The Library of the Levant Company's factory in Smyrna (1805)

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THE LIBRARY OF THE
LEVANT COMPANY'S FACTORY IN SMYRNA (1805)

In recent years our understanding of the Greek Enlightenment has increased enormously, and none has contributed more to this understanding than C. Th. Dimaras, to whom it is both a privilege and a pleasure to dedicate this short article as a token of affection and respect. Undoubtedly, however, many gaps remain in our knowledge. This note represents an attempt to add to our understanding of one of the aspects of the Greek Enlightenment that remains problematical, namely the extent to which books of non-Greek provenance, and more particularly, books in English, circulated within the Greek world in the critical decades before independence. English influences on the Greek Enlightenment were relatively few. This may have been partly due to linguistic obstacles, for a knowledge of English was not nearly so common among the Greek intelligentsia as French, German or Italian. Few Greeks are known to have studied in England during the period of the Greek Enlightenment, in contrast to the large numbers that studied at Italian, German and French universities. It would also seem that few works in the original English were available in


2. One of the most interesting imponderables of the Greek Enlightenment is the direction that Adhamantios Korais' great talents might have taken, had the efforts of his French mentor D'Anssse de Villebois to secure him an academic position in England in 1787 proved successful, J.S. Harford, The Life of Thomas Burgess, D.D... (London, 1840) 159 - 60. Korais' English connections are discussed in my The Correspondence of Adhamantios Korais with Thomas Burgess, 1789 - 1792, «Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften», 106 Jahrgang (1969) 40 - 72.
the Greek world. For this reason any information we can glean about the circulation of books in English in the Ottoman Empire is obviously of importance.

One of the most important centres of the Greek Enlightenment was Smyrna, with its large and flourishing Greek community and its important Frankish merchant colony. There was much contact, and indeed intermarriage, between Greeks and Franks, who shared much of the same cultural and social milieu, even if visiting travellers frowned on the frivolous ways of the Frankish merchants. The influence of the Dutch protestant pastor, Bernhard Keun, on the young Adamantios Korais does not require to be stressed and there are numerous other instances of intellectual cross fertilisation between the two communities.

At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries one of the most intellectually interesting and influential figures in the Frankish merchant community, which was not exactly noted for its dedication to education and learning, was the Revd. John F. Usko, chaplain to the Levant Company’s Factory in the city. Born in Prussia he studied at the University of Königsberg and in 1782 was elected by the town of Danzig to be Lutheran pastor to

3. One English visitor to Smyrna reported that some of the higher Greek families join in the society of the Franks, and conversation especially among the ladies is carried on in the Greek language. It is impossible not to speak with disapproval of their mode of passing the Sunday, the morning being spent at the billiard table, the evening at the dance. When at Smyrna during the winter, they attend the English service, although they frequently assign the unpopularity of the chaplain as sufficient reason for absenting themselves, *Journal of a Tour in the Near East by the Rev. Robert Mosley Master; 1818 - 1819*, British Museum, Add. Ms. 51313, p. 270.

4. Cf. e.g. D.D. Hesseling, *Ko-

rais et ses amis Hollandais*, «Εις μνή-
μην Σπυρίδουνος Λάμπρου» (Athens,
1935) 1 - 6.

5. There were Greek members of the Smyrna Bible Society founded in 1818 by a chaplain to the Levant Company, the Revd. Charles Williamson, see my *The Foundation of the Smyrna Bible Society (1818) «Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά» XIV (1970) 40 - 1. Williamson achieved the considerable feat of arranging for a number of protestant tracts to be printed at the press of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople, see my *Some Protestant Tracts printed at the Press of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Con-

the German community in Smyrna. Seven years later, in 1789, Usko was appointed by the Levant Company chaplain to the English community and in 1792 he was made «Professor Oriental Languages for the King of Prussia». By his own account he was a very considerable linguist. He preached in Italian, French, English and German and wrote that among the languages «which I have learnt grammatically, are the German, Polish, Latin, Greek (ancient and modern), Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldaic, Turkish, Persian, English, Italian, French, Spanish, and Dutch». In 1800 Usko had married a Greek native of Smyrna, whom, he wrote, «I had educated myself» and, as a result of his family ties, he appears to have had much contact with the Greek community of the city. It was Usko who, in 1808, brought Adamantios Korais to the notice of the British and Foreign Bible Society as an adviser on the Society’s projected translation of the New Testament into Modern Greek.

One of Usko’s concerns was to recreate the Factory’s library which had been almost completely destroyed in the fire consequent on the janissary riot of March 1797 known as the Smyrna ‘rebellion’. In a letter of 2 May 1805 he wrote to the «Right Honourable the Governor and the Right Worshipful the Company of Merchants trading to the Levant Seas» that:

«In regard to those books, the choice of which was left to my

6. A brief Narrative of the Travels and Literary Life of the Reverend John F. Usko, Chaplain to the Factory at Smyrna; but driven recently from thence with the whole English Factory, by apprehension of danger from the Turkish Government; and now residing in London. Written by himself January 1808, 30.

7. See my The Correspondence of Adhamantios Korais with the British and Foreign Bible Society, «Greek Orthodox Theological Review», XIV (1969) 70ff.

8. The most valuable single account of the Smyrna ‘rebellion’ is the report of Francis Werry, the Levant Company’s consul in Smyrna, dated 2 April 1797, Public Record Office, State Papers 105 vol. 126. Other useful accounts are those of N.K.X. Κωστής, Σμυρναϊκά Ανάλεκτα. Τὸ ἐν Σμύρνῃ φεχναὶδων τοῦ 1797 κατὰ νέας ἀνεκδότων πηγῶν, «Δελτίον τῆς Ιστορικῆς καὶ Εθνολογικῆς Εταιρείας τῆς Ελλάδος», VI (1901 - 5) 358 -73 and Nikos Veis, Τὸ Μεγάλο Ρεμπέλι τῆς Σμύρνης, «Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά», IV (1948) 411 - 22. The Factory Library had also been destroyed in 1689 following an earthquake and fire.
discretion by Your Worships’ Generosity, I take the humble Li­
berty to observe, that they cannot be purchased in this country, 
as it is well known to Your Worships, but must be procured from 
England. As we have lost in the dreadful fire of 15th March 1797 
(except the Polyglott bible⁹) our whole Library of valuable books 
consisting chiefly in the antient Greek and Latin authors, and 
in some Fathers of the Church, we are now at a loss to replace 
them, we are even wanting the most necessary modern Authors 
in English. I beg therefore most respectfully Your Leave, to submit 
to Your Worships kind consideration, a note of those books that 
are desired, but leave the choice of them to Your own wisdom 
and decision, receiving for my use as well as that of the Factory, 
every gift of Your generous Beneficence with a heartfelt gratitude. 
Books on Divinity, Morality, Sermons, History, Travels, Geogra­
phy, Natural History and Poetry etc. are the most acceptable, 
and they are of a general use, especially in a country, where the 
resources for society and instruction are so much limited, as it 
is the case here.

[...] 

Your most humble, most obedient and most devoted Servant

J.F. Usko ch.

P.S. I do not presume to decide which books are to be chosen 
among those, that are submitted to Your Worships view; I humbly 
think only, that those, which are underlined are the most ne­
necessary and more requested for the present than the rest. With 
respect to the others, it depends on Your Worships’ munificence, 
to give to the execution of this desirable plan to such an extent 
as Your Worships will think proper either to put other more use-

⁹. This was probably the Po­
lyglott Bible compiled by Brian 
Walton, Bishop of Chester, *Biblia 
Sacra Polyglotta...* 6 vols. London 
1655 -7, two copies of which are 
known to have been sent out from 
London for the Factory library 
in Smyrna, J. Pearson, *A biogra­
phical sketch of the Chaplains to the Le­
vant Company maintained at Con­
stantinople, Aleppo, and Smyrna 
1611-1706.* (Cambridge, 1883) 65. A 
copy of the first volume of Wal­
ton’s Polyglott is recorded as being 
in the library of the Academy of 
Kydonies in 1818, see my *Two Ac­
counts of the Academy of Ayvalik 
(Kydonies) in 1818 - 1819,* «Revue 
des Études sud - est européennes», 
x(1972) 646 - 7.
ful books and better editions in their place, or to procure occasionally and in time those already mentioned in the list: I mean occasionally, as second-hand books in Auctions; and in time, viz. it is not required to have them all at once, but by degrees, so that the Library once begun and founded by Your Worships Liberality, may be increased afterwards by private contributions and gifts of the Gentlemen of this Factory, specially for the purchase of the modern English and French Authors, Latin and especially (ially) Greek Authors, or at least some Classics, are, in my humble Opinion, necessary and very useful for a Clergyman, and some instructed traveller, who comes in this country, which was once the seat of sciences, and to read them as it were on their native ground, increases the interest and importance of what they contain. My means are too limited for the purchase of them. Thus for the Factory, the best Translations in English and French would be of great advantage and of useful instruction in some leisure hours, or during the plague, being shut up in town or in the country.

Our Chapel is the fittest place to put in the Library, as it would be there free from fire and in a dry situation. There is a part of it destined for another purpose, (an Organ), which is large enough to contain a Library."

It is not known how many of the books on Usko's list, which is appended, were actually despatched to Smyrna for the library. But it is reasonable to assume that a substantial proportion of them were. If this was the case then the literati of Smyrna, whether Frank or Greek, had at their disposal in the library of Levant Company's Factory a substantial collection, containing besides works of theology and editions of the Greek and Latin classics, a useful collection of historical books, together with a number of representative works of English literature and indeed some scientific works. The role of Greek merchants as channels for We-


stern cultural influences in the Greek world has long been appreciated. The role of members of the Frankish merchant community in the Ottoman Empire as disseminators of Western cultural and indeed political ideas has not yet been adequately studied.

Books for a Library to be formed for the English Factory at Smyrna

*Universal History both ancient and modern*, 60 Vol. with a number of maps etc.
Cruden’s Concordance to the Bible, last Ed. with Portr.
Doddridge’s *Translation of the N.T.* 2 Vol.
Blair’s *Lectures on the Canon of the Scriptures, Dissert. on the Sept. Version* etc.
*Weistenii Novum Testamentum Graecum* 2 Fol.
Kennicot’s Hebrew Bible, 2 Vol. fol.
Septuaginta Interpretes Tom. 4 cura Grabe, 2 Vol. Oxon.
*La Ste. Bible par Osterwald* in folio. (NB to be employed at the Divine Service in the Chapel.)
N.T. Grace a Griesbach. 2 Vol. 8
Lowth’s *Translation of Isaiah*, 4to.
Leland’s *Divine Authority of the O. and N.T.* 2 Vol. 8
Eusebi, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret etc. *Historiae Ecclesiasticae* Gr. et Lat. ed. opt. a Reading 3 Vol. fol.
Paley’s *Horae Paulinae, or the Truth of the Script.* 8 vo.
Dit(t)o *Principles of Moral and Political philosophy*, 2 vol.
Dit(t)o *Natural Theology* etc.
Dit(t)o *Views of the Evidence of Christianity* 2 Vol.
*Doddridge’s Rise and progress of Rel. 1792*
*Bingham’s Antiquities of the Chr. Church*, 2 vol.
*Companion to the Altar* 25 Ex.
Davis’s Examination of Gibbon’s *Rome.*
Spicilegium S.S. Patrum post Chr. cura I.E. Grabii, Oxon. 1714 8º
Aphon’s *Letters on the Prevalence of Chrismianity before its civil Establishment.*
Les Oeuvres de Bonnet 8 vol.
*Dr. Rees’s New Cyclopaedia, or the New Cyclopaedia, or the Universal Dictionary of Arts and sciences*, formed upon a more enlarged plan of arrangement than the *Dictionary of Mr. Chambers* etc. illustrated with the new plates, maps etc. By Abr. Rees. D.D. Lond. 1802.
*Johnson’s English Dictionary* 2 Vol. 4to.
Burnet’s *History of the Reform*, abridg. 3to
Lowth’s Commentary on Ezekiel, Isaiah, etc.
Edward’s *History of Redemption* Pitcher’s Ed.
Beattie’s *Evidences of the Christ. Rel.* 2 vol.
*Essai on the Chr. Religion* 1795.
*Priestly’s Life of Christ.*
Mosheim *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, 6 Vol. or in English by Maclaine
Priestly’s History of early Opin. conc. J. Chr. 4to.
Claude on the Composition of a Sermon, etc. with Notes by Robinson
*Book of Martyrs*, 5 Vol.
Horne’s Letters on Infidelity.
Nathanael Landner’s *Credibility of the Gospel History etc.*
Domestic Divinity, or Family Lectures 2 Vol.
*Abbadie de la Vérité de la Rel. Chr.* 3 Vol.
Zollikofer’s Sermons on the Dignity of Man, by Revd. Tooke. 2 vol. 8
Bellamy’s *Truth of Chr. Relig.*
A large Collection of antient Jewish and Heathen Test. to the truth of the
Chr. R. by N. Lardner, 4 Vol.
Leibniz *Essais de Théodicée*. 2 Vol.
Rural philosophy or reflections on knowledge, virtue, and hap. by Bates 8°.
Watson’s (Bp. of Llandaff) Collection of theological Tracts, 6 Vol.
Well’s Geography of the O. and N.T. 4 vol.
Luther’s table talk improvd. Ed. with his life by Buckhardt.
Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s progress* by Scott.
Butler’s Analgy of nat. and revealed Rel. with Bp. Hallifax’s Introd.
Pratt on the divine and beatiful of Script.
*Burke on the Sublime* etc.
Benson’s *Reasonableness of the Chr. Rel.
Squire’s *Indiff. for Re. inexcusable*
Henry’s *Exposition of the O. and N.T.* 4 vol. fol.
Fenelon de l’*existence de Dieu*
Law’s *Theory of Religion.*
Sturm’s *Reflections for every day in the year*. 3 vol.
Leland’s *Necessity of the Chr. Revel.* 2 vol. 8°.
Lock’s *Reasonableness of Christianity, Vindication of the Reasonable etc*.
*A view of the int. Evid. of the Chr. Rel.* by Son. Lennius
Lowth’s *Bp. Lectures on the sacred Poetry* transl. by Gregory 2 Vol. 8
*Morgans Moral Philosopher*, 3 Vol.
Josephus by Whiston, 2 Vol. or Josephus’s Works compl. by Clark.
The Theory of moral Sentiments, or an Analysis etc. by A. Smith 9th. ed.
An Inquiry into the Nature and causes of the Wealth of Nations by A. Smith
9th. Ed. 3 Vols.
Lives of the Fathers of the primitive Church.
The Elements and Theory of the Hebrew Language by Ed. Dowling
Doddridge's family Expositor, 6 Vol. 8vo.
Addison's Evidences of Christianity.
Brown's Christian Journal, or Medits or Spring, Summer etc.
Bacon's Essays on Moral, Civil lit. and pol. subj. 2 Vol.
Beatties's Elements of Moral Science, 2 Vol.
Hume's Dialogues on Nat. Rel.
Scott's Christ. Life
Doddridge commencementus et progres de la piété.
Foylyce, Serms. for Young Men.
Dit(to) for Young Women.

Sermons

Enfield's Sermons.
Horne's Bp. Commentary on the Psalms.
Blair's Sermons in French 4 vol. (NB We have them in English)
Watt's (Dr. Isaac) Sermons on various subjects. 2 Vol.
Cornwall's (P.M.) Sermons suited to the present time.
Butt's (Revd. J.) Sermons at the Chapel Royal 2 Vol.
Cooper (N.) Sermons.
Sermons by W.L. Brown, D.D. 1 Vol.
Knox's (D. of Tunbr.) Sermons.
Sterne's Sermons 2 vol.
Owen's (H.) Sermons.
Owen on the Holy Spirit.
Franklin's Serm. 3 Vol.
Forster's Sers. 2 Vol.
1. Disney's Serms. 2 Vol.
Littleton's (Ed.) Serms. 2 Vol.
Irtin's Serms. 6 Vol.
Horne's (Bp.) Serms. 4 Vol.
Horne's (Bp.) 16 Serms. on various subjects and occasions.
Johnson's (Dr. Sam.) Serms by Hayes, 2 Vol.
Morton's Serms. on various Subjects.
Scott's poetical transl. of Job.
Seeker's (Abp) works, 140 Serms. 4 Vol.
Bampton Lecture Serms. complete 18 Vol. 8vo.
D. Porteous' (Bp) Sermons 2 Vol. 8vo.
Porteous's (Bp.) Lectures on St. Matthew
The Alcoran by Sale
Benson on the first planting of Christ. 2 vol,

History
Dito of Greece by W. Mitford, in 6 Vol. 80. till the Reduction of Achaia etc.
The hist. of Scotland by Robertson, The Hist. of America by W. Robertson.
An histor. Disquis concern. the Knowl. wch. the Ants. had of India by W. Robertson.
History of Rome from the foundation of the City by Rom. to the Death of Marcus Ant. 3 vol.
Voyage en Grèce d’Anacharsis.

Philosophy and Miscellanies
Pauw, oeuvres philosophiques.
I. Newton's works.
Bibliotheca Classica, or a Classical Dict. cont. a full account of all the proper names ment. in ant. Authors, Coins, wights, measures etc. in use among.
The Gr. and Rom. by Lemorière
A new Dict. of Ant. Geogr. exhibiting the modern as well as ant. names of places by Charles.
Pausania's Descrip. of Greece, with Notes by Taylor.
Ouseby's Persian Miscellanies
A. gen. pronouncing and explanat. Diction. of the Engl. Lang. to which is added a compl. Voc. of surnames by Fulton and Knight.
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Pope's Works.
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Lock's Conduct of the Understanding, or Lock's Essay on the human understanding 3 Vol.
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Pindar by Banister.
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Chandler’s Inscriptiones Antipuae pl. nond. editae, in As. M. et Graecia.
Capt. Norden’s Antiquities of Egypt.
Denon on Egypt.
D’Anville’s complete Body of ant. Geography.
Guys Voyage Littéraire de la Grèce.
Constantinople etc. by Dallaway.
Eton on the Turkich Empire etc.
Paux Recherches sur les Grees.

Some Fathers of the Church

John. Chrysostomus, opera et studio, Bern. de Montfauc. Tom. 1 = XII Par. 1718 - 33, fol.
Cyrilli Opera a Mills Gr. et Lat. 1703. fol.
S. Chrysostomi Homiliae Gr. et Lat. Ducaei. Par. 1609.
Dionisiis Areopagitae Opera, Gr. et Lat. 2 Vol. Ant. 1634.
S. Basilii Opera omnia Gr. et Lat. a Garnier Par. 1721.
S. Athanasii Opera, Gr. et Lat. 2 Vol. Par. 1627
Hieronymus a Benedict. Par. 1698 1 Vol. 5 fol. (or) a Scipio Maffei.
Georgius Magnus, Opera Omnia ord. S. Bened. Tom. 1 — IX. Par. 1705. fol.
Justini Mart. Opera, Gr. et Lat.
Cudworth: Systema Intelectuaele hujus Universi Notis Mashemii 2 Vol. fol.
Huetii Demonstratio Evangelica.
Grotius de Veritate Rel. Chr.
Erasmii Enchiridion Mil. Chr.
Corpus integrum Antiquitatum, 57 Vol.
Graevii et Gronovii Thesaurus Antiquat. Rom. et Gr. 25.
Graevii Thes. historiarum Italae etc. 45 Vol. in 12. Bat. 1697.
Ludolfi Lexicon AethiopicO - latinum.
dito Grammatica Aethiopica.

**Antores Graeci et Latini**

*Homeri Opera* a Clarke (or) a Foulis Glasg.
*Pope's Homer's Iliad and Odyssey* by Wakefield 4 Vol.
*Sam. Patrick, Clavis homerica.*
*Angeli Rireei Dissertations homericae* 3 Vol.
*Everhardi Feithii Antiquitatum homericarum, Libr. IV. 8vo.*
*Blackwell on the life of Homer.*
*Seberti Index hom. 4to. apud. Commelin.*
*Miltoni Paradisus amissus* lat. et angl. a Dobson, 2 Vol.
*Virgili Opera* in usum Delphini.
*Geceronis Opera a Oliveto* 9 Vol.
*Orationes in usum Delph. Rhetorica Delph. Translated in some parts by Melmoth, Guthrie, Duncan Jobes.*
*Demostenes Gr. et Lat.* a Taylor 2 Vol. Cant. (or)
*Demosthenis Orationes Gr. cum commentariis variorum a Iac. Reiskio 8 Vol. Lips.*
*Apparatus Critici ad Demosthenem.* Translated in some parts by Leland, Francis.
*Opera Aristotelis* Gr. et Lat. Daval (or) Aristotelis Rhetorica, poetica, Ethica, politica, Organon, de Animalibus.
*Aristotelis de Poetica, Gr. et Lat. a Cooke, 1785.*
*Ethica a Wilkinson Oxon. 1716.*
*Platonis Opera,* Gr. et Lat. Ficini, fol. Lugd. (or) Francof. 1602.
*Plato de Republica Gr. et Lat. 8vo. Vol. 2 Cant. 1713.*
*Plato Dialogi Gr. et Lat. Foster. Oxon. 1745.*
Plato de Rebus Divinis.
Enchiridion Epicteti, et Cebetis a Gronow. 1723.

Sophoclis Tragediae Gr. et Lat. a Foulis, 2 Vol. (or) Glasg. 4to 1745.
Euripidis Traged. Gr. et Lat. a King, 2 Vol.

Pausanias Gr. et Lat. a Xylanoro or a Kuhnio.


Xenofontis Institutio Cyri, typis Foulis, Gr. et Lat. 4 Vol. Glasg. 1767.


Theocriti Idilliæ selectæ, Gr. et Lat. T. Edwards, Cant. 1779.

Theocriti Moschi et Bionis Idyllia, Gr. et Lat. a T. Martin 1760.

Theophrasti Characteres, Gr. et Lat. a Needham. 1712.

Aristophanes, Gr. et Lat. a Burmanno, 2 Vol. Lugd. Bat. 1760.

Aelianus de Natura Animalium. Gr. Lat. Gronovii et Notis Gesneri. 2 T.
Lond. 1740.

Diogenes Laertius Gr. et Lat. a Meibornii, 2 Vol. in 1. 1698.

Aeschylus Gr. et Lat. Glasg. 2 Vol. 12 (or) 4to 1746.

Hesiodi Opera Omnia, Gr. Lat. Studio Regusini, pr. by Bodini. Parmae 1785
(or) Notis a Robinson 1797.

Pindarus Gr. Lat. 8vo. Glasg. 1744.

Isocratis Opera Omnia, Gr. et Lat. 8vo. a Ballit, Cant. 1729, or Lond. 1749.

Xenofontis Opera a Wells. Gr. et Lat. 8vo. Oxon. 1703.

Cyropaedia, Gr. et Lat. Hutchinson. 4to Oxon. 1727. 4to. Oxon 1735.

Xenophonis Memorabilium a Simpson. Oxon. 1741.

Callimachus, Gr. Lat. Bentley, 8o Lond. 1741 (or) a Ernesti, 2 Vol. 8to Lugd. Bat. 1761.


Plutarchi vitæ Gr. et Lat. 5 Vol. a Bryant London 1729 (or) a Reiske, Lips. 1774. 8o

Luciani Opera Variorum et Graevii, 2 Vol. 8vo. Amst. 1687.

Franklin’s translat. of Lucian 2 Vol. 1780.

Diogenes Laertius Gr. et Lat. a Pearson, fol. Lond. 1663 (or) Meibornii 2
Vol. 4to. Amst. 1692.

Potter’s Antiquities of Greece 1795.

Diog. Laert. Gr. Lat. 8vo Lipsiae, 1739.

Some Latin Authors In usum Delfini

Sallustius,
Livius.

Horatius,
Ovidius
Plinius
*Epistolae Plinii et Panegyricus*
Curtius
Tacitus
Suetonius florus
A. Gellius, transl. by Beloe
Justinus, Boethius
Lucan by Rowe
Seneca
Juvenal by Owen
Eton Scriptores Graeci et Lat.
Martialis.
Paterculus
Eutrapius
Lucretius
Terentius
Plautus
Catullus etc.
Oriental Collections 4to
The Asiatick Miscellany 4to
Dictionaire abrégé Arabe françois à l'usage de ceux qui se destinent au Comm. du Levant par D.F. Ruphy 1802 Some Maps.

J. Fr. Usko, ch. Smyrna the 2d May 1805

*Richard Clogg*
London