or 793.65 gold coins,[9] which represented a teacher's decade of wages, or the annual income of a high-ranking state official.[10] The buyers were Nicolae Rădulescu and his nephew, Ion Iliade, or Heliade (1802–1871). In the following years, Ion Heliade Rădulescu continued to publish Greek books at Mavrogheni.

Culture in the Romanian Principalities, in R. Dipratu, S. Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond. First Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project*, Berlin/Boston, 2024, p. 123–144.

3 P. Gh. Samarian, *Medicina și farmacia în trecutul românesc. Asistența publică în trecutul românesc până la 1834*, vol. II, 1775–1834, Bucharest, 1938, p. 46, 83, 84.

4 G. I. Ionescu-Gion, *Portrete istorice*, Bucharest, 1894, p. 44; Samarian, *Medicina și farmacia în trecutul românesc*, vol. III, Bucharest, 1938, p. 306.

5 *Stolnic* and *serdar* were boyars' ranks at the court of the Danubian Principalities.

6 Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea din Țara Românească*, p. 124.

7 T. Dinu, *Bucureștiul fanariot*, vol. III, București, 2021, p. 227.

8 *Almanahul Statului pe anul 1853, tipărit cu slobozenia înaltei stăpâniri*, Bucharest, 1853, p. 68.

9 Simonescu, *Din activitatea tipografică a Bucureștilor*, p. 19; G. Potra, M. Caratașu, "I. Heliade Rădulescu și cărțile grecești tipărite la București", *BOR*, 115, 1977, 9–12, p. 945; Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea din Țara Românească*, p. 129.

10 P. Negulescu, G. Alexianu, *Regulamentele Organice ale Valahiei și* Moldovei, vol. I, Bucharest, 1944, p. 63.

The printing press operated in the Mavrogheni Monastery, founded by prince Nicholas Mavrogheni in the 1780s. The monastery was outside the city, in a peripheral neighborhood, very close to the city's northern barrier.[11] The Church of the Life-Giving Spring (*Izvorul Tămăduirii*) is the only monument still preserved today from the former monastic complex (Fig. 4).[12] The printing press paid rent to the monastery.[13] In the courtyard there was a fountain, part of the city water distribution network. On some title pages of the books printed here it is mentioned as "The Fountain Printing Press" (Rom. *Tipografia de la Cișmea*), "The Privileged Printing Press" (Rom. *Tipografia Privilegiată*), or "The Newly Established Printing Press" (Gr. *Νεοσύστατο Τυπογραφείο*, Rom. *Nou Făcută Tipografie*). In the 1830s, Heliade moved its headquarters from the Mavrogheni Church to the Obor – Pantelimon neighborhood in Bucharest.[14] The company changed its name to "The Heliade Printing Press" (Rom. *Tipografia lui Eliade*). Heliade Rădulescu ended his printing activity in 1863.[15]

3 Printing, State, and Monopoly

The founders of the company demanded monopoly rights over the production of secular books. Even though there was no precedent, prince Ioan Caragea (1812–1818) granted them this privilege on November 3, 1817.[16] On May 25, 1820, prince Alexandru Suțu (1818–1821), Caragea's successor, reconfirmed the privilege for 20 years, and therefore until 1838 no private person could open another printing press in Wallachia.[17] Moreover, given the bankrupt situation of the Church's

11 On the location of the monastery, see C. C. Giurescu, "Istoricul ctitoriilor bucureștene ale lui Nicolae Mavrogheni", *BOR*, 80, 1962, 3-4, p. 349–350; Ș. Ionescu, "Orașul București în timpul domniei lui N. Mavrogheni (1786–1789)", *Materiale de Istorie și Muzeografie*, IV, 1966, p. 69–86; M. Stan, "'Târgul de afară' de la capul Podului Mogoșoaiei", *Materiale de Istorie și Muzeografie*, VII, 1969, p. 254.

12 C. Mucenic, "Povești cu tâlc despre București și casele, bisericile, târgurile, străzile lui", Bucharest, 2022, p. 15.

13 V. A. Urechia, *Istoria românilor*. *Seria 1800–1830*, t. X, Part A, Bucharest, 1900, p. 431 (see the *hrisov* of November 3, 1817).

14 Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 129; Potra, Caratașu, "I. Heliade Rădulescu și cărțile grecești tipărite", p. 946.

15 M. Anghelescu, *Ion Heliade Rădulescu*, Bucharest, 1986, p. 343.

16 Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, t. X, part A, p. 427, 428–432; Urechia, "Domnia lui Ioan Caragea, 1812–1818. Biserica. Școalele. Cultura publică", *AARMSI*, S. II, t. XX, 1899, p. 107.

17 Urechia, *Istoria românilor,* t. X, part A, p. 429; Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, *Seria 1800–1830*, t. XII, Bucharest, 1898, p. 107.

printing press of the time, the Mavrogheni printing press received the right to publish religious books, obviously with the metropolitan's blessing. As regards books with a secular content, the government, through its delegate, the great *postelnic*, exercised a kind of "censorship."[18] The editorial board consisted of four members: the three owners and the great *postelnic*.[19] The "newly founded printing press" also did works of charity, printing school books for poor children and allocating 5% of its profit to the Filantropia (Philanthropy) hospital.[20] The hospital, a project of Constantin Caracaș, was part of the early generation of modern hospital establishments in Bucharest. It was built in 1810 in the vicinity of the Mavrogheni church.[21]

The entrepreneurs also had an unusual request: they wished to publish newspapers and other periodicals, following the model of those of Vienna. The proposal enjoyed the support of the *dragoman* (translator) of the Russian consulate in Bucharest, George Leventis, but also of the members of the Filiki Eteria, an organization established in 1814 in Odessa, in the Russian Empire, with the intention to raise the Christian population to fight against Ottoman rule.[22] The prince's answer was peremptory: "We, the Ruling Prince, do not allow journals to be printed, as requested by the founders of this printing press".[23]

In exchange for privileges, the founders of the company had committed to the government to print official documents, i.e., the princely chancellery documents. The printing company was compelled to put the business into operation within six months.[24] Why the rush? Prince Caragea was engaged in reforms, and the Code of civil and criminal laws, known as *Legiuirea lui Caragea* (*Caragea's Code of Laws*), did not suffer any delay. The *Code of Laws*, drafted in 1817, was first printed in Greek in 1818, in Vienna: *Νομοθεσῖα τοῦ Ὑψηλοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου Αὐθέντου καὶ Ἠγεμόνος πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας, κυρίου Ἰωάννου Γεωργίου Καρατσὰ βοεβόδα*

18 Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, t. X, Part A, p. 432 (article 10). The *postelnic* was a high official position in government, held by boyars in Moldavia and Wallachia.

19 Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, t. X, Part A, p. 431 (article 7).

20 Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, t. X, Part A, p. 431 (articles 3 and 4).

21 Samarian, *Medicina și farmacia în trecutul* românesc, vol. II, p. 88–89.

22 E. de Hurmuzachi, *Documente privind istoria României. Rapoartele consulare prusiene de la Iași și București, 1763–1844*, vol. X, Bucharest, p. 85 (report of von Miltitz to Ludwig von Kreuchely, December 11, 1820); N. Camariano, "Από την ιστορία του ελληνικού τύπου. Μια απόπειρα της Φιλικής Εταιρείας να εκδώσει εφημερίδα εις το Βουκουρέστι. Δυο άγνωστα έγγραφα", *Νέα Ελλάς /Grecia nouă*, 78, May 6, 1946, p. 1; A. Pippidi, "Nicolae Mavros. Locul său în viața politică și intelectuală", in M. Coman, O. Cristea et al. (eds.), *Andrei Pippidi, mai puțin cunoscut. Studii adunate de foștii săi elevi cu prilejul împlinirii vârstei de 70 de ani*, Iași, 2018, p. 410.

23 The *anafora* of October 12, 1817; see Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, t. X, Part A, p. 434.

24 Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, t. X, part A, p. 430 (article 1).

(*Legislation of His Highness and Most Venerable Sovereign and Emperor of All Hungro-Wallachia, Lord Ioannis Georgios Karatsis Voivode*). The important Greek-language publishing centers of the early 19th century included Iași,[25] Pest, Vienna, and Venice, and previously, in the 1780s, Greek printing presses had also operated in Wallachia. Between 1801 and 1820, about 25% of the Greek printed books were published in Vienna.[26] A Romanian edition of Caragea's *Code of Laws* was also necessary, in order to be distributed to the courts in the country. Could the Mavrogheni printing press fulfill this task? On April 19, 1818, after the completion of the six-month term, the printing press opened its doors with pomp. But the typographers and the equipment needed for such an enterprise were lacking.[27]

On this festive occasion, the poet Iancu Văcărescu (1786–1863), whose grandfather, Ienăchiță, is the author of the first Romanian grammar, composed a poem called *Tipografia* (*The Printing Press*).[28] The first editorial project of the Mavrogheni press was the *Legislation*, as suggested by the verse "*Pravila-ncepe să tipărești*" ("You start printing the law").[29] Caragea's *Code of Law*, promulgated in the summer of 1818, remained in use until 1864, when modern civil and criminal codes were adopted. According to the decree enacting the *Code of Law*, the judges were to use the Greek version published in Vienna until they received the Romanian edition. The decree mentions the printing press of the Bishopric of Râmnic,[30] which shows that, as suggested by Andrei Veress, Nestor Camariano, and Daniela Lupu, the printing press at Mavrogheni was not yet operational.[31] Other Romanian printing presses operated in Brașov and Pest in the Habsburg Empire, in Iași and at Neamț Monastery in Moldavia. Several scholars have shown in the past, and others have recently demonstrated that the *Code of Law* was most certainly printed in Brașov. The Mavrogheni printing press in Bucharest is mentioned on the title page of the *Code of Law*, but we are talking

25 N. Camariano, "Nouvelles informations sur la création et l'activité de la typographie grecque de Yassy 1812–1821", *Balkan Studies*, 7, 1966, 1, p. 61–76.

26 C. Güthenke, *Placing Modern Greece. The Dynamics of Romantic Hellenism, 1770–1840*, Oxford, 2008, p. 118; V. Seirinidou, *Έλληνες στη Βιέννη (18ος-μέσα 19ου αιώνα)*, Athens, 2011, p. 306–315.

27 Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 126.

28 The poem is published in the volume I. Văcărescu, *Poezii alese din ale d. marelui logofăt I. Văcărescu*, Bucharest, 1830, p. 53–55.

29 Văcărescu, *Poezii alese*, p. 54.

30 The Code of Law was promulgated by the decree of August 9, 1818. See D. D. Stoenescu (ed.), *Vechile legiuiri românești. Legiuirea Caragea după ediția de la 1818*, Craiova, 1905, p. 19; A. Rădulescu (ed.), *Legiuirea Caragea: ediție critică*, Bucharest, 1955, p. XV.

31 A. Veress, *Bibliografia româno-ungară. Românii în literatura ungară și ungurii în literatura română, 1781–1838*, vol. II, Bucharest, 1931, p. 222–223; N. Camariano, "Ediția critică a Legiuirii Caragea", *Studii. Revista de istorie*, X, 1957, 1, p. 186–187; Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 126–127.

about a "false editorial address", a common fact at the time.[32] This hypothesis is also supported by the printing technique, typefaces, and illustrations.[33]

I have also identified other editions about which we do not know for sure whether they were printed at Mavrogheni or not. On some of them, the place is mentioned, but not the printing press, and on others, neither the printing press, nor the place is mentioned. The four books printed at Mavrogheni in 1821 raise some questions. Because of the Eteria movement in the Principality, which drove hundreds of boyars and merchants from Bucharest to take refuge in Brașov,[34] we cannot be sure that those books were really published in Bucharest and not in Brașov. In the spring of 1821, Constantine Caracaș fled Bucharest and settled in Brașov; he would return around 1824.[35] During the uprising against the Ottoman rule, another partner, Topliceanu, remained in Bucharest; in June 1821, after the defeat of the Eteria movement, the new regime sent him to Brașov in order to persuade the refugees to return home.[36]

4 Quantitative research

As I stated before, the Mavrogheni printing press was set to work with great difficulty. After the owners grandly inaugurated an empty building in April 1818, another year passed before they brought the press and the printers to Bucharest. Typographers and engravers came to Bucharest from Neamț Monastery: Ghervasi the monk, Constantie the hieromonk, Isaia the monk, and a typographer. I have found no information about the paper and the implements that they used.[37]

My research stops in 1830 for historical considerations, but also for practical reasons. For the books printed until 1830, we have systematic information in the online database *Cartea românească veche* (*Old Romanian Books*, commonly called CRV).[38] After 1830, book production increased spectacularly, and after 1840,

32 Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 127.

33 D. Râpă-Buicliu, *Cartea românească veche. Studia bibliologica*, Cuvânt înainte acad. Virgil Cândea, Galați, 2000, p. 159–167; L. Manea, *Circulația cărții vechi (manuscrisă și tipărită) în spațiul nord-dunărean*, Brăila, 2013, p. 118.

34 A. Oțetea, *Tudor Vladimirescu și mișcarea eteristă în Țările Române 1821–1822*, Bucharest, 1945, p. 217–221.

35 Samarian, *Medicina și farmacia în trecutul românesc*, II, p. 95.

36 I.C. Filitti, *Frământările politice și sociale în Principatele Române de la 1821 la 1828*, Bucharest, 1932, p. 74.

37 Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 128.

38 I. Bianu, N. Hodoș, *Bibliografia românească veche*, vol. III. *1809–1830*, Bucharest, 1936.

numerous printing presses were set up in the Principality. Thus, researchers do not have at hand an effective working tool that would give them the opportunity to order the information chronologically and make quantitative considerations.

The profit target of the Mavrogheni printing press estimated by the government for the year 1820 was of 8,000 thalers.[39] A teacher could make this money in four or five years with a salary of 1,750 thalers per year.[40] Indeed, the year 1820 was extremely productive, far above the standards of the time: 18 books in Greek and Romanian.[41] Eleven Greek books were published in 1820 alone. Of the 25 books published in the first three years of operation, between 1818 and 1821, 14 contain religious text and 11, secular. In the first three years, the printing press totaled 22% of the production of secular books printed in Wallachia in over 100 years. Between 1716 and 1821, ten printing presses operated in Wallachia, producing 311 publications,[42] of which only 50 were secular works, and the rest, religious.[43] Between 1818 and 1830, the period studied in this contribution, 80 editions were published, whereas 18 in Greek, representing 22.5%. Topics covered included theatre (7), religion (4), school textbooks (2), novel (1), poetry (1), ancient literature (1), history (1), and medicine (1). Between 1822 and 1838, including the years when the printing press came into the hands of Heliade Rădulescu, 29 Greek titles were published.[44]

The key to understanding the phenomenon of Greek printing production in the Danubian Principalities consists of the networks of merchants and intellectuals in the Greek-speaking communities of Central and Eastern Europe. These communities were formed following the migration of Greek-speaking populations from the Ottoman territories to the Romanian Principalities, the Habsburg Empire, and the Russian Empire. The Greek scholar Philipos Iliou has shown, based on the lists of subscribers published at the end of the volumes, that the production of Greek books in the Principalities between 1750 and 1821, in presses of Bucharest and Iași, was at a level close to that of Greek printing presses in Vienna. In the previously mentioned time frame, 4,235 copies were printed in Bucharest, 3,108 in Iași, 7,495 in Vienna, and 5,971 in Constantinople.[45] For most of the Mavrogheni publications, we have no information about the number of subscribers or the circulation. For this

39 Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, t. XII, p. 106.

40 Urechia, *Istoria românilor*, t. X, Part A, p. 341.

41 Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 256.

42 Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 256.

43 Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 259.

44 Potra, Caratașu, "I. Heliade Rădulescu și cărțile grecești tipărite la București", p. 947.

45 P. Iliou, "Pour une étude quantitative du public des lecteurs grecs á l'époque des Lumières et de la révolution (1749–1832)", *AIESEE, Actes du premier Congrès International des Études*

reason, we cannot make a comparative analysis with other Greek printing centers. After 1821, numerous printing presses were established in the free Greek territories, and the circulation of propaganda volumes, school textbooks, and newspapers was impressive. In 1823, the Glykis printing press in Venice produced 150,000 copies of an *Alphabet Book*![46] It is of course an exception. At the time, a volume in Greek did not exceed 5,000 copies, and the average figure was 1,000.[47]

The book market in Wallachia was different: it was not intended for commercial mass production. Most subscribers to the books printed at Mavrogheni were boyars, merchants, and clerics. Of course, few were serious readers, some perhaps barely literate, but ordering a book was about validating social status, how much they wanted to be seen by their countrymen as "lovers of the muses" and patriots.[48] For example, the 1820 volume of psaltic music by Petros Ephesios, which we will discuss in more detail below, had a circulation of no less than 631 copies in the Principality. Volumes also reached the Balkans: Melenik (5), and Adrianople (18).[49] Another example would be Gottfried Gabriel Bredow's *Summary of Universal History* (*Συνοπτικὴ γενικὴ ἱστορία*), a history book published in 1827: 417 copies (227 were ordered in Bucharest alone).

5 A Few Notes on the Religious Books

The first book published at the Mavrogheni press was the translation from Greek into Romanian of the *Apologia* of Athanasios Parios (1722–1813).[50] This work was published in 1798 in the Patriarch's Greek printing press in Constantinople, by order of the Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory V (1746–1821).[51] Enlightenment ideas of "freedom" and "equality" are presented in opposition to faith in Christ.[52] The

Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes, IV, Sofia, 1969, p. 475–480; Papacostea-Danielopolu, Demény, *Carte și tipar*, p. 242–243.

46 F. Iliou, *Κυκλοφορίες των Ελλήνων Βιβλίων. Τα μεγάλα «τραβήγματα» το 1823*, extract from the periodical *Ο Πολίτης*, 13, 1977, p. 14.

47 Iliou, *Κυκλοφορίες των Ελλήνων Βιβλίων*, p. 16.

48 Papacostea-Danielopolu, Demény, *Carte și tipar*, p. 243.

49 Papacostea-Danielopolu, Demény, *Carte și tipar*, p. 248.

50 On the 1819 edition of *Apologia*, see O. Popescu, "Hasty Opinions, Outdated Clichés. The Need to Study Historical Sources with Care", in P. Chițulescu, I. Feodorov (eds.), *Culture manuscrite et imprimée dans et pour l'Europe du Sud-Est/Manuscript and Printed Culture in and for South-Eastern Europe*, Brăila, 2020, p. 75–85.

51 The Ecumenical Patriarchate established a press that began operating after 1798. See Papacostea-Danielopolu, Demény, *Carte și tipar*, p. 197.

52 P. Kitromilides, *Νεοελληνικό Διαφωτισμός*, Athens, 1999, p. 439.

Bucharest edition in June 1819 is a re-edition of the one of Neamț (1816). In the foreword, *To the Righteous Readers*, the supervisors (Rom. *eforii*) of the printing press state that "the work was translated from the Greek language by the blessed Gherontie the monk, which proves that our Lord Jesus Christ is the true God against the voltairists [followers of Voltaire's ideas] and the pagans, meaning the godless of this age".[53] The same Gherontie translated the works of John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus, which were also re-edited at Mavrogheni.

In addition to patristic works, which represent most religious books printed at Mavrogheni, some liturgical books were also published. E.g., there was an 1820 Pentecostarion, a translation from the Greek, covering the chants of the eight weeks after Easter. In the foreword, *To the Orthodox Readers*, the typographers insist on the urgent request of this book: "It was too much needed". There were only two editions in the Romanian language: the one of 1743, translated by the bishop of Râmnic, Damaschin (1708–1725), and the more recent one, a revision of Damaschin's edition, "by exhortation of the blessed Metropolitan Neophytos and his sanctity, the bishop of the Holy Bishopric of Argeș, Joseph (1793–1820)". The 1820 Pentecostarion was the translation of a Greek manuscript of the Lavra Monastery on Mount Athos, under the care of Veniamin, metropolitan of Moldavia between 1803 and 1842. Bishop Damaschin, the editors explain, had translated the chants taking as reference a Slavonic manuscript.[54]

Among the religious books in the Greek language, of which there were four, I mention here two works of psaltic music edited by Petros Manouil Ephesios, founder of the school of chanters of the Șelari church in Bucharest:[55] *The New Anastasimatarion* of Petros Ephesios, a collection of short prayers on the

53 Eforii tipografiei ("the press supervisors"), "Către drept credinciosul cititor", in *Apologhia adecă cuvânt sau răspuns împotriva socotelii celor fără de Dumnezeu și dovedire acelui întru sfinți părintelui nostrum Ioanni Hrisostomul împotriva iudeilor și a ellinilor, iar acum și a volteriștilor, cum că domnul nostrum Iis Xr iste Dumnezeu adevărat care acum întâiu aicea s-au dat în tipariu în zilele prea înălțatului nostru Domn Alexandru Nicolae Suțu cu blagoslovenia prea sfințitului și de Dumnezeu alesului arhiepiscop și mitropolit a toată Ungrovlahia kyrioy kyr Dionisie, prea cu cheltuiala a dumnealor Răducanul Clenceanul biv vel stolnic și Dimitrache Topliceanul biv vel sluger în cea de nou făcută tipografie a dumnealor în București la anul 1819, iunie. De monahul Isaia tipograf din mănăstirea Neamțului*, Bucharest, 1819.

54 C. Caracaș, R. Clincenu, D. Topliceanu (supervisors), "Către pravoslavnicii cititori", in *Penticostarion ce cuprinde întru cine slujbă ce i să cuvine din sfânta și luminata duminică a Paștilor până la dumineca tuturor Sfinților, acum iarăși tipărită în zilele prea înălțatului nostru domn Ioan Alexandru Nicolae Suțul voevod, cu blagoslovenia prea Sfințitului și de Dumnezeu alesului arhiepiscop și mitropolit a toată Ungrovlahia chiriu chir Dionisie. În cea de Dumnezeu întru pravoslavie păzită politie București la anul de la mântuirea lumii 1820*, Bucharest, 1820.

55 Lupu, *Tiparul și* cartea, p. 129.

Resurrection of the Lord, and the *Brief Doxastarion*, a selection of doxologies performed on various feasts, by Petros Lampadarios of Peloponnese, one of the greatest composers of psaltic music of the 18th century.[56] Taking for granted the 1845 testimony of Anton Pann, an apprentice of Petros Ephesios in 1820, many historians assumed that there was a church music printing press, separate from the one at Mavrogheni.[57] In reality, Petros Ephesios printed his books at Mavrogheni, not elsewhere. He was the sole owner of the typefaces used to print the psaltic music.[58] On the title page of the two editions, the "newly established printing press", namely Mavrogheni, is mentioned. From the testimony of Petros Ephesios in the preface of *The New Anastasimatarion*, *To the Fellow Countrymen Lovers of the Muses*, we learn that the goldsmith Serafim Hristodoulou of Bucharest made the typefaces. The financial support came from the great *vornic* Grigore Băleanu.[59] This is the first printed book that contains psaltic musical notation according to the new method introduced in the Orthodox Church at the beginning of the 19th century (Fig. 5).

6 The Bucharest Theater and Translations

The Mavrogheni printing press was the first in Wallachia to publish an unprecedented number of volumes of literary fiction, poetry, and plays. Most of them are translations. In 1816, princess Ralu, Caragea's youngest daughter, founded a theater in Bucharest, called the "Cișmeaua Roșie" Theater (the "Red Fountain" Theater), which was located at the junction of Berthelot Street and Calea Victoriei. This was the Bucharest Theater, called by Anna Tabaki "the theater of the Greek Enlightenment".[60] Political and moral messages and values, such as love of country,

56 Dinu, *Bucureștiul fanariot*, p. 233.

57 N. M. Popescu, *Viața și activitatea dascălului de cântări Macarie ieromonahul*, Bucharest, 1908, p. 16, 19, 24; Simonescu, *Din activitatea tipografică a Bucureștiului*, p. 19; M. Tomescu, *Istoria cărții românești de la începuturi până la 1918*, Bucharest, 1968, p. 122.

58 Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, p. 129.

59 Petros Ephesios, "Φιλόμουσιοι ὁμογενεῖς", in *Νέον Ἀναστασιματάριον, μεταφρασθὲν κατὰ τὴν νεοφανῆ μέθοδον τῆς μουσικῆς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, μουσικολογιωτάτων Διδασκάλων καὶ ἐφευρετῶν τοῦ νέου μουσικοῦ Συστήματος, νῦν πρῶτον εἰς φῶς ἀχθεν διὰ τυπογραφικῶν χαρακτήρων τῆς Μουσκῆς. Ἐπὶ τῆς θεοστηρίκτου Ἡγεμονίας τοῦ Ὑψηλοτάτου ἡμῶν Αὐθέντου πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας κυρίου κυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρου Νικολάου Σούτσου Βοεβόδα ἀρχιερατεύοντος τοῦ Πανιερωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κυρίου Διονυσίου. Ἐκδοθὲν σπουδῇ μὲν ἐπιπόνῳ τοῦ Μουσικολογιωτάτου κυρίου Πέτρου τοῦ Ἐφεσίου, Φιλοτίμῳ δὲ προκαταβολῇ τοῦ Πανευγενεστάτου ἄρχοντος μεγάλου Βορνίκου κυρίου Γριγορίου Μπαλλιάνου*, Bucharest, 1820.

60 A. Tabaki, *Despre Iluminismul neoelen. Curente de idei și canale de comunicare cu gândirea occidentală*, Bucharest, 2015, p. 173.

respect for democratic legitimacy and revolt against tyranny, were transmitted from the theatre stage to the general public. The Mavrogheni printing press published six volumes of plays in 1820. The plays of Voltaire (*Brutus*, *Mérope*) and of Vittorio Alfieri (*Orestes*, *Philip II*) were translated into Greek (Fig. 6). The financial support to the theater is a "duty to the country" (*πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα χρέος*). On one of the volumes, George Leventis, dragoman of the Russian Consulate, appears as a sponsor. In the foreword, the editor Christoforos Krateros assures us that the target audience of the book consists of students and young people who were sent by George Leventis to study "in Enlightened Europe" (*εἰς τὴν φωτισμένην Εὐρώπην*), to spread the Lights to their "nation" (*γένος*). Krateros points out that the purpose of theater is to shape morals and enrich the language.[61]

I have also collected some information about the translators. From a note published in the Vienna newspaper *Logios Ermis* (*The Learned Mercury*), we learn that *Brutus*, by Voltaire, was translated by Doctor Mihail Christaris in Bucharest.[62] Another translator of the era was Georges Serouios of Constantinople, teacher of the children of Iacob Rizos Rangavis (1779–1855), a high-ranking boyar from prince Suțu's court.[63] The last was probably the translator of Alfieri's plays.[64] During these years, the young and charismatic actor Constantin Aristia (1800–1880) asserted himself as a star of the Bucharest Theater. In 1827, he published the translation in Greek of the play *George Dandin ou le mari confondu* by Molière.[65]

61 Ch. Krateros (ed.), *Συλλογὴ διαφόρων τραγωδιῶν ὅσαι παρεστάθησαν εἰς τὸ θέατρον τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου. Μεταφρασθεῖσαι εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἡμῶν γλῶσσαν καὶ ἐκδοθεῖσαι διὰ συνδρομῆς τῶν φιλογενῶν καὶ φιλομούσων. Τόμος πρῶτος*, Bucharest, 1820, p. 5.

62 "Απόσπασμα ἐπιστολῆς Ἀναγνώστη Τσετσώνη" (April 21, 1820), *Ermís o Lógios*, 12 Ιουνίου 1820, no. 15, p. 376; A. Camariano, *Relații româno-elene. Studii istorice și filologice (secolele XIV–XIX)*, Bucharest, 2008, p. 269. On Christaris, see A. Camariano-Cioran, *L'Épire et les Pays Roumains*, Ioannina, 1984, p. 227–230.

63 S. Athini, Y. Xourias, *Νεοελληνική Γραμματεία 1670–1830*, Kallipos Open Academic Editions 2015, at https://dx.doi.org/10.57713/kallipos-670, p. 302; C. Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Convergences culturelles gréco-roumaines (1774–1859)*, Thessaloniki, 1998, p. 60.

64 Athini, Xourias, *Νεοελληνική Γραμματεία*, p. 302; D. C. Ollănescu, "Teatrul la români", *AARMSI*, S. II, t. XIX, 1898, p. 37.

65 Molière, *Γεώργιος Δαντινὸς,Ὁ ἐντροπιασμένος σύζυγος Κωμωδία εἰς πράξεις τρεῖς συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ περιφήμου Γάλλου Μολιὲρ μεταφρασθεῖσα δὲ εἰς τὴν καθομιλουμένην ἡμῶν διάλεκτον παρὰ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Ἀριστείου*, Bucharest, 1827.

7 Prose and Poetry

My attention was drawn to the Greek translation, in 1820, of the novel *Harito and Polydor* by the French abbot Jean-Jacques Barthélemy (1716–1795). The novel, entitled *Les amours de Caryte et de Polydore* in the first edition of 1760, is a sentimental prose based on a subject inspired from Greek Antiquity, a literary genre popular at the time (Fig. 7). The narrative is fictional and instructive, interspersed with rich information on history, religion, philosophy, and art. To give it a touch of historical authenticity, the author claims to have translated this work from Greek into French. The Greek translator of the 1820 edition is a certain "Byzantine patriot" (Φιλογενής Βυζάντιος), as stated on the title page. We should mention that there was another translation of this novel in Pest in 1801, by Konstantinos Georgiadis Koutzika.[66] The Bucharest translator does not mention this edition.[67]

A prolific translator and author of the time was the priest Polyzois Kontos (1775–1821). Born in Ioannina, Kontos traveled to Vienna, Pest, London, and Paris, and in 1804 he settled in Bucharest, where he first worked as a teacher for the children of Constantine Ipsilanti, prince of Wallachia between 1802 and 1806. Paschalis M. Kitromilides mentions him as the author of a verse satire on the French Revolution, *Dialogues of the Dead* (*Νεκρικοὶ Διάλογοι*), printed in 1793.[68] The author of the satire is undoubtedly a tenacious defender of Orthodox values. However, there is also an enlightened component in the thinking of this priest. The Christian message, in his view, had to reach the people through the spoken language. He published three books at Mavrogheni printing press, two on theology (one in Greek, and its Romanian translation) and a volume of religious poems in Greek: *Ἠθικαὶ φαντασίαι* (*Moral Fancies*).[69] While discussing Greek poetry, I must mention Paris Mumuleanu's collection of poems printed in 1820 at the Mavrogheni press in Romanian, with Cyrillic letters. In the preface of this volume, the first printed collection of Romanian verse, the poet acknowledges that he was inspired by the Phanariot poetry of Athanasie Hristopoulos (Hristopul), who "also moved my

66 *Το Χαριτώ και Πολύδωρος τοῦ ἀβά Barthélemy*, transl. by K. Georgiadis Koutsíou and Frankiskos Patzkou, Pest, 1801; Athini, Xourias, *Νεοελληνική Γραμματεία*, p. 243.

67 "Πρόλογος τοῦ παραφραστοῦ", in *Τὰ κατὰ Χαριτω καὶ Πολυδώρων μυθιστορία, παραφρασθεῖσα ἐκ τοῦ Γαλλικοῦ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἁπλῆν διάλεκτον παρὰ τινὸς φιλογενοῦς Βυζαντίου*, Bucharest, 1820, p. 1–7.

68 K. Th. Dimaras, *La Grèce au temps des Lumières*, Geneva, 1969, p. 104–106; Kitromilides, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, p. 274.

69 E. Lazăr, *Cărturari greci în Țările Române (secolele XIX-XIX)*, Bucharest, 2009, p. 139–140.

passions, and with whose help I composed these trifles".[70] Mumuleanu published two more volumes of Romanian poetry at the same printing press in 1822 and 1825.

8 Schoolbooks

The only work of ancient tradition that was printed in the Mavrogheni press was the *Collection of Aesop's Fables* translated into Demotic Greek by a certain "Th. D." of Adrianople (Fig. 8). Aesop's *Fables* was without any doubt one of the most widely published books in the world. Th. D. was a teacher in Adrianople, and his volume was to be used for the education of children. Aesop's fables were part of the school curriculum. In the preface to the volume, *Letter to Nicolaos Georgiadis of Smyrna*, the translator asks his friend in Bucharest to help him print the fables at the "newly founded printing press".[71] Georgiadis had been a professor in Smyrna and Bucharest and was among the contributors to the journal "Logios Ermis" in Vienna.[72] The author mentions two recent editions: the volume by Adamantios Korais, published in Paris in 1810,[73] and the one in the printing press of Nicolaos Glykis in Venice.[74] The Bucharest edition, the author assures us, restores the missing passages and pays more attention to the quality of the translation.[75]

In the series of books intended for schools, it is worth mentioning the publication in Bucharest, in 1823, of the 3rd revised edition of the *New Pedagogy* (an *Alphabet Book*) by Ioannis Kokkonis (1796–1864). The first edition was published in

70 P. Mumuleanu, "Înainte cuvântare", in *Rost de poezie adică stihuri acum întâi alcătuite în limba românească de Paris Mumuleanu*, Bucharest, 1820.

71 Th. D., "Επιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν ἐν Βουκουρέστιῳ Νικόλαον Γεωργιάδην τῶν Σμυρναίων", dated December 10, 1820, in *Συλλογὴ αἰσωπείων μύθων, μεταφρασθέντων εἰς τὴν καθομιλουμένην γλῶσσαν, εἰς τοὺς ὁποίους ἐπρόστέθησαν καίτινα καθήκοντα τῶν παίδων ὑπὸ Θ.Δ.*, Bucharest, 1821, p. 5.

72 E. N. Frankiskos, "Νικόλαος Γεωργιάδης, συνεργάτης του Λόγιου Ερμή", *Ο Ερανιστής*, 10, 1972–1973, p. 67.

73 The Paris edition is *Μύθων αἰσωπείων συναγωγή. Πάρεργα Ἑλληνικῆς Βιβλιοθῆκες*, Paris, 1810, p. 6; Th.D., "Επιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν ἐν Βουκουρέστιῳ Νικόλαον Γεωργιάδην τῶν Σμυρναίων", p. 6.

74 Th. D., "Επιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν ἐν Βουκουρέστιῳ Νικόλαον Γεωργιάδην τῶν Σμυρναίων", p. 7.

75 Th. D., "Επιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν ἐν Βουκουρέστιῳ Νικόλαον Γεωργιάδην τῶν Σμυρναίων", p. 5.

Constantinople in 1817.[76] The 7th edition was also published in Bucharest, in 1836.[77] We do not know whether the author was ever in Bucharest. Born in Kastri, in the Peloponnese, Kokkonis was educated in Smyrna and later worked as a teacher in Constantinople. In 1822, during the Greek War of Independence, Kokkonis was on the island of Hydra, and two years later in Paris. After the formation of the Greek national state, from the position of inspector general of the schools, Kokkonis laid the foundations of the new educational system and helped establish institutions to support education[78] (Fig. 9).

Another Greek-speaking author published at Mavrogheni was Dimitrios Nicolaos Darvaris (1757–1823). The famous Aromanian scholar, a native of the Clisura,[79] studied in Bucharest and Halle, and published in Vienna numerous works for the use of schools.[80] His books have seen numerous editions in the Greek-speaking world. In 1827, the Mavrogheni printing press reprinted the *Eklogarion Graikikon* (*A Greek Chrestomathy*, 1st ed.: Vienna, 1804), a collection of texts for the education of young people.[81] We should also mention the editions published in Bucharest in 1831 and in Pest in 1838 and 1840.[82] In 1827, another volume by Darvaris, *A Collection of Wise Teachings* (1st ed.: Vienna, 1811), was translated into Romanian by Iancu Nicola Moldovean,[83] also known as the translator of the *Handbook on Patriotism* (*Manual de patriotism*), published in Iași in 1829.[84] Grigore Pleșoianu and Gheorghe Librier published a *Greek-Romanian Alphabet Book* in 1825. In 1827, Manole Vasile published

76 The third edition of this book is indicated on the title page of the book: *Παιδαγωγία νέα. Εὐμέθοδος διὰ τῆς ὁποίας δύνανται τὰ παιδιὰ εὐκόλως νὰ προχωρήσουν εἰς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν συνεθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου Κοκκῶνος Σμυρναίου, ἐκδόσεις τρίτη, μετὰ τινος προσθήκης καὶ ἀφαιρέσεως*, Bucharest, 1823; Chr. Tzikas, *I.Π. Κοκκώνης, ο ρόλος του στην θεμελίωση και τα πρώτα βήματα της δημόσιας εκπαίδευσης στην Ελλάδα*, Athens, 1999, p. 30.

77 C. Papacostea-Danielopolu, "Les lectures grecques dans les principautés roumaines après 1821 (1821–1860)", *Balkan Studies*, II, 1, 1970, p. 161.

78 *Λεύκωμα τῆς ἑκατονταετηρίδος τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας. 1837–1937*, Athens, 1937, p. 22–23.

79 Clisura or Vlachokleisoura (Kleisoura) was an Aromanian (Vlach) settlement in Ottoman Macedonia (today in Greece).

80 Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Convergences culturelles gréco-roumaines*, p. 328.

81 *Ἐκλογάριον γραικικὸν εἰς χρῆσιν τῶν πρωτοπείρων τῆς Ἁπλῆς διαλέκτου συλλεχθὲς ὑπὸ Δημητρίου Νικολάου του Δαρβάρεως τοῦ ἔκ Κλεισούρας τῆς Μακεδονίας τύποις δὲ τὸ τρίτον ἐκδίδονται δαπάνῃ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει φιλογενοῦς τινὸς καὶ φιλομούσου*, Bucharest, 1827.

82 Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Convergences culturelles gréco-roumaines*, p. 329.

83 D. N. Darvaris, *Culegere de înțelepciune, scrisă în limba grecească de dumnealui Dimitrie Nicolau Darvar iar acum tălmăcită în cea rumânească de Iancu Nicolae Moldovean*, Bucharest, 1827.

84 The author of the *Manual de patriotism* was Nikolas Skoufos, founder of the Eteria in 1814. See N. Camariano, "Despre un manual de patriotism publicat la Iași în 1829", *Revista istorică română,* 4, 1943, p. 119.

at the Mavrogheni press a new edition of the *Greek – Romanian – Bulgarian Alphabet Book*. Pleșoianu, a teacher at the central school in Craiova, famous for his school textbooks, threatened to sue Vasile Manole for plagiarism.[85] Pleșoianu's *Greek – Romanian Alphabet Book* had six editions, the last in 1866.[86] Pleșoianu and Iancu Nicola are part of the young generation of authors and translators. They were students of Heliade Rădulescu at the Saint Sava High School.[87]

I will conclude my essay with a history book. In 1828, the Mavrogheni printing press published the work of the German historian Gottfried Gabriel Bredow (1773–1814) *A Summary of Universal History*, translated from German into Greek by Ioannis Skarlatos.[88] This work was published successively in German in 27 editions between 1799 and 1861. It was also translated into other languages, including English.[89] The Greek translation came at a crucial time for the Greek nation: the War of Independence. In the preface, the translator exclaims: "How necessary a brief history was for our schools [...], and not only for schools, but also for readers in general".[90] Bredow's work, first published in 1799, was revised and enriched with each edition. The edition of Bucharest ends the thread of the historical narrative with the Greek revolution of 1821: "The most unexpected thing that happened to humanity was the revolution of the Greeks, especially the Peloponnesians, against the Ottomans, in 1821".[91]

9 Conclusions

I intended, in my research, to survey the history of the books printed in Greek at Bucharest in the first half of the 19th century. I have narrowed down the research area to the first ten years of the operation of the printing press of Mavrogheni. The Mavrogheni printing press was not only a private business, but also a state insti-

85 Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Convergences culturelles gréco-roumaines*, p. 282; N. Bănescu, "Un dascăl uitat: Grigore Pleșoianu", *AARMSI*, S. II, t. XXVIII, 1915, p. 373.

86 Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Convergences culturelles gréco-roumaines*, p. 77.

87 Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Convergences culturelles gréco-roumaines*, p. 46.

88 *Συνοπτικὴ γενικὴ ἱστορία τῶν ἀξιολογωτέρων συμβεβηκότων τοῦ κόσμου εἰς χρήσιν τῶν κοινῶν σχολείων συντεθεῖσα μὲν ὑπὸ Γ.Γ. Βρεδώβ. Μεταφρασθεῖσα δὲ ἔκ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ παρὰ Ἰω. Σκαρλάτου*, Bucharest, Newly Established Press, 1828. The German edition: *Handbuch der alten Geschichte, Geographie und Chronologie*, Eutin, 1799.

89 The first English translation, London, 1827: G. G. Bredow, *A Compendium of Universal History from the Earliest period to the year 1859*. Translated by Ch. Th. Stafford, London, Longman and Roberts, 1861.

90 "Προκηρύξις", in *Συνοπτικὴ γενικὴ ἱστορία*; Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Convergences culturelles gréco-roumaines*, p. 284.

91 Bredow, *Συνοπτικὴ γενικὴ ἱστορία*, p. 178.

tution, which exercised monopoly rights. Here, the government printed chancery documents, official letters, etc. Heliade Rădulescu printed here the *Organic Regulations* (*Regulamentul organic*) in 1832, which constituted the first constitutional charter of Wallachia.

The printing press of Mavrogheni appeared in a moment of crisis in the printing market in Wallachia and responded to immediate practical needs. It also printed religious books, engaging in a task that traditionally belonged to the Church. The Mavrogheni printing press printed literary works: prose, poetry, and theater plays. Moreover, an important part was played by the book production for educating the younger generations in the spirit of the times. Most of the works were translations or reprints. I have identified only three authors with original works: Petros M. Ephesios, in the field of psaltic music, the cleric Polyzois Kontos, with two works on moral and Christian teachings, and Dr Constantin Caracaș, author of an original work on medical life in Wallachia.[92] The publication of this book was also a commitment made by Heliade in the sale-purchase contract[93] (Fig. 10).

In the 1820s, numerous schoolbooks, general knowledge books, hygiene and public health books, and practical books useful to people in their everyday life, were published in Romanian at Mavrogheni. In the 1820s, and especially after 1830, the Romanians' interest in their national language increased. The Greek book considerably narrowed its readership segment to members of the Greek-speaking emigration. In 1836, the brothers Mihail and Simion Hristidis, born in the Balkans, were determined to establish another Greek printing press in Bucharest, but they were obstructed by the 20-year monopoly of Eliade's press, formerly, the Mavrogheni press. To remove any obstacle, the Hristidis Brothers entered a five-year business partnership with Heliade.[94]

Bucharest was an important center of the Greek-speaking diaspora and had a tradition of almost 150 years in the printing of Greek books. Greek book production did not cease in the Principality after 1830, to the contrary. In 1830, the Kingdom of Greece appeared on the map of Europe and became the center of national aspirations for Hellenism everywhere. In the new regional geopolitical context, merchant communities in the Danubian cities would come up with new ideas and respond to other needs of the Greek book market.

92 C. Caracaș, *Topografia Țării Românești/Τοπογραφία της Βλαχίας*, ed. by G. Filitti, Bucharest, 2018. The work was published first by P. Gh. Samarian, *O veche monografie sanitară a Munteniei. Topografia Țării Românești de Constantin Caracaș*, Bucharest, 1937.

93 Potra, Carataşu, "I. Heliade Rădulescu și cărțile grecești tipărite la București", p. 945.

94 Potra, Carataşu, "I. Heliade Rădulescu și cărțile grecești tipărite la București", p. 946–947.

As my research yielded rich and original information that was never collected in a comprehensive record, I have added here a table of the *Greek Books Printed at the Mavrogheni Press*, 1818–1830 (Table 1) and a chart of the *Book Production of the Mavrogheni Press*, 1818–1830 (Chart 1).

Tab. 1: Greek Books Printed at the Mavrogheni Press, 1818–1830

	Year	Title	Author/ Translator/Editor
1	1820	Τὸ ψαλτήριον τοῦ Δαβίδ. Ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Αὐγουστίνου συνεπιτμηθέν, καὶ ἔκ τῆς Λατινίδος εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα μεταγώστισθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ σοφοῦ ἱεράρχου Εὐγενίου τοῦ Βουλγάρεως. Ἔνθα προσετέθησαν καὶ τινες εὐχαὶ καὶ στίχοι ἱκετήριοι πρὸς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον. Τύποις δὲ ἐκδοθὲν φιλαδέλφῳ προαιρέσει τοῦ Στολνίκου Κωνσταντίνου Μπερῆ ἐπὶ τῷ διανεμηθῆναι εἰς χρῆσιν ψυχωφελῆ τῶν τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας πρόνοιαν ποιουμένων. Τῷ 1820 Σωτηρίῳ ἔτει μηνὶ Ἀπριλίῳ, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου Τυπογραφείῳ. *The Psalter of David*. Written by Saint Augustine, translated from Latin to Greek by the wise hierarch Eugenios Voulgaris. It was supplemented with the wishes and verses of prayers to the Most Holy Theotokos. This book was published with the support of stolnic Constantinos Beris.	Saint Augustine Eugenios Voulgaris
2	1820	Φίλιππος Τραγῳδία, συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ Βίκτορος Ἀλφιέρου, καὶ εἰς τὴν καθομιλουμένην ἡμῶν διάλεκτον. Παρεστάθη εἰς τὸ ἐν Βουκουρέστιῳ Θέατρον πρώτην φορὰν κατὰ τὸν Μάϊον τοῦ 1820, ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείου, 1820. *Philippo*, a tragedy written by Vittorio Alfieri in the vernacular. It was performed at the Bucharest Theatre for the first time in May 1820.	Vittorio Alfieri
3	1820	Βροῦτος τραγῳδία παρὰ Βολταίρου μεταφρασθεῖσα ἐλευθέρως διὰ στίχων Ἰαμβικῶν. Παραστάθῃ εἷς τὸ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ θέατρον πρώτην φορὰν κατὰ τὴν 17 Μαρτίου τοῦ 1820 ἔτους, ἐν τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείου κατὰ ἔτους 1820. *Brutus*, a tragedy by Voltaire, freely translated into Iambic meter. It was performed at the Bucharest Theatre for the first time on March 17, 1820.	Voltaire

	Year	Title	Author/ Translator/Editor
4.	1820	Συλλογὴ διαφόρων τραγωδιῶν ὅσαι παρεστάθησαν εἰς τὸ θέατρον τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου. Μεταφρασθεῖσαι εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἡμῶν γλῶσσαν καὶ ἐκδοθεῖσαι διὰ συνδρομῆς τῶν φιλογενῶν καὶ φιλομούσων. Τόμος πρῶτος, ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείου, 1820. *A collection of various tragedies performed at the Bucharest theater*. It was translated into the vernacular and published with the help of patriots' subscriptions and of those loved by the muses; 1st volume.	Christoforos Krateros
5	1820	Συλλογὴ διαφόρων τραγωδιῶν ὅσαι παρεστάθησαν εἰς τὸ θέατρον τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου. Μεταφρασθεῖσαι εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἡμῶν γλῶσσαν καὶ ἐκδοθεῖσαι διὰ συνδρομῆς τῶν φιλογενῶν καὶ φιλομούσων. Τόμος δεύτερος, ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείου, 1820. *A collection of various tragedies performed at the Bucharest theater*. It was translated into the vernacular and published with the help of patriots' subscriptions and of those loved by the muses; 2nd volume.	Christoforos Krateros
6	1820	Μερόπη τραγῳδία μετάφρασις ἐλευθέρα ἐκ τοῦ Γαλλικοῦ εἰς τὸ νέον Ἰαμβικὸν. Παραστάθη εἰς τὸ πεζὸν ἐν τῷ ἐνταῦθα θεάτρῳ πρώτην φορὰν κατὰ τὴν 20 Ἀπριλίου τοῦ 1819 ἔτους. Ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείου, 1820. *Mérope*, a tragedy, freely translated from the French into the new Iambic meter. It was performed at the Bucharest Theatre for the first time on April 20, 1819.	Voltaire
7	1820	Ὀρέστης τραγῳδία συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ Βικτῶρος Ἀλφιέρου, καὶ ἔκ τῆς Ἰταλικῆς μεταφρασθεῖσα εἰς τὴν καθομιλουμένην ἡμῶν διάλεκτον. Παρεστάθη εἰς τὸ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ θέατρον πρώτην φορὰν κατὰ τὴν 21 Νοεμβρίου τοῦ 1819. Ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείου, 1820 *Orestes*, a tragedy written by Vittorio Alfieri, translated from Italian into the vernacular. It was performed at the Bucharest Theatre for the first time on November 21, 1819.	Vittorio Alfieri
8.	1820	Τὰ κατὰ Χαριτω καὶ Πολυδώρων μυθιστορία, παραφρασθεῖσα ἐκ τοῦ Γαλλικοῦ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἁπλῆν διάλεκτον παρὰ τινὸς φιλογενοῦς Βυζαντίου. Ἐκ τοῦ ἔν Βουκουρεστίῳ νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείου κατὰ τοὺς 1820. *The Novel of Harito and Polydor*, translated from French into the vernacular by "a Byzantine patriot".	Jean-Jacques Barthélemy

	Year	Title	Author/ Translator/Editor
9	1820	Ἠθικαὶ φαντασίαι τοῦ ἐν ἱερεῦσιν ἐλλογίμου Διδασκάλου Κυρίου Πολυζωὴ Κοντοῦ, ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ Πλοέστιον διατριβῆς αὐτοῦ προσφωνηθεῖσαι τῶ Πανιερωτάτου καὶ Θεοπροβλητὼ Ἁγίῳ Μητροπολίτη Οὐγγροβλαχίας κύριω κύριω Διονύσιω, ἔκ τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείου, 1820. *Moral Fancies* by the eloquent teacher and priest Polyzoes Kontos; his address to the Most Reverend and God-Chosen Metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia, Agios Dionysios.	Polyzoes Kontos
10	1820	Νέον Ἀναστασιματάριον, μεταφρασθὲν κατὰ τὴν νεοφανῆ μέθοδον τῆς μουσικῆς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, μουσικολογιωτάτων Διδασκάλων καὶ ἐφευρετῶν τοῦ νέου μουσικοῦ Συστήματος, νῦν πρῶτον εἰς φῶς ἀχθεν διὰ τυπογραφικῶν χαρακτήρων τῆς Μουσκῆς. Ἐπὶ τῆς θεοστηρίκτου Ἡγεμονίας τοῦ Ὑψηλοτάτου ἡμῶν Αὐθέντου πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας κυρίου κυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρου Νικολάου Σούτσου Βοεβόδα ἀρχιερατεύοντος τοῦ Πανιερωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κυρίου Διονυσίου. Ἐκδοθὲν σπουδῇ μὲν ἐπιπόνῳ τοῦ Μουσικολογιωτάτου κυρίου Πέτρου τοῦ Ἐφεσίου, Φιλοτίμῳ δὲ προκαταβολῇ τοῦ Πανευγενεστάτου ἄρχοντος μεγάλου Βορνίκου κυρίου Γριγορίου Μπαλλιάνου. Ἐν τῷ τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου νεσυστάτου Τυπογραφείῳ, 1820. *Neo Anastasimatarion*, translated according to the new method of music by musicologists from Constantinople, teachers and inventors of the new musical system, brought to light by means of the musical type. In the reign of our Highness the divine-right ruler, prince of the entire country of Ungro-Wallachia, Alexandros Nikolaos Soutsos, and of His Eminence the Metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia Agios Dionysios. It was published by the musicologist Mr. Petros of Ephesus, with the generous financial support of the publication by His Grace, the great Lord Vornic Grigorios Ballianos.	Petros Efesios
11	1820	Σύντομον δοξαστάριον τοῦ ἀοιδίμου Πέτρου Λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Πελοποννησίου, μεταφρασθὲν κατὰ τὴν νέαν μέθοδον τῆς Μουσικῆς τῶν Μουσικολογιωτάτων Διδασκάλων τοῦ νέου Συστήματος. Ἤδη εἰς φῶς ἀχθὲν ἀναλώμασι τῶν Ἐκδοτῶν. Ἐν τῷ τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου νεοσυστάτῳ Τυπογραφείῳ,1820 A concise *Doxastarion* of the late Petros Lampadarios Peloponnesios, translated by the Musicology teachers according to the new method of Music. It was published with the editors' financial support.	Petros Lampadarios Peloponnesios

	Year	Title	Author/ Translator/Editor
12	1821	Συλλογὴ αἰσωπείων μύθων, μεταφρασθέντων εἰς τὴν καθομιλουμένην γλῶσσαν, εἰς τοὺς ὁποίους ἐπρόστέθησαν καίτινα καθήκοντα τῶν παίδων ὑπὸ Θ.Δ., ἐν Βουκουρεστιῳ, 1821. A collection of Aesop's *Fables*, translated by T.D. into the vernacular, to which he added some duties of children.	Aesop T.D.
13	1823	Παιδαγωγία νέα. Εὐμέθοδος, διὰ τῆς ὁποίας δύνανται τὰ παιδιὰ εὐκόλως νὰ προχωρήσουν εἰς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν συνεθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου Κοκκῶνος Σμυρναίου, ἐκδόσεις τρίτη, μετὰ τινος προσθήκης καὶ ἀφαιρέσεως, ἐν τῷ Νεοσυστάτῳ Τυπογραφείῳ τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου, 1823. *The New Pedagogy*. A method by which the children can easily proceed to reading, written by Ioannis Kokkonis Smyrnaios, 3rd edition, with additions and alterations.	Ioannis Kokkonis
14		Γεώργιος Δαντινὸς, Ὁ ἐντροπιασμένος σύζυγος Κωμωδία εἰς πράξεις τρεῖς συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ περιφήμου Γάλλου Μολιὲρ μεταφρασθεῖσα δὲ εἰς τὴν καθομιλουμένην ἡμῶν διάλεκτον παρὰ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Ἀριστείου. Ἐν τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφείου, κατὰ τοὺς 1827. Georgios Dantinos, *The Thwarted Husband*, a comedy in three acts written by the famous French Molière and translated into the vernacular by Konstantinos Aristias.	Molière Konstantinos Aristias
15	1827	Ἐκλογάριον γραικικὸν εἰς χρῆσιν τῶν πρωτοπείρων τῆς Ἁπλῆς διαλέκτου συλλεχθὲς ὑπὸ Δημητρίου Νικολάου του Δαρβάρεως τοῦ ἔκ Κλεισούρας τῆς Μακεδονίας τύποις δὲ τὸ τρίτον ἐκδίδονται δαπάνῃ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει φιλογενοῦς τινὸς καὶ φιλομούσου, ἐν τῷ νεοσυστάτῳ Τυπογραφείῳ τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου, 1827. A Greek *Chrestomathy* for the use of the novices in vernacular language, collected by Dimitrios Nikolaos of Darvarios of Kleisura, Macedonia. The 3rd edition was published with the financial support of patriots and of those loved by the muses.	Dimitrios Nikolaos Darvaris
16	1828	Συνοπτικὴ γενικὴ ἱστορία τῶν ἀξιολογωτέρων συμβεβηκότων τοῦ κόσμου εἰς χρήσιν τῶν κοινῶν σχολείων συντεθεῖσα μὲν ὑπὸ Γ.Γ. Βρεδὼβ. Μεταφρασθεῖσα δὲ ἔκ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ παρὰ Ἰω. Σκαρλάτου, ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ, ἐν τῷ Νεοσυστάτῳ Τυπογραφείῳ, 1828. A *Compendium of universal history* of the most important world events; for the use of public schools; written by G. G. Bredow. It was translated from the German into Greek by Io. Skarlatos, in Bucharest.	G.G. Bredow Ioannis Skarlatos

	Year	Title	Author/ Translator/Editor
17	1829	Δι'ἐξαστιχὼν Παραφράσις. Τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Συμβόλου τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἀνατολικῆς, Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ἤτοι Σαφήνεια τῶν δώδεκα Ἄρθρων τῆς Πίστεως τῶν Χριστιανῶν. Καὶ τὶς Παρεπομένη ἠθικὴ Παραίνεσις πρὸς τὴν δογματικὴν φιλομάθειαν. Καὶ παράφρασις τῆς πρὸς ὀρθόδοξον Ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ ἀοιδίμου καὶ σοφωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Κυρίου Νικηφόρου τοῦ Θεοτόκη περὶ τοῦ τίνες οἱ συσματικοὶ καὶ οἱ σχίσται τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἀποστάτου Δεκαμήλου ἐφευρετοῦ τοῦ νέου σχίματος, λεγομένου Οὐνίας. Προσφωνηθεῖσαι καὶ ἀφιερωθεῖσαι τῷ Πανιερωτάτῳ καὶ Ἐλλογιμωτάῳ Ἁγίῳ Ἐπισκόπῳ Ραμνίκου Κυρίῳ Κυρίω Νεοφύτῳ. Νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδίδονται διὰ δαπανὴς τοῦ ἐντιμοτάτου Κυρίου Εὐσταθίου χατζὴ Γιαννάκη Καριάδη Γουριώτου του Θετσαλοῦ εἶς κοινὴν ὠφέλειαν. Ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίω Νεοσυστάτου Τυπογραφίου, 1829. *Hexametre Paraphrase of the Holy Symbol of the Eastern Orthodox, Catholic and Apostolic Church*. Clarity of the Twelve Articles of the Christian Faith. Moral advice and doctrinal teaching. And a paraphrase of the Letter of the late and enlightened Metropolitan Lord Nikiforos of Theotokos to the Orthodox believers about the schismatics of the Church and the Apostate Decamelos, founder of the new sect called Uniate. An address to the Most Reverend and Holy Bishop of Râmnic, Kyr Neophytos. It is published at the expense of the honorable Lord Eustathios, Hagi Giannakis Kariadis Gouriotis Thetsalos, for the public benefit.	Polyzoes Kontos
18	1830	Τοπογραφία της Βλαχίας καὶ ἀνθρωπολικαὶ παρατηρήσεις ἀνναφορικὼς πρὸς τὴν ὑγείαν καὶ νόσους τῶν κατοίκων αὐτῆς, ὑπὸ κυρίου ἰατροφιλοσόφου Κ. Καρακάσα, ἐν Βουκουρέστιοις, ἔκ του τυπογραγείου Ι. Ἠλιάδου, 1830. *Topography of Wallachia and anthropological observations referring to the health and diseases of its inhabitants*, by the iatrophilosopher K. Karakasa, in Bucharest.	Konstantinos Karakasas (Rom. Caracaș)

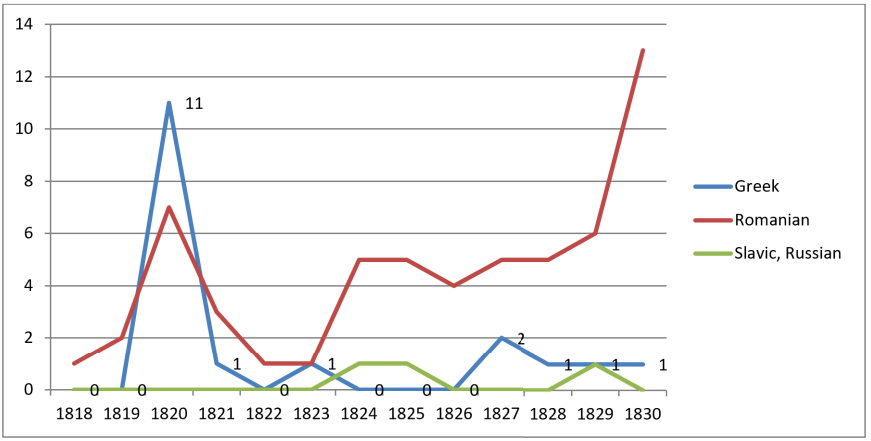


Chart 1: Book production of the Mavrogheni press, 1818 to 1830.

Fig. 1: Anonymous painter, *Dr. Constantin Caracaș*, oil painting, 1806 (?). Family collection: Ana Hariton, born Goga (By permission of Constantin Hariton).

Fig. 2: Anonymous painter, *Răducanul-Clinceanu*, oil painting, 1838. Family collection: Zoe N. Moscu-Dunka (In Dan Simonescu, *Din activitatea tipografică a Bucureștilor (1678–1830)*, Bucharest, 1935, p. 17).

Fig. 3: Anonymous painter, *Dumitrache Topliceanu*, oil on canvas. Collection of Zoe N. Moscu-Dunka (In Dan Simonescu, *Din activitatea tipografică a Bucureștilor (1678–1830)*, Bucharest, 1935, p. 17).

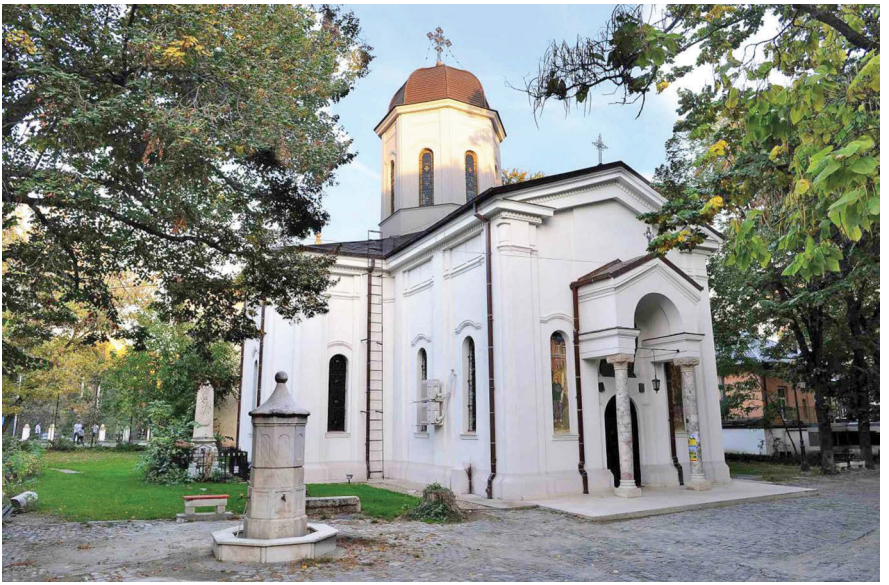
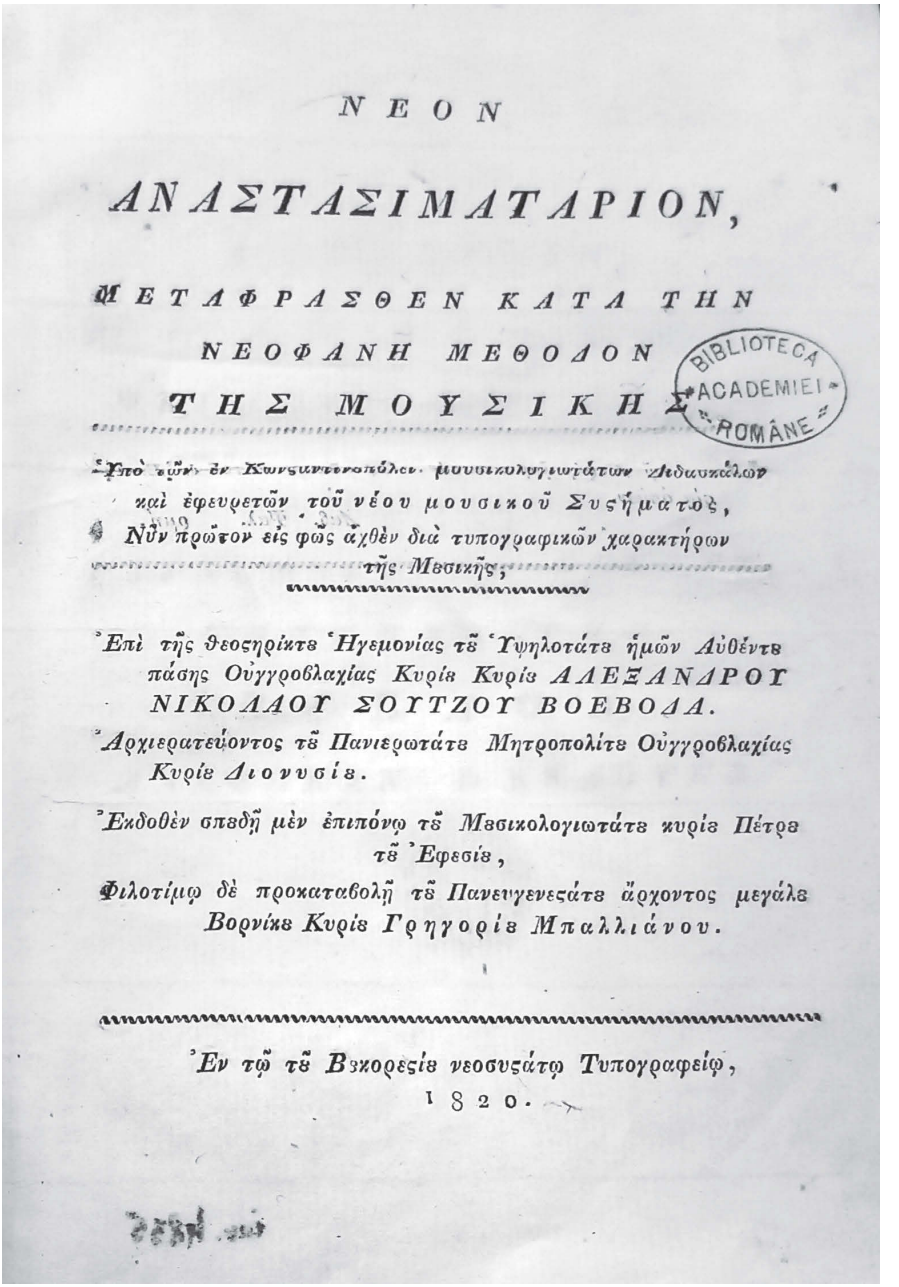


Fig. 4: Church of the Life-Giving Fountain, founded in 1787 by Nicolae Mavrogheni, prince of Wallachia in 1786–1790 (© Ziarul Lumina, by permission).



ΝΕΟΝ

ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΜΑΤΑΡΙΟΝ,

ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΘΕΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ
ΝΕΟΦΑΝΗ ΜΕΘΟΔΟΝ
ΤΗΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΣ

BIBLIOTECA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE

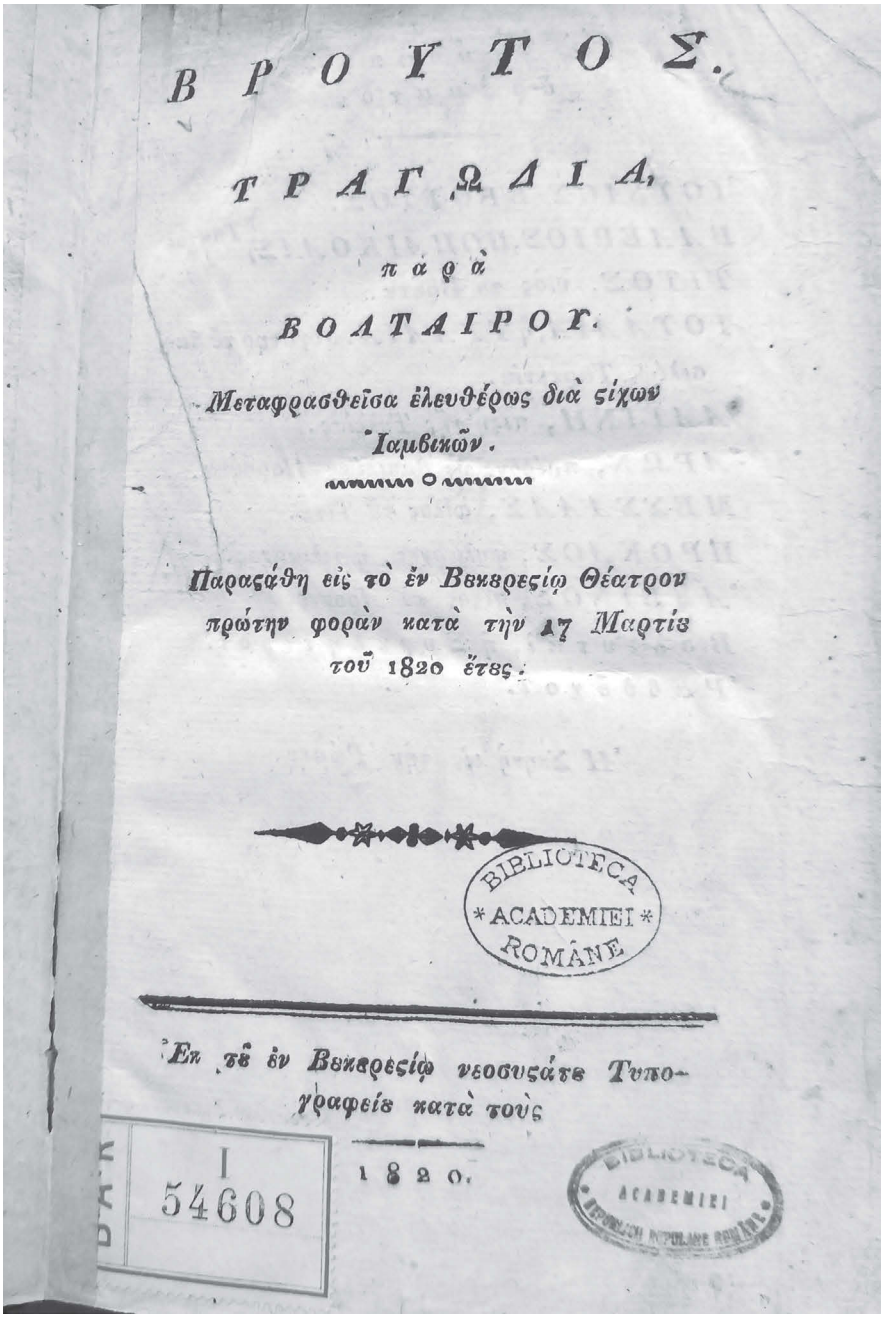
Ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μουσικολογιωτάτων Διδασκάλων
καὶ ἐφευρετῶν τοῦ νέου μουσικοῦ Συστήματος,
Νῦν πρῶτον εἰς φῶς ἀχθὲν διὰ τυπογραφικῶν χαρακτήρων
τῆς Μεσικῆς,

Ἐπὶ τῆς θεοσηρίκτε Ἡγεμονίας τῦ Ὑψηλοτάτε ἡμῶν Αὐθέντε
πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κυρίε Κυρίε ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΣΟΥΤΖΟΥ ΒΟΕΒΟΔΑ.
Ἀρχιερατεύοντος τῦ Πανιερωτάτε Μητροπολίτε Οὐγγροβλαχίας
Κυρίε Διονυσίε.

Ἐκδοθὲν σπεδῇ μὲν ἐπιπόνῳ τῦ Μεσικολογιωτάτε κυρίε Πέτρε
τῦ Ἐφεσίε,
Φιλοτίμῳ δὲ προκαταβολῇ τῦ Πανευγενεσάτε ἄρχοντος μεγάλε
Βορνίκε Κυρίε Γρηγορίε Μπαλλιάνου.

Ἐν τῷ τῦ Βεκορεσίε νεοσυσάτῳ Τυπογραφείῳ,
1820.

Fig. 5: *Νέον Ἀναστασιματάριον*, Bucharest, 1820, title page (B.A.R.).



ΒΡΟΥΤΟΣ.

ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ,

παρὰ

ΒΟΛΤΑΙΡΟΥ.

Μεταφρασθεῖσα ἐλευθέρως διὰ στίχων Ἰαμβικῶν.

Παραστάθη εἰς τὸ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ Θέατρον πρώτην φορὰν κατὰ τὴν 27 Μαρτίου τοῦ 1820 ἔτους.

BIBLIOTECA * ACADEMIEI * ROMÂNE

Ἐν τῇ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ νεοσυστάτῳ Τυπογραφείᾳ κατὰ τοὺς

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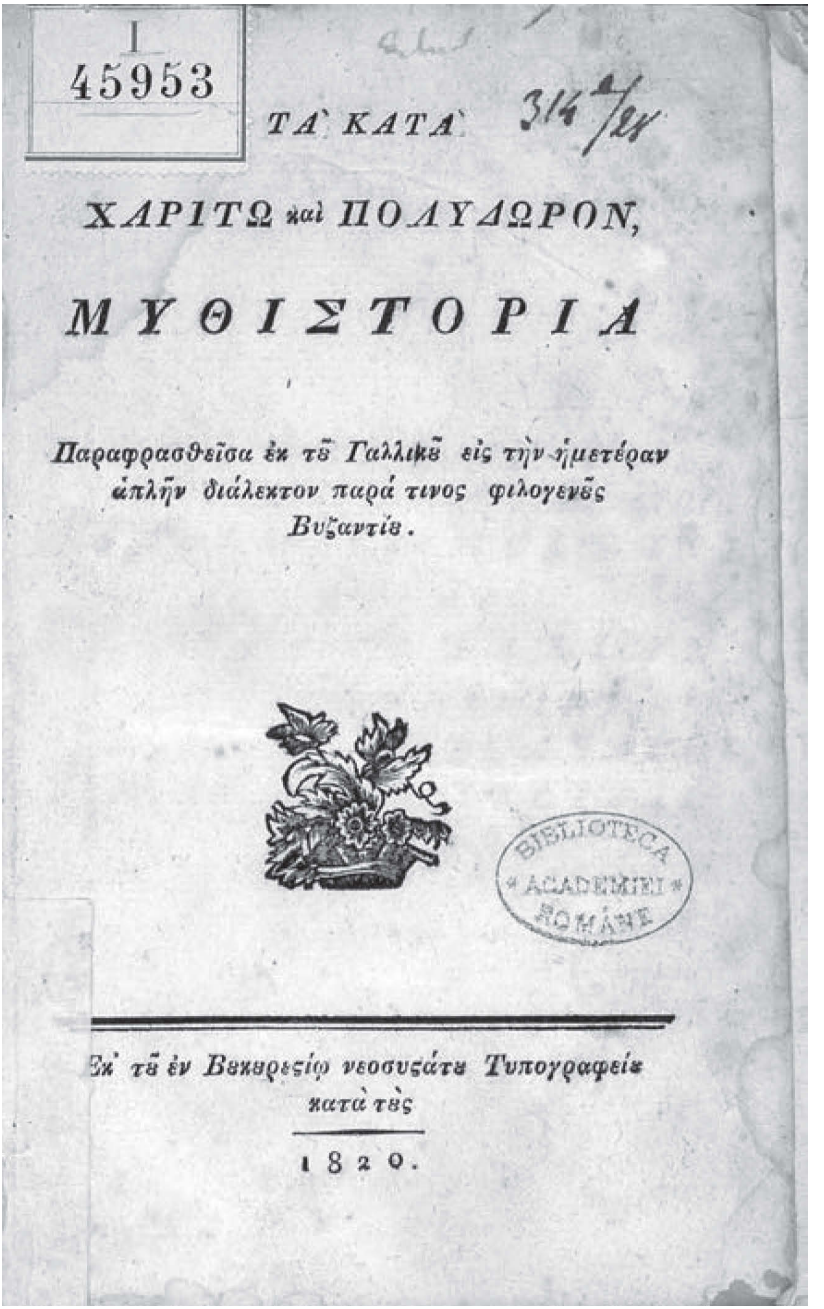
BIBLIOTECA ACADEMIEI

Fig. 6: *Brutus (A Tragedy)*, by Voltaire, Bucharest, 1820, title page (B.A.R.).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ΤΑ ΚΑΤΑ

ΧΑΡΙΤΩ καὶ ΠΟΛΥΔΩΡΟΝ,

ΜΥΘΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

Παραφρασθεῖσα ἐκ τῆ Γαλλικῆ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν
ἁπλῆν διάλεκτον παρά τινος φιλογενῆς
Βυζαντίδ.

BIBLIOTECA
«ACADEMIEI»
ROMÂNE

Ἐκ τῆ ἐν Βουκουρεσίῳ νεοσυζάτῳ Τυπογραφείῳ
κατὰ τὸς

1820.

Fig. 7: *Novel of Charito and Polydor, translated from French to our vernacular language by a Lover Byzantine*, Bucharest, 1820, title page (B.A.R.).

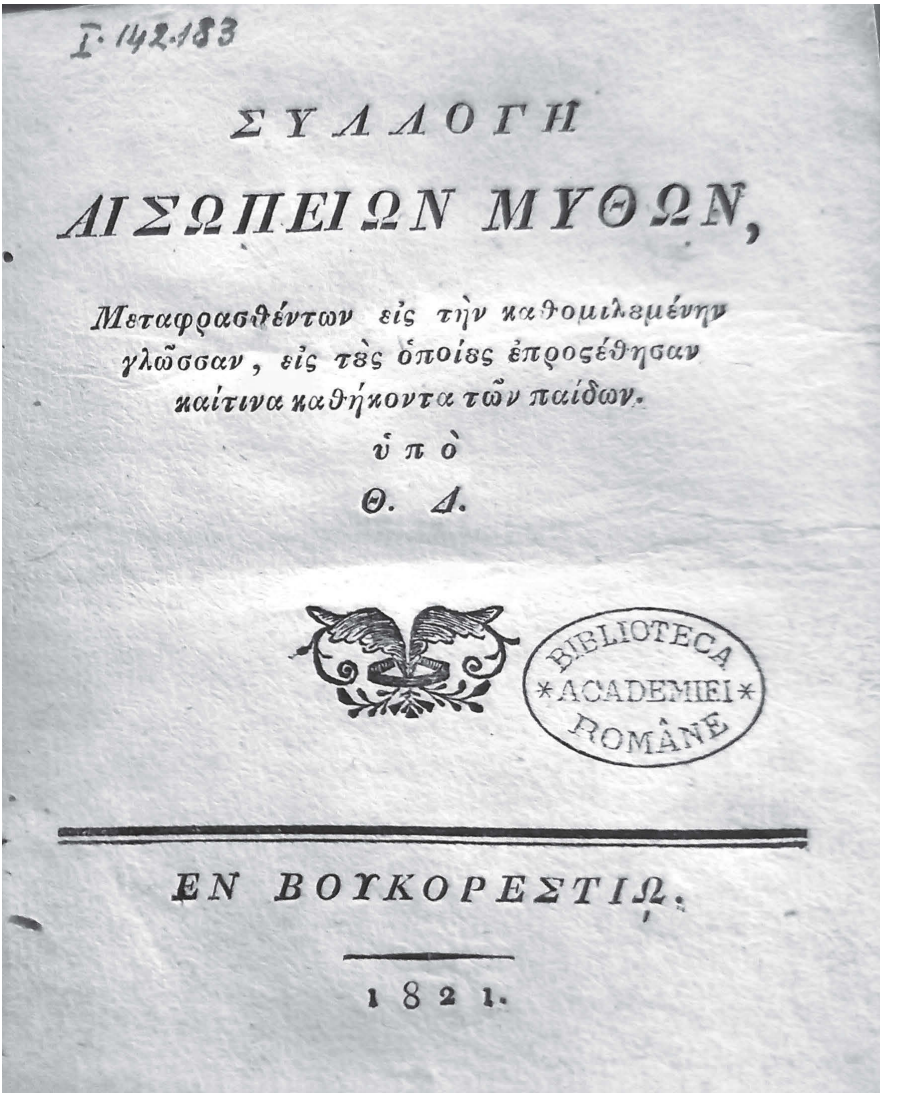
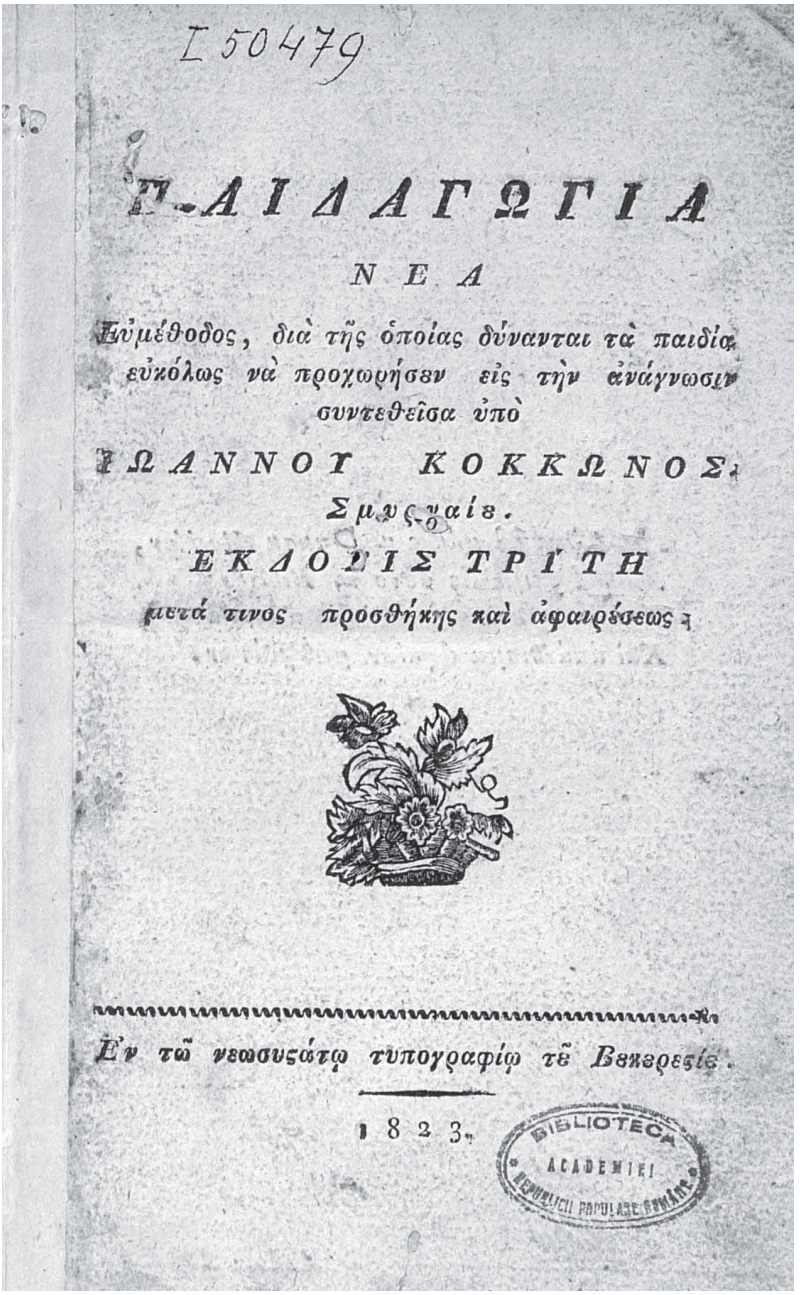


Fig. 8: *Collection of Aesop's Fables*, Bucharest, 1821, title page (B.A.R.).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Π-ΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΙΑ

ΝΕΑ

Εὐμέθοδος, διὰ τῆς ὁποίας δύνανται τὰ παιδία εὐκόλως νὰ προχωρήσεν εἰς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν συντεθεῖσα ὑπὸ

ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΚΟΚΚΩΝΟΣ.

Σμυρναίε.

ΕΚΔΟΣΙΣ ΤΡΙΤΗ

μετά τινος προσθήκης καὶ ἀφαιρέσεως.

Ἐν τῷ νεωσυστάτῳ τυπογραφίῳ τῆ Βεκερεσίε.

1823.

BIBLIOTECA ACADEMIEI REPUBLICII POPULARE ROMÂNE

Fig. 9: I. P. Kokkonis, *The New Pedagogy*, Bucharest, 1823, title page (B.A.R).

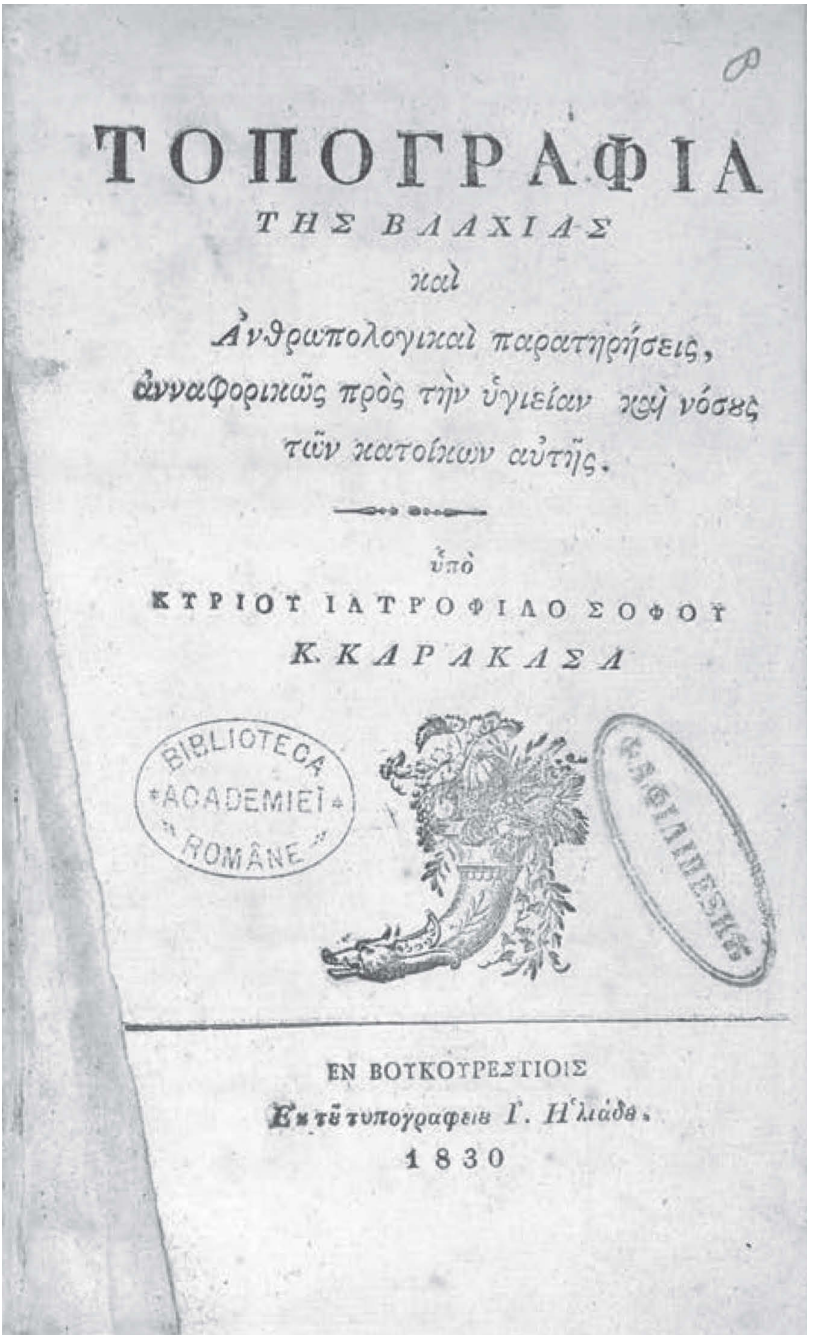

Fig. 10: Constantine Caracaș, *Topography of Wallachia*, Bucharest, 1830, title page (B.A.R.).

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