

Works by Fr. Buţrus At-Tūlāwī

Books

(Chronological Thematical Order)

> Literature

1. Rasā'īl,

Letters (Individual),

Six letters concerning the dispute between the Maronites and the missionaries (the Jesuits) in Aleppo: manuscript

- ✓ Letter of the Year 1697, in French or Italian: he addressed it to the French consul in Aleppo, Mr. Le Blanc, and to the French minister, Ponchartrain, in which he defends the Jesuits in the city and expresses grief over the quarrels between the missionaries there.¹
- ✓ Petition on 26 June 1713, in Latin: it is the "petition" raised to the Supreme Pontiff Clement XI, and signed by him and two representatives of the Maronite community in Aleppo, Yūsuf Dawūd Zakrah, and Shahīn Musamḥah, in which they requested "the favor of giving full forgiveness for the souls of the departed every Monday at the altar of Saint Elijah (...) and the same for the souls of the departed on their memorial day of remembrance." They also asked His Holiness not to leave his people, "the Maronites, without a shepherd (...) amongst wolves who are quick with heresies," and not to "neglect the Maronite herd, even if some of the sheep were to suffer from mange."²

¹ Antoine Naoufal, "Buțrus at-Tūlāwi et Son Traité Sur Les Attributs Divins" (Institut Catholique de Paris, Université De Paris- Sorbonne, 1988), 106.

² Nabīl al-Hāj, "*Al-Khuri Buţrus at-Tūlāwī wa-Atharuhu fin-Nahda*," *Al-Manarah*, year 25, no. 1 & 2 (1984): 308. This petition comes directly, and less than two weeks after the conclusion of the case of Patriarch Ya'qub 'Awwād, who was removed from his patriarchal office on 4 June 1710 and reinstated on 14 June 1713 with the initiative of the Maronites of Aleppo to submit to him. Antoine Naoufal, Buţrus at-Tūlāwī, 106.



- ✓ Letter of 12 May 1715, in Karshūnī (Arabic writings in the Syriac alphabet): it is the letter that at-Tūlāwī addressed to Patriarch Ya'qūb 'Awwād informing him of the judgement issued by the "Holy Office" (Sant 'Uffizio or Le Saint Office) in Rome in favor of the Maronites, which established their "authority in their mission" over non-Maronite Christians in Aleppo. "And the ruling was accepted in the oriental lands as a papal decree."¹ Naoufal has quoted in his dissertation the text of this letter in its French translation.²
- ✓ Letter of 13 May, 1715, in Italian: this is the letter at-Tūlāwī addressed in Italian to De Péléran, French consul in Aleppo, the day after he addressed a letter to the Patriarch. Naoufal has provided a detailed account of this letter in his dissertation. He mentions the accusations that the Jesuits made against the Maronites and at-Tūlāwī's determination to respond with firmness as well as his suggestions for solutions that he deemed effective in ending this conflict and resolving its issues.³
- ✓ Letter of 28 October 1718, in French or Italian: this is a letter signed by him and the three clerics, Rizqallah ad-Duwayhī, Sarkīs al-Jamrī, and Yūsuf al-Askarī, against the French priest of Aleppo. Naoufal mentions this letter but did not reveal any details about its content, nor to whom it was addressed.⁴
- ✓ Letter of 3 February 1729, in Latin: it is the letter that he addressed to As-Simʿānī in Rome "regarding the case brought by Patriarch Yaʿqub ʿAwwād against Bishop Farḥāt." The discord arose again between the Maronites of Aleppo and Patriarch ʿAwwād when the latter held, in April 1728, "an assembly to which he invited his nephew Archbishop As-Simʿānī, Archbishop Ilyās Muḥāsib and some of the graduates of the Rome school, and upon which a directive was issued prohibiting Lebanese monks from reciting church ranks and serving the liturgy in the Arabic language". The Patriarch wrote to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith accusing the Aleppines of being the cause

¹ Al-Hāj, 309.

² Naoufal, 76–79.

³ Naoufal, 79, 80, 106.

⁴ Naoufal, 106.



of confusion and division within the denomination and of having changed their "rituals, traditions and ranks."¹ In his dissertation, Naoufal cited the text of this letter in its French translation.²

2. Al-Mawa 'iz,

The Sermons

In Karshūnī, oration (religious and Christian), manuscript

This collection of sermons left behind by At-Tūlāwī, in *Karshūnī*, is divided along four parts. The copies held at the Maronite Library of Aleppo are in his own handwriting. These sermons were written over a period extending from 1701 until 1718. This collection includes nearly eight hundred sermons, centered around sacred writings in approaches characterized by rational analysis along with high moral rigor and expressed in a highly persuasive oratory style.

> Religion

3. Kitāb al-Masbaḥah al-Wardiyyah, The Book of the Rosary,

Likely in Arabic, spirituality, manuscript

It dates back to the year 1690. It is mentioned by Fr. Manash under the title of **Risalah fī 'Ibādāt al-Wardiyyah (An Epistle on Worshipping through the Rosary).** According to Dr. Ameen A. Rihani, it is held in hard and soft copy at the Center for Digitization and Preservation at Notre Dame University-Louaize, under the call number SP043/MC, entitled **Maqālah Wafiyyah fi** '**Ibādat al-Wardiyyah (Complete Article on Worshipping through the Rosary)** and it dates back to 1811.³ Fr. Nabīl Al-Ḥāj, quotes Patriarch Ad-Duwayhī as having said that at-Tūlāwī "is the one who introduced amongst them (the people of Aleppo) the worship of the Rosary."

¹ Al-Haj, 316.

² Naoufal, 87–90.

³ Ameen Albert Ar-Rihani, *Muqaddimat Makhtut Al-Isaghogi Aw Al-Madkhal Ila Al-Mantiq*, 1st ed. (Zouk Mosbeh, Lebanon: Notre Dame University Press, 2001), 22–23.



4. Mir'āt an-Nufūs,

Mirror of the Souls,

In Arabic, spirituality, manuscript

It is a book on the mental prayer written in 1690. It is held in hard copy at the Monastery of Saint Anthony the Great in Rome under the call number SP048/Rm in addition to a soft copy at Notre Dame University-Louaize. It is mentioned by Abbot Fahd in his index under this title, in which he mentions the copy held at the library of the Monastery of Saint Anthony in Rome and allocated to it the number 185 (p. 66 - 67). He also mentions three other copies, in three following positions within the index, under the following title **Mir'āt an-Nufūs li-'A'mal Riyādah (Mirror of the Souls in the Ascetic Discipline)** and gave them the following numbers: 199 (p. 72) and 240 and 241 (pp. 88 and 89). The book contains an introduction, seven chapters, fifteen meditations, three sections, and ends with two pieces of advice.

5. Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar bil-Wajib Ma rifatuhu li-Rāghib al-Kahnūt wal-Ra ʻiyyah, Abridged Commentary on the Knowledge Incumbent on Those Wishing to Join Priesthood and the Congregation,

In Karshūnī, editing and introduction (theology), manuscript

At-Tūlāwī lent special attention to this book, which was written in 1684 by Yūsuf Shamʿūn [Barbūr] as-Simʿānī, Archbishop of Tripoli, and thus at-Tūlāwī took care of "correcting" it and arranging its contents in 1697. This appears on page 114 of the manuscript of the Mariamite Maronite Order in Lebanon. A hard and soft copy of the manuscript are held at the Center for Digitization and Preservation at Notre Dame University-Louaize, under the call number MD20/MC.¹ The book, which is known as *Kitāb al-Asrāar (The Book of*

¹ The manuscripts of the Mariamite Maronite Order in Lebanon are under preparation at Notre Dame University-Louaize. The manuscript holds the number 73, according to the index of Abbot Butrus Fahd: "*Fahāris Makhtuāt Siryaniyyah wa-'Arabiyyah*" (*Indices of Syriac and Arabic Manuscripts*), and an old number between two brackets and it is number 450, and the title of "*Asrar al-Kanisa*" (*Sacraments of the Church*), which is attributed to at-Tūlāwī (p. 292). As for Father Nabīl al-Haj, he gives the book the title of "*Ilm al-Dhimma (The Science of Non-Muslims*) correctly attributing it to its author and accurately identifying at-Tūlāwī i's role and his degree of contribution to the book, and thus in addition to the titles of editor and verifier, al-Haj places his name at the top of the author's list of names. (Article in *al-Manara*, p. 301). As for Father Ignatius Sa'adah, who drew up a table with the titles of at-Tūlāwī's works based on al-Khuri al-Haj's study, gives it the title "*Kitab 'Ilm al-Niyyah*" (*The Book of the Science of Intentions*) in: "Butrus At-Tūlāwī: Hayatuhu wa-Athāruhu," in *Muḥādarāt al-Liqa' al-Batruni al-'Awwal* (Manshurat al-Majlis ath-Thaqafi al-Batruni, 1985), 44–45.



Sacraments), contains "an abridged commentary on the seven sacraments of the church, simony, the Ten Commandments, the sins, the commandments of the Church, apostolic dogmas, absolution, the sanctuary, prevention, the seven prayers, the monk and monastic life, and what parents, the godparents and the priests are requested to teach children."

6. Al-Tuḥfah al-Adabiyya fi Thalāth Majāmi^c Mārūniyyah Literary Masterpiece on Three Maronite Synods,

In Arabic, church history, published (posthumously).

This is the book published by Father Jirjis Manash under this title, Jūniyah, 1904, which he had cited in his article in *al-Mashriq* journal under the title: **Majmū** '**al-Majāmi** '**al-Mājāmi** '**al-Mājāmi** (A Collection of the Ancient Maronite Synods). The Maronite Synods in question are three, to which At-Tūlāwī attended the information that he would be translating the proceedings of the Council of Trent from Latin to the Arabic language in 1700.¹

7. Şalāt Wijdāniyyah,

Contemplative Prayer,

In Arabic, spirituality, manuscript.

This book dates back to 1706. It was mentioned in a study by Father al-Hāj, published in *al-Manāra* journal and also mentioned by Father Saʿādah in his lecture on the Virgin Mary at the First Cultural Gathering of Batrūn. As for Dr. al-Rihani, he observes that the title appears "in different forms," including: Şalāt al-Muʾmin (Prayer of the Believer), or as-Ṣalāt al-ʿAqliyyah wa Taʿrifiha (The Mental Prayer and its Definition).²

8. Manhaj Mustaqīm lī-Bughyat al-Na ʿīm,

A Correct Approach to Achieving Bliss,

In Arabic, spirituality, manuscript.

¹ With regards to the year in which At-Tūlāwī completed his translation of the Council of Trent, kindly refer to what will follow below, where we deal with the works of At-Tūlāwī the translator, and specifically his translation of this book from Latin to Arabic.

² Al-Haj, 305; Sa'ade, 45; A. A.Ar-Rihani, 23.



It was also written in 1706. It is mentioned by Manash in his second article in *al-Mashriq* under the title **Al-Nahj Al-Qawīm li-Bughyat in-Na'īm** (**The Correct Approach to Achieving Bliss**), and he described it as "a brief treatise in the pursuit of spiritual perfection."¹ He explains the ten "necessary means," divided into two parts, with which the one who wishes to "achieve spiritual perfection" should be intentionally armed. It also contains an explanation on the "the way towards purification at the beginners state, the way towards unification at the perfect state, and finally receiving the full love of God in its four degrees ...".

9. Al-'Ilm al-Lahuti,

The Study of Theology

In Arabic, theology, manuscript.

It dates back to early April 1707 and is comprised of four articles, each of which deals with the following: the first includes eight discussions on God, his unity and his trinity, and his perfections. The second includes ten discussions that revolve around God as the ultimate destination of man, and what it entails from ethics that should be observed. The third includes eleven discussions on faith, love, hope, divine justice, and others. The fourth and final article is distributed along eleven discussions as well and deals with the incarnation of the Son of God, the seven sacraments, and the Last Judgment.²

Kitāb at-Tāwlūjiā min Lāhūt Skūtus Yuḥannā al-Mudaqqiq, Book of Theology from the Theology of John Scotus

In Arabic, theology, manuscript.

At-Tūlāwī started working on this book in 1707 "and we do not know when it was completed."³ Dr. Rihani speculates that he could have begun writing the book in 1708.⁴ Naoufal notes that the date of authorship is unknown. The book is comprised of 1040 pages of the larger size and divided into two parts: the first about God, his existence and attributes

¹ Jirjis Manash, "Ta'alif Majhula lit-Tūlāwī," *al-Mashriq*, Beirut, vol. 11, no. 3 (March 1908): 238.

² Naoufal, 129.

³ Sa'adah, 45.

⁴ A. A. Ar-Rihani, 24.



(pp. 1-345), and the Holy Trinity and other matters (pp. 346-532); the second about God the Savior: his incarnation, his attributes, the sacrament of the Holy Sanctity, the grace, human deeds, and virtues (pp. 533-1040).¹

11. Ta'ammulāt Ruḥiyyah fis-Sīrah ar-Rahbāniyyah, Spiritual Reflections in the Life of Monasticism

In Karshūnī, spirituality, manuscript.

At-Tūlāwī wrote this manuscript in 1712. It is held in hard copy (in Karshūnī) at the Mariamite Library of the Maronite Order in the Monastery of Saint Anthony in Rome under the call number SP010/Rm, and a soft copy at the Center for Digitization and Preservation at Notre Dame University-Louaize, under the same call number. It was copied by Reverend 'Abd al-Masīḥ bin al-Labyān al-Mārūnī al-Ḥalabī in Aleppo on 11 April 1713. The book contains a very voluminous meditative content, with an introduction to "the method of mental prayer," followed by thirty meditations for each day of the month, followed by twelve meditations for monks and another twelve for clergymen, and then eight meditations for the sacramental bread, ten meditations that are necessary for every Christian, as well as seven other "on the seven cardinal sins," and other reflections.

12. Majmū 'at Da 'wa al-Mursalīn,

The Collection of the Mission of the Missionaries

Likely in Arabic, religious discourse, manuscript.

It is a collection of documents and writings developed by at-Tūlāwī during the period between 1714 and 1716, the time when the dispute had been taking place between the Jesuits and Maronites in Aleppo. The dispute arose when the Jesuits denied the Maronites "their authority in their mission over non-Maronites" and denied "their rights regarding the Rosary." In defense of the Maronites of Aleppo in the accusations against them. At-Tūlāwī raised the "case of the missionaries and their protests to the court of the Holy Synod." He wrote, at the same time, "to the Jesuit priests Yūsuf as-Simʿānī and Jibrāʾīl Ḥawwā, both of whom were present in Rome" informing them of the truth of the matter "in order for them to

¹ Naoufal, 127–28.



be heedful that the Jesuits not write otherwise and misinform the chair." The Holy Synod issued its ruling early in 1715, in favor of the Maronite side, "and the ruling was accepted in the eastern lands as a papal decree."¹

13. Ta 'līm ul-Masīh 'ay Sharh Qawā' idihi,

The Teachings of Christ or an Explanation of his Rules

In Arabic, spirituality, manuscript.

He completed this work in September 1717. "It includes a useful summary on the belief of universal allegiance, and the secrets of the Rosary."²

14. Majmū 'Da 'wā as-Sayyid Hawwā,

The Complete Mission of Mr. [Reverend] Hawwa

In Arabic, religious discourse, manuscript.

It includes "details of the successful efforts led by Reverend Jibrā'īl Ḥawwā in achieving rapport and reconciliation"³ in the new dispute that arose between "Patriarch Ya'qūb 'Awwād and his nephew Archbishop Sim'ān on the one hand, and Archbishop 'Abdallah Qar'alī on the other hand, which almost caused discord within the community." Hawwā began his efforts, on 29 December 1720, as an apostolic delegate and succeeded in his endeavor, with all adversaries signing "a peace treaty on 10 September 1722, upon which the Patriarch rewarded Hawwā by appointing him Archeparch of Cyprus in 1723."⁴

15. Qissat Ihtidā ' Muslimayn ilā al-Masīķiyya,

The Story of the Conversion of Two Muslims to Christianity

In Arabic, church history, manuscript.

¹ Al-Haj, 309.

² Al-Haj, 312.

³ A. A. Ar-Rihani, 28.

⁴ Al-Haj, 313. However, the dispute between the Maronites of Aleppo and Archbishop Hawwa resumed when the latter, prelate over the Diocese of Cyprus, visited his native city, Aleppo, and began to intervene in the affairs of its diocese, contrary to the provisions of the Council of Trent that states "bishops do not deal with what is relevant to their rank in the parish of others." This dispute led to the arrest of the Archbishop, "and Father at-Tūlāwī was removed from his role as parish priest (at the Church of Saint Elias in Aleppo) by the order of Patriarch Ya^cqub ^cAwwād." Ibid., 314.



It was written by at- $T\bar{u}l\bar{a}w\bar{\iota}$ in 1723, in which he recounts the story of two Muslim men who had converted to Christianity under his auspices. He had begun teaching them about the Christian faith starting from 1721.¹

16. Muswaddat Mawad Lahutiyya,

Draft of Theological Articles

Likely in Arabic, theology, manuscript.

Father al-Ḥāj had mentioned this book in a quick and casual manner while discussing the plague that had struck Aleppo in 1733, by which "several Maronite priests went into hiding such as Father Buţrus at-Tūlāwī, Father Buţrus as-Saʿātī, and Father Sarkīs al-Jamrī."² Dr. Rihani refers to this manuscript in the index of at-Tūlāwī's works, which he had developed, noting that the manuscript may be incomplete as evidenced from the title. However, "this does not discredit (the manuscript), nor does it diminish its theological and intellectual importance, especially that it came in the final stage of at-Tūlāwī's life."³

17. Khulasah Tarikhiyyah bil-Abrashiyyāh al-Maruniyyah, Historical Synopsis of the Maronite Diocese

Likely in Arabic, church history, manuscript.

Naoufal is alone in mentioning this book, according to the index of Sbat, no. 1172 and states that the date of authorship is unknown and does not provide any additional information.⁴

18. Al-Mayāmir al- ʿArabiyya (حمحمرة, Memra, Mimmer)

Arabic Spiritual Songs

In Arabic, spirituality, manuscript.

It was mentioned by Reverend Manash in *al-Mashriq* journal, in a list that he had added to a bibliography of at-Tūlāwī's works, under this title: *Al-Mayāmir al-'Arabiyyah* (Arabic

¹ Naoufal, 105; al-Haj, 313; A.A. Ar-Rihani, 27. Father al-Haj mentions, with Dr. Ar-Rihani in agreement, that at-Tūlāwī began writing this story in 1721 and completed it in 1723. Dr. Ar-Rihani adds that no scholars mentioned this manuscript, nor copies of it and places held, if any existed. Ibid., 27.

² Al-Haj, 317. Father al-Haj mentions that this "draff" is held in the library of the Maronite Diocese of Aleppo and bears the number 179.

³ A. A. Ar-Rihani, 25.

⁴ Naoufal, 105.



Spiritual Songs). He also adds that what had only been verified was *Al-Mayāmir* that was affixed to the book of al-Ḥaj.¹

The word "*Maymar*, jam' *Mayāmir*" (*Maymar*, plural *Mayāmir*) from the verb "*Imar*" in Syriac, i.e., he said, he spoke, he narrated, he told, he swore, he explained, he translated, he invited, and he implied... and from all of these derives the meaning of "*Maymar*": the speech, the essay, the sermon, the case (amongst the people of logic), the poem, the poetic composition, and the anthem; also these: the singer, the chanter and the teacher ...

The word "*Maymar*" is a term of extensive meanings. *Al-Maymar* in the meaning of *qasīda* (poem) has been commonly used in liturgical books, and stands for the collection of poems by Saint Afram, Saint Jacob and Saint Isaac... and other Syrian teachers (*malafina* is the plural of *milfan*, meaning the learned teacher in Syriac) who had enriched the Syriac treasures with their writings, the most splendid of which were composed along varying Syriac poetical meters that inspired the Lebanese poetical meters known as the Lebanese-Syrian "*M*'annā or *Mughannā*" and it is at the head of the inherited Syriac and Lebanese poetical meters, and thus we find titles such as "*Diwān al-M*'annā" preceding "*Diwān al-Zajal*" (*Diwān* of Oral Strophic Poetry) that was later composed by poets.

The term "*Maymar*" does not appear amongst the twenty four forms of Syriac poetry identified and classified in a detailed explanation of both "form" and "substance" in the most trusted reference to this day, *al-Lu'lu' al-Manthūr (The Scattered Pearls)* authored by the Tri Blessed Ignatius Afram Barsūm, Patriarch of Antioch and All the East; this confirms that "*Maymar*" is a term of comprehensive meaning and not specified.²

¹ Manash, "Ta'alif Majhula Li-l-Tūlāwī," 238.

² Elias Kisirwānī, "Chapter 4: The Octoïchos, Theses under Publication," in *The Thesaurus and the Octoïchos in the Liturgy of the Syriac Church* (Paris IV, Sorbonne University-France); Ignatius Ephrem 1st Barsoum, *Syriac Sciences and Literature* (Aleppo: Mar Gregorios Yohanna Ibrahim, Coll. Syriac Patrimony, 1987), 90; Abbot Gabriel al-Qardahi, *AL-Lubab*, ed. Mar Gregorios Yohannā Ibrahim (Aleppo: Mar Gregorios Yohannā Ibrahīm, 1994), 46.



19. Main Necessary Points for the System of Living, Arabic, spirituality, manuscript

Fr. Nabil Al-Hage was the first to mention this book during a lecture he delivered at the Fourth Anniversary Conference of the Maronite School in Rome, held at the Holy Spirit University in Kaslik, from 29 November to 5 December 1984. The lecture series was published in the book Conference entitled *The Fourth Anniversary of the Maronite School in Rome 1584-1984*, Kaslik, University of the Holy Spirit, 1985, p. 109.

> Philosophy

20. Al-Isagogi 'aw Madkhal al-Mantiq

The Isagogi or The Introduction to Logic

In Arabic, philosophy, published (posthumously).

It is the first book in the field of philosophy, completed "in maḥrūsāt (protected) Aleppo and most notably on 16 September in the Christian year of 1688."¹ And Isagogic is a word derived from Greek and stands for preliminary or introduction.

21. Kitāb-ul Mantiq

The Book of Logic

In Arabic, philosophy, manuscript.

It is the second book in at- $T\bar{u}l\bar{a}w\bar{\iota}$'s collection of philosophical writings. He completed it in 1693, and it includes eighteen studies distributed over ninety chapters.

22. Al-ʿIlm at-Tabīʿī

Natural Science

In Arabic, philosophy, manuscript.

This is his third book on philosophy and was completed on 20 September 1698. The book includes an introduction on natural science and four essays.

¹ Buţrus At-Tūlāwī, "Al-Isagogi 'aw Al-Madkhal Ilal Mantiq," 2, Makhtut Dayr al-Kuraym, Ghusta, Jam'iyyat al-Mursalin al-Lubnaniyyin, no. 125.



23. Fi 'Ilm al-'Ilāhī 'ay Al-Wujūd Al-Muțlaq

On the Divine Science or The Absolute Existence

In Arabic, philosophy, manuscript.

This is his fourth book on philosophy and he had unveiled it in late April 1703. There are ten discussions in the book.

24. Kitāb al-Falsafah al-Adabiyyah,

Book of Literary Philosophy

In Arabic, philosophy, manuscript.

It was mentioned by Manash in his first article in *al-Mashriq* journal (p. 775). Also on the same page, further below, is another book, **Kitāb al-Falsafah** (**The Book of Philosophy**) in two volumes. Father Luis Shaikhu mentions **Kitāb al-Falsafah** (without following the word *al-falsafa* [philosophy] with the word *al-adabiyya* [literary]) in four parts.¹ However, Kamal Yūsuf al-Hāj has listed, in the bibliography of at-Tūlāwī's works, copying from Manash, **Kitāb al-Falsafah al-Adabiyyah wa Kitāb al-Falsafah (Book of Literary Philosophy and Book of Philosophy**) in two parts,² and thus Father al-Hāj failed to mention the book. Meanwhile, Naoufal settled for a quick reference to what was mentioned by Manash, adding that the content of the book is still unknown to this date.³ This discrepancy raises doubts about the existence of the book, and how many parts or volumes? Dr. Rihani is alone in referring, based on Manash, to one hint that supports the hypothesis of the existence of the book, namely that a copy of it exists in the Vatican Library.⁴

➤ Language

25. Al-Ghramatiq,

The Grammar Book

In Karshūnī, linguistics (Syriac morphology and syntax), manuscript.

¹ Ibid. 21.

² Kamāl Yūsuf al-Haj, "Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmila," in Al-Falsafa al-Lubnāniyya, 1st ed., vol. 11 (Bayt al-Fikr, 2014), 871/11.

³ Naoufal, 126.

⁴ A. A. Ar-Rihani, 21.



This is al-Ghramatiq (Grammatic) Syriac book that he wrote in 1701, relying upon **Kitāb al**-'Ashi''ah (The Book of Rays) by Ibn al-'Ibrī (1286). It is most probable that the requirements of education, in al-Kuttāb al-Mārūnī¹ of Aleppo, led at-Tūlāwī to develop a book dedicated to the teaching of Syriac in a comprehensive and simple manner. There is a certain problem with regards to the date of completion. Father al-Hāj mentions the date of completion as 1688, and so does Father Sa^cade, from whom he adopts this date, however he designates the title al-Luma' (The Sparks) to the book of Ibn al-'Ibrī.² Nawfal does not mention a specific date of authorship but only mentions, at the end of his bibliography of at-Tūlāwī's works, a grammar book for the Syriac language written in Arabic and inspired by the book al-Luma' by Ibn al-'Ibrī.³ As for the year 1701, which we have adopted as the most likely correct date of authorship, has been decided by Dr. Rihani after a discussion with Father al-Hāj over the date of completion, relying on a manuscript copy of *al-Ghramatiq* that was copied by a contemporary of at-Tūlāwī, priest Mīkhā-al-Matūshī al-Qubruşī, who mentioned the date of authorship at the beginning of his copy as 1714. It is held in the library of the Maronite Monastery of Saint Anthony the Great in Rome.⁴

¹ "Al-Kuttāb al-Mārūnī" in Aleppo is a children's school established by Father Isţitān ad-Duwayhī (later Patriarch) in 1666, and was assisted by some of his fellow graduates of the Maronite College in Rome. Ad-Duwayhī's ambition was to turn al-Kuttāb into a center, where the graduates of the Maronite school in Rome could spread their knowledge and education. Father Isţitān ad-Duwayhī was sent to Aleppo, his second visit there, in 1663 by the Maronite Patriarch Jirjis al-Sib'alī (his first visit to Aleppo was in July 1656, when he was sent to the city by Patriarch Yuḥannā as-Şafrāwī to accompany Archbishop Andrāwus Akhijān, the Aleppine Syriac, who was appointed by as-Şafrāwī as a bishop in Qanubīn in late June of the same year, and ad-Duwayhī assisted him in preaching and guidance. He had stayed in the city for eight months). Ad-Duwayhī left Aleppo in 1668 for Jerusalem, and upon his return visited Ehden with the intent of returning to Aleppo. However, the Patriarch promoted him to the rank of Bishop of the Episcopal Church of Cyprus on 8 July 1668, and from this rank he ascended to the Patriarchal throne in 1670. When at-Tūlāwī returned from Rome in 1682, ad-Duwayhī ordained him as priest and entrusted him with representing the patriarchal seat in Qannubīn for three years before sending him back to Aleppo in 1685 to preach at the Church of Saint Elias. In addition to his pastoral duties, at-Tūlāwī was in charge of running and teaching at al-Kuttāb al-Mārūnī, raising the quality of teaching there to the level of that at the Maronite College in Rome, thus fulfilling the wish of his patriarch. The teaching subjects included morphology and syntax, rhetoric and eloquence, and the Syriac, Italian, Latin and Turkish languages; as well as philosophy and theology. From al-Kuttāb the first generation of *nah*da (renaissance) men graduated, such as Archbishop Germanus Farhat, Archbishop 'Abdallah Qar'alī, Archbishop Jibrā'īl Hawwā, Father 'Abdalmasīḥ Lubyān, Father 'Aţallah Zandah, Deacon 'Abdallah Zākhir and many o

² Saʿādah, 44-45.

³ Naoufal, 99.

⁴ A. A. Ar-Rihani, 26.